

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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SIXPENCE

EDITORIAL

Reply to the deepening and irreversible crisis of capitalism by organising factory, tenant, and student committees on the Anti-Capitalist Programme

The anti-Capitalist spirit of the British working class shows itself constantly in strike actions and demonstrations. But these actions of the class are limited and local because there is no centre, no leadership, to co-ordinate the struggle on a national scale. The working class does not have the organic forms which correspond to its desire for an anti-Capitalist struggle, a desire which can be measured by the aggressive actions of the class over the recent period, but nevertheless these organic forms, these organisations are beginning to be constructed. The formation of a dockers committee in St. Katherine's dock in London which refused to be subjected to the authority of the union leadership and showed this by resigning as shop stewards but not disbanding itself as a local unofficial leadership indicates the beginning of this process of the construction of new organic forms. The working class is showing that it has no concern for the problems which confront the Capitalist class, but continues to fight for its own demands, its own class interests. Thus we see at the very time that Capitalism is calling for greater efforts from everybody, and a minute sector—mainly of clerks—are volunteering to work a half an hour longer for no extra pay, large sectors of the working class absent themselves from work after the Christmas and New Year holidays. This is the response of the class to the problems of Capitalism and its exhortations to work harder.

We see the masses advancing with a spirit of dual power. The strikes of the immediate past period have been not over pay but on the issues of who controls within the factory; the workers or the bosses. The strike which has just finished at Automotive Products at Leamington Spa which crippled the car industry in the Midlands was provoked by the refusal of management to pay the men for the Friday afternoon before Christmas saying that many had left early and that it was impossible to say who had left and who had not. After Christmas three thousand men walked out of the factory demanding that the management pay those who had worked, refusing to accept the bosses arguments that no one would be paid. Another example of this same sentiment was the strike at Rovers in Cardiff against dismissal of 7 men for alleged bad workmanship. These two most recent examples plus the demonstration of BMC workers laid off because of a component shortage at Longbridge in November when they walked into the factory demanding work, blaming the stoppage on the inefficiency of management, show how the workers are imposing or seeking the way to impose dual power in the factories. They are deciding who shall be hired or fired and what hours should be worked, and they show a desire to go forward to control all the aspects of production within the factory.

At the same time as there is this advance towards dual power, the economic crisis of Capitalism deepens constantly and there is no possible perspective of an improvement. Unemployment continues to rise, prices rocket up, rents and fares increase, worsening the living conditions of the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie and at the same time increasing their combativity and will to finish with the system. The economic crisis of Capitalism is feeding its social crisis, and now the economic crisis is irreversible; it is not merely a cyclical recession as in the 50's. The latest measures of U.S. Imperialism to try to correct its balance of payments deficit, which mean a restriction on the export of capital

and a further reduction in the world market, deal another blow at the efforts of British Capitalism to solve its own crisis. In a futile attempt to find a solution the Labour government, in the interests of the Capitalist class, extends the period of the wage freeze until the middle of 1969, saying that wages must be kept down whilst prices and profits must be allowed to rise, and at the same time cutting the level of the social services, reducing expenditure on health, education and housing. Thus Capitalism's only solution is to lower the standard of living and increase the rate of exploitation of the masses. Coupled with this, as a logical part of this policy, the Capitalist class prepares for repression against the workers discussing publically the need to fine strikers, ban unofficial strikes etc. It is part of the process towards repression which is taking place throughout Europe, as the bourgeoisie loses more and more its social basis of support, and more and more can only rely on terrorism.

The bourgeoisie tries to compensate for this loss of social support by turning to the Soviet bureaucracy. This support by the Soviet bureaucracy is both economic through trade agreements which have helped the European car industry in the past period, but above all social; the bourgeoisie uses the authority of the Workers State to give itself authority before the petit bourgeoisie of their respective countries. Wilson's forthcoming trip to the USSR is part of this manoeuvre and it shows his enormous weakness before the masses of this country and at the same time the wretched counter revolutionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which feels the weakness of the bourgeoisie and rushes to the defence of Capitalism, to defend at the same time its own privileged interests from the revolution.

Great new leaps are being prepared in the class struggle in this country. Conditions are preparing for another 1926 except that now the conditions are immensely more favourable to the masses. Today the masses have absorbed the experience of the betrayals of their leaderships and are organising outside their

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF

The meeting of European revolutionary tendencies held in Paris in December

On 16th December 1967, representatives of Notre Lutte Ouvriere, bulletin of the class tendency of the Renault factory (France), of the United Car Worker, bulletin of the revolutionary tendency of the Austin and Vauxhall factories (England), of Revolucion Socialista, national organ of the revolutionary tendency of the PSIUP (Italy), some delegates of the revolutionary core of workers at Cockerill-Ougree (Belgium), some representatives of the A.E.R.—FUDE (Spain, Revolutionary Students Group—Democratic University Federation of Students) and some Algerian revolutionary militants in France, met in Paris.

Some comrades of Voz Contadina, bulletin of the revolutionary peasant tendency of PSIUP (Italy), of Stella Rossa, bulletin of the revolutionary tendency of the Italian Communist Party, and of the CGIL of the Pirelli factory (Italy), of Sinistra Universitaria, bulletin of the revolutionary students tendency in Italy, of Voz Obrera, bulletin of the revolutionary opposition of the Workers Commissions of Barcelona (Spain), gave their complete support to the aims and principles of the meeting.

The meeting laid the basis for the organisation of the EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY, which is basing itself on the activity of the revolutionary tendencies of these different countries, and springs from a previous development in the heart of the political and union organisations of the workers movement, in the factories, in the countryside, and the universities. These tendencies are intervening in the struggles which are developing throughout Europe unifying them, as the conscious revolutionary leadership, fused to the spirit of victory of the peasants, workers, students, and all the masses of the world who struggle in order to smash Capitalism and Imperialism.

It was obvious from the intervention of comrades present and by the concrete action developed by each group of the revolutionary tendency, that in each country in face of the curbing action of the capitulatory leadership of the European workers movement, who seek to contain the masses struggle within the framework of the bourgeois democratic regime, it is not only necessary, but it is also possible to develop the conscious revolutionary leadership which impels the masses struggles to the taking of power. The masses throughout Europe already intervene as leaders by building at the base, the organisms of dual power in order to impose their demands, and they bypass the bureaucratic apparatus of workers parties and of the union organisations everywhere in strikes, factory and land occupations and in their battles with the police.

It is necessary to give an organic form to the process of constant elevation of the European Socialist Revolution.

The European revolutionary tendency is born from this process as an objective necessity. It finds its strength in the decision of the European masses and the revolutionary vanguard, which intervenes in the struggles to make the assault on Capitalist power.

With the aim of organising a European Conference of all the revolutionary tendencies a Secretariat of the European Revolutionary Tendency has been formed with the following comrades: Etienne LEFEVRE (Notre Lutte Ouvriere, France)—Antonio di CAMILLO and Antonio MUCCI (Revolucion Socialista, Italy)—Brian LYNAM (The United Car Worker, England)—Ernest ZACHARY (Cockerill, Belgium)—and Maximo LOIZU (A.E.R.—FUDE Spain).

The meeting adopted as an immediate resolution; to lead forward resolutely in each country the work of reinforcement and extension of each group of revolutionary tendencies.

The meeting was terminated by a revolutionary salute to all the European masses who struggle against Capitalism and the bureaucratic apparatuses of the European Workers Movement, a salute to the National Front of Revolutionary Students UNER of Mexico, which made an appeal in their last conference for a Latin American United Front of revolutionary tendencies, a salute to the Arab masses in particular to the Syrian masses, to the Chinese, Vietnamese, Latin American, African and Asian masses, to the masses of the United States, who fight against Imperialism, a particular salute to the Soviet masses for the 50th Anniversary of the triumph of the October Revolution.

The Secretariat of the
EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY

control. The influence of the world revolution, the Negro struggle in the U.S.A., the cultural revolution in China, the social defeat of Imperialism in the Middle East, the retreat of British Imperialism from Aden, and the power and development of the Workers States all influence and encourage the British masses. Today the world balance of forces is entirely in favour of the revolution and not of Capitalism and Imperialism.

Even though these conditions are favourable however, the absence of organisations which correspond to the anti-Capitalist maturity of the working class allows the bourgeoisie to keep the initiative in its hands, allows it to close factories, raise rents and fares etc. despite the reaction of sectors of the class. The present crisis demands an aggressive response on the part

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

APPEAL OF THE ENLARGED INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL, TO THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT, THE BAATH, THE FEDERATION OF SYRIAN TRADE UNIONS, THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ARAB WORKERS AND THE SYRIAN MASSES

TEXT PRESENTED BY COMRADE J. POSADAS AND ADOPTED AS AN APPEAL OF THE ENLARGED INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL. OCTOBER 1967

The IV International addresses itself to the Syrian Government, to the Baath, to the Trade Unions and the Federation of Syrian Trade Unions, to the International Federation of Arab Workers calling them to adopt firm and resolute positions against Yankee Imperialism, against the preparation of new invasions on the part of Israel, to recuperate the positions and the land occupied by Israel, to develop the Socialist Revolution and to carry forward in the whole of the Middle East the same positions and the same programme which the Baath resolved, as expressed by Al Atassi when he called for the Socialist unification of Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Algeria. We appeal that they call to the masses of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Morocco and Tunisia to extend this Socialist unification; to make an appeal to all the Arab Middle East to unify itself through the programme of Socialist unification and calling at the same time to the Jewish masses of Israel to overthrow the Capitalist government, take the land, take the factories, unify themselves with the Arabs and establish a single state in which there will be the right of self-determination of the Jewish masses.

The bases of the economy and of property are already those of a Workers State in Syria, but the social organisation is still not that of a Workers State. It is the social bases, the social organisation, which starting from now, will have to determine and be the bases of economic development and the social bases to develop towards Socialism. The social bases are necessary to centralise the population and organise its creative capacity, as demonstrated in the defence of Syria by the wing which stopped the Israeli Imperialist invasion, but also to develop the direct control of the people over the economy, the policy and the revolutionary politico/military activity. The weight of the population organised in Soviets will directly exert its historic and concrete influence on the sectors which are still limited by their religious considerations so that they can feel integrated into the Syrian Socialist revolution. And they will serve also to dissuade and impose on those tendencies and groups of the petit bourgeoisie and of the bourgeoisie who are waiting for the opportunity once more to make the counter-revolutionary uprising. The social organisation of the Syrian Workers State in the form of soviets, militias, armed regionals, the active public life of the Syrian masses will exert a decisive influence on the masses of the Middle East, on the petit bourgeoisie of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Yemen, Kuwait, etc. It will exert a decisive influence, it will attract them to feel and support the Arab Socialist Revolution, so that they themselves organise within their own countries.

We salute with all our revolutionary force, sentiment and consciousness the constitution of the Syrian Workers State, commonly called the Syrian Socialist State. In the name of the IV International, of our 17 sections in the world and the 4 more to be constructed in a short time, we salute and support unconditionally the Syrian Workers State. It is one of the greatest examples of progress in human history. Syria passed in a few years from feudalism to the Workers State. It is a result of the combination of the unequal and combined, but concentrated and centralised process of the World Socialist Revolution. The struggles of the masses of the world against Imperialism, against the monarchs and kings, in Vietnam, Santo Domingo, Africa, Asia, Latin America constitute an invincible objective front which disorganises the world Capitalist front and elevates the will, the resolution, the revolutionary decision of the masses of Syria, Algeria, Egypt, of

Iraq to destroy Capitalism and organise themselves as Workers States. Included in this concentrated and centralised, unequal and combined process of the march and progress of the world Socialist Revolution, is the revolutionary leadership of the Baath, its revolutionary decision and development to advance in the struggles and positions of the Socialist Revolution.

There is no possibility of either a peaceful solution or a solution through agreements, or pacts, or merely through the passage of time. The events of the Middle East are part of a sinister plan of Yankee Imperialism. This cannot live faced with the revolution, the revolutionary progress of the struggles of the masses, the advance of the Arab masses and the progress of the revolution in Algeria, in Syria, in Egypt and in part, Iraq. Yankee Imperialism is preparing—using all the possible means to obtain it—whatever the cost and the disastrous consequences for humanity—Yankee Imperialism is preparing for the world atomic war. Its intervention in the Middle East is part of this strategy. Today or tomorrow, Imperialism will be inclined to invade the Middle East to launch atomic arms against the masses of the Middle East, against the nationalist revolutionary and Socialist governments of the Middle East. It still counts on the resolution of problems through the summits, the governments, and the leaderships. While it discusses in the United Nations, while it deceives the masses and the revolutionary and Socialist nationalist tendencies with discussions in UNO, Imperialism is preparing its weapons to make new invasions. It is a historic necessity for Imperialism, in order to try to preserve itself and try to survive, to invade the Middle East and destroy the Socialist governments and all the social, conquests and historic conquests, of nationalisations, of economic, social and human progress of the Arab masses. It has to destroy them. In order to survive it has to destroy all this. It is a small world gang which this serves. There is no agreement or pact with the Soviet Union, no diplomatic agreement, no discussions in the United Nations which are going to preserve the progress and the existence of the progressive, revolutionary and Socialist states of the Middle East. What Yankee Imperialism is doing in Vietnam is the image of what it needs and wants to do, because it does not have any other historic capacity than to destroy the world, in order to try to survive.

One must not expect support from the Soviet Union, that enough aid can be

obtained to destroy the governments of Saudi Arabia, of Jordan, of Kuwait, of Iran, of Yemen. The recent visit of Hussain of Jordan to Moscow is part of the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which is directing itself to try to influence Imperialism, to discuss on the basis of diplomatic positions, of influencing by means of diplomatic weight and to try to gain positions in Jordan and it is going to try to do so in Saudi Arabia with the effect of being able to offer a front of peaceful co-existence and conciliation with Capitalism to prevent the development of the revolution, to prevent the masses from advancing in the revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy believes that with this it can contain Imperialism or Israel. Neither Imperialism nor Israel are restrained, or satisfied and they cannot be restrained by any declaration, any measure of peaceful co-existence. It is the life of Imperialism which is in the balance. We repeat, Vietnam, is the example of the preparation of the invasion of North Vietnam and China by Imperialism. What they did with Santo Domingo, what they did with Cuba, the invasion which they are preparing against Cuba and the repression of the Negroes in the United States are demonstrations of what Imperialism wants. The visit of Hussain to Moscow is the result of the lying policy of the Soviet bureaucracy faced with feudalism and the kings of the Middle East to try to contain the revolutionary development in Syria, in Egypt, in Algeria, in Iraq. This is a measure of the Soviet bureaucracy: to compensate and influence, to impede the development of the revolution it invites Hussain and at the same time tries to put pressure on the United States believing that in this way it can make the policy of peaceful co-existence work.

It is necessary to reject all conciliation in Khartoum. This is not a blind, inopportune or imprudent policy. There is no solution by agreements with Hussain or with any other king in the Middle East or any other part of the world. It is the final settlement of accounts, of human progress expressed by the world Socialist Revolution against world Capitalism and Imperialism and moreover against the interests of the Soviet Bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy tries to impede the revolution in the Middle East and at the same time tries to impede the progress of Israel and Imperialism. Its policy, in the last instance, does no more than favour the interests of Imperialism, because Imperialism is the one who takes the offensive and the initiative. If it had an interest in preventing the triumph of Imperialism the Soviet bureaucracy would have already sent enough men to the Middle East so as to invade and overthrow Israel. It would have already armed the masses of the Middle East. And with the masses armed and the popular militias formed, the expulsion of Israel is a problem of days and hours. There is no force capable of preventing it. To expel Israel, is to tend to form, to elevate the security of the masses of the Middle East in themselves, and they don't want solely to expel Israel but also to expel feudalism, the slave own-

ers of Saudi Arabia, of the Yemen, of Iran, of Jordan and Kuwait, and all the Imperialist and slave owners of the Middle East. Because of this the Soviet bureaucracy tries to restrain the process. In this sense it is objectively allied with Imperialism, with Hussain, with Faisal. The fear of the revolution, makes it unite objectively to them.

On the other hand in a little time, the Arab masses have shown that they are disposed to go on to the end. Their enormous capacity for sacrifice and strength, the formation of revolutionary tendencies in the Middle East has been made in a short space of time. It is the world revolution which supports the struggles of the masses of the Middle East. The resistance and the resolution of the Arab masses, the resolution of the Baath to reject Imperialism and to continue forward in Socialist construction, has given an immense impulse to the revolutionary will of the masses of the Middle East. But still there is no programme. It is necessary to make a programme, a programme which expresses the unification, and to begin to make the unification, it is necessary to make concrete appeals to the masses of Morocco, of Morocco, of Tunis, of all the Middle East to make the unification through a programme of planning for all the states of the Middle East; a programme of expropriation of Imperialism of all the riches, of planning of agrarian and industrial production, of the organisation of Socialist forms which allow the collective intervention, the creative intervention of the masses. This is going to compensate for the economic weakness, the siege by Imperialism which will be temporary, and the weakness which the lack of sufficient military strength means. The uprising of the masses of the Middle East is a compensation for weakness still due to scarce military resources.

The Soviet bureaucracy helps because it has a contradictory interest between preventing Imperialism from advancing, and preventing the advance of the revolution. There is no middle way in this contradiction. The only way of preventing the advance of Imperialism is to advance the revolution. The only way to prevent the advance of the revolution is to allow the advance of Imperialism. There is no middle way. History has already passed judgement. The Middle East is decisive. Vietnam also. It is necessary to consider that the steps which Imperialism has taken are part of a bigger programme which is unrolling and developing. The resolute action, the historic heroism of the Syrian trade unions has stimulated and impelled the masses of the Middle East, among them the masses of Algeria, to intervene resolutely in this struggle. It is necessary to make appeals for this. But it is necessary to offer concrete programmes and discussions. It is necessary to make the popular masses influence; popular tribunals, popular committees, militia committees, organisation of the militias in the place of the professional armies—not diminishing in any way the military capacity and the military resolution.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

APPEAL TO THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT

Military capacity and effectiveness are increased through the militias. The professional army does not add anything to military capacity. On the contrary the militia certainly does, because without abandoning work, organised in the form of militias, the masses respond when it is necessary to act militarily and when not, they work. At the same time this prevents the formation of castes, formation of nuclei, of groups of strata of the bureaucracy who are always disposed at any moment, in defence of their caste sector, or military group interests, to make pacts to conciliate in order to defend themselves, as in Egypt. On the other hand the masses do not have any historic interest in such a thing. Because they feel firm and sure because of their role in the economy. And their historic position and historic future does not depend on their military function but on their function in the economy. While the professional army depends for its function and for its perspective in life, on its military function and not on its economic function.

It is necessary to make economic plans for diversification of production, making communes. It is urgent, in as much as it may be necessary to pass through the period of preparation for the war, the atomic war and after the atomic war, is necessary to make economic plans which compensate, which replace the lack of mechanical means, with social organisation. It is necessary to form Chinese type communes. The importance of the Chinese communes is that they were capable of carrying forward production without sufficient mechanical means, at a high cost of production compared with world prices, but at a low price for internal consumption. This was because it was the masses who had nothing, who had nothing with which to live, who produced nothing and had to consume without producing. But, starting from very limited forms, small forges, small mechanical means, with small production, gradually the collective capacity of production was raised.

One of the historic measures of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution later, which showed that it could replace mechanical means immediately and historically, is the social organisation. But in order to do this social collective life is necessary. The organisation which permits the population to feel that it works, that it produces, that it makes sacrifices, that it goes to the war, to defend and develop the Socialist revolution for itself and not for the bureaucracy or the leadership. It is then that the masses are capable of producing 100 times more, of defending with 100 times more ability, of finding the military means to resist and win. Because of this the Syrian masses defeated the troops of Israel. Because of this Israel did not enter Damascus, because it felt that it would be enveloped by the revolution, and the

revolution was going to be transported to Israel. Because of this it stopped. It was not solely weapons which held it up, but the revolution which was on the march in Syria. It is necessary to consider that the forces and sacrifices are the same which the Syrian people and the Arab people will have to make. But it is necessary to continue forward because Imperialism is not going to delay.

The events of these days show that Imperialism through Israel is disposed to go forward and if Israel is not sufficient it will try to base itself on other countries like Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and even Jordan. It will try to base itself on the sectors which have interests in private property, in small circles and sects, to organise them militarily, powerfully, producing a source of help to try to turn them later against the Arab masses.

Appeals to the Hussains and to the Feisals don't have any effect or any importance. Any call to them, any discussion with them, is to show before the eyes of the people that they are possible elements of progress and of struggle to the benefit of the population. It is not so! The masses of Jordan, of Saudi Arabia, as of the Yemen, of Kuwait, as of Iran, have seen and felt that all these personages are sinister, that they defend only their own interests and their alliance with Imperialism. What Hussain is trying to do now is to try to save his caste, royal interests, with an alliance with the Soviet Union because he feels that Imperialism is not going to support him at this stage, and he has to respect and feel the pressure of the Arab masses who are against Imperialism and against Israel. Because of this he takes part in this parody. And the Soviet bureaucracy in a criminal and sinister attitude is supporting him by presenting him as a progressive element. It is the masses of Syria, the masses of Saudi Arabia, of the Yemen, of Kuwait, of Jordan who are going to overthrow these worn out castes, who solely support themselves through Imperialism, and now like Jordan through the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is necessary to prepare oneself for new advances by Imperialism and Israel in a short time. It is necessary to turn to the trade unions. The International Federation of Arab Workers with its recent appeal showed its enormous power and historic force. In a short time it has been capable of developing from the normal demands of the proletariat, wage demands, to the struggle for the national defence of the Syrian Socialist Revolution. The authority gained by the Syrian trade unions, the resolution of the militias, shows that this is the source of invincible power in Syria. There is no other force. The other alternative is to give power to the military caste, to the bourgeoisie and these will go back again to private property, to make the Socialist Revolution retreat. It is necessary to base oneself on the Syrian trade unions. It is necessary

to make a plan of development for the Socialist Revolution in which the Trade Unions will have priority and first importance, through factory delegates, student delegates, military delegates. It is necessary to form Soviets and not to fear the pressure, the rejection of the Communist Party, the Soviet Union and Imperialism. They attack in every way any organism which affects them. On the other hand the Soviets will give an immense security to the Syrian masses and will be extended throughout the Middle East, to reach the masses of Saudi Arabia, of Jordan and of Iran. And the masses of these countries will see the immediate organic, social form enabling organising themselves to carry forward the expropriation of the land, to expropriate Imperialism, expel the military bases of Imperialism, to expropriate the oilfields and impose workers control and form workers and peasants governments. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States, to the masses of the Workers States so that they support unconditionally the Syrian masses and the development of the Socialist Revolution in the Middle East. Support it unconditionally. And unconditional support means arms, technicians, economic support, but also appeals on the part of the governments and Communist parties of Cuba, of the USSR, of China, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia and of the other Workers States, to the masses of the world, to overthrow Capitalism, to overthrow the Feisals and Hussains, to take the land, to organise Communes and plan production on the basis of the Commune in order to gain historic time expecting the later possibility after a short delay, of planning, combining agrarian and industrial production in a much more intensive form. It is necessary to prepare for the atomic war. Imperialism is going to launch it in every way. The resolution of the Vietnamese masses is a criterion of the capacity of resolution of the masses of the Middle East and of the world. The echo which the resistance to Imperialism represented by the troops of Israel, has had, the elevation of the development of the Socialist Revolution in Algeria, is a criterion of how the masses of the world feel, immediately, the profundity of historic acts. The state of indecision and conservatism in Algeria was followed immediately by a reaction towards the reanimation and development of the Socialist Revolution. It is the same in Egypt, the same in Iraq. It is a simple example which shows how the masses are understanding the depth of the historic problem. They have not allowed themselves to be intimidated, terrorised by the military defeat, they have felt socially triumphant. Thus there is a social reaction in Algeria and in the rest of the Arab countries.

We appeal to the leaders of the trade unions and of the Federation of the Syrian Trade Unions, of the International Federation of Arab Workers to make an appeal, independently of the Government and of the Baath, to the trade unions of the world, particularly of the Soviet Union, of China, of Cuba, of Vietnam and of the other Workers States, to the Communist Parties of the Workers States, of Europe and of the World for unconditional support for mobilisation and agitation in defence of the Socialist Revolution in Syria, making calls for the formation of popular tribunals and popular militias to organise themselves independently of the government and of the Baath, organising themselves without entering into conflict or collision, preparing the organisation of the workers party based on the trade unions which will carry forward the programme of the Socialist Revolution. If a left tendency develops in the Baath to lead forward the programme of the Socialist Revolution unconditionally, the trade unions must support it and seek an agreement with it, without out breaking their independence and without submitting themselves to it. The vacillations, the insecurity, the fear, the doubt of the insecure petit bourgeoisie tendencies, must not affect the decision and the resolution demonstrated by the trade unions and by the leadership of the trade unions and of the International Federation of

Arab workers to carry forward the Socialist Revolution.

It is necessary to call for an unconditional united front to carry forward the revolution. But in order to be able to weigh up and decide, in order to make the force of the masses directed by the revolution felt, the independent action of the trade unions fighting for the programme of the Socialist Revolution and for the workers and peasants government, is necessary. In this sense it is necessary to establish such a united front in order to be able to weigh up and not to be delayed by the vacillations, doubts, retreats and conciliation of the vacillating tendencies of the petit bourgeoisie in the Syrian government and the Baath.

The Baath, the Syrian government, the trade unions, the Federation of Syrian trade unions, the International Federation of Arab workers, each one in its own way and in a united front, must call to the Egyptian masses to carry forward the revolution. They must call them to form popular tribunals to condemn and eliminate all the traitors who just played tricks and allowed the military triumph of Israel and who are hindering the development of the Socialist Revolution, eliminating the conciliatory and conservative tendencies of the revolution. It is necessary to call them to organise themselves in a soviet way, and to organise communes. They must organise an independent party of the exploited masses so that they can weigh and attract and give confidence and security to the sectors of the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie who as in Syria, want to advance in the Socialist Revolution, but who don't know how to and feel themselves hesitating and uncertain because they hope for the support of the Soviet Union and this gives a controlled support in a way, so as not to permit the independent and revolutionary action of the masses of the Arab countries. The crisis in Egypt is an eloquent sign that it is the masses who have prevented the triumph of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary right. Without the action of the masses the counter-revolutionary coup would have triumphed which would have tried to liquidate the governments of Egypt and Syria in order to make the counter-revolutionary reaction advance. Consequently it is necessary to make a united front with the government of Nasser, with the revolutionary tendencies, but in an independent way making the revolution advance; organising popular tribunals, workers militias, soviets, communes, organising expropriation of what remains of Capitalism expropriating Imperialism, making appeals to the Jewish masses of Israel, to take the lands, the factories, to overthrow Capitalism. It is necessary to make this appeal to stimulate the revolutionary petit bourgeois tendencies, the proletariat and the peasants of Egypt to a united front to overthrow the conservative and reactionary tendencies which are trying to contain the development of the revolution. These tendencies which seek to contain the revolution in Egypt are trying to conciliate with the Soviet bureaucracy, are trying to prevent the development of the revolutions in Egypt and Syria continuing in an independent way, led by the masses or influenced by the masses. They are trying to contain the process in a limited framework of partial parliamentary development, control by the administrative apparatus when the masses are disposed to destroy anything which remains of Capitalism. If in Egypt there had existed workers control, popular militias, the Egyptian planes would have taken off before destroying the Israelis. All those who fear or believe that the preventive war is an adventure have the example of the Middle East. Israel made preventive war. It attacked directly without forewarning, without saying anything thus gaining time. This is what Imperialism is doing. It is necessary to be prepared to make preventive war, which means firing before they fire, profiting from the possible circumstances to develop the revolution. It is not a mad attitude or an adventure. These are

CONTD. ON PAGE 4

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

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

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

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

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

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

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

GREECE: Communist Fight. Clandestine.

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Rivista Marxista Europea, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

The macabre farce of the supposed death of Guevara in Bolivia

(Continued from last issue)

J. POSADAS Oct. 67

WE CALL UPON THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, FIDEL CASTRO TO CORRECT HIMSELF IN RELATION TO THIS FARCE OF THE DEATH OF GUEVARA AND TO IMPEL THE WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

Fidel Castro has made an immense retreat when he was in process of advancing. His discourse and his positions in OLAS demonstrated a desire to advance the revolution. He believes that history is going to justify him because he has no bureaucratic interests or intentions. It is true. He has no bureaucratic interests. But he has a bureaucratic intellectual interest. Hence his paternalist attitude. Otherwise he would not behave in this way. He tries to do this, to forget what he has done, hoping to be able to justify himself later with the advance of the revolution by saying that the death of Guevara was a necessary evil which he was not able to hinder in time and which it was necessary to accept. This is false! When Lenin in 1921 and 1922 resolved upon the invasion of Poland, he did something more difficult than supporting Guevara. Russia was confronting world Capitalism, but he resolved to invade Poland.

It was an invasion only in form, basically it was the expansion of the proletarian revolution from the Soviet Union to Poland. This meant confronting world public opinion, a world force much more powerful than that which Cuba has to confront. The masses of Vietnam and of Syria confront the most powerful military apparatus in history. Yankee Imperialism has the power to destroy half the world, but it does not have the power to intimidate, and terrorise the masses of Syria or Vietnam.

Our Cuban section of the IV International has just published, on the 15 August 1967, a document addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Fidel Castro calling upon them to correct their attacks against Trotskyism. This document declared that OLAS has adopted political positions which are Trotskyist, which are a part of the Trotskyist programme, which are an advance however limited, towards revolutionary positions. It calls for the applications of such positions and for the installation of soviets. It calls for the liberation of the Trotskyist comrades imprisoned in Cuba. It denounces the Cuban government for the ignominy of keeping the Trotskyists still in prison in Cuba after this approach to revolutionary positions, after this meeting of OLAS. The Trotskyists are revolutionary prisoners. These are the consequences of the time when they assassinated Guevara. Our Cuban section small, resolute with

the class capacity which Cuba embodies, defends the truth, makes an appeal to the Cuban government to defend China unconditionally. It appeals for a United Front with China, with the masses of the Workers States, with the revolutionary exploited masses of the world, for a world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism. It calls for a public discussion. We demand of the Cuban government complete freedom for our Cuban section to function publicly, to publish its press.

We demand of the Cuban government that it gives complete liberty to all the imprisoned Trotskyist comrades and all the revolutionary prisoners, that it gives full rights to revolutionary tendencies to function on the sole condition of defending unconditionally the Cuban Workers State, and at the same time that it allows the greatest publicity and revolutionary public polemic in searching for the best means, the best ways to make the revolution advance. If proletarian democracy existed as our Cuban section demands, and the IV International and the Trotskyists of the entire world demand, we would not be in the world situation as it is today. The present struggle, of the "Cultural Revolution" in China which is an indirect and limited form of the political revolution, seeks this way. We demand of the Cuban government a complete and free discussion of all these problems.

In Cuba there exists a powerful Guevarist tendency which forces the government to change and to advance. Without the existence of this wing, the Communists would have strength in Cuba, they would dominate and would be already submitted to the Yankees. They would already have conciliated with the Yankees, as did the Communist Party in Venezuela. The force, which is opposed to the Communist Party is not the declaration of Fidel Castro, it is the Cuban masses who are against the policy of conciliation of the Communist Party. Guevara has emerged from this base. It is absurd to think that he would have renounced that. He was a centre. It is absurd to think that he would have said "I am going to liberate other nations" when there was such a struggle within Cuba. The strength of the Cuban masses must give the base for the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Cuban government, to have the strength and the assurance that the people are not going

to weaken but on the contrary are going to advance in no matter what circumstance. It must know the truth about the assassination of Guevara, know that Guevara has been assassinated for having defended revolutionary ideas. The Cuban government must have confidence in the masses. The masses will not weaken in front of this situation.

Here is the force on which Fidel Castro must base himself to be rehabilitated. He must make a public declaration, organise a public discussion in Cuba from now on. We call for a public discussion throughout Cuba on the policy of Guevara, on his last positions, declarations and appeals. Let this be discussed; let these positions be adopted.

What they are in process of doing in Cuba, is making an obituary, showing that Guevara rode a bicycle, that he was a good boy when he was small, that he was a good doctor, that he became a revolutionary, that he was very friendly with people. They do not show him as a revolutionary leader.

They make a whole obituary to conceal the fact that he was advancing and that his life took on importance when he adopted revolutionary positions. That is why they tried to eliminate him, to push him aside as an adventurer who left to create a disturbance. This is absurd. The declaration of Castro is an ignominy, just as the attack on the Trotskyists was an ignominy. It is ignominious to present Guevara as an adventurer; a "type" who had no fear of death, an adventurer. This was erroneous. Guevara protected his life. He protected his life and he was right.

It is logical and right that every revolutionary should protect his life. To protect his life does not mean that he has a fear of death or is going to hide himself. To protect his life means not to go on adventures, to act in the best possible way for the progressive advance of humanity. Revolutionary leaders arrange their life for this reason, so as to be the most useful. They do not evade responsibilities but they do not seek adventures. And that is an adventure. The proof? A small group invaded, and was killed without anything remaining. There is not a single peasant who can say: there is an uprising which has called upon me to take power in Bolivia. Not a single one. There is nothing to compare with what the Syrian masses are doing, with what the masses of Vietnam are doing, with what the Cuban masses are doing in Cuba now. What the masses are doing now in Bolivia has nothing to do with the so called Guevara. This goes against all logic, all previous tradition. We call upon the Cuban government to have a public discussion on Guevara.

We repeat that this body is not that of Guevara. It is necessary to analyse politically. Guevara could not have been in Bolivia nor acted in the way that he was supposed to be acting in Bolivia. It was not Guevara who acted in this way, whoever else it was. We repeat that there are no guerrillas in Bolivia. They do not exist because there has been no evidence of their rôle. No action nor political life. There have only been the communiques of Barrientos of an assassin with whom Fidel Castro and world Capitalism allied to present Guevara in Bolivia.

Both have different interests. Fidel Castro has the intention of freeing himself from Guevara and trying to separate him from the masses: "Guevara has been assassinated, do not hope for any more from him." "I have nothing to do with that, I did not kill him", this is the object of Castro's game. Otherwise why such a parody? If he did not feel guilty for having been the accomplice in this assassination, why make such declarations? He could have said simply: "Guevara has been killed", and make a political history of Guevara and show that he was in Bolivia.

But then he would have showed it

before in a programme, a revolutionary struggle. If Guevara had been living, in process of leading this struggle which Fidel Castro claims, he would have remained in Cuba. Because it was in Cuba that he was able to defend what he was defending. The proof of this is that it is in Cuba that a furious struggle is being conducted against the communist parties.

In the meeting of OLAS, there was a struggle against the communist parties, against the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is there that Guevara needs to be. He was a centre from which basis it was possible to influence the rest of the world. The centralisation of life shows that it is the central organisms which influence. From the depths of Bolivia in a pass, in a cavern or in a precipice, it is not possible to influence the world revolution except in a very small way without importance. But in Cuba, it is possible.

OLAS is the proof of this. Why was Guevara not there? When they show that Guevara was outside this centre which was able to influence the entire world by the taking of certain positions; it is because they have liquidated him, otherwise he would have been there. This is the ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy and we invite him to correct it. The world working class is going to demand that he renders account.

We have entered into the final settlement of accounts. In this final encounter, the masses are going to demand account in liquidating Capitalism. There is only a short time before this takes place. Here is the struggle which they are going to conduct to vindicate Guevara. There is great need in Cuba to discuss publicly and openly. The Soviet bureaucracy in every way is the one that has gained for the moment. That is why in the Soviet Union they have hardly mentioned Guevara. There is no text in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in the other Workers States or in China. They barely say "Guevara is dead". They are his enemies.

One can see at the same time the stupidity of what the Chinese leadership is doing; not a word on Guevara. Why do they not intervene? They must intervene in this problem. That is part of the world revolution, of the permanent world process of the world revolution, of its world centralisation. The Chinese do not intervene because they have no programme, no policy, no objectives, no assurance for tomorrow. Otherwise they would intervene to condemn this comedy.

The Chinese are aware that Guevara has been assassinated. Their silence shows this. If they were sure that he had not been assassinated, they would make declarations as they do when an Albanian dies; an obituary. If they have not done this, it is because they do not wish to involve themselves in these manoeuvres, in these macabre comedies. But at the same time, they show that they lack security because otherwise they would make a condemnation. If they felt themselves to be sure, they would condemn and appeal in consequence to support the programme of Guevara.

To condemn the assassination of Guevara is to support the ideas of Guevara. That is why they made him die in an adventure, to hide the depth of his ideas, to show that Guevara was a man deceived and to consequently weaken his position and the policy which he defended until the moment when he was assassinated, to weaken the force, the influence, the capacity which he had acquired in this process. And he acquired this influence and this capacity by adopting Trotskyist positions. His positions were neither Castroite nor communist.

The positions which exist at present in history are: Trotskyist, Chinese, Guevarist, Fidelist and those of the Soviet bureaucracy. There are no other positions. Guevara approaches the Trotskyists but

Appeal to the Syrian Government

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

possible conditions to develop the triumph of the revolutionary military war.

The IV International calls to the Baath, to the Syrian Government, to the trade unions and to the federation of Syrian Trade Unions, to the International Federations of Arab Workers, so that they call to the Egyptian trade unions, to the United Socialist Party of Egypt, to the government and to the Egyptian masses to intervene in a united front to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism in the Middle East.

In the name of the IV International we call to the Baath, to the Syrian government to carry forward this appeal for the Socialist unification of Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Algeria by agitation, on the radio, on the newspapers, with mobilisations and demonstrations in Syria, demonstrations calling to the rest of the Arab masses to take the land, to take the factories, and to form communes, soviets, to form workers, peasants and soldiers councils, to call the army to rebel against the leaders allied to Capitalism and Imperialism, to call to the Jewish masses to rebel against their leaders and take the factories, and the land, to form communes and soviets, to form workers and peasants governments,

Now is the moment to do it. It is necessary to form revolutionary tendencies based on this programme. It is necessary to agitate, make demonstrations and meetings, it is necessary to hold popular tribunals so that the masses can directly judge the traitors and the conciliators with Imperialism. It is necessary to eliminate all the apparatus and structure on which the bourgeoisie is based: army, police, parliament and to create organs like militias, popular tribunals, workers control, soviets and communes. It is on the basis of the immense confidence in the world development of the Socialist Revolution, of the confidence demonstrated by the Syrian masses, that the IV International makes this appeal in unconditional defence of the Syrian Socialist Revolution, as of the Socialist Revolution in the Middle East and of all the world.

Long live the coming progress of the ion!

Long live the next progress of the Syrian Revolution and the Middle East! For the Socialist Soviet unification of all the Arab states, including the Jewish masses with self determination.

Enlarged meeting of the International Secretariat of the IV International.

The macabre farce . . .

in a distant way. That means that there is an enormous pressure in Cuba which rejects and condemns Fidel Castro and which comes from the revolutionary vanguard.

We appeal for the public discussion of the programme of the Socialist Revolution; a public discussion on the positions, the policy of Guevara, the moral stimulus. It is necessary to condemn the Soviet bureaucracy which represents the interests, gives aid as a function of its on material interests; to appeal for its intervention to defend the Arab states, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, liquidating the Yankee army of Israel in the service of Yankee Imperialism, intervening today to smash Imperialism and to overthrow it, to expropriate it! It is necessary to occupy the factories, the lands, the offices, to nationalise the banks, to nationalise all the Imperialist properties; to send the necessary military forces to intervene and smash Imperialism in Vietnam. We launch an appeal to discuss all that in Cuba, now. Such are the positions which Guevara arrived at and was defending. These are the positions for which he fought. That has nothing to do with an adventurer who goes to fight in silence in Bolivia.

That is absurd. It conflicts with the reasoning of people and every logical thought rejects it. The revolutionary is matured by logical thought, even if he does not arrive at a dialectical understanding; he was ripe for logical revolutionary thought and the former shows that advancement means not to go to Bolivia but to remain in Cuba, to be in Cuba to struggle.

We call for the unconditional defence of Cuba which Imperialism is preparing to invade, as it prepares the invasion of North Vietnam, as a step towards the invasion of China. It is a step also which prepares the invasion of Cuba. The Latin American bourgeoisie try to draw advantages from this situation for themselves. But they are ready on no matter what occasion to invade Cuba because there is no other historic class issue. It is necessary for the Latin American worker, peasant, student, intellectual, soldier alliance to expropriate Capitalism. The communist parties are each time more involved in the policy of conciliation with Capitalism. It is not these parties, nor the bureaucracy of Workers States who are going to defend the existence of Cuba. They are going to conciliate, to try to abandon Cuba, as was Stalin's practice. They allow Imperialism to bombard constantly and to enfeeble Vietnam and they are going to do the same thing for Cuba.

If at a certain moment they have to

decide, and there is no possibility of containing the process, they would betray Cuba also. If they have not done so until now, it is because the Soviet masses are in process of advancing and are opposed to this and because the relation of world forces and the Workers States itself does not allow it. The Workers State is not the bureaucracy. The Workers State is the interest which the masses, the trade unions, the workers and the army represents, all of which oppose the bureaucracy abandoning Cuba and Vietnam.

But this situation cannot last for a long time. It is necessary to form soviets in Cuba. It is necessary to form soviets of which they themselves speak and say existed in Maban in 1933: the soviets with which the Soviet Workers State was constructed. They are the force which has allowed it to sustain seven years of the siege of world Capitalism and 20 years of historic isolation. It was able to support them thanks to the soviets. It was seven years of soviet life which allowed the Workers State to gather its historic force which have shown its capacity in the eyes of the world and led the world vanguard to resist, reject and combat every attack on the Soviet Union.

We call upon the Cuban government to render this discussion public, to appeal for the world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism, to appeal for the constitution of workers militias, for communes throughout Latin America, to appeal to the peasants to take the land, to give it to them, to appeal for the worker and peasant alliance, to appeal for the struggle for the worker and peasant government, for the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America. This Guevara defends. That was the logical conclusion.

We call for discussion in Cuba. We call for the construction of the revolutionary marxist party in Cuba, not only based on the trade unions, but a marxist revolutionary party in Cuba, the organic form of structure in Cuba. We call for the giving of a structured form to the Workers State, that is to say to construct soviets.

Cuba is a country whose economic structure is Socialist but the laws are bourgeois, it has a juridical bourgeois structure. It is necessary to construct soviets. We appeal for the organisation of the United Front. We appeal for the unconditional defence of Cuba, Vietnam, China, beginning with the essential base of this defence: the struggle in each country against the Capitalist system, the struggle for the worker, peasant alliance, land to the peasants; expropriation of

Imperialism and of Capitalism and the taking of power; worker and peasant government. We appeal for all that. Such must be the basis of the discussion in Cuba.

The moral stimulus is not an abstraction. It is part of a programme. The proletariat in Fords, in the United States, shows that it is in process of advancing in this conception of the anti-Capitalist struggle. In North America, the pinnacle of Capitalism, the workers discuss the annual guaranteed wage: they show thus that they are receiving the influence of the world revolution.

These are not reformist conceptions but revolutionary conceptions. Annual guaranteed wage! neither the Communists in France nor those of Italy, North Africa make such demands. The North American workers do so. It is a sector which demonstrates, still in a limited fashion, the influence of the world revolution. It is the contradictory process of the North American masses, the concentrated and centralised process which the proletariat leads, without a class party, without an independent class trade union. It is the world influence of the revolution.

Guevara understood that. We invite

the Cuban leaders and Fidel Castro to discuss this, to correct himself, so that he is not afraid to affront historic truth. The truth fears nothing. This is going to rehabilitate him. Let him tell the truth whatever the consequences. It will not have a bad effect on the working class. On the contrary, it is going to raise the morale of the Cuban leadership and give it historic security and more, a concrete immediate security.

It is necessary to demand the right for the Cuban masses to discuss all problems. It is necessary to organise demonstrations, meetings, assemblies, in which they discuss and decide on all the problems of the world revolution, on the Sino Soviet conflict, supporting the political revolution in China, condemning the policy of peaceful co-existence, and the objective alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy with Imperialism which allows the latter to continue to bombard Vietnam.

We launch an appeal for the organisation of this discussion, at the same time for the unconditional defence of Cuba in order to impel the development of the world revolution.

16 October 1967.

J. POSADAS

Editorial from page 1

Organise factory - tenant - student committees

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

of all the working class, for the plans of Capitalism will not be checked by sporadic mobilisations or partial strikes no matter how militant these might be. Now more than ever, concrete organisms in which the working class can freely discuss, make resolutions, and go forward to act on those resolutions, are necessary. The absence of an organising centre can be compensated for by making each strike the centre of struggle for the region, and the struggle in the region the centre for a national mobilisation, as in part Roberts Arundel was beginning to be. In this period the factory committees must concern themselves not only with the factory struggle, but with all the problems confronting the exploited masses in this stage of the final decomposition of Capitalism. The committees must intervene, over rents organising rent strikes in alliance with the tenants committees, in struggles against price and fare increases etc. putting solutions to all these problems so that the exploited masses see them taking a lead in all the problems to which Capitalism has no answer, and in this way the masses will gain confidence in the committees and be attracted to them. The committees must have a regular democratic life and must formulate an anti-

Capitalist programme of demands which will both defend the standard of living of the masses here and now, and at the same time win important positions along the road to the seizure of power. The demand must be made that all factories closed down or about to be closed down be nationalised without compensation and workers committees must occupy and run these factories selling the products where possible to the population, and at the same time demanding interest free credits from the state to develop and modernise these factories. It is necessary to demand an immediate 10% increase of wages to compensate for the jump in the cost of living in addition to the general demand for an all round 30% increase, all wages to rise with the cost of living, 35 hour week paid as 40 hours, work sharing without loss of pay, nationalisation of the retail trade, large farms etc. without compensation and under workers control, to keep prices down. These are measures demanded by the present stage of the crisis of Capitalism and the winning of these positions will not only safeguard the standard of life of the masses but will win important positions from Capitalism, tilting the balance of forces still more in favour of the masses and bringing closer the final overthrow of the Capitalist system.

Freedom for the Spanish Trotskyists

5 Comrades have been recently arrested in Seville

The comrades, members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Spanish Section of the IV International are JOSE BELLINDO MORENO, JOAQUIN VERA LACHARO, GONZALO TOLEDANO CRESPO, JOSE FERNANDEZ SASTRE.

This is the second time this year, that comrades of the section have been arrested while the development of the authority of the P.O.R.(T) has grown at the same time as the crisis of the Spanish regime has increased, as a part of the world social and economic crisis, of world Capitalism. This is against the influence and authority which the trotskysts are in process of gaining in the United Revolutionary Front within FUDE, the organisation of the Spanish student vanguard, which the repression has tried to break. But this does not

prevent FUDE from continuing all its revolutionary activity! the comrades have recently published 'COMUNA' the revolutionary organ of the organisation; at the same time the Secretariat of the FUDE outside Spain have just published the first number of their monthly bulletin; this is the dynamic and combative response of the vanguard, and fundamentally of the Trotskyist comrades.

We make an appeal to all the revolutionary vanguard, to the communist and socialist militants, in particular to the students, to address their protests to the ambassador to demand the immediate liberation of our arrested comrades!

To obtain "Lucha Obrera" organ of the Spanish Section of the IV International and all of the publications of Fude apply to the address of the British Section. The bulletin of the exterior Secretariat of FUDE in English can be obtained from our address.

Marie-Anne Roc'Hongar

As we go to press we do not know of the result of the new trial of this comrade, held on the 8th Jan. Nevertheless we urge all worker and student militants to demand her release by writing to the French Embassy, 59 Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

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To combat rising food prices, rents and fares, demand an immediate emergency 10% increase in wages, and the Nationalisation of the food industry

The standard of living of the working class in this country is constantly going down. The government has controlled wages for the past 18 months and they have now announced their intention of keeping rises in the next 18 months to 3½% and then only if related to productivity, or for what they call the lower paid workers. At the same time the cost of food, public transport, electricity, gas rents and rates have risen sharply. In some cases rises of up to 70% have taken place. Now with devaluation, and the excuse of devaluation prices are soar-

ing. Eggs have almost doubled in price since the summer, and so have some cuts of meat, especially lamb, which because it is cheap, is bought mainly by the working class. Joints which in the summer cost 4/6 to 5/- now cost 8/- to 9/-. According to "The Grocer" the prices of over 300 food stuffs have recently gone up. It is rumoured that milk will be going up by 1d. a pint, and the bread manufacturers are applying to the Prices and Incomes Board to raise the price of bread by 2d. a large loaf.

All over the country local councils are raising the rents of council houses, sometimes increases of 50% have been made, and yet wages are supposed to remain stationary. At the same time, bus and train fares are going up, sometimes by 1d. or 2d. but sometimes doubling. These increases immediately hit the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie, as the two groups who mainly occupy council houses and use the public transport. The cost of electricity has also been raised, and for the small consumer, mainly the O.A.P. the increase will be 20% to 30%.

These attacks on the standard of living of the working class and petit bourgeoisie are not unique to Britain. All over

the continent the pattern is the same. Capitalism is in a financial crisis and the first cuts in spending are always to the social services, which immediately lower the conditions of life of the working class. In France the cost of living has gone up by 30% over the last few months, and the fares on the Paris underground were doubled overnight. There have been cuts in social security benefits, necessitating the workers to pay more for the same benefits, and in reply to these cuts there have been strikes and demonstrations. In Spain it is a similar process and there have been demonstrations of workers and students, demonstrating against the repressive Franco regime, and demanding better conditions of life.

In order for the working class to reply to the cut in their standard of living it is necessary to construct the organisations to combat this. Amongst the council tenants, tenants must build committees, to organise rent strikes, refusing to pay the increases, fighting so that council rents be no more than 10% of the workers income, tenants committees to decide the rents. Deputations to parliament, and appealing to the Prices and Incomes Board are a waste of time and nothing will be achieved through these means, as parlia-

ment and the P.I.B. exist only to defend the interests of Capitalism.

Transport workers must join these struggles with a fare collection strike for higher wages, operating the buses, tubes, trains, but not collecting the fares. This has been done both in this country and on the continent with great success, it hits at the transport owners, and at the same time helps the workers.

The unofficial and factory committees must take all these rises into account in their demands, linking up with tenants committees. Purely factory demands will no longer answer any problems of the working class, for as soon as a small wage rise is achieved it is lost in the general rise in prices. It is necessary to put forward the demand for an immediate 10% emergency increase in wages to combat all the increased prices, and for wages to rise with the cost of living, while in order to control the rise in food, fares, and heating it is necessary to demand the nationalisations of the land, large firms, wholesale and retail food trades, petrol and oil companies, without compensation and under worker control. A struggle around this programme, will ensure that the cost of the crisis of Capitalism is not paid for by the working class.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

Great success of the meeting of the Italian Section in Naples

We reproduce below the article from Latta Operaia:

"On Sunday the 26th of November, the meeting of our party in the working class district of Barra (Naples), was held with great success. Nearly 500 people participated at the meeting held by the comrades Paolo Christodoro of the Local Committee of Barra, Luigi Compostella, vice director of the European Marxist Review and Piero Leone, editor of 'Lotta Operaia'.

Comrade Paolo Christodoro introduced the meeting with an analysis of the local situation, its problems and its struggles, and making an appeal for the Proletarian United Front between the Communist, Socialist and Trotskyist militants to organise the struggle for all the problems of the exploited population of the district, as a part of the struggle on a national scale for all the demands of the masses. Cde Compostella made an analysis of

the international situation, highlighting the necessity for the World United Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Imperialist front to destroy what remains of Capitalism and Imperialism in the world, and underlining in this process the role of the IV International. The speech of Piero Leone, which concluded the meeting concerned the national situation, showing the favourable relationship of forces which existed in Italy as in the rest of the world, to impose with methods of class and revolutionary struggle with the unification of the struggles and the organisation of a general strike, all the demands of the masses of the country, as a part of the struggle for the workers and peasants government.

The meeting ended to the shouts of "Long Live the Proletarian United Front! Long Live the Workers and Peasants government! Long Live the IV International! Long Live Cde. Posadas. The tribune

of the meeting, covered by a red flag with the hammer and sickle and the 4, the symbol of the IV International, was surmounted by a big banner with the inscription "Today at 10.30—Trotskyist meeting—Proletarian United Front" The meeting was followed by a singing of "Bandiera Rossa" and of the "International". A car with a loudspeaker, which had toured the streets of the district in the days and hours preceding the meeting to announce it, also distributed the principal points on which the meeting was going to concentrate.

The meeting was also possible—as Cde Paolo Christodoro underlined in his speech—by the collaboration of the people of Barra who responded generously to the collection organised the preceding days: this collection was sufficient to cover all the costs of organisation of the demonstration. It is also necessary to highlight the collaboration of the children of the district who tried to help in a thousand ways, and offered a portrait of Lenin to the organisers of the meeting. This collaboration of the child population of the district, is a symptom, a reflection of the support and of the sympathy of their proletarian families.

The complete success of this meeting meant a very important step forward for the Italian Section of the IV International it is the confirmation of the weight, the influence and the authority of Trotskyism, which is exerted in particular through the centre of the International, comrade Posadas, who gives a response to all the fundamental problems which preoccupy the revolutionary vanguard of the world. This success constitutes a point of departure for a great leap forward in the whole of the activity of the Party in the near future.

In the name of the RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International, we send our warm congratulations to the comrades of the Italian Section.

LONG LIVE THE ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

European Marxist Review No. 1

CONTENTS

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

Editorials By J. Posadas

- The social triumph of the Arab masses in the Middle East against Imperialism opens a new phase in the rise of the Socialist World Revolution.
- The Crisis in China and in Cuba, the development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States and of the World Socialist Revolution.

VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

- Communication of the VIII World Congress
- Manifesto of the 1st May

—Opening Speech Horacio

—World Development of the Revolution J. Posadas

—Development of the Revolution in Europe Arroyo

—Development of the Revolution in Latin America Ramirez

—Development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States ... J. Posadas

—Considerations on the Reports of Cdes Arroyo and Ramirez and the interventions of the delegates J. Posadas

—The militancy and the morality of the trotskyists must base itself on the conception of Socialist society J. Posadas

—The supposed letter of Guevara serves to contain and limit the development of the political revolution in Cuba 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. 61 FORTNIGHTLY FEBRUARY 10 1968 SIXPENCE

The arrest of the 'Pueblo' and the Vietcong offensive prepare the final destruction of Capitalism and Imperialism

It is necessary to build now the organs of dual Power: Factory, Mine, Tenants and Students Committees

The arrest of the Yankee 'spy-ship' the Pueblo and the blow delivered at American Imperialism by the armed masses of South Vietnam are both clear expressions of the determination of the world masses to confront and destroy Imperialism. The struggle of the Vietnamese masses is at once the most vivid and the highest expression of the struggle of the world masses against Imperialism. In the case of the 'Pueblo' American Imperialism immediate reaction was that of the gangster—to use force! The American warships were directed toward North Korea without Johnson being aware of it. This was the immediate reaction of the military sector of Yankee Imperialism, but later the uncertainty of American Imperialism asserted itself and the warships were recalled. Imperialism hesitates in the face of a process which leads to its own destruction, but the world masses do not fear the war, it is Imperialism which fears the final encounter!

Despite the desperate lies of Johnson it is obvious that Yankee Imperialism has suffered a defeat at the hands of the armed Vietnamese masses. Despite the continual bombing of Saigon and other cities, the troops of Imperialism are still not in control of the cities and the myth of the struggle of Imperialism in Vietnam against a few guerrillas, or 'infiltrators' from the North has been exploded. An operation of this size could not have been launched without the full support of large sectors of the Vietnamese. Yankee Imperialism has been unable to regain control of the cities—in the countryside of course they have never had control.

The effect of the military and social blow struck against American Imperialism in Vietnam expresses itself in the disarray of the leadership of the American bourgeoisie. At a time when Imperialism stands in great need of a united leadership, Johnson is assailed from all sides by critics. There is no agreement between the leadership of the Democratic Party and little within the Republican Party. The bourgeois commentators are either completely defeatist or openly contemptuous of the Johnson administration. However, this does not mean that Imperialism will surrender and leave the world stage without a fight. The whole American economy is geared to the preparations for war and it continues to escalate the war in Vietnam, it prepares for an invasion of North Vietnam. The American economy is being drained by the preparations for war against the Workers States and the revolutionary masses of the world—this is its only policy. The expenditure on the war in Vietnam alone would go a long way toward solving the problems, the poverty of the masses in the United States but Yankee Imperialism has the same policy toward the masses of the US as it has towards the masses of Vietnam—terror! Imperialism bombs the cities, the population of Vietnam as it is prepared to bomb Detroit. The 'Pueblo' crisis provides the cover for Yankee Imperialism to recall large numbers of reservists, a far larger number than was warranted by the 'Pueblo' incident.

If we see in the struggle of the Vietnamese masses the highest point of the revolutionary struggle of the world masses against Imperialism, we also see the bankruptcy of the Soviet bureaucracy which remains passive toward American Imperialism. At a time when the Vietnam-

ese masses are engaged in armed confrontation with the military might of American Imperialism, and the Indian masses struggle against their own bourgeoisie, Kossygin visits the Indian bourgeoisie state; at the very time when workers in Kerala were demanding the expropriation of plantations and the land was being occupied by the peasants of West Bengal! However, the Soviet bureaucracy is based on a workers state and is forced to oppose Imperialism in a limited fashion. They do this because they are forced to defend their own base—the workers state—against Imperialism and they are forced to defend themselves before the masses of the Soviet Union. Thus Kossygin boasts of the military aid from the Soviet Union to the North Vietnamese workers state at the same time as he attempts to support the crumbling Indian bourgeois state with the authority of the Soviet Workers State. Kossygin's visit to India reveals the contradictory nature of the Soviet bureaucracy in the same way as it did in its attitude towards Egypt. Its conciliatory policy toward Imperialism resulted in the military defeat of Egypt by Israel and the occupation of Egyptian territory, but immediately afterwards the Soviet bureaucracy rearmed Egypt and sent warships into the Mediterranean.

There can be no doubt that the struggle in Vietnam will accelerate the process of political revolution within the workers states particularly among the Chinese masses. It is criminal that the leadership of the Chinese Workers State do not intervene in Vietnam as they did in Korea in the 1950's and it is a measure of their failure to understand the process that they do not. The fact that a national congress of the Chinese Communist Party—the first in many years—is to be held shortly, is an indication of the pressure of the political revolution on the Chinese leadership and, no doubt, this congress will produce—if only limitedly—programmatic revolutionary conclusions. The trial and imprisonment of the eleven members of the Cuban Communist Party is a product of the political revolution in Cuba which forces Castro to manoeuvre to the left. The actions of Castro stem from the pressure of the Cuban masses towards socialism but the methods used were not revolutionary. No discussion was carried out before, with or by the Cuban masses and the role of these rotten elements who followed the line of peaceful co-existence

—and thereby endangered the Cuban revolution—was never explained publicly. Certainly Castro has imprisoned elements, the most rotten elements, of the right of the Communist Party, but he still has not released the Trotskyists—who have consistently fought for the programme of the socialist revolution—from prison. It is necessary that Castro adopts the full programme of the socialist revolution, that he allow the right of all revolutionary tendencies that defend the workers state and that he releases all revolutionaries from prison immediately.

American Imperialism is, as we have said, coming apart at the seams, its leadership reveals its complete lack of perspective and its staunch ally—British Imperialism—weakens the Imperialist alliance by withdrawing its troops and bases from Malayasia. This withdrawal reveals—as did its expulsion from South Arabia—the weakness and defeatism of British Imperialism. When the war in Vietnam and the preparations for war are wrecking the economy of the very centre of world Imperialism—Johnson has been forced to call for 'wage restraint' in the US for the first time, and this is a real expression of the weakness of the American economy—it is not surprising that British Imperialism is unable to maintain its participation in the world alliance of Imperialism.

The Malaysian Federation was created by British Imperialism as a bulwark against the masses, as a protection for Imperialist investments, but now the military defence of this area has been abandoned—the panic stricken cries of Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore notwithstanding. The days of Lee Kwan Yew and the other agents of Imperialism are numbered anyway with or without the military protection of Imperialism.

In an earlier period of comparative stability of British and European Capitalism it was possible to maintain the military bases of British Imperialism overseas, but now it is weakened not less by the struggle of the British masses, than by that of the colonial masses. The masses of Europe are receiving the influence of the world revolutionary process, in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain Capitalism is confronted by the continual struggle of the masses. The workers, peasants and students of France, Italy and Belgium develop an objective united anti-Capitalist front with strikes, factory occupations and

demonstrations. In Spain an organic united front of workers and students expresses itself constantly and openly against the Franco regime. The demonstrations of German miners with red flags is a sign that the enormous German working class is preparing for action despite the repressions and defeats which they suffered under the Nazi regime, and after.

In this country the masses—under the influence of the world revolution—daily show their desire to confront Capitalism. In the past it has been the working class which showed its strength and determination in the anti-Capitalist struggle with the strike of seamen in 1966; the dockers strikes, the struggle at the Barbican site, the railway workers strikes, the strikes of city transport workers and the enormous struggle around Roberts Arundel. This struggle of the workers has in no way diminished but constantly it is attracting other sectors of the population. The strikes of bank clerks—once a very conservative sector—and that of airline pilots shows this tendency clearly. But perhaps the most vivid example of this tendency was seen at Sheffield at the end of last month when Wilson was greeted by a very large and violent demonstration of 3,000 or 4,000 which consisted of workers protesting against the rise in council house rents, of students demonstrating against the proposed cuts in grant increases and others demonstrating against the war in Vietnam. This demonstration in Sheffield on January 29th. was an expression of the desire of the masses in this country to create a centre for anti-Capitalist struggle. In the last weeks we have seen strikes and demonstrations by students—the sitdown strikes at Aston University and at the Regent St. Polytechnic for example—the rent strikes and demonstrations of tenants in the Midlands and other areas against increases in council house rents. We have also seen the long series of strikes by municipal bus crews and a whole rash of strikes in the car industry. Now at Sheffield we see the combination of all these elements of the struggle in one demonstration.

It is significant that at this time the militancy of the wives of trawlermen in Hull finds an open expression. Fishing has always been a very hazardous occupation and many fishermen have in the past lost their lives to the greed and competition
(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

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7/6d

The actual phase of the DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION (EXTRACTS)

The following are only very small extracts from an extensive article by Cde. Posadas. But even in this form, it is possible to gather the historic significance of the formation of the Syrian Workers State and the world strategy of the IV International in the stages immediately prior to the final settlement of accounts.

The crisis in China, Cuba, the USSR are motivated by, and are the expression of the political revolution. In Syria also there is a development, a struggle prior to constituting itself organically before organising itself socially, as a workers state, with organs of leadership as a workers State. The struggle within the Baath on the forms of the army; the permanent army or the workers militias is already the discussion over the nature of the social organic forms which the Syrian workers state will have. Before constituting themselves organically as a workers state, there is already a struggle which does not correspond to the political revolution, but forms part of it. It does not correspond, because it is a workers state recently formed, has not yet functioned as a stable workers state, and already shows the struggle to achieve the social forms, the forms of property, the social relations, the social forms of the organs of power. It is a new experience, which indicates the course which history is taking. The forms are diverse, the stages and the intervals are various. But the rhythm is each time more rapid, the dynamism of each phase more and more powerful and vigorous. And this allows the International to have a more concentrated intervention which compensates for the numerical weakness of the International. The more concentrated the process, the more it facilitates the intervention of the International, because the organs, the programme, the policy, the theory, the vital centres of the revolution decide.

The discussions in Syria revolve around the problem what to do with the workers state, to delay it or to continue it. Without there being a theoretical discussion on the objectives and historic possibilities, this is the essence of the discussion. Before constituting their own organs as a workers state, there is already a discussion on the Socialist federation of Syria, Egypt, Algeria and Iraq. This is a concentrated form of the revolution, very concentrated, which allows the International to intervene there. It can intervene in a concentrated fashion because the resolution of these discussions can be done on the basis of the theoretical basis of the programme, the policy and the application of the experiences through the theoretical conclusions, the principles and there is a wing which defends these principles. One of the chief principles is the popular organ of power. The popular organ of power has a very exact name: soviet.

And the discussion in Syria is not being made by the organs of administrative power. There is no revolutionary party, the Baath is not a Bolshevik Party, it is a Socialist Party with a revolutionary wing. And at the present moment as a Baath party, it is a revolutionary party. The means which have just been taken in Syria by the Baath are those of a revolutionary party. They are approaching the revolutionary marxist conception.

There is not now a Bolshevik Party because the conception of the organ of power is missing, the conception of the structure and the functioning of the milit-

ant life. This is the characteristic of the Bolshevik, not only the struggle for the revolutionary programme. But how? in what does it support itself? how does it function? but it is approaching and it is the unions who are intervening in this discussion and the unions in opposition and competition with the Baath. It is not antagonistic but it is in opposition and in competition.

The Baath wants to assume the leadership of society and the masses resist because they see a leadership of bourgeois origin and distrust it. If the masses did trust it, they would not accept, they would not accept a separate functioning because the International Federation of Arab workers is an organ apart from the Baath which competes with it and disputes power with it. There are the organs of political revolution, there is the precise form which the organs of the political revolution take, without it being strictly possible to qualify it as the political revolution, without finding an adequate definition. In reality it is not easy to seek this nevertheless, because it exercises the function of the political revolution without being strictly a political revolution, because the proletariat has not been expropriated now, has no one to combat on this level. But it exercises the function which the political revolution must exercise because it is being constructed. These are new phenomena which it is necessary to define and which it is necessary to approximate in scientific understanding to determine now tasks, intervals, rhythms.

SYRIA: A WORKERS STATE IN FORMATION, CONSTITUTED THROUGH THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY, FOR THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES EVEN IF NOT ORGANISED SOCIALLY, AND IN THE FORM OF THE WORKERS STATE

It is necessary to define the characterisation of Syria. Syria is a workers state on the basis of the economic structure of the country, through the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, but even though not organised as a form of workers state, not organised in the form of a workers state, it is in formation. It is a new characterisation which surpasses that of the "sui generis" because now it is necessary to resolve the problem of the political leadership of the workers state of Syria. At the moment it is not resolved. On the other hand Cuba which was "sui generis" from the beginning, adhered directly to the Socialist countries, adopted the economy without adopting the social forms, soviets, as the Russian Revolution, integrated itself in the world relation with the workers states. Now Syria does not do it and it is not simply because of neglect, forgetfulness or that it does not know what to do. There is an internal struggle where they do not know where they are going.

There is a very great interior struggle.

But the base is a workers state; from the social and economic point of view, it is a workers state. From the point of view of its leadership, from its function now, it is not a workers state. For this reason it is necessary to make such a characterisation, it does not function as a workers state, it is not a question of its not being a workers state.

But one of the fundamental essentials to characterise Syria as a workers state, is the attitude of the masses in relation to it. The attitude of the masses does not determine that it is a workers state, but nevertheless it is part of the constitution of a workers state. The masses work in Algeria, Mali, in Iraq, in Egypt and in Syria, particularly as if it was their own state and in their sentiment, their consciousness, in their will it is as though they were in workers states. And this is an indispensable element for the constitution of a workers state. For example Cuba is a workers state, although it has 250,000 exploiters, small proprietors with an immense base and has within itself a base

for an immediate retreat. Easily there are 100,000, who have an interest and Capitalist mentality and who have Capitalist desires, a state of affairs which in Syria does not exist. And the Syrian leadership is with the revolution, is in agreement, is united to the workers states.

And in the next workers states it is important to observe for a period the stages, to determine the slogans. For example: in Algeria the UGTA is intervening on the same plane as the masses of Syria. And it is necessary to support ourselves with all our forces on the Algerian masses to make them feel that they must seek an agreement with our party, an agreement with the government for a policy which leads to affirm politically what economically is not conquered. While in Syria it is necessary to affirm politically what economically is already conquered.

The appeal of Al Atassi for the constitution of the Socialist Federation is the expression that the masses see Syria as their workers state. Al Atassi directs himself to the Arab states, does not direct himself to China nor to the other workers states. Syria, Egypt, Algeria and Iraq cannot ever be constituted into a Socialist Federation without overthrowing Capitalism in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Kuwait, Yemen and Tunis.

It is not possible to constitute the Socialist Federation of the Arab countries without fighting for this. Now there is no reason to delay the struggle, but together with this appeal for Socialist unification, there is the other appeal to overthrow the feudal lords of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Morocco, Tunis, because they are really the bases for Imperialism in the Middle East, not only Israel, but all these. They are the necessary points of support which tomorrow are going to be the principal ones.

It is necessary to push forward a programme of economic development, of the Socialist Soviet Federation of the Arab countries, an economic programme for Syria. It is necessary to develop the programme of economic development together with the programme of the Socialist Revolution in the perspective of the nuclear war, so that the Federation of the Arab States considers and takes into account that it cannot make a programme of construction of economic development independently of what happens in the world.

In Syria the proletariat has not been expropriated. The Political Revolution comes about because the bases of the Workers State are constituted, these bases being the nationalised property, but still there is no planning of the economy although there is the beginnings of planning. This is the basis of the Workers State, it is necessary to organise the power of this Workers State. Power is exercised but still the proletariat does not have the power, they are discussing it. The Workers State exists in its historic form, the basis of its historic structure; nationalisation of property. But the social power is not organised: it is the struggle to organise and give the social forms of this power. It is in a certain form, a political revolution which is done at the same time as the constitution of the Workers State; it does not begin once it functions and is constituted as such. It is not one thing, independently, one of the other. The power is not exercised directly by the proletariat, the Baath exercises it now. But there are no forms of stable power, they are discussing what to do. In this sense it is not a political revolution, because now there is no fixed power. It is a new fact in history. In the political revolution, the proletariat has to recover something, it has to recover the power which it once exercised. It is not a political revolution,

it is closer to a struggle to organise the power.

The necessity for the exact, precise qualification is because this determines the stages. For example what is the conclusion of this characterisation?; that we do not lead a struggle against enemies. This is the conclusion. This is the logic of our slogan: Marxist Revolutionary Party based on the trade unions in Syria. This is clear. But it means that the Baath is not opposed to this; what it seeks is to domesticate the unions so that they submit to it, this is the phase which we are in at the moment.

We repeat, the Baath is advancing towards the revolutionary party, it is not going backwards. Our interest nevertheless is to impel it to advance, but we do not believe bourgeois leadership is going to remain, we support ourselves in the unions, for this reason we appeal to the unions also.

Now we are not against the government of the Baath, nor against the Syrian government. We call upon the Syrian trade unions and our comrades to make a pact and an alliance with the government, raise a public discussion with the government and assist the conscious revolutionary tendencies within the government and within the Baath who are advancing. It is not an antagonistic dispute, it is a contradiction. In the Soviet Union there is no possibility of such a dispute, of such a contradiction, there is already an antagonism between the bureaucracy and the workers state. It arose as a contradiction, now it is an antagonism. But it is necessary to see that the programme of the Syrian trade unions is the programme of the political revolution and that they agitate for the programme, struggle for it in the full process of war with Israel and prepare themselves to confront Israel, with this programme. Here is the cause of the crisis. They will not agitate at whatever moment. They met days before the invasion of Israel on the 25 May when all the world knew also that Israel was preparing to invade, was preparing for war and they were preparing themselves for this programme. It means that there is a conscious wing that is seeking to orientate itself from the Bolshevik, Trotskyist point of view in the war and to make the revolution. This is the base, the interpretation, which it is necessary to give to the events in Syria, to intervene.

The irreplaceable role of the "cultural revolution" in China, is not understood even by the Chinese themselves. They see themselves obliged to launch a movement which they did not understand nor consider and it surpasses all the means which they wish to take. They hoped by a simple pressure to liquidate the internal struggle, to make a policy which was solid in front of the bureaucracy and Imperialism. It is a question of this, to prevent a conciliation to their detriment, but they see that the masses are not going to move for a change of leaders and a change of titles. The masses want more, more, more. And they want more because already they are disposed to do more. For this reason Syria expresses it, Syria is the effect, the concentrated expression of the world process of the political revolution, that already has form, life and body. It has body, life and form. Now it does not have consciousness but already it has a body. The body is the instrument: the Federation is an organ already of power and whose importance is not limited to Syria, extends itself and for this reason the IV International can exert an influence on it. The internal struggle of Syria centers around forms which the permanent revolution adopts in this stage in a workers state to reach the conscious level of the socialist revolution.

political revolution in China

IN SYRIA AND THE TASKS OF THE IV INT.

J. POSADAS Nov. 1967

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TROTSKYIST WINGS IN THE WORKERS STATES

It is necessary to be preoccupied, to seek the most reliable and precise reports on the Trotskyist wing in China, it has importance. It is consciously Trotskyist. We will be more audacious than we are now, much more audacious. If there is a Trotskyist wing in China we must comprehend that the events of Syria are a distant echo of this. It can be distant echo of the possibilities. And it is necessary to expect in the Soviet Union and in a short stage, public Trotskyist wing. Thus it is necessary to be more audacious not to go to change the nature, nor our nature, nor our structure, but the dynamism itself, the audacity of this functioning and the objectives of the International. If there exists a Trotskyist wing in China, the International must direct itself in a short stage to have contact with it and to seek as the International, discussions, organisations, encounters, political life with the rest of the Trotskyist groups who are to be found in the world; it will be necessary to seek this contact. Syria can be, must be, will be, that which places us in contact with the rest of the political revolution. Now it is necessary to seek it. Syria can be it, must be it, will be that which places us in contact with all this. We sought this in Cuba and Cuba played a role. Cuba delayed and we succeeded in Guatemala. Guatemala could not give the extended authority which occurred with Guevara. Through Guevara there was the impulse which placed us in contact with the rest of the political revolution. Now it is necessary to seek it in an organic form and to attract it in an organic form. The impulse of the revolution, the concentrated character of this was not intimidated, because of the conference of Khartoum. The force of the revolution bypassed it, bypassed these obstacles, for this reason no centrist sector, nor conciliatory sector can stabilise itself. Those who suggest that Nasser is only a centrist conciliator are mad. It is clear that he is a conciliatory centrist, but for the left not for the right. For this reason it is not possible to stabilise the centrist power of Nasser, always he is going towards the left, for the left is obliged to go. But he nevertheless resists. It is a madness to believe that Khartoum imposes a line. After Khartoum came the Congress of the Baath, which replied with the proposal for the socialist unification of Syria, Egypt, Algeria and Iraq. There is no possibility of stability, no conciliatory power.

The Soviet bureaucracy sustains itself, but always tending to show continuous crises, internal displacements. The most elevated expression of these is the product

THE EMPIRICAL RISE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION TOWARDS PROGRAMMATIC FORMS IN CHINA, AND THE NEED FOR PROGRAMME AND OBJECTIVES

The wall slogans and articles written in China are gradually rising in programmatic conception. The last numbers of Peking Review revolve round a central theme. The attacks on Liu Shao-shi are now concentrated on the programme that he has rejected and on two points: the book 'How to be a good Communist' and the economic programme. These are the C.P.'s programme and book, Mao Tse-tung had a part in them, Mao Tse-tung put his name to them, and Mao Tse-tung distributed them. At the beginning of the year there were Peking Reviews and other Chinese magazines, in which Liu Shao-chi appeared relieving the President of Cambodia and welcoming him in the name of the Chinese Workers State, and what is said isn't bad, it is conciliatory, but not bad. It's the same thing as Mao Tse-tung said, and what Chou En-lai is saying now, is the same thing as Liu Shao-chi

of the advance of the revolution which they cannot contain, thus they are discussing Trotsky, for the next document which they are going to make on history of the Russian Revolution. They are discussing Trotsky. They do not praise him, do not explain him, but the ideas of Trotsky are the ones which dominate.

It is necessary to intervene in this process. It is necessary to prepare and organise to intervene. The political revolution is not made in a programmatic way; the course of the political revolution is not programmed, it takes place. The contained forces of the world revolution express themselves as they can, not organically, they do not do it in the forms foreseen or determined for the conscious course which we foresee for the revolution, it is done as it can and it is necessary to intervene as we can. And to be able to intervene better, it is necessary to improve the functioning of the sections, to give confidence to these leaderships who seek to advance, showing that the Trotskyists are capable of organising the 13 November movement of Guatemala and to organise also in each country.

It is necessary to give security to the currents who are advancing. It is necessary to make a world alliance, a world agreement, a world united front with the revolutionary tendencies of the Arab states, of Cuba, of China to progress. It is necessary to be disposed to this united front and to be disposed to impel it globally, as an organism. The conditions are already there for it.

The political revolution in China in spite of Fidel Castro and in spite of his discourse supporting the macabre farce of the death of Guevara in Bolivia is going to advance again. The attitude of the Cuban delegates at the commemoration of the 50 anniversary of the Soviet worker states in Moscow indicates it. But the declarations of Castro to the journalist KS Karol are indicating already a later struggle. The struggle which he announces there, is the programme against the Soviet bureaucracy. It is a programme which demands proletarian democracy to apply it, the socialist revolution and to extend the socialist programme cannot be a local programme. All this is guided in general by an administrative conception. It is not guided by a Soviet conception. The Soviet is opposed, antagonistic to the administrative. The administrative approach leads to the bureaucracy. The Soviet leads to popular power, to revolutionary power guided and directed by the proletariat. And the declarations of Castro to KS Karol are not based on the Soviet but are a very great progress.

said, it doesn't change much. The adjective change, 'bureaucracy', 'treacherous reformists', they get more extreme. They go on like this because they are not really against reformists. The lengths the adjectives go to do not change the qualification, or the aims.

The wall slogans, Peking Reviews and the Sin-jua Agency bulletins contain more and more attacks on Liu Shao-chi saying: 'You shared out the land for private purposes', 'You said to sell on the market', 'You said to the Capitalists that the more they developed the better'. And in this way they really say what the Chinese C.P.'s programme consists of, for it was the 'four classes' conception. Because they used to say: 'the more the classes develop, the more the economy will develop, and we will strip the Capitalist of it afterwards.' They took interesting and important measures to control Capitalists.

They let them develop because they were confident that the quality of Capitalism was possessed by no-one else but the Capitalists, so, to prevent internal strife, and so as not to lose control of the situation, they let the Capitalists be, but prevented the increase of Capitalists by fixing their number and making the State the only purchaser. They eliminated the market, and they said: 'in this way we are getting nearer to dominating the matter, for we will buy less and less and this will oblige them more and more to produce in such a way that private interest will be lost, and that is the root of the matter.' They transferred to the relationship with the industrial bourgeoisie the relationship that should exist with the peasant: that social superiority will gradually attract him. But this was when there was only one workers state. When there are 15 Workers States, then the capacity of persuasion is transferable, and superior production capacity and peasant well-being no longer are the only attraction; instead there are socialist ethics and the superior social framework, together with a rise in production.

The Chinese still have confidence in this conception, and that's why they go on justifying it today. This, what they accuse Liu Shao-chi of, was their programme, and at the same time as they accuse Liu Shao-shi they put forward the programme; against the strengthening of the private interests of the peasantry, and against the interest to sell to the market, they pose the necessity to sell to the state, which policy is against the private use of the land, and against the managers and the bosses in the factories. And they cannot use the red heart of Mao Tse-tung to sustain this programme. They have to do it with the living heart of proletarian democracy and soviets, and they are already discussing this now. From this emerges the Trotskyist danger. Because they are seeing that this development, this programmatic discussion, has to, necessarily and logically, take a step towards the consciousness of this unconscious process, which they don't have any other alternative but to formulate and to accept, because they are forced. They hope that a pressure movement or mobilisation will smash and intimidate this wing which they call revisionist and finish with it. And this wing resists because the structure of the bureaucratic interests is quite considerable. It's careerist structure, even though it has not become a bureaucratic layer is very great and the pressure from, and relations with, the bourgeois layer were quite great, above all in the countryside.

The Chinese believed that mobilisations were sufficient to dominate the apparatus and construct a new party. Because the Chinese Communist Party is more nominal than real, it is not a functional structure, it does not resemble the Bolshevik Party in any way; in their aspirations, and objectives, they were and are revolutionary. Mao Tse-tung is a revolutionary but he has a paternalist conception. Let them read the platitudes of Mao Tse-tung! There is no real Bolshevik functioning of the party, and the Communist Party is very small, there is a real peasant weight, a great and real development in the countryside, of the commune, and communist authority over the peasantry. There is a very great peasant weight but also there is a very great proletarian weight. And behind all this campaign, the proletarian weight is expressed in an unconscious form. Because it is the point of support of Mao Tse-tung, the tendency which is seeking to eliminate conciliation, eliminate the conservative wing without recourse to the revolution basing itself on the proletarian confidence of the masses, but at the same time, what shows that the proletariat doesn't see clearly, or as logical, that such a form of movement is necessary, is that it supports the move-

ment in a passive way, and doesn't go to it in a demonstrative way to give it support. Because when they called to the proletariat for support, it went out into the streets and sang the "International." The proletariat filed past in trucks singing the "International", and by singing the "International" they sought to put themselves into contact with the world revolution. The Chinese proletarian vanguard demonstrated the enormous, the high historic maturity which it has. That is why Chou En-lai restrains it; they contained the first impetus of the Cultural Revolution. But the 'Cultural Revolution' emerged as a forced necessity, though they hid its historic significance—that it was the political revolution. They gave it the name: Cultural Revolution. And they failed in the attempt which they made to try to eliminate the conservative wing, so that the centrist wing and the left wing could take power.

It was not, and it still is not clear who is in power, because there is no discussion, no political life, no programme. And Chou Teh, for example, whom they accuse of being a bandit, suddenly turned out the other day to have gone back to his leading position but it is not known what he said, what position or what policy he has. There is no other way of knowing people than through their political positions. And they were going to shoot the son of Chen Yi as a traitor, and he was a leader of a group of "Red Guards". There is no way of logically qualifying these tendencies, because it is not know what positions they take up. 'Peking Review' publishes as much about the programme against Liu Shao-chi, as they do about the declarations of Chou En-lai which are the same as those of Liu Shao-chi and which are against him. Without doubt, Chou En-lai is in power. Why? Because he is the centre of a transitory stage. He is not in power because of his own strength; he is at the centre of a transitory stage.

The Chinese do not understand that what is going on in China will not be resolved in China solely with the strength of China. It is being resolved in Cuba and in Syria because what the Chinese revolution is seeking in order to advance, is the programme of the Socialist Revolution, and the soviet form of organisation so that all the power of the Chinese revolution can be expressed. Already it is reaching this level. From the tumultuous primitive forms with which the cultural revolution is developing, cutting off peoples hair and putting dunce hats on people, which was well done, they went on to programmatic accusation. It was not a correction, it was a progress, because the leadership had hoped that the dunce hats and the hair cutting would be enough. But people have their customs, and moreover among the customs which they have it that of learning from history, and the young students who went out to cut hair and put dunce hats on afterwards went to colleges and schools, and in the schools of Peking they questioned the subjects, methods of explanation and lessons which the teacher was using, and they said to him that these were "reactionary and bourgeois" and "that it was not possible to make any expositions, or develop any subject or course, without uniting with the world class struggle". The students said this, children of 7, 8 and 10, up to 15 years old, the children of today. Neither Chou En-lai nor Mao Tse-tung expected it because it wasn't in the programme of these people.

This progress indicated that already there is a solid base in China. but that it is not decisive because there is not the conscious leadership and the accumulation of this progress and process is not allowed to be expressed programmatically in the most elevated form which it could

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

take, for example the programme of: elimination of material stimulus, elimination of all the administrators, replacing them by factory councils as the Russian Revolution did, so that these become the ones who make the resolutions. It is the factory soviets, who are the ones who should make the resolutions. Factory councils!

The internal struggle of the Communist Party of China has not been developed with a public struggle for a programme and policy. It has stuck to accusations, totally banal accusations, which cannot either attract, or bring understanding to, or raise the revolutionary comprehension of anyone in China, for old communist leaders are being accused of being traitors without proof. The proof given is that the programme that they had expounded 10, 15 or 20 years ago, was a treacherous programme, but wasn't this the official programme of the Party? That is why the proletarian vanguard cannot be attracted by this struggle. On the contrary the proletarian vanguard repudiates this struggle. Therefore it is apparently indifferent to and at a distance from this struggle. It is waiting to intervene.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Political Revolution . . .

Nevertheless, the Sin-jua bulletins and Peking Review constantly bring out appeals to the factory committees, like in Shanghai. For they can't mobilise either the peasants or the students abstractly, it can't be done again with haircutting, and putting on dunce caps, they have to be mobilised with a programme. And the peasants and students can only be mobilised with a programme which is socially interested in the progress of the revolution in China, and this is not a cultural programme for the university and schools, but the socialist revolutionary programme: soviets, factory committees, elimination of the material incentive, elimination of grading, elimination of unequal salaries, proletarian democracy, proletarian rights, instant recall of representatives, and the right of the soldier to speak just as much as the general.

Where the interest of the present leadership in China (of whom it consist we don't know,) in practice is expressed in a concentrated manner—and also the contradiction of its advance with its fear of basing itself on the proletariat—by its repeated insistence on the inclusion, intervention and primary importance of the role of the army. The element incorporated as an element of the first order, is not the trade unions, the Factory Committees, or the student movements, but the army. But even like this, incorporating the army, its participation has already diminished. The army is not the thing that determines the course of the internal struggles in China—it possesses no programme or policy and neither is it a directing centre. It is used as a means of bureaucratic pressure. The aim of fighting the conservative wing is not bureaucratic, but the army's employment in this is bureaucratic.

The army is given an authority of its own, when it has no social authority. The army, intervening in social struggles as the army, has no social authority, on the contrary, the decentralised power of the army is stimulated. But the proletariat, when it intervenes with its organisation, through its role in the economy and in society, attracts the rest of the population, because it is the necessary organ, the constructing organ and the creator of society, it is the organ that cannot be substituted for, because it does not have an ephemeral function in society. The army is the organ that executes military action, for the defense of the interests of military activities, and it is not a creative organ of the economy, culture and art, it is not the organ which expresses the creative capacity of the population. If it does not defend the creative capacity of the population, it cannot have social authority, or be a social centre of attraction and authority. When it is employed it is because the leaders have no other means, and it is because there is an expression of the desire to advance and the fear of reaching programmatic conclusions. Therefore, at the same time as employing the army in substitute for the proletariat and the organised masses, they defend themselves from the 'ultra-left wingers', the Trotskyists, because they feel that the path leads to the raising of the internal struggles to discussion of the programme, objectives and methods of struggle. And that's where the Trotskyists come in. Not because the Trotskyists are hoping to advance, but because the rise of the political revolution empirically branching off and separated from the proletariat, has not prevented proletarian preoccupation, and even if the trade unions have no direct weight, it is absurd that the trade unions do not intervene as organs in the struggle in China, and the development of the Trotskyist wing is the result of this process. The Trotskyist wing has not developed independently but is part of this process and now it intends to bear weight.

When the Chinese themselves denounce the presence of a Trotskyist wing as very possible, first of all it must be verified that it is a Trotskyist wing—we do not know what programme or policy it has—they just denounce it as Trotskyist. We suppose that it is Trotskyist from the accusations that they make, and moreover when they appeal for the 'unity of the whole of the left', they include the Trotskyists as well. The Trotskyists must

be a small group. What we believe is that there must be a very important sector that, without being Trotskyist, must be in agreement with revolutionary positions without reaching the understanding of the Trotskyist programme. And it sees things in an objectively Trotskyist way, undoubtedly influenced by Trotskyists. But at the same time, when they appeal for the 'unity of the left' it is because the centrist wing of the left is divided into various tendencies and has no precise objectives. What is the objective? They have no objectives, they only want to contain the pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy and the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Chinese are preparing for the war. They see the war coming, but they haven't an adequate policy for the war. They see Imperialism preparing for the atomic war, and the alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy with Imperialism, but they do not succeed in understanding the world course of the revolution and the contradictions of the Soviet bureaucracy. Hence they have no programme which can be followed, and the internal struggle is confused, one point replaces another and the rise towards a programmatic form which is to be seen now, is being done in an empirical manner, with the constant replacement of leaders. The party does not intervene or decide, the mobilisations of one or another sector decides and weighs momentarily.

Everything that is happening in China is transitory! It is not stabilized or supported by programmes and objectives, which are the only things which construct: programme and objective. The programme unites, and the objective gives security and attracts and concentrates action. There isn't one! Therefore they haven't intervened in the problems of Syria, the Middle East, OLAS, and Guevara; they do not intervene in the class struggle on a world-wide scale, they make general, superficial declarations but nevertheless the political revolution is not prevented. No declaration, intervention or programme as to how to unite the Chinese revolution with the Middle East. How can they be united? What is the unity that exists between them? Objectively it exists. Imperialism comes out to contain the revolution in the Middle East in order to attack China afterwards. There is a unity! The strength of the Chinese Revolution consists of and is supported by the world development of the revolution and everything that means the development, or on the contrary an attack on the revolution interests it—China must intervene, but

nevertheless she does not do so. This is not in the interests of the Chinese Revolution, it is lack of consciousness and a programme on the part of the leadership. But it is a problem in process of being solved for they haven't a conciliatory programme either. There isn't a programme. They don't have any programme.

There is no organised Communist Party, or party life, and the present struggle is to rebuild and organise the party. There is no party life, so the centrist tendency which is moving to the left has no instrument to dominate; therefore there is no Central Committee, no political meetings, no Politburo and no decisions. The resolution of the Central Committee in August last year was not followed with any more meetings. That resolution was a good one, it indicated progress and enormous influence of the revolution, but it came to a full stop there, and organically there was a retreat from that point. For the decisions taken afterwards were a retreat on this resolution, not superior to it. There wasn't a single organism which took a decision superior to the one of the Central Committee. On the contrary, Chou En-lai appeals: 'let us finish with everything, go back to work, go back to studying and don't get further involved, children must respect grown-ups'. He says it like this: 'the proletariat must work'. This is a retreat from the resolution. But objectively the resolution functions above this and Chou En-lai because he is objectively obliged to fight Liu Shao-chi, attacking the material incentive, the exploitation of the land for private gain, administrators and bosses, alliance with Capitalism and the following of bourgeois tendencies. The most recent attacks are against the paying of privileged salaries to the bourgeoisie. The students have said that they mustn't be paid more.

The leadership still makes use of the students because it cannot make use of the workers, it fears using the workers. Hence the revolution is called cultural and not political, as a synonym, but also as a substitute. It is a substitute and they are not conscious of this. Therefore this cultural revolution uses the students and not the proletariat for it is still not conscious of what it wants or can achieve. It wants conciliation on a higher level, which undoubtedly tends to affect and contain the conservative wing, but which does not speed on the development of the political revolution in China and have all the effects that it could have. The political revolution in China cannot be separated from the preparation for the world atomic war, the events in the Middle East and the World Revolution.

(To be continued)

EDITORIAL

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

of the owners and to the incredibly primitive conditions of British trawlers. The fishermen have demonstrated that they are no longer willing to accept these conditions and have—in a number of instances—imposed their own control by strike at sea and by damaging vessels to force the captains to return to port. This is a sector which—for obvious reasons, has never been well organised, but the women have overcome the isolation in which bourgeois society places them, have organised and shown themselves determined to impose their own control over conditions in the fishing industry. The developments in Hull show that women—a twice exploited sector of the working class—are preparing to throw their full weight into the struggle. The whole of the British masses are feeling, and reacting to, the influence of the very rich developments of the struggle of the world masses to destroy Imperialism and Capitalism and it is in process of throwing up a new leadership and organisms for the struggle.

We are in this country in the midst of a process of a break with bourgeois parliamentary 'democracy', a break with the structure of Capitalism, which the bureaucracy of the trade unions are increasingly unable to hinder.

The masses—workers, students and lower middle class—no longer struggle for simply economic demands, they move towards dual power. Each new struggle in industry, in the universities and in areas such as housing directly challenges the power and authority of Capitalism. The

will and consciousness of the masses is evident and what has to be done now is to build the organs of dual power. Workers committees, students committees, committees of women, committees to control housing, transport and the prices of the basic necessities of life. This is the task which faces the workers and their allies in this country and the basis already exist in the 'unofficial' factory committees, in the women's organisation in Hull, in the many tenants committees, for the creation of the organs of dual power.

Imperialism prepares itself to launch the war against the workers states and the masses of the world. It must not be allowed to take the initiative, it is necessary that the masses in this country launch immediate strikes in support of the Vietnamese masses and against American Imperialism. It is necessary to couple the immediate economic demands of the British masses—an immediate 10% rise in wages to offset the rising cost of living, for example—with demands for the withdrawal of Britain from the war alliance of Imperialism, for the removal of all bases from this country and for the withdrawal of all the remaining British bases and troops from overseas. An appeal must be made to the masses of Europe, Asia, Latin America, North America and to the masses of the Workers States to intervene immediately in support of the Vietnamese masses and against the war preparations of Imperialism.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

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FORTNIGHTLY

MARCH 10 1968

SIXPENCE

Use the Campaign to prevent the closure of A.E.I. Woolwich, to centralise the anti-capitalist struggles of the Workers

FACTORY OCCUPATIONS—WORKERS CONTROL—
NATIONALISATION

The struggle to prevent the closure of the AEI factory at Woolwich and the intensification of the student struggles throughout Great Britain show the increasingly elevated course of the revolutionary process in Great Britain which is more and more harmonised with the whole course of the world revolution, and is sustained by it constantly. The British masses are fortified by the overall decomposition of world Imperialism and Capitalism, by the victories of the Viet cong and the necessity of the Workers States to sustain the world revolution as shown in the middle East, N. Korea and Vietnam despite the counter revolutionary intentions of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The great demonstrations to keep the AEI factory open, announced without any doubt, a new phase in the determination of the workers to defend their interests against Capitalism and to take the offensive against Capitalism. It is the spirit of the workers which has prevented a sell out by the unions and it is only the workers who are capable of seeing this struggle through to its final conclusion. At the demonstration early in February attempts were made, shown in the speech of Mayhew, to convince the workers that although the closure was "regrettable" it should be more or less treated as an act of God and no attempt should be made to resist the closure. He was shouted down and the spirit of the workers was to keep the factory open. But in this action, it is necessary to proceed with the utmost audacity and the workers must function with complete proletarian democracy. The factory committee must operate in a way which involves all the workers in decisions and the course of action must be determined by the realisation that in this struggle Capitalism must not be allowed to have the initiative. There is only one way to proceed and that is by FACTORY OCCUPATION AND WORKERS CONTROL. At the same time the demand must be made for nationalisation under workers control, and this should be extended to cover the whole industry. But it is fundamental also to appeal to the Workers States to buy the products of the factory; appeals to the Soviet Union, to the states of Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, Syria.

The struggle to maintain the continued functioning of the factory at AEI Woolwich is of especial importance in the class struggle at this moment in this country. It is the first time in a major factory, that the workers have felt confident enough to resist a mass dismissal. Over a whole period, Capitalism has been closing factories and mines. BMC some time ago dismissed thousands of car workers and these were not able to organise a systematic resistance, but now we can see the potential for a qualitative leap. To date there have been 25 factory occupations in Italy and several in Spain and Belgium. It is possible by an audacious action at AEI to raise the anti-Capitalist actions of the whole class to a higher level, to act as a centre for similar actions throughout Great Britain.

The factory occupation of AEI should be accompanied by the construction of a workers defence committee, to defend the plant against any attempt at police-military intervention. It is necessary to mobilise the whole area in support, women and children, appealing for support to the factories in the area, appealing for other factory occupations. It is possible also to appeal for support to the rest of the industry. It was significant that the meeting of shop stewards in Sheffield offered support from the rest of the industry. Nothing has been heard since but the speed of this response shows the revolutionary potential that exists. We repeat, the example of an audacious action at AEI can have national repercussions. It can precipitate nation wide struggle against unemployment and all the other anti-worker measures of the government, and open the way to a sustained workers offensive, leading to a workers government. And we appeal for delegates of AEI to send delegates to the docks, to car workers, to the trawlermen to discuss the means to defend their interests, around a common programme. Delegates should be sent to the workers of Roberts Arundel where the struggle is still not settled and where workers are again preparing extensive strike action in the area. But all this must be done with the full sustaining force of PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY, that is a constantly operating factory committee, deciding and discussing everything. An example such as this could again revolutionise the situation throughout the country, give an example to workers in other industries to decide all questions for themselves and overcome the conservative resistance of trade union officials and shop stewards. Thus in a number of ways a clearly defined action at AEI can not only prevent further unemployment but lead to a tremendous leap in the situation in Great Britain, making the path for the seizure of power by the working class smoother and swifter.

The rapid advance of the world revolution has found a notable reflection in the dynamic upsurge in the student movement. The sit ins which began in the LSE have been followed by further sit ins at Aston and at Leicester. LSE students have rejected the latest attempt to bamboozle them with "reforms". The

CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE

Appeal of the International Secretariat of the IV International in defense of the Korean Workers State

25 JAN 68

It is necessary to call for a campaign to be waged for the expulsion of Imperialism and so that North Korea does not give up the ship. It is necessary to appeal so that the workers movement, the workers parties, the nationalist movements hold a trial to condemn the spy-boat and demand the withdrawal of the fleet, and the encirclement of Korea. All the Workers States must publish declarations and be ready to intervene militarily from this moment. It is necessary to organise the necessary military mobilisations, and mobilisations of the masses of all the Workers States. The communist parties must call mobilisations in all the world against Imperialism and against Capitalism. It is necessary to be disposed to confront Imperialism at this very moment; to demand of the Workers States particularly of China and Cuba, mass declarations and mobilisations and a disposition to intervene militarily. It is necessary to reject all the attempts of conciliation which the Soviet bureaucracy tries to find, and to impose the right of the Korean Workers State to defend its territory, to defend the Workers State against espionage and the threat of invasion of Yankee Imperialism.

It is necessary to accompany this agitation by concrete measures for the expulsion of Imperialism, above all from all the bases which it has in the world, from all Imperialist property, expropriating all Imperialist investments. To make appeals to the movements in all countries for meetings, calling for a United Front in all the world against Imperialism and to show that this action of Imperialism makes up a part of its preparation for the war. It is not an event coming out of the blue. It is an incident which marks how Imperialism is preparing its arrangements, keeping up its military concern, the military tension, and the military submission of all the American people in a very acute way.

It is necessary to demand a United Front of all the Workers States; calling them—even those who are in the worst conditions, like Cuba—to take the initiative of launching a world appeal for the defense of Korea. This event is a repetition of the blockade which they made against Cuba in 1962. It is a preparation to invade China and North Vietnam.

The powerlessness of Imperialism does not mean, does not eliminate, does not prevent it from seeking a military solution. It is powerless to resolve its problems socially and politically, and it cannot impose its will on the people of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, and so it seeks a military solution. A minor incident such as this is resolved in any

other case by means of a juridical discussion. For example, spy-boats are judged in this way.

Arrogantly, Imperialism demands the handing back of its boat without submitting itself to the justice of the country where it was found. This is an arrogant attitude which puts itself above all juridical norms, even bourgeois ones. It is outside all bourgeois norms. Imperialism imposes the law of the master, not only because it cannot allow this a condemnation, but because it wishes to impose its military will. This incident of the ship is part of a more important plan. This action shows that Imperialism is not making a riposte simply to Korea, a small country but to the advance of the world revolution. It is this which Imperialism wishes to confront. The reaction of Imperialism seeks to prevent, to try to prevent that the riposte of the Korean Workers State stimulates the revolutionary struggles of the masses of Vietnam, of all of Asia, of the entire world. It shows that they will not submit to any judgement, acting as if all powerful, in the same way as it does in Vietnam, as it does to Cuba, and as it did to Santo Domingo, to the Lebanon, as it wanted to do to Cuba. But in these three countries it has been defeated. It had to leave Cuba, and Santo Domingo. It is close to being chased out of Vietnam as it has been from Korea.

This attitude of Imperialism is not by chance. It makes up part of the plan and of the programme of preparation of the conditions which suit it, in order to take the initiative of launching the atomic war. It is an absurdity of the leaders of the Workers States to allow Imperialism to have the initiative. This absurdity does not come from a lack of comprehension but from the fact that the interests which they defend prevent them from understanding and of taking the initiative of replying to Imperialism. The Korean people, as the Vietnamese people show that they are not afraid of the atomic war. They feel that it is inevitable and do not let themselves be intimidated. Imperialism is prepared to intervene at this very moment in the atomic war.

The call which it has made for mobilisation—even if it is apparently a question of a partial mobilisation—indicates that it has its apparatus ready and that it seeks to intimidate, to crush the combative will of the masses of China, of Vietnam, and to weigh on the bourgeoisies of the other countries to try to attract them. When Yankee Imperialism mobilises its teams of officers—who are the most difficult to convince because ac-

Continued on page 2

Appeal of the International in defence of the

25 JAN 68

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ording to them, the soldiers have only to obey—it is to prepare them now to lead the troops, in order to carry out certain actions, which demand a social confidence. Thus they are preparing them to give orders to the troops, which is the most difficult thing for them. They use the soldiers, just drilling them and expecting them to obey. But the officer, they have to convince him, to prepare him for the next stages. This is the first time that they have mobilised so numerous and weighty a reserve for such a small incident. They are preparing later actions. Imperialism wishes to create conditions of world-war tension in order to be able to decide itself, by keeping itself in a state of alert, in the perspective of the war, it is the one which is most in command of the situation.

The bourgeoisies of the rest of the world have had reactions of prudence, prevention, discretion, not that they separate themselves from Imperialism, but because they understand that they are being drawn into a war which is not convenient to them now. And the Soviets are trying to conciliate. The Yankees want to forcibly draw them into the situation. This is the reason why they have sent an important part of their fleet; a third of their naval and military power. And for the first time, in relation to a incident as small as the taking of a ship, they declare that they are going to use atomic arms. They are in process of sounding out, to see what resistance they will encounter, how far they can go without confronting the Chinese and the Soviets. These soundings out, are destined to prepare direct actions and interventions, with atomic weapons in a short time. They do not act like this with the objective of winning ground, but to prepare later actions, independently of fact that the captain of the boat has been taken prisoner, the attitude of the Yankees is a sounding out, for they never leave a boat isolated, solitary, exposed to such a situation. This can happen by chance, as was the case with certain spy planes, but they possess a military apparatus, a centralised command which prevents that a boat can do such actions on its own account, without pre-meditation. These are foreseen organised actions which are part of a plan. It is a sounding out operation which they are proceeding with.

The reply of the Koreans shows the decision of the Workers States, to defend themselves and to crush Imperialism. Like the Vietnamese people, the small people of Korea are not frightened by this threat. On the contrary, they confront it! They do not want to yield! They want to keep the boat, to put it on trial, to condemn it. Even from the bourgeois juridical point of view, it is a logical conclusion. In no matter what part of the world when one invades the house of a neighbour, one touches on the right of property, as they have done in Argentine, or in Brazil with the French fishing fleet, as they have done in Peru with the American fleet. The invasion of territorial waters signifies invading the country. And if there is a discussion on the fact that the boat was or was not in territorial waters, this discussion is made without threats, without the presence of a fleet, without atomic bombs, without the siege of the army on Korea. Imperialism does this because it is disposed to go further and that it has the intention of terrorising. It has not gone further because it is worried about the reaction, the intervention of China, of the USSR, the reaction of the American people and the people of the world, who resent this action as an act of piracy. Thus it has gone badly for Imperialism, but it is the same thing which they did constantly against Cuba and Vietnam. They constantly invaded Vietnam and they are just speaking now of their respect for territorial waters. They bombard Vietnam everyday, they have bombarded Cuba, in part bombarded it, they have supported the invasion of Cuba, and now they have just said that they respect territorial waters!

It is necessary to defend the complete right of Korea to keep the boat, to judge it and condemn it. It is necessary to support this condemnation in the entire world. It would be simple for Korea to give up this boat from the material point of view, it hasn't any importance. The problem is not its material value and the Yankees do not demand it because of this, but in order to defend and to impose their omnipotence. It is necessary to oppose the giving back of the boat and demand condemnation of Yankee Imperialism and make meetings and assemblies in trade unions, in the Workers Parties, in the entire world which should decide such measures, by radio transmissions, by demonstrations and meetings demanding that the Workers States intervene and declare that they will reply with everything immediately, against no matter what threat, attempted invasion, attack on the Korean Workers State, by the destruction of the Yankee fleet. It is not necessary simply to threaten them, it is necessary to do it.

It is necessary to demand that the Workers States send troops and atomic arms, openly, and call to the World Workers Movement to make demonstrations, meetings, actions to expropriate Imperialism, occupy the factories, occupy the land and make the factories function through factory committees, through workers control, organisms of the exploited masses. To launch appeals! Call for the immediate unification of all the Workers States with a centralised command, which functions, politically, socially, economically and militarily at this very moment, in order to oppose Imperialism. This single command is determined by the expulsion of Imperialism, by its military, economic, political and social crushing. This is the sense of such a single command, to call all the masses of the world to organise themselves so that these conclusions can be applied in each country. This is the Mass Communist International! This is the programme to apply in each country!

It is necessary to appeal to the Federation of Arab Trade Unions to make an appeal to blockade, sabotage and refuse to load petrol destined for Imperialism. To call to the Federation of Arab Trade Unions, the International Federation of Arab Workers to organise mobilisations against Imperialism to expropriate it, and against the agents and associates of Imperialism in the Middle East, expropriate the land, the property, the factories, the finances etc. To call for the unification of North Korea and South Korea in the form of a single Workers State, for a federation of Workers States of Asia; Vietnam, China, Korea, Japan, Cambodia, Laos etc., and that they all make an appeal for socialist unification.

It is necessary to appeal to the American soldiers to desert by concrete actions and to turn their arms against the officers. It is necessary to do two things: to turn the arms against the officers and to make a political work. It is necessary to call them to desert from military actions, justifying this desertion socially by saying that people are against them, and to turn arms against the officers, as the Bolsheviks did in 1917.

This is the response which it is necessary to give now to Imperialism. This incident, all in form, represents basically the intention of Imperialism to prepare its social and political arrangements in order to launch the atomic war. It is necessary to prevent that it takes the initiative! Cuba, Korea and Vietnam have passed through the same situation.

Imperialism seeks the point which it believes to be the most feeble so as not to confront the Soviet bureaucracy. For this it hasn't had the same reaction in the Middle East and in North Korea. There it is the Chinese who they must confront. In the Middle East it was the Soviets. There is a tacit conciliation between Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, but the Workers States are in process of impelling the world revolution and they oblige the Soviet bureaucracy to advance. But they advance

not consciously, they do not advance with a decision to confront Imperialism. The bureaucracy is obliged to adopt a defensive attitude in the Middle East.

Neither China, nor Cuba, have taken the resolution to condemn Imperialism. They have not made any appeal so that the masses rise up against Imperialism. It is necessary to demand of China and Cuba to appeal to condemn this and to mobilise the masses against it; appeal to put at the disposition of the Korean Workers State all the military, economic and social and political power. This is what it is necessary to do now. One must not permit that Imperialism tries to impose its: omnipotence and its military power. It is necessary to crush it, as it has been by Cuba, as it is now being crushed in Vietnam. It is necessary to call to the American people to organise demonstrations against the piracy and criminal attitudes of Yankee Imperialism.

It is necessary to appeal to the population of the United States to defend the right of peoples to construct Socialism and to fight themselves for their own demands of salaries, of work, of lowering of the hours of work, of increase of the standard of life. The fundamental thing is to launch its appeal to the American population to fight for an immediate lowering of working hours; 36 hours of work on average. All the technical power, productivity of the United States to go to the benefit of the masses, and not to pay the expenses of the war. So that productivity goes to the benefit of the masses! To name commissions of trade unions aided by the World Workers Movement, to discuss the planning of the production in the United States to the benefit of the masses. To unite the struggle against this criminal action of the United States with the struggle for the rights of the masses, for the lowering of the hours of work. To link the two things. It is necessary to do this immediately! To call for a mobilisation in the entire world. United World Front of all the masses, of all the tendencies—Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist, nationalist revolutionary movements, all the currents and revolutionary sectors—in the world to crush Yankee Imperialism.

It is a question of an attempt by Imperialism which can have as its objective the unleashing of the atomic war. They must not be allowed to take the initiative. Even if it can be contained in this stage, in this phase, it shows that it will be less and less possible for it to resist the pressure and the advance of the revolution and it will try, as it is trying now, to reply by means of atomic weapons, by the war or by invasion of those countries against which it wishes to oppose its omnipotence. Inter Capitalist contradiction and the historic contradiction of Capitalism expresses itself in the fact that the other Capitalist countries have not been in solidarity, have not accompanied Yankee Imperialism in this provocation. Even though they are all united and disposed at no matter what moment for the counter-revolutionary world atomic war, their insecurity, their pessimism, and the policy of conciliation, of peaceful co-existence of the Communist Parties, and of the governments, the bureaucracies of the Workers States, lead to a contradictory situation in the Capitalist regime as now. World Capitalism needs solidarity with Yankee Imperialism, because each Capitalist country in particular tries to draw advantage for itself. Without condemning the Yankees, they try to put themselves on one side so as not to be drawn into the war, which is not convenient to them for the moment. What is convenient to them is that Yankee Imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy, and the Chinese will wear themselves out in a war of attrition! Thus the rest of Capitalism, among them De Gaulle, believes that they are going to be able to survive. Their plans are stupid, they haven't historic basis. Once the world war commences, all of world Capitalism will follow Yankee Imperialism, because it is the historic condition of the system of private property which unites them. The divergencies are moment-

ary contradictions, over commerce, over the division of the world. It is competition which determines the contradiction between them, and not the social system, and this competition is eliminated when they confront the development of the world revolution.

There isn't any possibility of conciliation, of alliance, of peaceful co-existence between the Workers States and certain Capitalist countries, in order to contain Yankee Imperialism. Yankee Imperialism hasn't any other solution but that of arms. Because of this 40% of production is destined for the production for the war, for the preparation for the war. It is sufficient to measure that in Vietnam they are using up millions of dollars a year. With this money they could double the production. They don't do it because they haven't any interest in it, because the Capitalist system can't do any more. A small incident such as that in Korea has a world repercussion, because the conditions are already mature on a worldwide scale for the breaking out of the world war at any moment. A little incident, such as the Korean one, has worldwide repercussions because conditions—in a continuous chain of expansion, are already mature throughout the world for the breakout of atomic war.

An incident like the Korean one, is normal in Africa, Asia or Latin America. In Europe this is not normal because the same conditions don't exist, for there aren't any spy boats on the continent, no invasions of territorial waters, for each Capitalist country defends directly the waters in its territory. But in Africa, Asia and Latin America these events happen continually, without leading to such Imperialist reaction.

When this reaction is the product of the action of a Workers' State, which expropriates Imperialism, that means to say that this state wants to hit out so that the Capitalist world feels that the Workers' State will face atomic war by means of actions that cause the military and social power of Imperialism to be put in question and waver. Hence Yankee Imperialism reacts in this way; the reaction is out of all proportion to the importance of the incident. From the economic point of view, it was of no importance, nor from the military point of view. Its importance is social. Imperialism would like to maintain the authority of an assassin, to show to the Capitalist world, and particularly to the Asian bourgeoisies that it is ready for atomic war rather than let the revolution and the Workers' States advance, so as to keep up their will and morale and to keep their counter-revolutionary morale constantly on its feet. That is the meaning of events in Korea.

The reaction of the Korean people shows that the peoples of all the Workers' States are prepared to do the same. The Koreans had already done so in 1951, Cuba did so, Vietnam does so too, and now Korea does so again. Little exposed countries do not hesitate to confront the blockade, siege and atomic military Imperialist state, because they carry with them the revolutionary will of the masses of the world. It is by basing oneself on this will that a world appeal to destroy Imperialism must be made to liquidate its intention to invade Korea, its intention to show all its military might and prepare conditions, by winning itself a base, for atomic war.

Korea must be supported with intransigence, by launching an appeal to all the masses of the world, and to the Workers' States to intervene. That will stimulate Vietnam, raise the possibilities of the unification of the South Vietnamese masses with those of the North to organise themselves now for the destruction of Imperialism.

They are united, but they are not organised according to this decision. They still are not organised because the conciliatory policy of Ho Chi Min still prevents it. The masses are decided to overthrow Imperialism. But the policy and objectives of their leadership hamper this decision. The leadership does not organise

Secretariat of the IV International Korean Workers State

this decision.

The recent appeal of the Hanoi trade unions is in contradiction with Ho Chi Min's measures taken several days before. On the basis of this appeal from the trade unions of Hanoi and the will of the masses of Hanoi, Vietnam, Korea, China and the whole of Asia for the overthrow of Imperialism; it is to be seen that conditions exist for its expulsion and overthrow, and also for the atomic war that Imperialism prepares and is going to launch as soon as possible.

This move towards the invasion of Korea by Imperialism to impose Imperialist military conditions on Korea must be taken as one step, one measure a means of standing up to the existence and development of the Workers' States. This Yankee Imperialist measure means that it is preparing to face the development of Chinese atomic arms and the Chinese Trotskyist tendencies.

The preparation for the IX Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is inevitably a stimulus to the permanent revolution and to the political revolution. It will solve the problems of the cultural revolution in a more elevated way, by giving it a programmatic form which will mean a conscious stimulation of the revolution. It will at the same time try to defend itself from the Trotskyists, the left wing, and the so-called 'extremist' Trotskyist wing, which defends part of the Trotskyist programme against the right.

This Congress is being prepared to make a programmatic response. As the leadership of the Chou En lai right centre and the centre have not any programme, they attempt to realise this congress containing the left, the so-called extreme left, allied to, or influenced by Trotskyism, and in opposition to the right. But the congress will have to work out a programme, and advance a programmatic struggle, and it will stimulate at the same time the masses in the Communist Party to search out a revolutionary programme, not the centrist programme which the congress would like to give them.

Imperialism is certain, it sees that the revolution advances throughout South-East Asia, and that the Soviet bureaucracy cannot contain it and nor can the Chinese. This Imperialist action in Korea is part of a move to respond to the revolutionary process by staying on the alert and ready to intervene at any moment.

The initiative must not be left to Imperialism. The initiative must come from the side of the Workers' States and from the masses of the world. The masses of the world must be appealed to, to go on strike for their immediate and necessary demands in every country—work, salary, democratic rights, political rights—united to the struggle to expropriate Imperialism, expropriate the land and give it to the peasants, occupy the factories, plan the economy according to the needs of the population. Overthrow Capitalism, form

workers' and peasants' governments. That is how to reply to Imperialism, now this minute. Appeal to China and Cuba to make the reply and to intervene making such appeals.

The IV International launches an appeal to all the Workers' States, and all the workers' parties—Socialist, Communist—and revolutionary nationalist movements that struggle against Imperialism, the Communist parties in the Workers' States, the leaders and governments in the Workers' States to make a united front to expell and overthrow Imperialism militarily.

The solution which Imperialism imposes is military. Demonstrations, meetings and factory occupations are not sufficient. One must be prepared to intervene militarily. Imperialism threatens to intervene; it makes a military siege of Korea. It is militarily

that the reply must be made and at the same time there must be the organisation of social mobilisations throughout the world with the programme for the overthrow of Imperialism. This is the appeal that the IV International makes to the Communist parties, Socialist parties, revolutionary nationalist movements, and governments and leaderships of the Workers' States to confront Imperialism now, to overthrow it and prepare in this way the conditions of a world offensive in the name of and to the profit of the world revolution, the Workers' States, the political revolution in the Workers' States and the world socialist revolution.

25th January, 1968.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Due to lack of space we could not publish the 2nd part of the document "The Actual Phase of the Political Revolution in China, the development of the Socialist Revolution in Syria, and the tasks of the IV International." by J. Posadas. Further extracts from this will appear in the next paper.

EDITORIAL

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

NUS leadership which for years has paralysed the student movement now finds in the latest student demonstrations outside Downing Street, that a militant wing holds the initiative and refuses to be contained by reformist appeals. The violent attacks on the line of Gordon Walker over student grants, the explosive reaction to Callaghan and his pathetic attempts to stir up racialism in relation to the Kenya immigrants, shows without any doubt that the vanguard in the students movement is open to the world revolution, that fundamentally it is receiving all the weight of the world revolution, that it has the capacity to go forward on the line of the Rome students, the road of violent revolution. But it is essential that the combativity of the students is related to a clear specific programme which places the just struggle for student demands within the programme for WORKERS POWER on the basis of the united front. Students particularly those near the AEI factory at Woolwich should ally with the workers, put forward the workers solution to this problem and in all the issues of an educational nature, stress the necessity for a joint struggle, with the workers as the only way forward for an educational system to meet the interests of the masses in a workers state. Students must struggle for higher grants, alliance with teachers within the framework of FACTORY OCCUPATIONS, WORKERS CONTROL, NATIONALISATIONS, EMERGENCY INCREASE IN WAGES OF 10%, equal pay for women, control of Capital etc.

The last period has seen a great step forward in the form of large workers demonstrations. Apart from the 5000 workers and their families who turned out for the Woolwich marches, thousands of Sikh workers demonstrated recently in Wolverhampton, Telephone Engineers sat at their workplace in Birmingham, electricians frightened the bureaucrats into police protection when they marched against the headquarters of the ETU. The workers strike unceasingly in the car industry. The tenacity of workers can be seen in the

continuation of the strike at Torquay. All these actions, together with the nation wide tenants struggles prepare the ground for a massive onslaught of the workers to meet the next stage of attempted repression and further wage freeze of the Capitalist class.

We are entering upon the CONSCIOUS phase of the world revolution as Posadas has emphasised in all the latest documents of the IV International. In this phase the International grows in influence and in the organic capacity to influence the decisive world centres of the revolution, Cuba, Syria and China. The essential instrument to overthrow Imperialism, Capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy is the UNITED FRONT. The final encounter, the nuclear war between the Workers States and Capitalism is rapidly approaching. The more the working class can take advantage of the decomposition of Capitalism, the quicker the recovery of humanity after the nuclear war, the easier the advance to Socialism. When workers refuse to allow the closing of factories, when students at Louvain bring down the Belgium government, when the Indian government has to resort to direct state government in West Bengal, because "normal" government has collapsed in face of the opposition of the masses, and the Vietcong rout the Imperialists, this is because the whole world is ripe for revolution and Socialism.

We appeal for the United Front with the IV International to sustain the struggle of the workers at AEI with the policy of workers control, factory occupations, workers defence committees, emergency 10% increase in wages, the establishment of factory committees with the right of immediate recall of delegates, for proletarian democracy in the trade unions, for the 35 hour week with no reduction in wages. Turn the struggle at AEI into a workers centre for the whole of Great Britain. For the continued functioning of AEI under the control of the workers responsible for all the conditions in the factory. With a successful occupation the way is laid open for the advance to soviets and the bases for a workers government.

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CONTENTS

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

Editorials By J. Posadas

—The social triumph of the Arab masses in the Middle East against Imperialism opens a new phase in the rise of the Socialist World Revolution.

—The Crisis in China and in Cuba, the development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States and of the World Socialist Revolution.

VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

—Communication of the VIII World Congress

—Manifesto of the 1st May

—Opening Speech Horacio

—World Development of the Revolution J. Posadas

—Development of the Revolution in Europe Arroyo

—Development of the Revolution in Latin America Ramirez

—Development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States ... J. Posadas

—Considerations on the Reports of Cdes Arroyo and Ramirez and the interventions of the delegates J. Posadas

—The militancy and the morality of the trotskyists must base itself on the conception of Socialist society J. Posadas

—The supposed letter of Guevara serves to contain and limit the development of the political revolution in Cuba J. Posadas

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

THE BUSMEN MUST LINK UP NATIONALLY ON THE BASIS OF COMMITTEES IN EVERY GARAGE TO ORGANISE THE NATIONAL TRANSPORT STRIKE

The long series of strike actions and 'work-to-rule' which the municipal bus crews have organised in the past months is very much part of the general anti-Capitalist offensive. This offensive on the part of the workers, and other sectors of the population, is developed constantly regardless of "back Britain campaigns" or any other Capitalist inspired stupidities. The problems of Capitalism are, demonstrably, of no interest to the exploited masses who struggle for their own interests. At any given time one sector, or another, of the workers are engaged in industrial action. It is not necessary simply to list the many industrial actions of the last months, although, in fact, 2.7 million work-days were 'lost' through industrial action in the last year. It is, however, necessary to consider the spirit which

motivates the actions of the workers and this spirit is one of dual power, a fact demonstrated when millions of workers took a holiday on New Year day. The Capitalist inspired campaign around a few typists who were working an extra half-hour without pay was stifled in a welter of empty factories, idle docks and buses that were not manned. Earlier the Liverpool dockers demonstrated the same spirit during their seven-week strike. This particular struggle went beyond simple economic demands, it expressed a desire by the dockers to challenge the authority of Capitalism, to impose their own control over the docks and to create a situation of dual power with Capitalism. The same is true of the railways workers strikes, the strike at Roberts Arundel which continues with pickets and violent demonstrations and a whole series of strikes in the car industry.

And the same is true of the widespread actions which the municipal bus crews have organised and which has forced the employers to pay the £1 a week increase which the bus crews demanded. Now the government has invoked the 'prices and incomes act' to prevent this increase being paid. This at a time when the cost of living is showing a sharp increase particularly in the basic necessities of life: food, fuel and, of course, rents. What is more important is that by invoking part 2 of the act, which provides for penalties against strikers, or workers who threaten to strike, the government demonstrates that it is no longer able to hold back the workers struggle except by open suppression. British Capitalism and Imperialism which this government serves recognises that it has completely lost any authority over the masses.

The last line of defence for Capitalism are the 'official' trade union leaderships who, as usual, have done nothing except talk about 'productivity' and 'legal' action. Mr. Cousins is "annoyed" by the governments' action but it is the workers, and not the trade union bureaucrats, who have to face a cut in real wages which is what a 'pay freeze' in conditions of constantly rising prices actual means. Cousins does not pledge strike action against the employers and the government, all he does is to warn them—the government and employers—that he will be unable to control the bus crews if the increase is not paid. Thus Cousins expose himself for what he is—an agent of Capitalism anxious to keep the workers in order.

Capitalism is, obviously, in a deep economic and social crisis. The government, as agents of Capitalism, attempts to solve the economic crisis of Capitalism by raising the level of exploitation of the workers and by depressing the standard of living. All the surplus wealth which we the workers create is being used by Capitalism in preparation for the war against the world masses and the Workers States. Capitalism is unable to raise the living standards of the masses, cuts are being made in the school, house and hospital building programmes and children are being robbed of the opportunity of an extra year at school. School milk—an essential part of the diet of many children of the poorer sectors of the working class—is being discontinued. These measures do nothing to solve the inherent contradictions of Capitalism, indeed they only serve to deepen the crisis.

The social crisis of Capitalism expresses itself in the loss of support by Capitalism of those sectors that traditionally supported it. The series of strikes by bank clerks is an example of a traditionally conservative sector being attracted by the strength of the working class and using the workers' methods of struggle. Many other sectors of the poor petit bourgeois (clerks, teachers, technicians, students etc.) are expressing their opposition to Capitalism at this time.

But the process cannot be clearly understood on the basis of this country alone. No! It must be seen as part of a world revolutionary process, as part

of the anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist struggle of the world masses. The expulsion, by the masses of South Arabia, of British Imperialism, the struggle of the Vietnamese masses against American Imperialism and of the Negroe masses within the United States; the constant series of strikes and factory occupations by workers in France, Spain, Belgium and Italy, the demonstrations of German miners are all part of this revolutionary world struggle.

In all Europe workers are faced by the rotten conciliatory leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties and of the trade unions. The workers struggle, like the struggle of workers in this country, is in spite of, and against, these bureaucratic leaderships. It is necessary to organise in this period of struggle committees of bus workers based on the anti-Capitalist programme and on the right of instant recall of all representatives. It is on this basis that the organisms for struggle must be based in order to free the workers from the trade union bureaucracies.

The idea of spasmodic strikes isolated from each other must be resisted and the local committees which already exist, and have proved their ability as organisers, must link themselves nationally on a common, anti-Capitalist programme. The methods of struggle also have an importance—city transport is used, in the main, by workers and bus crew should continue to run the service but strike against the employers by refusing the accept fares. At the same time it is necessary to call on all the exploited masses to support you in this action. In this way you can at once impose workers control over the transport system and provide a centre for the anti-Capitalist struggle of workers and other sectors of the population.

It is necessary to call on the dockers, railway workers, factory workers, teachers, bank clerks and students to support

you. The demonstration in Sheffield on January 26th.—at Wilson's meeting—by workers against the rise in council house rents, by students against cuts in grants and by other sectors against the war in Vietnam shows that all sectors of the masses seek a centre of anti-Capitalist struggle.

The bureaucracy of the unions seeks to limit the struggle to legal action against the employers which will yield nothing and, at the same time, they seek to impose on the transport workers productivity agreements—one-man bus crews etc. To this must be opposed a national strike of municipal bus workers on a programme of an immediate wage increase of not less than 10% to offset the rise in the cost of living; a national minimum wage of £20 per week; an immediate 35 hour week leading to a 30 hour week; equal pay for women (where this does not already exist); control by bus crews of the actual running of the transport system and the nationalisation, under workers control, and without compensation to the former owners of the transport system.

The masses in this country do not lack the consciousness, nor the will to carry the revolutionary, anti-Capitalist struggle forward. What is lacking is the organic means for struggle. The struggle is constant and in the process of this struggle it is necessary to create the organisms—factory committees, dockers' committees, shop committees and committees of transport workers—of dual power on a national basis. This is the task which faces the exploited masses at this moment in this country, to translate the spirit of dual power into the actual organs of dual power, in order to oppose to the degenerated Capitalist system, and to its agents the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracies, a programme for workers control of industry, for a workers government and for Socialism.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

2nd Cadre School of the Party in Newcastle

At the beginning of February the party held its second Cadre School in Newcastle. Members of the party from the region were present as well as members from other parts of the country and sympathisers from the car industry, the mines and the student movement. The school took place during a weekend and although time was short it was possible to have a good discussion after each session with everyone intervening.

Everyone participated in the tasks of preparing meals and cleaning etc. and there was a very good fraternal spirit between the comrades.

All the courses were based on the most recent documents of Cde. Posadas and the International. The courses were as follows:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Opening Speech | Jane |
| World development of the Revolution and the tasks of the International | Colin |
| Political Revolution in the Workers States | Roger |
| British situation and the tasks of the Party | Claire |
| Structure and Functioning of the IV International | Richard |
| Closing Speech | Leo |

At the end of the school everyone gave their opinions of the courses and the organisation of the school.

The school ended with Vivas! to Cde. Posadas, the I.S. and the comrades of the International, and to the revolutionary masses of Vietnam and the world, and with all comrades singing the International.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

NO. 63

FORTNIGHTLY

MARCH 25 1968

SIXPENCE

Build the Workers Student Alliance as part of the Proletarian United Front to overthrow Capitalism

The richness of the pre-revolutionary situation in Great Britain has been particularly emphasised by the violent demonstrations against the war in Vietnam outside the American Embassy, the militancy of the student struggles and the vigour and constancy of the struggles of the workers against the wage freeze and against the dictatorship of the bosses within the factory. There is no question that all these struggles are maintained and will be further stimulated by the advance of the world revolution, the inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to control the revolutionary process. Everywhere the worker and student vanguard see the decomposition of Imperialism and Capitalism and it is necessary that the worker and student vanguard prepare for far greater events than these. This is merely a mild prelude to the wholesale direct intervention of millions on a world scale to seize power from the Imperialists and the bureaucracy.

The bourgeoisie in Great Britain have been badly frightened by all the events of the past week. They have seen the war in Vietnam throwing into disorder the already badly strained Capitalist world currency system. The panic buying of gold shows the abject state of mind of the bourgeoisie—fear, fear, fear.

Immediately prior to the Vietnam demonstration, the swift succession of struggles among the students indicated in the sharpest possible way the collapse of bourgeois authority among a sector of the population usually dedicated to sustaining bourgeois ideas and seeking its future among the bourgeoisie. But although these demonstrations have been spectacular and they are a very clear evidence of the power and force of the revolutionary world situation and the situation within Great Britain, it is necessary to place these struggles in perspective. The student revolutionary vanguard has a great role to play in the struggle for workers power in Great Britain, but only in the worker student alliance within the PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT. There is no possibility and purpose in a self sufficient struggle for purely "student" demands. Within the educational struggle, it is possible to obtain modifications in syllabuses, to throw out an obnoxious Chancellor or at least force a resignation but any fundamental social changes to place education at the service of the masses are impossible without the overthrow of Capitalism which means that the student vanguard has to integrate itself with all the workers struggles and form committees to ally with the workers in all the issues such as that of the proposed closing of AEI, the strikes of Liverpool busmen etc.

Student demonstrations have taken the form of sit-ins, sleep-ins, occupations of buildings, demonstrations against the proposed cuts in the grant increases, anti-Vietnam war meetings, and refusals to work in building which are not suitable. These 'disturbances' are not restricted to one part of the country but reach from

Scotland to the south of England, and the intensity of them is shown by the fact that it is not only the students from the red-brick universities, and universities which have been recently converted from colleges of technology who have been demonstrating, but there have been very violent scenes both in Oxford and Cambridge, the Colleges of the bourgeoisie, when Callaghan and Healy visited them. At the L.S.E. the students have thrown out entirely the proposed new regulations for student participation within the college. At Manchester students have been suspended in connection with the demonstrations when Gordon Walker visited the university. Bowden at Manchester has said that if the students continue in this way they will bring down the whole structure of the universities. This remark shows how far the bourgeoisie feel themselves to be threatened.

Nearly all of these demonstrations are organised independently of the National Union of Students, who restrict themselves to the occasional lobby of Parliament, and hastily disassociate themselves from any more militant action; for instance after the recent students meeting in Trafalgar Square, they immediately condemned the breakaway march to Downing St. More and more the NUS is being bypassed by militant sectors of students who have sufficient confidence to organise themselves. The student is freer than the worker to go beyond his leadership, he does not merely work within the framework of the official established organisations but his role to have a value must be that of an instrument fundamentally of the proletarian struggle.

Although the student struggles have dominated the news, the British proletariat without a centre and constantly sabotaged by the wholly decrepit leaderships in the unions and the more conservative shop steward committees continue to struggle unaffected by transitory obstacles and conservative leaders. Some sectors of the workers actually separate themselves from the L.P., this has been seen

with the Sheet Metal Workers who have disaffiliated themselves. This phenomenon is significant but it is not characteristic of most of the class who as Posadas has emphasised, maintain their class centralisation. Nevertheless there is no contradiction between those workers who remain centralised around the L.P., and those who refuse to pay any longer a political levy. They both have the same objective to

impel the class struggle. Everywhere there are forceful and dynamic struggles. Liverpool busmen enter upon strikes; new wage crisis and crisis over conditions of work prepare themselves in the mining, and railway industries. Now a strike of road hauliers is threatened. Despite every obstacle the proletariat struggles and undermines Capitalism hour by hour. It centralises and fortifies itself.

MAKE AEI WOOLWICH A CENTRE FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE

In the last editorial of Red Flag we emphasised the role that the AEI factory in Woolwich, which is threatened with closure could have on the working class struggle in this country. This is very important and it is important to assess the most recent demonstration which the workers held. As far as a demonstration is concerned it was fine, but limited; it contained workers from other factories in the S.E. area, and some from the other AEI GEC factories, otherwise it achieved nothing. Lobbying M.P.'s will not achieve anything in this period, only the independent struggles of the workers will gain any concessions. The links made with

other factories is very important and it is only by generalising the struggles that anything can be achieved. We appeal to the workers in AEI, to smash the conservative obstacles to their struggles. Out with conservative shop stewards and timid TU officials. Elect the most determined workers on the basis of proletarian democracy to occupy the factory and run it!

An effort similar to AEI, responding to pressure from the base, but at the same time trying to control it, can be observed in the recent conference of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

Self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the British Section

In October of the past year, a militant of the party B. Lynam was sacked from the Longbridge Works of Austin on a trumped up charge of 'Industrial misconduct'. In fact the comrade was sacked because of his work in the organisation of a tendency in united front with the International, around the journal the 'United Car Worker', and it was the growth of the authority of this tendency which the management was concerned to stop. The party responded very slowly to this dismissal and never organised any action against it nor intervened with a party leaflet denouncing the sacking. The comrade who was sacked acted in a weak way, defending a position which was merely that of a trade union militant and not that of a trotskyist cadre. The comrade when interviewed

by the bourgeois press did not defend the positions of the IV International nor those of the 'United Car Worker' when it was necessary to use the circumstances of the sacking to gain the maximum publicity for the anti-Capitalist programme.

Fundamentally this weakness in the response of the party stems from an insufficiency of political life in the political bureau, which it is necessary to correct immediately. Following the directive of the European Bureau, with which we are in total agreement, we make this self criticism before the workers vanguard, particularly that of Austin, and resolve to make the activity of the party more dynamic, more aggressive and more conscious, in the next period.

Long Live the correct application of the line of the International in this country.
Long Live Cde. Posadas and the I.S.

**For an immediate 15% wage increase to cover the rise in the cost
of living caused by the Budget and Devaluation**

The actual phase of the DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Part 2 (Extracts) Adopted as an I.S. resolution

YUGOSLAVIA, THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND THE FAILURE OF THE PO-CHINESE GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

What the Yugoslavs are trying to do with the economic measures just announced is a return to Capitalism. It is not revisionism, it is the return to Capitalism. Revisionism exists when there is a passage from the revolutionary position to the reformist position. But this is the return to Capitalism. At the same time it confirms the world progress of the political revolution, of the tasks, of the activity for the political revolution as the reports demonstrate when they threw an administrator out of the window. It is a minor example: there are other examples which are very important, which indicate that still the internal struggle for the political revolution is still not out in the light, still does not express itself in organic forms. A little time ago they published articles on the internal struggle to liberalise, democratise in a bourgeois form the Yugoslav Communist Party and allow the functioning of other parties. Those who propose this are almost all managers, writers, administrators.

Yugoslavia is the country where the development of a sector directly bound to Capitalism is centred. Yugoslavia is the only country in which the Capitalist banks have traded directly with the enterprises which have been nationalised. Interests, connections and direct business relations exist. They have created a workers bureaucracy and a sector of industrialists, planners, administrators, managers and a whole sector which is through the economy in world relationship with Capitalism. This allows the influence of Capitalism within Yugoslavia and must lead shortly to social counter revolution.

For this reason the election of Tito is a symptom and a barometer. Because before beginning openly the attempt to launch the counter revolution to return to Capitalism, they require a certain security. They are afraid. Imperialism itself is afraid of launching the right wing in Yugoslavia—the Capitalist sectors in Yugoslavia—to take power, because there would be a reaction in the Soviet Union and all the other Workers States. For this reason the process is slow. They have already lost the possibility of doing this, as they could have done, with the Soviet bureaucracy in full crisis. The problem is not decided in Yugoslavia, it is the rest of the Workers States which decide. Hence the fear of Imperialism. Otherwise they would have done what they wanted.

The proletarian vanguard of Yugoslavia feels that the problem does not rest in Yugoslavia but throughout the Workers States. For this reason the importance of the attitude which it takes against the managers, throwing them out of the window. A manager does not get thrown out of a window in a reaction against this particular person. The decision to throw out of the window every policy, every economic measure, every

social measure, which goes against nationalisation and planning is shown. This decision to throw the manager out of the window would not be taken if he was not thrown out from a deeper sentiment than that of being simply against the manager. It is not usual, it is not normal neither is it logical reaction of the worker with a local problem, that of throwing the manager out of the window. It is done only when there is a very great accumulation of feeling. The cry of the worker in the Argentine who says "War in Egypt, down with Imperialism! Let us throw out the foreman" is inspired by this event.

The Chinese do not understand this process, but in spite of this it happens. And the next time in China they will throw out of the window the Chou En lai. And the reformist programme, which the Chinese want is their adapted programme, that of conciliation with the centrist conservative wing, the centrist wing and the left centre wing. They do not have a revolutionary programme, if this was not the case, they would have intervened. If they seek objectively the development of the socialist revolution, they have means of communication, of advance, of intervention, they should propose death to Imperialism! take power! out with Imperialism, take the land! They do not say this. In the OLAS they would have intervened, in the supposed murder of Guevara, they would have intervened. They did not intervene because they still do not have an objective programme. They do not have a programme there. Because if they had a programme for Vietnam, together with the accusation against the Soviet bureaucracy of allowing Imperialism to intervene, they would call upon the masses of the Middle East, of Cambodia, of Burma to take the power, to take the land.

But in China the course advances to the left not to the right. All the advance and the progress gathered momentum, it was not foreseen by them because it is done in an empirical form—and all the advances made, are for the left not for the centre right. They are directed to support socialist property, to eliminate private interest.

It is necessary to direct oneself to

China, to write on China, to be in China. This world course of the revolution reflects, expresses itself also in China. In the next phases our policy must turn to organise the new pro-Chinese currents which will be Trotskyist from the beginning. All the pro-Chinese groups are in crisis, they are confused, are broken because they do not know what to say, what to do.

THE BOLSHEVIK ORIGIN OF THE SYRIAN REVOLUTION, THE MATERIAL HELP OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AND ITS ATTEMPT TO CONTAIN THE REVOLUTION

Syria accepts the IV International. In this acceptance is included a certain aspect of the search for the IV International, because the search shows itself through the publications of the books of Trotsky, of the declaration of the Federation of Syrian trade unions. When they make certain contacts and seek world support, they are in this sense searching, not in a peculiar and particular way for the IV International. It is the search for alliances with the world revolution.

The importance of the acceptance of the IV International is that being a young movement without bureaucracy, stimulated, inspired by revolutionary sentiments and objectives, the Syrian leadership seeks contacts, fuses itself with another movement, which identifies itself with it, without concerning itself with quantity, number, anything. It identifies itself with the movement itself. This is one of the forms with which it is possible to measure the bases of the purity of the Syrian revolution and of this sector which leads the Syrian revolution. This is fundamental. On the other hand the resistance of the Chinese bases itself on the fact that there are sectors which do not have pure intentions, for this reason they are afraid. If they see themselves obliged to advance towards the revolution, they are stimulated to defend their China, the interests of a caste, of a sector; but they are impelled, particularly and fundamentally by the objective base of the Chinese revolution.

The other factor in Syria is that the proletariat, certainly a minority, is the force which decides the course of the revolution. The programme is the programme of the proletarian revolution, the politics, those of the proletariat, which seeks to link the Syrian revolution with the world revolution, without a special interest in the future of the Syrian revolution. This is the discussion within. To form the militia and not the permanent army means to conflict with the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, to conflict

with the bureaucracy of the Workers States and undoubtedly to attack Imperialism, to present itself with a very great force in front of Imperialism, to be a source of inspiration for other revolutions. They are conscious of this. And on the other hand in place of retiring or delaying, they seek to advance. And the full force of this revolution has a Bolshevik origin.

In its origin, in its intention, the Syrian revolution has a Bolshevik origin, without the Bolshevik instrument. For this reason they accept. For this reason, they already have Trotsky. They are inspired by Bolshevik sentiment, it is not the result of an abstract conclusion; they have read Trotsky first. And they have read the IV International. The IV International has influenced this leadership, weighed on it, as can be seen in the edition of the books of Trotsky two years ago and the mention of this Syrian leader: "Ah, Posadas, this is the one who Fidel Castro attacked at the Tri-Continental", indicating that they follow our literature. They concern themselves and are not against; otherwise they would not bear it in mind. This shows the influence of the IV International, the function of the IV International until this phase. From now on, the function of the IV International is hence forwards not to be a source, which continues marxism, but a concrete leader of the revolution. This is the concrete change which exists.

The Soviet bureaucracy is obliged to send the fleet to Lattaquia through the necessity of defending the Workers State, under the stimulus of the military sectors and of the factories. In the intellectual centres, in the universities, in the workers areas, in public opinion, in the market, in the home, there is discussion. It is necessary to contain Imperialism. Preceding this, is the decision of the Soviet bureaucracy of the Soviet officials who say: "after all, the Syrians, the Egyptians must defend Socialism more." And "they have to give the example that they are defending Socialism."

EDITORIAL

BUILD THE WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

stewards and T.U. officials in Coventry organised by the convenors of the Standard-Triumph Leyland Group. Again it is necessary to build these committees with clear anti-Capitalist objective. The lack of proletarian democracy helps Capitalism to maintain what little historic time remains to it.

The radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie deepens and widens as has been shown in the Vietnam demonstration (supported from all over the country) and the demonstrations of the students, and this allows, with the constant maturing of the proletariat, the best conditions for the conscious intervention of the revolutionary vanguard. This is pre-eminently the period for the operation of the Transitional programme. Demands can be put forward that range from demands for the 35 hour week, all wages to rise with the cost of living, full trade union democracy with the right of immediate recall, to demands for nationalisations, workers control, the closing of all Polaris bases, strikes against the sending of British troops to Mauritius, the organisation of workers defence com-

mittees etc. This is the period of the preparation for the taking of power. It is necessary to build the revolutionary current in the industrial field, beginning with the basic economic demands higher wages, control of conditions within the plants etc, but it is necessary also to struggle directly for factory occupations, workers control, factory committees. And in this sense, it is necessary to eliminate the separation of struggles; that is committees must be developed which include housewives, workers, tenants to struggle within their particular regions against dismissals, rent and fare increases etc. The students vanguard as part of the worker-student alliance within the proletarian united front has a valuable role to play not as a substitute for the class but as a useful ally. Although as Posadas has pointed out the process within Great Britain has not defined itself, as it has in for example Italy or Spain, the effective construction of the vanguard and the conscious moulding of the proletarian united front which already objectively exists, will accelerate the process leading to the taking of power before, during and after, the nuclear war.

THE TASKS AND THE PREPARATION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL TO INTERVENE AND IMPEL THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The objective of this exposition is to demonstrate the role of Syria in this phase in which we live. Syria is the most important centre of our activity and for a period will be the centre. Even if the external action is delayed, the interior action is as important as the external action. Even if there are not great events in Syria and in the struggle in Syria; the internal life and the internal struggle allows us, the IV International to be able to influence, to organise and to intervene at least in the internal discussions which are the most elevated in the Workers States; they discuss openly the social character, the social forms, and the instruments of the social forms of power in the Syrian Workers State. We are participating in this discussion, weighing, influencing and orientating. And we have access to this discussion. For this reason it is the most important centre.

There are four fundamental centres where we can intervene; Cuba, Mali, Algeria and Syria where the socialist revolution and the political revolution develop equally. But we are not able to make interventions, in all four countries; we have neither the force, nor the means. It is necessary to regulate the intervention

so as to participate in everything, but to concentrate our forces where it is easier and where there is a greater possibility of influencing; this is in Syria. We are allowed to discuss openly in Syria; it is certain that in Cuba where we have a section which functions, they are going to publish books by Trotsky. The comrades are working but with certain difficulties. In Syria they admit us and we discuss directly, and we are influencing the leadership. This leadership will feel the influence, will discuss, make proposals, and raise its understanding, and will acquire security in its understanding. We are exercising a direct influence as a leadership, not through the occasional text but as leadership, which uses all its experience and capacity within Syria.

The team is young, the material means which the International possesses are limited, but they are sufficient to do what we are doing. Sufficient. One cannot wait for any more cadres to go, they are needed in Latin America and in Europe. We must base ourselves on the cadres we have. We expect, we deduce that Imperialism will intervene with the nuclear war. We must prepare for this. All these objections and criticisms which we make

political revolution in China

IN SYRIA AND THE TASKS OF THE IV INT.

J. POSADAS Nov. 1967

must be taken in all seriousness by each comrade and not be considered as simply passing criticisms, no. If you are not capable of correcting yourselves, you must consider that our trust will cease, because we are pushing this task forward and it demands the concentration of all the attention, the understanding and the will. There is no room for anything else. Anything else distracts, puts us at a distance from the central point of preoccupation, satisfies and directs the energy to other problems, which are inferior, and which damage the concentration of the attention on this objective.

The objective conditions in Syria are also being formed because they have published the books of Trotsky; they know Posadas through his activity, and the attacks of Fidel Castro in the Tri-Continental. We have created these objective conditions. And we have created them with seriousness, occupying ourselves with what it was necessary to teach, with what it was necessary to be preoccupied, with what it is necessary intellectually to be concerned with—amongst other things whether to learn Arabic or write texts or wash plates. One must know with what to be concerned. To be mistaken in this means allowing the phase to pass.

We have created what is now happening in Syria. Since the 8th World Congress of the IV International, we had posed that Syria was almost a Workers State. We bore Syria constantly in mind. And we did not learn Arabic, but we understood the Arab masses very well.

Without the resolution of the 8th World Congress on Syria, we would not have understood this today. We would have gone running round to see what was happening. We have not had to run at all; it has been a natural thing. Syria is ours we say. We read Kaled Jundi and we wrote immediately: "Kaled Jundi is Trotskyist," because he has sentiments like ours, people like this have the same sentiments as us. There is a lack of political formation and security; this can be acquired. It is necessary to learn this. Arabic can be learnt afterwards. For this reason it is necessary to develop the section, the more it develops, the better.

In the Syrian revolution, there is already a team as was seen at the beginning of the Cuban revolution, with the difference that it is a team which knows what it wants, has a consciousness of the necessity of the programme and of force. For this reason, there is the struggle between the trade unions and the Baath. Still there is not an antagonistic dispute but it advances through a contradictory struggle. But anyway the Baath is a leadership of bourgeois origin. This must not be forgotten. The Baath has a bourgeois origin. The Baath of Syria is not the same as that of Iraq or the Lebanon, but it has a bourgeois origin. And if Kaled Jundi supports himself on the trade unions, it is because he has no

faith in the Baath. Otherwise there would not be a struggle. It is certain that it is possible to win over part of the Baath but if it is not based on political and theoretical security, it has doubts.

All the Middle East is Trotskyist. The whole of the Middle East, because there is a revolution which tends to elevate itself without a previous tradition submitted to the Communist and Socialist movements. The nationalist movements of Nasser, Boulelfika and all these types do not have roots, and have not constructed a team. Look at Boumedienne. He made a coup d'etat and a year after he has to say "Let Socialism go forward". That is, they have not been able to construct an apparatus because history does not allow it. Not because they are not capable. It's what they wanted, they have made a thousand manoeuvres, they handed out sinecures, posts and salaries, but they have not been able to construct an apparatus. This is the Middle East.

The reaction of Boumedienne cannot be repeated in general in any Workers State in formation; the Boumedienne period—though not an attempt at it—gets shorter. The same in Ghana. The government in Ghana has not yet taken any important measure of retreat, only two measures in relation to North American enterprises, outside this, all has remained, as before. They have not been able to go back on a single step and not even Indonesia. Indonesia is the most evident case, in two years Indonesia only returned a rubber factory and an oil well to the English, but it was very little. Still they have not recognised Chiang Kai Shek, they have suspended relations with the Chinese Workers State, not broken relation, and all this shows the internal struggle, in Indonesia, an internal struggle between Suharto and Nasution. And they still have not been able to construct a solid repressive apparatus. They constantly quarrel amongst themselves. The whole of the Middle East advances towards the revolution.

It is necessary to increase and extend our influence on Syria through our own functioning, our activity and our greater integration in the mass movement and the revolution in every country; as it is in each one. This is indispensable. What gives confidence and authority to the Syrian, Cuban, Algerian and Mali leaderships is seeing the Party, the IV International capable of organising movements. We went to Guatemala to give security to the Party and to the movements, in that we are capable of organising the revolution. For this reason we went to Guatemala. We went to show and to make it felt that we are capable of doing this: the Party, the International must feel that we are capable of doing this. We went to demonstrate that we were capable of organising the leadership and the revolution! We went to do this. We were conscious of what we were doing:

we did not go to construct a programme, we went to demonstrate that we are capable of doing it, to the International and to the rest of the world revolutionary movement. This has been circulated. Castro has seen to it that it has circulated through the world.

And the Syrians know that the IV International has organised conferences, and cadre schools in Guatemala; they know this. In Syria it is necessary to intervene in the revolution. In Guatemala it was necessary to organise the leadership and the movement to struggle for power. In Syria they are already in power. They modify, and change the objectives. The nature is the same; but the objectives are different. In Guatemala we sought to influence the leadership, to impel it to adopt the programme of the socialist revolution, to make the rest of the guerrilla movement feel confident in that it was possible to fight, possible and necessary to struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. In Syria this is not so; in Syria they have such a programme. In Syria we will influence the leadership, so that it takes into its own hands the leading part in developing the construction of a Workers State.

The forces which we have to forward this task are small. All the cadres and militants are dedicated to the revolution, no one dedicates himself to anything other than to the struggle for power and for the revolution; no comrade has any other activity or other pre-occupation. It is not this which impedes the struggle for power.

What is still lacking is the centralisation, the will to raise oneself to a centralised functioning, centralising capacity in a centralised life and desire for centralised progress. This is what is lacking to struggle really consciously and with the possibility of intervening. And still a childish manner of functioning prevails. There is still no notion of what to do and how to do it. Leave the childish stage and preoccupations behind. Childish preoccupations and everything that goes with it are all against centralisation. It embraces the individualists dream of feeling himself to be a personality still. Personality is the struggle for socialism; there is no personality beyond this.

The problems of the political revolution demand a greater theoretical understanding than that of today. It is not simply the problems of the workers militias and the trade unions. There are the concrete economic problems of the economic relationship between workers power, workers militias, economic unification, peasants, workers, the expropriation of the oil wells and what to do with the expropriated oil. Thus it is necessary to intervene in these discussions and it is not sufficient to say: expropriate and sell to the Workers State. What if the Workers States do not buy? The problem is how to deal with the diversification of production, and which elements to diversify in production, and what relations to maintain, and whether they appear on examination to be conciliatory and are not.

It is necessary to intervene with the greatest flexibility, in the political revolution in the Middle East. One cannot go to the masses and say "this is the programme, accept it or else". No, it is necessary to go along with the most complete flexibility and just as in the countries in Latin America, Europe and Africa, it is necessary to intervene in problems of greater or lesser importance, not always being able to seek out in every instance the continuation of revolutionary positions. When they do not exist, one cannot just say: "Until there are I'll not make a move". You must maintain the position. That does not mean conciliation: to stay there means to maintain authority and to help the process to pass through this phase without becoming compromised with a conciliatory policy, and without becoming indifferent either. This

quality must be acquired.

The Soviet Workers State was the first great one to sign apparently conciliatory documents: at Brest Litovsk it consigned territory to the enemy, but there was no conciliation, the concession was made in order to maintain the Soviet State. The Bolshevik capacity to do this must be born in mind all the time. But if the situation is not dominated, concession or sectarianism takes place. This capacity for manoeuvre must be raised one hundred per cent.

Syria plays the same role as the IV International in the world. We are a small group supported by the world maturity of the revolution. A dynamic theoretical centre is lacking, which centralises and provides security for action and which gives an impulse for the World Revolution.

We fulfill the same role. The world is mature, overmature; otherwise it would not show itself in Vietnam. Vietnam shows justly a state of constant unstable equilibrium, because the revolution is mature and the putrefaction of capitalism has developed and the conscious leadership of the masses is lacking. Neither capitalism nor the bureaucracy have the strength to decide. This is our force. Syria performs its function because it is based on the existing forces; in this way the unequal and combined process expresses itself, otherwise the process would show itself in another way.

There is a very great internal struggle in the Baath, and there is a wing which draws near to the revolution, which is gained by the revolution and which besides is concerned and interested in receiving political orientations, programmatic orientations and they consider the IV International an instrument and a serious and capable organisation and they value it. And if Syria is a new phase in the permanent world socialist revolution, this new phase is also within the International not outside but internally. History makes itself felt with points of support, which on the road are organising organisms to advance not to wait.

If the International had had the strength to go to Guatemala to organise the leadership and the movement for the struggle for power how would we not have the strength to intervene in Syria? Guatemala was more difficult than Syria. Syria is more simple, we are disposed towards this. And to intervene in this process in a short stage, to develop the socialist revolution, it is necessary to improve the functioning of the sections. It is necessary to have a plan and a stage. We have already formulated the plan, the stage we have not yet been able to fix but we give ourselves a stage because this determines the organisation of the force and of the phases. The stage must be short. It is necessary to expect blows. It is necessary to expect a reaction against us, on a world scale, local and in Syria. Before they wanted to do this, but were not able. It is necessary to decide on a plan to improve the functioning of each section, to gain people, to organise tendencies and fractions and a disciplined and dynamic activity.

Audacity is independent of the possibility and the bases of support. It is not possible to be audacious if one does not count with security for action. One can undoubtedly be audacious and we are also, but if there is security and points of support, audacity then, without supporting itself on more forces, triples itself. It is more resolved, it sees better, it coordinates better, knows how to organise the phases better; it means that it has points of support which are more solid to advance in growth, extending dialectically, not numerically but algebraically as Lenin and Trotsky said in respect to the formula of the workers and peasants government. This is our phase, this is the phase of the IV International.

November 67.

J. POSADAS

Vietnam, Korea, the trial etc.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

political forces which led to stimulating the revolution. But the logical conclusion is that forms of organisation and functioning must be adopted which impede new Escalantes, that is soviets, workers control, independent organic political life based on the unconditional defence of the revolution.

This resolution to expel and condemn Escalante will stimulate the revolutionary forces and tendencies in all the Workers States and communist parties. The process in Cuba is part of the world process, of the conscious phase of the world permanent and socialist political revolution. This is animated by the same proposals, seeks the same objectives. Although the unequal and combined process develops dynamically, even this conscious phase of the world socialist revolution

demands a greater development, the world development of the centralised leadership which is developing joined with the preparations for the nuclear war.

And it will develop before, during and after the nuclear war. It is Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of all the Workers States, and of all the communist parties who are defeated in Korea, in Cuba and in Vietnam. The tasks for the conscious development of the world revolutionary leadership are advancing with dynamism and velocity in dialectical leaps. On this process and these perspectives there must be an audacious and dynamic development of the policy and the activity of the IV International.

Fraternal greetings to all of you on the part of all of us.
3. 2. 68.

J. POSADAS

Vietnam, Korea, the trial and condemnation of the agents of the Soviet Bureaucracy are part of the conscious phase of the World Socialist, Political and Permanent Revolution

3. 2. 1968 LETTER OF J. POSADAS

It is necessary to organise demonstrations, leaflets, appeals to support Vietnam expelling Imperialism, the same as for Korea. It is necessary to unite both, but with the emphasis on Vietnam. The daily papers say that Fidel Castro will speak within a few days on the trial of Escalante.

The offensive of the Vietcong deserves all the support, the adhesion, and the most profound human affection which can be organised. It is young people of 15-20 years old who are struggling and smashing Imperialism. Only Communist security, superiority and social perspective can give to humanity such human beings. No other regime could give it to them. Already humanity lives in the consciousness that it is master of events and disposes of

OUR PROGRAMME

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

its strength to organise the world as necessary for human fraternity. The social heroism of the Vietnamese masses represent and concentrate the world heroism of the revolutionary masses of the whole world. This is the disposition, the social security of the masses of the Workers States, of the proletariat of Europe, of Asia, of Latin America. The existence of the Workers States, of the proletariat, of the struggles of the world proletariat, of the peasant struggles, of the masses of Cuba and Korea, of the advance of the political revolution in Cuba and China, all this development, unconscious and unequal which presents itself in a deformed way, expresses the rapid and organic advance of the present actual phase of the world revolution. It IS NECESSARY TO CALL PUBLIC MEETINGS IN THE PARTY WITH THE COMMUNISTS TO EXPLAIN THIS PROCESS AND THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OFFENSIVE OF THE VIETCONG.

Still the strategy and the immediate objectives of the Viet Cong are not clear; whether they think to base themselves on the conquests and the psychological, material and military blows given to Imperialism or if they think to gain positions in every way to attract a part of the Buddhists to seek to smash the Yankees or to negotiate in better, more favourable conditions. But the offensive is also a reply and a rejection of the intentions of Ho Chi Minh and of the right wing seeking to conciliate with the Yankees. It is an offensive directed also to break, to smash the attempts at negotiating which the soviet bureaucracy are attempting and the right wing in North Vietnam. The offensive represents the strength and the unbreakable decision of the masses to push forward the socialist revolution. The programme of the Vietcong is not related to the revolutionary methods which it employs, with the social decision and security. In the contradiction between the objective and the declared programme of peace and the appeal to the bourgeoisie and the demonstration that they can conquer and smash the Yankees, it is the latter line which is triumphing. But a military triumph over the Yankees is not possible. The Yankees cannot allow a Dien Bien Phu.

To conquer, the Vietcong need the help of the world proletariat, of the Workers States, of the masses of the world. Now, a world offensive of the communist parties, of the Workers States, of the proletariat and peasantry is necessary.

It is necessary to unite the struggles of the Vietcong with the struggles of the masses of the world to expel, smash, expropriate Imperialism in all its forms. The military superiority of Imperialism must be met with the social world superiority, with the united world front of the masses. It is necessary to appeal to China, to Cuba, to the USSR, to all the Workers States to intervene now: general strikes, meetings, demonstrations, assemblies against Imperialism, to demand the sending of militias, arms, troops, money, ships, planes to Vietnam. The social superiority of the Vietcong, the offensive, the discipline and harmony in the organisation, the action and the concentration of the will to reach the objectives, demoralises the troops of Imperialism, decomposes them quickly, attracts the population of Vietnam and predisposes them to incorporate themselves in the struggle of the militias and the guerrillas. This offensive tends to seek also the coordination between the Vietcong and the rest of population. Without the intervention of the population, its direct help such an offensive would be impossible.

The communist parties of the world will feel the influence of the struggles of the masses of Vietnam, will develop forces and tendencies to demand of the leaderships that they elevate the struggles. And these forces will do this, lead them, organise them if the leaderships do not respond. They will tend to liberate themselves from the leaderships, seeking not to break the centralisation of the class. The crisis of

the nationalist parties and in the communist parties will accentuate. In one week, three actions of the masses impel history concentrating the attention, understanding and the orientation of the masses of the world to follow the ways, the programme, the revolutionary objectives. The concentrated and centralised process, unequal and combined, establishes the fusion and world influence between Korea, Cuba and Vietnam and communicates these to the masses of the world. The roads of peaceful coexistence demonstrate before the masses and above all the communist parties, how useless they are and on the other hand, impel and stimulate, orientate to revolutionary roads. It is necessary to be disposed to intervene in this process with all our force. In Europe quickly, will be felt the struggles of the masses in Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, some independently of the others, all these are animated and orientated to the same objective: to impel the socialist revolution, political and permanent revolution.

Vietnam itself also has entered the conscious phase of the world socialist revolution. The crisis of Imperialism will accentuate more with this offensive. As in the case of Korea, the world bourgeoisie leaves Yankee Imperialism. And at the same time the masses of the world are impelled, stimulated and orientated by the revolutionary decision of the masses of Vietnam, Korea and Cuba.

Even in conciliatory forms in Cuba, the political revolution advances. The same in Vietnam. The Vietcong do not appeal for the taking of the land, to conciliate with the sectors of the bourgeoisie but quickly the masses will take it into account. The Vietcong must appeal to the masses of the world and China, to the USSR, to the Workers States, and to the world proletariat to appeal for the expropriation and the expulsion of Imperialism and the overthrow of Capitalism.

The Vietcong separate the struggle in Vietnam from that of the masses of the world against Capitalism. It arises as a natural necessity to organise the centralised leadership of the mass Communist International. New dialectical leaps are prepared in the world process of this stage of the conscious phase of the world socialist revolution. In all the movements which are seeking the progress of society fighting against Capitalism and to impel the economies in the backward countries, in the communist parties and in the nationalist movements, the crisis in Cuba against the Soviet bureaucracy, the firmness of the Korean masses and the offensive of the masses of Vietnam against Yankee Imperialism will exert an influence. All the bases of co-existence, of the peaceful ways which until now could be disposed of by the bureaucracy and Imperialism are liquidated by the revolutionary resolution of the masses.

In a short stage, it is necessary to expect more acute crises in the Soviet Union and in the other Workers States. Yankee Imperialism will be obliged to modify and harden its strategy and plans of aggressiveness and of stages for the war. The internal repercussion in North America will be immense. The masses will tend to oppose themselves more resolutely to the war plans of Imperialism. All this process creates obstacles, attacks, prejudices, weakens the war plans of Imperialism. It imposes the prior centralisation which Imperialism needs to dispose of the strategy and the plans based on their initiative. Now it is the masses of the Workers States who have the initiative and in every way who are pushing forward the revolution: Cuba, Korea, Vietnam. The Soviet bureaucracy does not escape this crisis. It will feel it, feels it already deeply. Every plan of revolutionary struggle or of revolutionary actions as in Korea against the policy of co-existence, feeds the revolutionary tendencies to group themselves together and dedicate themselves to appear publicly. In a short stage the revolutionary tendencies will appear in all the Workers States.

Even within the limitations, seeking not to confront publicly the Soviet bureaucracy, Fidel Castro and his team have to criticise the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist parties of the world, the line of material stimulus, of peaceful co-existence. And the support to Korea is an appeal to the preventative war. The refusal to attend the Conference of Budapest is a blow to the conciliatory and counter-revolutionary intentions of the Soviet bureaucracy. Fidel Castro has just parried a campaign of the Soviet bureaucracy to exert pressure and to see that Cuba abandons revolutionary policy—even with the limitations with which he applies it—to impel the tendency which seeks conciliation with Yankee Imperialism. It is possible that Fidel Castro used the action of the Korean government to propel the resolutions which the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party adopted. The proposal already existed but he used the opportunity of Korea to have a solid point of international support, to confront the Soviet bureaucracy. Even the resolution of the government of the Korean Workers State is limited, because it does not appeal to the masses of the world and of North America to smash Imperialism and overthrow Imperialism. Also Castro appealed to the Cuban people to demonstrate, to pronounce publicly with meetings, assemblies, conferences, massive trade union meetings. But he did not appeal for a discussion with all the population so that this is the judge. He does not appeal to the popular tribunals. He tries to put them in the shadows. But his policy leads him inevitably to base himself on an activity each time more direct, in the organised life of the masses in soviets. Quickly discussions appear on the soviets. Part of these judgements against the agents of the Soviet bureaucracy, in Cuba are directed to calm, to satisfy the masses and Trotskyist Guevarist tendencies. This is to contain the pressure of the Guevarist tendency. And even directed administratively from above, without the participation of the masses, without political analysis and political judgements, the political reasons with which they attack him are against the government and seek the support of the world forces against the line of the government; elimination of salaries, against material stimulus, against peaceful co-existence.

Ordoqui three years ago was arrested and even then they did not condemn him. Now they condemn Escalante in a week. Castro hoped to intimidate the Soviet bureaucracy to contain their conciliatory and counter-revolutionary intentions. But he has to do so adopting and defending political positions which impel the political revolution and the socialist revolution. The centre of our concern must be to impel Castro and his team, to appeal to the masses to call demonstrations, meetings, in factories, and trade unions, to discuss the defence of the socialist revolution against the bureaucracy and the agents and representatives of the Soviet and Cuban bureaucracy. The new crisis with Escalante shows that the forces which in Cuba are seeking to impel the revolution are more powerful than the soviet and Cuban bureaucracy together, because Escalante was expelled as a traitor after being readmitted by Castro to conciliate with the Soviet bureaucracy. In re-admitting Escalante two years ago, Castro was seeking or believed it possible to conciliate with the Soviet bureaucracy. In condemning him then, he declared that he was seeking an independent road.

Yugoslavia confronted the Soviet bureaucracy to defend the nationalist bureaucratic interests against the revolution. Fidel Castro saw himself obliged to impel

CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE

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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. 64

FORTNIGHTLY

APRIL 10 1968

SIXPENCE

Build the factory Committees in all Industries In a United Front with the IV International on an Anti-Capitalist Programme

No worker to be dismissed! All profits of Automation to the workers

The events of the last two weeks have shown the deepening of the anti-Capitalist spirit of the working class vanguard, under the influence of the world revolution and the crisis of British Capitalism. On a world scale the revolution advances destroying all the bases which once existed for peaceful co-existence between the Workers States and the revolutionary masses on one side and Imperialism and Capitalism on the other. It is true that in the last few days there has been a gesture of conciliation by Ho Chi Minh towards US Imperialism, a gesture which has encouraged all those weak and vacillating sectors who hope to avoid the final encounter, but at this stage of the world revolution all efforts of conciliation run completely counter to the spirit of the masses to smash Imperialism, and of Imperialism to defend itself whatever the damage to humanity, and this makes any attempt at conciliation doomed to failure. The direction of the world process of the revolution is not shown by Ho Chi Minh's desire to conciliate but by the assassination of Martin Luther King and the immediate nation-wide riots of the black masses which followed it. King had already lost his usefulness to Imperialism, in that the movement which was centred around him had already gone beyond his own non-violent ideology and he was becoming a prisoner of this mass movement which still centralised around him. For this reason he was assassinated but the murder will only serve to accelerate the formation of conscious revolutionary anti-Capitalist tendencies in the Negro movement which will link up with the struggle of the white workers.

In this country, very big struggles are preparing to break out; a new 1926 is preparing, but in a national and international situation which is altogether more favourable to the workers than 1926. The spirit of dual power of the workers and students deepens and will express itself in the next period in strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations. At this moment the most combative struggle of the working class is to be seen on Merseyside. In the last months there has been a whole succession of strikes in and around Liverpool, and their importance cannot be over-estimated. The persistence of the busmen's strike, the lorry drivers strike which has just finished, and the earlier dock and tugboatmen strike show how in the absence of an actual organising centre, the workers create transitory centres in the course of the struggle itself. Thus we see in Liverpool a great inter-influence of the struggles, with the workers taking the slogan of a £17 pound a week minimum wage which the dockers were the first to win, as their own demand and organising for this. A local official of the TGWU said that the level of demands made by both the busmen and lorry drivers were unheard of, and he predicted that they would reach the local factories. In mass meetings of the busmen and the lorry drivers, calls were made for the generalisation of the strikes throughout the country. This shows that the form the struggle is taking on Merseyside is the struggle for the £17 a week minimum wage but the content is much deeper, and expresses a desire to organise nationally the struggle against Capitalism.

The bureaucracies of the trade union movement are being brought into a tremendous crisis by the struggle of the working class against Capitalism at this stage where Capitalism, because of its crisis is forced to cancel such fundamental rights as the right to strike. The nature of the T.U. bureaucracy has not changed but the objective conditions in which it finds itself, have changed in favour of the masses. Thus we see in relation to the Liverpool bus strike that the General and Municipal Workers Union which is an ardent supporter of the governments in-

come policy, as well as the TGWU which is not, are paying out £4 a week 'hardship' money to the strikers. The leaders of these unions have to do this, have to, in part at least, support the unofficial action of their members, because they fear the development of tendencies which will go ahead and organise independently of the leadership. They do it to try to preserve their last vestiges of authority over the rank and file. This same process is going on in other unions and makes itself most marked at the present time, in the statements of Scanlon of the A.E.F. Scanlon, in an interview, said that he was prepared to go to jail if necessary to fight for the engineering workers pay claim which exceeds considerably, the governments ceiling of 3½%. We support Scanlon's demands for a 'substantial' increase in the basic rate and would defend him against any attack by the bourgeoisie which would be an attack to intimidate the whole working class, but we say that the demand must be for an immediate 15% to cover the cost of the budget and devaluation, then a 30% increase to win a decent living minimum wage, this minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, a guaranteed minimum annual wage whether the Capitalist class can provide work or not (this has been won by the Ford workers of Detroit USA), all profits of automation to the workers etc. The IV International would make a United Front with Scanlon to fight for this programme, and we call to the base of the A.E.F. to demand that the leadership fights for it, while at the same time, we appeal to the base to form independent factory committees, including workers from other unions, with a full democratic life of all the workers, as the only sure way of forcing the government and the employers to yield to their demands.

The British masses are dealing heavy blows at the apparatus of the Unions and the Labour Party. The heavy abstentions in the last four bye-elections are a warning to the Labour Party leadership and at the same time are the indication of maturing of revolutionary tendencies which in the next period are going to be at the head of the struggles of the class.

The worker masses, show their opposition to the pro-Capitalist policies of the government; they do not go to any other party but in their thousands they abstain, and this withdrawal of support by the base on which the Labour apparatus is built, is bringing the apparatus into crisis both outside and within Parliament.

As we said in the beginning of this editorial great new struggles are preparing throughout the country. The budget was an open attack on the living standards of the masses in the interests of the ruling class and its war preparations. The ruling class needs to attack the class, to smash it and demoralise it, but it lacks the strength and it knows it. Its latest proposals over the limiting of wage increases to 3½% are far weaker than they should be, but they do not dare to embark on the wholesale imprisonment of militants at this stage. Later they will, as a last resort, use repression but it will only stimulate the masses, not terrorise them, in the same way as the murder of Luther King has done in the USA. Capitalism cannot solve any of the problems confronting the working masses, problems of high cost of living, lack of hospitals, schools, the lack of opportunities and the discrimination against immigrant workers and women workers. Capitalism cannot afford to pay women the same rate as

men, the double exploitation of women by Capitalism and the male will only be ended when Capitalism is ended, but the struggle for this demand is a fundamental one to involve now with complete equality, the women workers who throughout the country are showing that they are prepared to take their place in the struggle.

We appeal to the revolutionary tendency who abstained in the elections, to those who are leading the struggle on Merseyside, who within the AEF are pushing Scanlon to an intransigent position, to the women workers, to form factory committees independent of the leaderships of the T.U.s but not breaking with the T.U.s, to forge links on a national scale with other factory committees, and to make a United Front with the Revolutionary Workers Party the British Section of the IV International on the basis of an anti-Capitalist programme of demands, to defend the immediate interests of the workers, and to win from the bourgeoisie fundamental positions of power on the road to the seizure of power by the workers with demands like no worker to be dismissed. Immediate 15% increase. All wages to rise with cost of living. Work sharing without loss of pay. All profits of automation to workers. Nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of key industries.

The Belgian Section of the IV International put forward a Candidate in Charleroy in the recent Election

As we go to press we have not heard how many votes the Belgian comrades obtained in the elections, but we send congratulations for their dynamic electoral campaign and publish below parts of their Electoral Manifesto.

ELECTORAL MANIFESTO

The bourgeoisie has resorted to elections in an attempt to make it believed that a solution to its own crisis exists within the frame work of Capitalism; to try to make the masses believe they can democratically intervene by parliamentary means, solving all the problems of the population. It is an attempt by the Belgian bourgeoisie to make it believed that it still possesses enough confidence and social authority to allow elections to be held.

The struggles of the masses throughout the whole world against Capitalism and Imperialism, and particularly, the struggle of the masses in Vietnam show that the present period is that of the triumph

of the masses. Yankee Imperialism is being held to ransom by a little country; it is the social superiority of Socialism that is being shown. The struggles of the European proletariat, the struggles of the workers and the students in Caen, in France, the struggles of the workers and students in Spain, Italy, Germany, and throughout Europe, and the strike of the workers in Ford, USA, all mean the same thing. In Belgium an uninterrupted wave of strikes has marked the last period, there have been strikes and occupations in Germain-Anglo, Bailly Nathot, Pinnock Pax, Gand, the struggles of the miners

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

VIETNAM, CUBA, KOREA, THE CRISIS IN THE COM PROLETARIAN FRONT AND THE STAGE IN (Extracts) POWER

In Vietnam the development of the Socialist Revolution, and the development of the political revolution are in process of taking place simultaneously. It is the concentrated and combined process of the revolution which forces North Vietnam, in order to be able to intervene in the Socialist Revolution, to necessarily intervene in the South. But in order to intervene, it needs a revolutionary policy. But, in North Vietnam, the leadership curbs and hinders the development of the political revolution. It is for this reason that, at the same time as it is necessary to expel Imperialism, it is equally necessary to develop the revolutionary forces, the forces of power, of authority, the organs which will permit the development of the revolutionary authority of the masses. At the same time that one impels the Vietcong to fight against Yankee Imperialism, that one pushes them to fight up till the expulsion of Yankee Imperialism—and in doing this one develops the bases of the Socialist Revolution—at the same time, one develops the political revolution, that is to say the fight for the elimination of bureaucracy which prevents the formation of soviets, which prevents the development of proletarian democracy, of collectivisation, for the elimination of all the bureaucratic forms of leadership, for the extension of the programme of the Socialist Revolution and the unification, on this basis, of all of South East Asia, calling the masses to take power. Such is the concentrated process in which the two aspects of the struggle are being developed at the same time. The process shows the level of concentration and centralisation attained by the development of the Socialist Revolution in this stage.

This represents one of the most important experiences of all history. This experience has a triple significance. The first, is by showing, before anything else, that the conditions are ripe for the crushing of Imperialism. The second is that the bases are already present in the masses to liquidate the conciliatory leaderships who curb and sabotage the development of the Socialist Revolution. The third significance is to show that the masses on a world scale are unified. They are united. And in Italy, where such a Communist Party exists, the masses are also completely unified! Italy is a Vietnam.

Italy is a Vietnam; even if it still doesn't act like a Vietnam. The Communist Party must feel that it is the axis around which, all life revolves in Italy. The bourgeoisie is in process of publicly discussing a coup d'état, because it has not been able to do it in secret. And if it has not been able to do it, it is because the masses have prevented it. It is the masses who have prevented a coup d'état, who continue to prevent it, and who are going to continue preventing it and are going to crush the bourgeoisie. It is necessary from now on to launch appeals to the masses to intervene militarily. In order to forestall new coups, it is necessary to call publicly for the organisation of workers' militias, of control commissions in the factories, calling the masses, the workers parties to adopt this form of organisation...

Up till only recently, the bureaucracy and Imperialism could dominate. But we are now in a more advanced phase of the end of the world domination of the bureaucracy. The beginning of the 'Cultural revolution' in China has been followed by the social defeat of Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in Syria and the whole of the Middle East. After that there has been the events of Korea, of Cuba and of Vietnam. It is on these facts, comrades of the Italian Section, that you must base yourself! The crisis of the CP is immense. In the course of the steps forward, the masses of the PCI (Italian CP) and the PSIUP are going to try to act. They are going to try to impose the objective united front, they are going to try to elevate their political action. It is necessary to expect from inside the CP great events, and to help, from inside, great movements.

Any review which appear polemicising with the bureaucratic leadership and which seeks to divide, to demolish the Communist Party under the pretext of demolishing the bureaucratic leadership or of polemicising with it, is only going to favour the Capitalist system. On the other hand it is necessary to encourage any review which appears with the objective of showing to the Communist masses that they must wage the struggle on the plane of the party and the trade union, bypassing the opinions of the leadership. This is what the masses do whenever they can. Korea freed itself from the paternalism, from the coercion and the terrorism of

the Soviet bureaucracy. Cuba is in process of liberating itself from the Soviet bureaucracy. And why won't the masses of the Communist parties do the same? The world weight of the revolution is infinitely superior to what it was six or even three months ago. It is on these conditions that we base ourselves.

The Communist parties are not going to change their nature; their leaderships are not going to change. But these leaderships are going to be expelled. It is impossible at this stage to think of forming new Communist parties. It is the masses themselves who, in these parties, are going to eliminate, sweep out their leaderships. But in every way the masses are going to act in a unified and centralised way. Such is the route to follow. Within the Communist parties the same sentiment of profound crisis is in process of expressing itself as that which expresses itself in the events of Korea, of Vietnam, of Cuba. In these centres, the masses are holding in check Imperialism and the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Communist parties conciliating with Capitalism, the partisans of pacification, of peaceful means, the partisans of submission to the Soviet bureaucracy, those who fear the nuclear war, are beaten. For Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy are the two elements which permit the restraining and oppression of the development of the revolution. The forces of the revolution have already been liberated! And crises are going to develop within the Communist parties. It is on this base, comrades of the Italian Section, that it is necessary to base yourselves to continue and impell this policy and in order to carry on the polemic with 'La Sinistra'. La Sinistra is not going to last for very long, but in this polemic we must address ourselves not only to La Sinistra, but to Cuba also. We must show to the Cuban government that they are wasting their money, their forces, and that they lose historic authority and importance, intervening as they are doing. And it is necessary on the contrary, to launch an appeal to follow a policy, to support a movement, groups, who fight directly for the overthrow of the Italian Capitalist system.

Italian Capitalism prepares a new coup d'état. We denounced it in 1963. But now, it appears that a coup d'état was effectively in preparation at that time, but it was not carried out. The bourgeoisie are actually in process of discussing this in public before the masses, while at the same time they prepare a new coup in secret. They have seen that it is not possible to act secretly using a quite large number of people. Now there are small gangs supported by NATO who are going to try to succeed. But it is not possible to prevent this coup d'état from taking place simply by shouting 'Down with NATO'. It is necessary to throw NATO out, but for this, it is necessary at the same time to overthrow the Capitalist system. The bourgeoisie is forced to make

this coup d'état because it hasn't the social force to maintain itself. Capitalism constantly loses its strength. The crisis of the Christian Democracy shows that what appeared as the most solid base of support for Capitalism, is already in process of weakening, weaking weakening, under the action of the world revolution.

Our Italian Section, still small numerically, has not had the strength to lead the Italian revolution. But it has at its disposal the centres of support to do so: Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Syria, and the next outbreak of war which Imperialism prepares in the Middle East, which will mark the end of Imperialism and the reactionary state of Israel, thus opening the road to the incorporation of the Jewish masses in the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East, with the right of self-determination to the Jewish masses within the framework of this federation. For the time-being you have not the historical strength at your disposal but you have important historical centres of support at your disposal. Amongst them is a struggle and a discussion to show the aim, and the counter-revolutionary action of all the groups: 'Sinistra', Maitan and the people on his newspaper. One cannot evaluate in the abstract the worth of a review. If there were not any other revolutionary movements in Italy, 'Sinistra' would play a positive rôle. But when a section of the IV International is in existence, making available such support as a programme and policy which have been historically proved to be correct and when the masses give battle in the struggle such as they do, it clearly appears to be the aim of the review, 'Sinistra' to prevent this development and to contain the revolutionary process! If this were not so 'Sinistra' would be incorporated in the process and would consequently serve the progress of the masses, progress that is shown in the strikes, the factory occupations, the actions carried out by the Sicilian masses who took power locally. The Sicilian masses decided that something must be done about the floods and earthquakes by occupying the factories, occupying the mines and occupying the land to oblige the owners to pay for it all. It is from this level that one must start out organising on the basis of this and struggling for the taking of power. And in order to do that, appeals must be launched to the masses of the Communist Party, to the masses in the PCI, not calling upon them to leave the PCI. Temporarily, locally, in one or another sector, it is necessary to call for a break with the PCI, in order to take advantage of the importance acquired in this way to enable freer action and to exercise greatly enlarged influence on the rank and file of the PCI. But when an action of this type is carried out, care must be taken in breaking, that this Communist sector which has left its party, keeps up its relationship with the rank and file of the PCI and with the centre in which the Communist mass functions, this being in the trade union, the city district, the factory and on the shop floor. It is on this that the Italian Section must be based.

In Italy, unity must be called for, a United Front of the CGIL with the Communist and Socialist parties. We are against the fact that the PSIUP supports the PCI, but we are not against a class electoral United Front. An electoral United Front of the two parties must be supported, and equally an appeal must be made to the PS. But this front must be made on an anti-Capitalist programme. We are in agreement with the electoral United Front, with the trade union United Front, with the Social Front in all the struggles of all the workers' parties. But it must be demanded that this United Front be made on the programme of the revolution, and not to defend parliamentary policy or be submitted to the PCI;

it is necessary to appeal for the proletarian United Front with a programme for revolution.

Libertini is opposed to this programme, not in the name of the revolution, but because he does not want to get mixed up in this sort of thing; if he were in opposition in the name of the revolution, he would appeal for an United Front with a revolutionary programme. The only way to prevent the submission of the PSIUP to the policy of the PCI, is to prevent the submission of the Communist masses to the parliamentary policy and the policy of co-existence of the PCI; in order to do that it is necessary to appeal for a proletarian United Front and equally an electoral one. But the slogan of the hour is not intervention in the elections, the slogan of the hour is the one which arises out of Vietnam, Cuba and Korea, which all mean a rise in the revolution. A United Front must be demanded of Libertini and the Communist and Socialist parties, not thinking of the elections, but thinking of advancing the struggle to overthrow Capitalism in Italy. In the course of this struggle there must be demanded immediately: a 40 hour week, payed as 48 hours, the advantages of automation to go to the masses, a rise in salaries, a production programme for Italy, for the building of houses, schools and hospitals.

It is necessary to advance a programme for the planning of the economy under workers' control. Let the state nationalise the bank, let the nationalised bank be put into the hands of workers' control, so that it finances the peasants and housing for the workers. Wipe out the harm done by the earthquakes in Sicily. At the moment the population pays for the consequences: at times it gets nothing with all its belongings destroyed. Let houses be built, let them be given electricity, sanitation, roads, and let them be given the land to work, let factories be built to produce what the family needs. Planned economy, public works, housing for the workers, hospitals, schools, roads, transport and running water. A whole plan of public works.

At the same time push forward the struggle that all this be under workers' control, the control of the trade unions and the workers' parties, and organise the control in the form of communes like the ones they have set up in Sicily. That's what will advance the revolution. We appeal to Fidel Castro to do this. And our Party must appeal for this United Front now—at the same time as for unconditional support for Vietnam, Korea and Cuba.

Appeal now to the Workers' States to intervene fully, to mobilise. It is shameful that the Communist parties do not mobilise the masses. Not a single large Communist Party in the world has demonstrated in support of Vietnam. They have brought out little declarations to distract the attention of the masses so as to contain the process. Not one meeting, not one demonstration. They have not made any appeals or any agitation. And in the Workers' States, in the Soviet Union, the masses are avid to intervene. Therefore, movements of the millions should be organised, and in China, so that the revolutionary wing bears weight, demonstrates its weight and prepares the forces to obliterate Imperialism. Mobilisations of millions upon millions! There has not been any demonstration of this. They have made little declarations. The leaderships are being outstripped by the masses; they have been outstripped by events, by the objective struggles and they don't know what to do. They are paralysed. In Cuba it is the same thing. Cuba has not made these appeals. Fidel Castro's government does not appeal to the masses of the world to intervene in the defence of Vietnam in struggling against Capitalism. This is because the

RIVOLUZIONARIO (TROTSKISTA) ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

MUNIST PARTY AND THE P.S.I.U.P., THE UNITED THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN ITALY

J. Posadas, 9th Feb. 1968

process goes beyond all the leaderships. ...It is necessary to appeal for the united revolutionary world front now, to intervene at this moment. The Communist parties of the world hardly call any meetings, demonstrations. They produce short resolutions, communiques of support but they do not call for demonstrations. It is necessary to make appeals so that they intervene now in defence of Vietnam with demonstrations, meetings of hundreds of thousands, of millions uniting them to the struggles of the country.

The immense heroism of the masses of Vietnam does not have the necessary effect in a short run because there have been no uprisings of the masses, because the Vietcong have not called for the taking of the land, the factories, the offices. They have not united their military action with the appeals to the population. There is still time and they must do this, as they did it in the Soviet Union in 1917 and partially in China. But in China the masses for their own account have taken the land, the factories and if the Vietcong appeal to the masses to take the factories, the offices, to expel all the Capitalists, the Yankees would be expelled in a few weeks. But the war will not finish for a long time, as it is going on at the moment. It is possible as appears from all the negotiations at the moment that they are in process of seeking a stage of discussion. The Vietcong wish to base themselves on favourable military conditions to extract the best conditions possible. But the Yankees are not going to leave. The Yankees even though encircled have the military strength to maintain themselves and they feel that if they go, the morale of Capitalism will be destroyed throughout South East Asia; destroyed. For that reason they all remain there. They have no military conclusion in the abstract, but positions to allow them to maintain the morale of Capitalism and points of support to hurl themselves against China, against North Vietnam and against the other Workers States in development in South East Asia.

Here is the strategy which it is necessary to develop for the problem of Vietnam. The war does not finish with Vietnam. Vietnam is a point of support for a later action, for the final settlement of accounts which Imperialism is preparing. For that reason the struggle in Vietnam must unite itself to the struggles throughout South East Asia, call upon the masses of Laos, of Cambodia, of Burma to take the land, to rise up, to

unite the war in Vietnam with the rest of South East Asia which represents a part of the world war. In not doing this, the points of support and the social forces of the Vietnamese revolution are weakened, the points of support which the Vietcong possess and from which they do not profit. The Chinese do not utilise them either. Led by a still centrist opportunist, conciliatory conception, they have not understood the necessity to unite these struggles. They must do so because Imperialism is preparing later actions against China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, against Cuba, against the revolution in the Middle East. On the other hand the masses of the world see, the peasant masses above all, see everything which is happening and they wish to apply their experience; for example the masses of India.

From this arises the necessity to unite the struggles of the Vietcong with the struggles of all South East Asia. It is necessary to call upon the peasants to take the land, to form worker and popular government, to form soviets, to form worker and peasant governments, to rise up against Imperialism, arms in hand and to expropriate all the Capitalists, all the Imperialists, all the great proprietors. It is necessary to form workers and peasants governments, governments based on the trade unions, worker and peasant governments to accompany this struggle of the Vietcong. The struggle of the Vietcong must be a point of support, not only for Vietnam but for the entire world. The Vietcong must go to the masses with these slogans. It is thus that the Russian revolution was made, the Chinese revolution, the Cuban revolution and for that reason they triumphed. It is thus that the Vietcong must act, this is their point of support to throw out Imperialism and develop the greatest force and it represents the greatest point of support in the final settlement of accounts.

The mobilisations of the masses in Korea, as with the offensive of the Vietcong, has overwhelmed and escaped the control of the Soviet bureaucracy. The latter is not able to control the process although they are trying to subject them. Now they are exerting a pressure on the Vietcong, as on North Vietnam, as on Korea to force them into negotiation with Yankee Imperialism. But that is difficult because the impulse of the revolution in these countries is immense. The Soviet bureaucracy will not be able to have any success and it will not have any because the impulses of the revolution are directed

by the pressures of the masses in these countries which have escaped the control of all their leaderships. Undoubtedly the Soviet bureaucracy has the means to be able to exert a pressure and to decide because it furnishes important military and economic aid. But if it is still not able to impose itself, it is because the pressure of the revolution is immense and that within the Soviet Union there are military sectors who wish to go to the end.

The crisis which has developed against Capitalism and against the Soviet bureaucracy has developed through the actions, beginning with Syria, Korea, Vietnam. Now it is going to express itself in the class struggle throughout the entire world, it will impel great mass mobilisations. The masses feel that Vietnam represents a point of support, they feel the weakness of Imperialism, they feel the power of a small Workers State capable of conquering the power of Imperialism, they see a small Workers State conquer the Soviet bureaucracy. That is going to stimulate the struggle of the masses which is going to centralise itself more and more. They are not going to tend to leave their party but to transform their party. That is the characteristic of the crisis of the Communist Parties in this stage. The previous period of the stupid centrist policy which Frank, Maitan, Pablo and Co have conducted, is no longer possible. This policy has failed because it was not correct; But on the contrary our policy towards Peronism has shown itself to be correct, capable of establishing roots among the masses, and to be in the centre of the struggle of the masses to develop the tendencies and prepare for the next stages.

The crisis of the Communist parties is constantly influenced by these events. Imperialism cannot find an equilibrium and there is no equilibrium. A recent letter written by us on Vietnam shows that the final stage of the liquidation of Imperialism has begun. Imperialism was able to answer with the nuclear bombs; it hesitates, it doubts because it does not have security but it cannot tolerate a Dien Bien Phu. The next stages will decide if it launches the war or if it negotiates or if its action is paralysed. The Soviet bureaucracy wants to contain the process, but the masses of the world have felt the beneficial effects, they feel themselves capable of overthrowing Imperialism, even without leadership and against their leadership, and they are going to feel themselves stimulated to accomplish the most important task of this stage: to liquidate the leaderships who oppose, who limit, who suffocate and hinder the development of the revolution. That exists now! The effect of Korea, of Vietnam, of Cuba transforms itself into the struggle against Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy; battle conducted in the Workers States and in the Communist parties. The struggle to liquidate the bureaucracy is going to develop shortly in the Workers States.

For that reason, any formation of centrist tendencies at this stage has no perspective. And if these tendencies are not gained directly by the revolution and do not seek contact and fusion with the IV International, and if they do not follow the IV International, all or almost all, are going to play a counter revolutionary and reactionary role, as Maitan, Frank, Mandel, Pablo and Co or the review "Sinistra".

It is necessary now to appeal to the Communist masses to intervene. We are not able to wait for the masses to throw out their leaderships. It is necessary to act now. The masses must demand of their parties a united front for this programme, this policy; they must demand that they support the masses of Vietnam, of Korea, of Cuba, to expel Imperialism,

to expel NATO, to expel Imperialism from each country, to expropriate Capitalism, to base these struggles on the immediate programme of demands which we have already expounded. This is the appeal which our Italian Section must make in this stage and it is in this way that the party must prepare itself. Every task which the party is undertaking is extremely good, it undertakes it well, it is prepared. It is necessary simply to elevate this capacity. It is necessary to elevate the desire to hold meetings constantly, to harmonise the party for the next stages.

Our Italian Section has held very good meetings which show its good preparation to intervene. It is intervening already and is developing very well. The Marxist Review in Italian finds an immense echo and it is now reached no. 4. It is a powerful advance. The process is dynamic, much more than the development of any world organisation. That is why the Italian Section must elevate more its activity, concentrate its attention on these essential points which determine this process; to provide leadership for the organisation of tendencies which can in a short period be at the head of great actions even if this is not yet the taking of power, the struggle for power, but great revolutionary actions. It is necessary to pose now the necessity for the solution of workers power in Italy. To pose it does not mean to appeal for that now, but to show that this necessity exists in a short period. Here are the most important tasks of our Italian Section which is already well prepared, well disposed and well developed. The small crises come from elements foreign to the party, which the organism rejects or from parts of the organism which cannot accompany the process and which feel themselves to be incapable or uncertain. It is not necessary to stop to think or reflect why we won these people; there are millions to win shortly.

The party must appeal for an alliance; for a united front of the Communist Party, with the PSIUP, with the left of the Christian Democrats and the Trotskyists. It is necessary to intervene, to call for a united front of all the workers organisations. The policy of the party must not devote itself only to the criticism of and attacks against the leadership of the PCI. It is necessary to maintain the criticisms, showing the reformist and conciliatory policy of the Communist Party, calling at the same time upon the base to impel the internal activity in demanding a revolutionary policy. It is necessary to prepare now an electoral alliance for the next elections, accompanied by the general strike, strikes, meetings, occupation of the factories with a programme of increases of salary, sliding scale of hours, land to the peasants, governments on the basis of popular initiative, as in Syria, which resolve all the problems. Here is the basis for the political preparation of the elections. The elections must serve to unify the masses for the united proletarian front of the masses to prepare the struggle for the worker and peasant government.

On the other hand Libertini speaks of separation. He is impelled to want to profit from these conditions for the benefit of a wing of the PSIUP. That is what it is necessary to do, it is an electoral front with a revolutionary and class programme, which bases itself on the strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations. Here is what it is necessary to appeal to, to appeal to the masses of the PCI to impel this policy and this objective in the party. The leaderships of the PCI and of the PSIUP have no interest, but the proletarian vanguard is going to apply these conclusions.

A greeting on our part for the great task and the great development of our Italian Section

J. POSADAS

European Marxist Review No. 1

CONTENTS

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

Editorials By J. Posadas

—The social triumph of the Arab masses in the Middle East against Imperialism opens a new phase in the rise of the Socialist World Revolution.

—The Crisis in China and in Cuba, the development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States and of the World Socialist Revolution.

VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

—Communication of the VIII World Congress

—Manifesto of the 1st May

—Opening Speech Horacio

—World Development of the Revolution J. Posadas

—Development of the Revolution in Europe Arroyo

—Development of the Revolution in Latin America Ramirez

—Development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States ... J. Posadas

—Considerations on the Reports of Cdes Arroya and Ramirez and the interventions of the delegates J. Posadas

—The militancy and the morality of the trotskyists must base itself on the conception of Socialist society J. Posadas

—The supposed letter of Guevara serves to contain and limit the development of the political revolution in Cuba J. Posadas

ACTIVITY OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Approximately 250 pages 7/6 P/P.

Statement of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T) on the article by McGarvey in the "Sunday Telegraph"

The Capitalist anxiety over the advance of Trotskyism was shown very clearly in a recent article on the car industry, which appeared in the Sunday Telegraph. There the Revolutionary Workers Party, the British Section of the IV International was attacked and an attempt made to ridicule its line and functioning. This attack is part of the growing attention which Imperialism is paying to the various sections of the International throughout the world. Gunter has already attacked the role of Trotskyism in Great Britain. Today the whole world is receptive to the ideas of the IV International. In the Soviet Union intellectuals call for a discussion about the ideas of Trotsky. In Germany students carry banners displaying the head of Trotsky. In Spain the counter revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party denounces the role of Trotskyism. In Naples hundreds of Communist workers attend meetings called by the Italian Section of the IV International. A

Trotskyist wing develops within the political revolution in China. Fidel Castro is forced to adopt positions closer to those of Trotskyism and the revolutionary forces within Syria listen avidly to the ideas of the IV International. It is hardly surprising that the Imperialist press worries about the dangers of Trotskyism.

The instrument used for this attack on Trotskyism was a pathetic creature, a miserable petit bourgeois whose articles on the car industry are full of petit bourgeois "superiority" in front of the workers. This "journalist" (a profession which is of no significance in the world today) wormed his way into the confidence of workers at Vauxhall and via this route enveigled himself into a cadre school, of the RWP, but he did not penetrate the party. He was not capable of doing so. It is one thing to meet members of the party and quite another to actually understand its functioning and organisation. McGarvey is a petulant, backward element and this was evident throughout the school. It is evident also in the Sunday Telegraph article where all his preposterous misunderstandings of the dual nature of the Soviet bureaucracy and the meaning of monolithism within the IV International exist for all to see. All the creature could do was to give addresses and names, like the cheap informer he is. He is a phenomenon of petit bourgeois stupidity. Thus he speaks of the Healy group as an open Trotskyist organisation.

The Healy group is run in the interests of Imperialism, its financial backers. It has nothing to do with the line of the IV International. Its newspaper the "News-letter" is an organ of advice for the bureaucrats in the Trade Union bureaucracy and its line like that of the CP is support for the left MPs. The fact that it masquerades as "Trotskyist" is purely because it has the Imperialist role of confusing and demoralising those in search of the line and programme of the IV International. The RWP does not conceal its positions. They are there in all the published articles of its open party press. Certainly we do not confide our organisational details to the safekeeping of the bourgeoisie. The best example of the fear that underlines the derision in the article could be seen in the part on the car industry where it is admitted that the situation is ripe for Trotskyism.

The political bureau criticises itself for a certain naivety in relation to M, but he was not capable of disturbing the functioning of the party. His boasts are unfounded and reflect on his unbounded political stupidity. He attended a cadres school, he did not penetrate the party.

Everywhere the IV International and the world revolution advances in great strides. But the article in the Telegraph is a warning of the future attempts of repression by Capitalism. This is a period which requires an especial vigilance. But we warn all the informers and the at-

tempted informers like McGarvey. They have but little time left. The damage they can do to the IV International is infinitesimal, nonetheless the workers and the revolutionary currents will demand of all informers and traitors to the revolution an account of their activities in the near future and will punish them accordingly. The worlds revolutionary workers, peasants and students have no time for informers.

The incident is a salutary warning to the party and the vanguard. The bourgeoisie are seeking to repress. But at the same time the activities of the informers shows all the enormous interior fear of the bourgeoisie. Already in their spirit the bourgeoisie are defeated and in their spirit the masses feel themselves to be victorious. To meet the attempted intimidations of Capitalism, build and strengthen the party. Build the revolutionary current to overthrow Capitalism.

Viva the force of the British Section of the IV International

Viva the rapid advance of the world revolution towards Socialism

Viva the struggles of the Vietnamese masses

Viva all the sections of the International and all those comrades imprisoned in various parts of the world

Viva Posadas, the continuator of the thought of Trotsky in this epoch and the organiser of the IV International.

Political Bureau of RWP(T)

OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Belgian Election

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1) in Zwartberg, Nord, Gilly, and more recently the struggles of the students, especially in Louvain. So all sectors of the masses are intervening, confronting the repressive bourgeois machine and triumphing, bringing about a confrontation with the government. Faced with the complete crisis of Capitalism, causing factories to be closed, people redundant, increasing unemployment, increasing the cost of living, the working class intervenes occupying the factories and mines. The class imposes, against the management and the bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions and the reformist parties, its capacity to direct and control the factories where it feels itself to be the only legitimate owner.

The P.O.R.(T) Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), Belgium Section of the IV International, has decided to intervene in these elections. Not because it considers that the result of these elections is going to solve anything, but with the aim of publicising the programme of the IV International, the Trotskyist programme, and of struggling to organise the proletarian United Front, to organise the new revolutionary leaderships. It is necessary to intervene with a revolutionary and class programme, the application of which can solve all the problems of the exploited masses.

The P.O.R.(T) appeals to all the workers' parties, all the trade unions, for an electoral class United Front on the basis of immediate demands. We appeal to the Communists, Socialist, and trade union militants to support the right of all the revolutionary parties and groups to put up candidates. We appeal to the workers' parties, the trade unions, and the revolutionary tendencies and committees to intervene in a united front with the Trotskyists to demand that satisfaction be given on the following demands:
— NOT A SINGLE REDUNDANCY!

- NO UNEMPLOYMENT! WORK SHARING! SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS!
- FOR THE FORTY HOUR WEEK PAID AS FORTY EIGHT IMMEDIATELY.
- WORKERS' CONTROL!
- EQUAL WORK, EQUAL PAY FOR MEN, WOMEN, YOUTHS AND IMMIGRANTS IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY!
- EXPROPRIATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION, NATIONALISATION AND THE RUNNING UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, THE MINES, AND THE BANKS!
- A WORKERS' PLAN FOR PRODUCTION!
- UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES!
- WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO, AMERICAN BASES OUT OF BELGIUM!

We appeal to all revolutionary groups, the students in Louvain, and the SVB, to support the P.O.R.(T)'s candidate by setting up committees of support for the electoral campaign, and taking part in the spreading of the Trotskyist programme, supporting the revolutionary programme in a definite way by distributing the leaflets, and participating in the meetings. We propose to organise a meeting in Louvain in the course of which comrades from the Party will enlarge upon the programme and the aims of the IV International before the students.

We appeal to the FGTB (Belgium Workers General Federation) and the whole workers' movement to declare itself for and support our programme and to organise strikes and demonstrations throughout the country to impose the workers' solution: Flemish Walloon United Front, a general strike to finish with Capitalism. We appeal to the miners in Zwartberg,

the defense committee in Nord de Gilly, the women in FN and all the workers committees and groups to unite and discuss the organisation of support for our programme. We appeal for the organisation of committees in a Walloon-Flemish United Front to publicise our programme amongst the workers of both regions and to struggle against all the attempts of the reformist and counter-revolutionary leaderships to divide the united struggles of the masses of the country.

We denounce the slogan of federalism, an attempt to divide the strength of the proletariat. In their struggles the Walloon and Flemish masses strike in a concentrated way against the same enemy: Capitalism. The class struggle has no fatherland. The only revolutionary class solution in Belgium, just as in all the Capitalist countries, consists of destroying the Capitalist regime. Federation only tends to divide. It is a counter-revolutionary slogan which only serves the bureaucratic interests of the leaderships of the PSV (Belgium Socialist Party), the PCB (Belgium Communist Party), the trade unions and the Trotskyist capitulators like Mandel.

The P.O.R.(T) is putting up a candidate at Charleroi where it appeals to the working class and the rest of the masses to support our party, to vote Trotskyist. In other regions, we appeal for support for our national electoral programme with financial aid and participation in making propaganda for our programme, to vote by placing in the box a paper with the programme of the P.O.R.(T) on it.

% 1st March 1968.

The Political Bureau of the P.O.R.(T)

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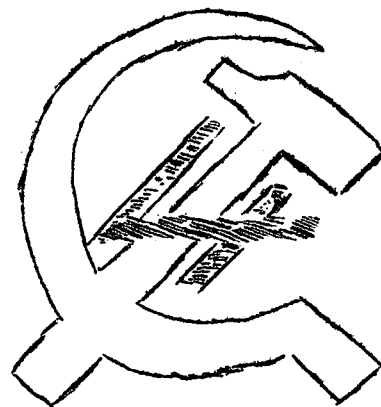
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WORKERS' CONTROL, FACTORY OCCUPATIONS,
NATIONALISATIONS.

As Imperialism prepares for war and peaceful co-existence is rendered an open mockery, the negotiations over Vietnam have done nothing but show the utter insincerity of Imperialism and the increasingly ineffectual duplicity of the conciliatory leadership of the Workers States whether this takes the form of Ho Chi Minh of Koyngin . More and more the Workers States have to throw their undisguised support in favour of the world revolution. Soviet fleets enter the Mediterranean and the Sea of Japan and may soon be appearing in the Indian Ocean. The Red Army sends its advisors to assist the armies of the Arab revolution. Whilst the world revolution advances from strength to strength. Imperialism is clearly in a state of decomposition, its leaderships failing, its policies without any perspective. All it can do is accumulate nuclear weapons and threaten repression, as Kiesinger does in West Germany. In spirit Imperialism is already broken, and can resort only to measures of terrorism. It is in this context of the vigorous, victorious, process of the world revolution entering its conscious phase that the new wave of proletarian struggles in Britain must be understood. The end for capitalism is near but its demise can be facilitated in Britain by making use of every basic struggle to support a policy and programme which can rally whole sectors of the working class in a sustained and vigorous offensive leading to the taking of power.

A new phase is now opening with the struggle of the engineering workers. This conflict promises to be a far more decisive encounter with British capitalism

contd. page 2.

Financial appeal
to our Readers

This issue of "Red Flag" appears duplicated because of financial difficulties of the Party, brought about by the expenses of the production of the European Marxist Review. For a period it may be necessary to make one "Red Flag" in four duplicated, maintaining its fortnightly appearance.

We appeal to our sympathisers, subscribers and regular readers to send us donations, and most important of all to order the E.M.R. which will be published in a few days. The Review contains all the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International as well as other documents by Cde. Posadas and the activity of the International.

The Review costs 8/6d. p/p.

than any other previous episode of the most recent periods. It is taking place at a time when Capitalism has announced that it is bankrupt, that it cannot afford even modest concessions, that it wishes to repress those that go against basic "national interests." The more capitalism claims that there is nothing to give, the more the workers insist that there is everything to demand. Scanlon the new boss of the AEU has had to veer in some degree when - at least verbally - he shows a desire to pursue the struggle for the engineers demands rather more forcefully than previous struggles have been waged for other sectors of workers. The new aggressiveness of the workers reflects the experience of a whole historic stage. Three million workers are involved in this struggle and their demands are formidable. A £20 minimum basic wage, longer paid holidays and equal pay for women. The latter is a particularly significant demand, it reflects the growing pressure from women workers and announces in itself a new stage in the struggle of the women workers for their emancipation.

The struggle of the engineers is developing in a very advanced stage of general industrial militancy. Bricklayers and their mates in the Steel industry in the north east, railways workers in London, and the general pressure within several unions show a national situation objectively ripe for the general strike. The continuous uproar in the car industry, the struggles of the Liverpool bus men, the frustrated desire of miners for national action against pit closures confirm the picture of a working class fully desirous of pushing the struggle to a decisive encounter with capitalism. The wage demands of workers show no interest in "productivity" agreements, they fundamentally relate to the demand for a substantial increase in the basic minimum wage.

Mere token strikes, bans on overtime, or any forms of guerrilla struggle will not take the maximum advantage of the possibilities which exist for the engineers struggle. It is necessary to push forward the policy of workers' control and factory occupations. The working class has the strength to impose itself, the bourgeoisie are weak, but strike actions of varied lengths of themselves, will not yield the maximum results. The engineers struggle can become a centre for the whole British working class and can lead directly to a formidable general strike or at least prepare the way for it. The militant attitude of the engineers as revealed in their conflicts with the police confirms the enormous potential of the struggle and we must see it as opening a stage in the class and revolutionary struggle far beyond that of the seamens strike. It is a major confrontation with the state. The union leadership will try to contain it. The workers must develop their own elected committees to sustain and organise this struggle. They cannot wait on Scanlon.

The demoralisation of capitalism is enormous. The Scottish TUC showed the steadily mounting crisis of the LP, the vice in which the union bureaucracy finds itself; incapable of leading the workers on a serious anti-capitalist programme, it laments, cries, groans, admonishes and even threatens Wilson. The conference shows clearly the status historically of the Wilson administration - the last defence of capitalism, throwing the LP onto the scrap heap to gain what little historic time is left for capitalism. The other aspect of the demoralisation is the rabid attempt of E. Powell to stir up racial conflict - when the real conflict is the class conflict which is demoralising capitalism. The many crisis undisguised in the Tory and LPs show that capitalism has no viable leadership, is in its death agony, and is preparing the conditions for its own overthrow.

In this situation we appeal to the revolutionary vanguard in Great Britain to support the struggle of the engineers with all their strength. Committees of factory workers, dockers, miners should seek to establish close liaison with the engineers, plan campaigns for occupations, workers control and above all develop unofficial committees with full proletarian democracy to prevent sell outs by union officials and impose the will of the workers. We appeal for students to form committees of solidarity, we appeal to militant school children to do the same. We especially appeal to women workers to rally to this struggle, giving full active solidarity to the engineers.

Make the struggle of the engineers a centre for the new struggles of the working class, enabling the workers to bypass the obstacles of union leaderships, to create a new workers leadership with new national bases, capable of attracting the mass of the population and leading to the overthrow of capitalism.

THE HISTORIC AUDACITY OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES, THE
ELEVATION OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES OF THE
WORLD, THE MISERABLE FUNCTION OF THE EX-TROTSKYIST
CAPITULATORS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

J. Posadas.

27/31-12-67

We have incorporated quotations of the letter from Cde. J. Posadas on 26th December 1967 in this article by him of the 31st December 1967 which we bring out as a single text due to their unity and importance.

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There exists a United Front of the Trotskyist capitulators with the police, the Communists and with Fidel Castro. And they use, without differentiation, the means and instruments that can be of service to them in their objective: to prevent our development. Hence they accuse us of being 'mad, idiots, crazy' and say that we are robbers, and that our policy is false and then they introduce themselves where we are, following in our wake so as to put up obstacles, put themselves against us and try to prevent our development. This ranges from offering themselves to Fidel Castro and being accepted by him occasionally, to offering themselves to the bourgeoisie and the police to give information against us.

These people are prepared to make use of anything that comes to hand - the police, denunciation, bringing out reviews, introducing themselves into movements and running along in our wake repeating what we say, imitating us and making use of their Trotskyist past. Now they direct themselves to an intermediary public a petit bourgeois public which is getting bigger and feels that capitalist politics have nothing more to give. The Church is proof. The Church speaks out against capitalism; this shows that the petit bourgeoisie sees that capitalism has nothing more to give. And all these people use language directed to this petit bourgeois base. As they have no positions, and it is enough to see the position of opposition when they say 'the war can be avoided', 'peaceful co-existence is possible', 'the atomic war is going to destroy humanity' and that 'Posadas is a madman, a lunatic, paranoic and schizophrenic'. Now Michel Pablo has written that, 'Posadas is a dangerous madman, he is simply a provocateur who must be eliminated'.

These capitulators are seeking out as many methods as they can to follow in our wake and to appear before this petit bourgeois public to be adopting positions of struggle and combat, but they don't organise anything, they do not appeal for organisation. And between one position and another, covering for example the crisis in China, the crisis in the U.S.S.R. the strikes in Italy, Spain, the revolutionary movement in Vietnam, the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, the crisis in Cuba and the death of Guevara, in their positions on all these aspects of the process they have contradictions and antagonisms. There is no continuity in their thought and nor is there continuity in their positions. They are not consistent. Whilst on one thing they call for struggle, they follow our line saying 'it is necessary to struggle to stop capitalism, imperialism must be thrown out of Vietnam', just as we say, but when they take up a position on the strikes in Italy they are against a general strike, they are against taking the initiative and occupying the factories. And when they support the occupation of factories, it has to be done by the bureaucracy, by the administration, not on the workers' initiative. This is a change. Before they did not have this position. They take it up to try to follow in our wake - in a limited way - because they failed in their attempt to oppose the policy.

Livio Maitan in Italy, Pierre Franck in France and Mandel in Belgium, as they cannot oppose such a policy, feel our authority and then imitate and try to follow in our path. But one cannot sustain a policy in any respect, a coherent policy, without transferring it, continuing it and being consistent in its application, be it the policy or the organisational method of applying it. And when they have to say 'well, what shall we do with the strike now?' their capacity has already come to an end. Then they turn on us: 'Be careful with the Trotskyists - they're

adventurers, they stole money in Guatemala, be careful!! These are all arguments of theirs and they bring out this slander about Guatemala where ever it hasn't been sufficiently exploited. All over the world they are doing this.

In France Pierre Franck's people brought out a supposed letter from Hugo Blanco in July this year, in which Hugo Blanco speaks of 'our Fourth International, our Trotskyist party, our militants in the Peruvian section'. And our Peruvian comrades write that Hugo Blanco hasn't opened his mouth for some time. Moreover when he speaks of the Trotskyists he declares: 'I'm against the Trotskyists'. It is an invention by Pierre Franck and he does so to make it appear that he has militants in Latin America; for there are many people, hundreds, hundreds and thousands who are watching the Trotskyist movement in Latin America and the International. All the activity of the International brings pressure to bear and influences all of them, but above all in Latin America. It influences them because that is where it appears more evidently alive. These people, Livio Maitan, Pierre Franck and Ernest Mandel, set out now to make a bloc with anyone else around to try to contain our movement. In Belgium these people have offered themselves to Fidel Castro. The comrades have substantiated that Fidel Castro finances Mandel's newspaper 'la Gauche' and now it comes out weekly. It was bad and constantly getting worse. Its pages had got fewer. They brought it out at longer intervals and less frequently and now for the first time it attacks us and Posadas. For the first time; it has never mentioned Posadas before. This time it puts that 'Fidel Castro and the Cuban government must be supported', 'Guevara was assassinated in Bolivia', and that 'all those who don't say this are lying, they don't know, they are adventurers', without naming us directly, they name us afterwards. And then they put that 'the Trotskyists of Posadas were in Guatemala, they organised there and then they were expelled for being sectarian and when he went Posadas took some money that belonged to the 13th November, not for personal gains, but for his Party.' That's what they say in the newspaper. It's the first time that they make such an attack. They do it at this moment.

This miserable capitulator lies because he knows that this money was given to the IV International by the Political Bureau of the MR13 and obtained due to the action of the Trotskyists. It means that they need to contain our influence and contest its basis, and the fact that they feel the influence of our Belgian section and the world-wide activity of the International.

But it also means that Fidel Castro needs support from someone with a Trotskyist past, but perverted, and subservient, to exploit him against us. Fidel Castro does not feel that he himself has the strength and authority to attack us. He did attack us before at the tri-Continental. Now he needs the ex-trotskyists. This is an undeniable demonstration that we have authority, force and perspectives of development within Cuba within a short period. Castro's centrism needs to take cover in his leaning towards the left because he fears that the conscious revolutionary wing will take over the leadership. Fidel Castro shows that he feels neither sure nor firm in his advance, or in the revolutionary progress which can and must be made.

The MR 13 passed declarations in 1965 published in their journals, known publically throughout the revolutionary movement, declaring

their solidarity, and fraternity with the IV International, and with the articles of Cde. Posadas. The MR 13 published 9 articles by Cde. Posadas and a "Letter from Cde. Posadas to the Revolutionary Movement of the 13th November" which they accepted completely. That contains the programme of the Socialist Revolution, and it is signed by the Political Bureau of the MR 13. This is public and known. They are documents published by them. And also the declaration made by Yon Sosa last year is known throughout the world, in which he recognised that the IV International helped him to a Marxist understanding and formation. These are in documents which were published throughout the world.

The slanders of Mandel and his journal are directed at trying to confuse and hide this reality. It was after these documents and articles by Posadas and the IV International were published by the MR 13 November that the PGT, the Communist Party of Guatemala, supported by the slanders made by Fidel Castro, betrayed and caused the assassination of the whole Political Bureau of the 13th November in Guatemala City, among them the two Mexican comrades, David Aguilar and Eunice Campiran. These facts were published throughout the world press; and David Aguilar was, up till a few months previously, the editor of the journal VOZ OBRERA, organ of the Mexican section of the IV International. And Francisco Amado, who was the principal leader of the MR 13, was a

member of the IV International.

Mandel's newspaper continues to get worse than before, worse and worse. There is an uninterrupted retreat. Everyone seeks a niche to suit him. Now why does Mandel attack the Trotskyists and Posadas, and not insult them? He tries to establish a certain distinction when he says 'not for personal gain' 'They were thrown out because of sectarianism'. Two conclusions. 'Sectarian' 'not for personal gain' why does he say sectarian? Because he has to justify in one way or another that the position of the 13th of November is correct and is trotskyist, and was given by the trotskyists. He has to justify this. Then he justifies it by saying, 'certainly, these people contributed something, but they are sectarian.' That is not acceptable. It is a progression, it is an advance in their treatment of us.

These people associate as much with the police as with Fidel Castro. Indirectly and unclearly. Six months ago Pablo wrote about the nationality of Posadas in his journal. He had no need or reason, nor was there any political reason. It is simply a way of denouncing and intimidating. To tell Posadas's nationality to the police, is as if to say to me 'you keep quiet or I will tell them all I know', but 'all I know' consists of my name, my age. He knows this, the police also know it; with the result that he won't succeed in stirring up anything. But it is to seek contact with the police and with the Soviet bureaucracy, to say to them 'I am ready to give you more information and to make a bridge to liquidate this guy'. Because of this in his last document he says: 'dangerous madman or provocateur'. That is to say he is an individual whose disappearance no one should worry about and that to concern oneself with liquidating him is a good thing. This is the justification, which is put forward. He does not have any other reason for giving the nationality of Posadas; it does not add anything politically, does not clarify, does not polemicise in the least. There is no political necessity to give the nationality. It is a police necessity. And when in his last number he says, 'he is a dangerous madman' he is saying to people, just as Fidel Castro said of the Trotskyists in Guatemala 'agents of imperialism' 'pestilential', 'wicked people', 'liquidate them'. Pablo is doing the same; as he has not the force, nor the power he uses what he has at hand; his review.

And why does Mandel now dedicate himself to attacking the Trotskyists over Cuba, and Guatemala? What is the basis of this? He does not attack the Belgian Trotskyists, he does not say a word about them. He attacks Posadas and the Trotskyists for what they are doing in Cuba and Guatemala, and because of Guevara. What is the reason? He is under orders from Fidel Castro's government firstly; and secondly he does it in his own interest, in aid of Mandel's careerism. Fidel Castro needs to contain the Trotskyists, to stop them. His attempt to attack them, slander them, has failed. He has to use a Trotskyist policy, he is frightened of the Trotskyists, because he has to go along applying, basing himself on the line of the Trotskyists, but not with the Trotskyists' objectives. He is not interested in applying the Trotskyist conclusions, not at least up till now.

THE CENTRISM OF FIDEL CASTRO AND THE IDEAS, THE POLITICAL ACTION AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE TROTSKYISTS.

Fidel Castro makes constant progress but it is found much more in his formulations than in the policy which he is applying. He advances much more in his deductions, analysis and conclusions which are abstract, not concrete. Abstract because, if he is convinced of the necessity of the moral stimulus, why does he not apply it to the Latin American revolution? Not only in Cuba, in Latin America, in the whole of Latin America? Apply it! Call for the taking of power. Why does he not call for the taking of power. At the same time he must resolve on a programme within Cuba and advance, and this programme is not abstract but coincides with certain conditions and aspirations of Fidel Castro who wants to be more revolutionary and advance, he is forced to advance towards levels of which he has neither the theoretical understanding, nor the political capacity, nor a team to make the advance and he has no confidence in the future. But a team does exist, there is a force which obliges him to advance. And this force is expressed not in Fidel Castro's speeches, but in the policy of the Cuban government, which is not Fidel Castro, and which is to confront the Soviet bureaucracy, to confront imperialism and to attempt an independent policy.

The Cuban independent policy has two ends. One is of the Yugoslav, Rumanian type, that is nationalisation of the

Cuban revolution, keeping it in Cuba exporting declarations and nothing else. Hence the attempts of imperialism and the Latin American governments to attract Fidel Castro. Attract him and neutralise him. It is a defeat for capitalism though, because it is it which is adapting to the Cuban revolution. It has to adapt to the Cuban revolution and try to contain it. The most decided attempt, amongst others, is the one made by the 'Clarín' of Buenos Aires, in which there is not a single attack on Cuba. And on the contrary, it suggests to Onganía's government that: 'one must know how to take advantage of historical circumstances, we are not worried about other people, we take care of ourselves', 'we shouldn't get other peoples' chestnuts out of the fire, we should be roasting our own chestnuts'. This means, 'let's be anti-communist for our own good, we are going to invade Cuba for our own gain'. It is an aspiration which others had before Onganía and 'Clarín'.

But Fidel Castro is obliged to advance. The Cuban masses want to advance. When the Church as an institution declares through the mouth of the Pope, 'we are prepared for peaceful co-existence with Communists', it's because it is declaring that, 'The capitalist system is in ruins'. If it were not so, such a declaration would not be made. Imperialism needs the open support of the Church. Once they blessed the guns and atomic arms. Now this is needed to convince and put pressure on peoples' feelings so that they agree to Yankee policy. But the Church comes out with a formulation which is against the objective, concrete and historical interests of capitalism. It is against them!

The Conclave held by the bishops from Asia, Africa and Latin America brought out a declaration which condemns imperialism, not Communism. It criticises Communism, 'It must give more liberty to man, there must be equal rights'. When, referring to the U.S.S.R. the Pope says: 'Just as the Communists in other countries must be able to speak, so in the U.S.S.R. the Catholics must speak freely'. It is a criticism. But when the bishops speak they don't take up this criticism. They condemn 'the world wide imperialism of money' and 'that workers sell their bodies and persons along with their work.' There is no division, the human being is a single whole. They see that the things escapes them, and they want to bring God into it whatever the

way. They are trying to present the religious image in a very disguised, indirect way. They are speaking in a language that does not belong to the Church, for this originates from insecurity in the system, on which they depend. And already they are putting forward accommodation to a new system, which is their enemy. They have to adjust to it, they do not accept it, but they are trying to adjust to it. They are looking for patrons, a new patron.

If this happens in the Church, the peoples' feeling of combativity and political comprehension is at an infinitely greater level in Cuba. Hence Fidel Castro's move to the left, which coincides with his own inclination, but not with his political security or his theoretical ability. Fidel Castro feels that he must move to the left, but he wants to prevent this being made use of by the conscious revolutionary tendency. Therefore he has to fight us indirectly.

It is not possible to opt for the adoption of an all powerful attitude by saying: 'Look here, let's take up these ideas of Trotsky, we're going to apply them'. Other people have done that before. One such was Stalin, who took up the programme of the Left Opposition, believing that he was going to deceive history. He did deceive history, his own history, that is why it has been blotted out now. You can't cheat history with lies and falsehoods and with a programme which does not respond to the needs of the moment. Therefore it is Trotsky who is discussed today and not Fidel Castro. That is why Trotsky is present in Cuba, not Fidel Castro. Fidel Castro is the material body which leads and has the power; but the objectives, the ideas, programme and political action are not fixed by Fidel Castro; they are Trotskyist, just as much in Cuba as in China, Vietnam, Korea, the USSR, Yugoslavia, or in the rest of the world.

Marx died many years ago, dozens of years ago. The ideas that come out triumphant are Marxist. 'Das Kapital' is not a programmatic political work. But it is the source of the whole programme of the revolution. It is the source. They buried 'Das Kapital' they forgot it, but today it comes to light again. And the whole of the world press remembers Marx and 'Das Kapital'. Why this remembrance of Marx? Why does capitalism take up 'Das Kapital'? Why does it take up its enemies instrument? Because there exists a need and a historical truth which has already been uncovered and they cannot deny it. They cannot reject it. They cannot ignore it. For if it is ignored, the petit bourgeois sector will advance much more quickly.

... they keep time with it, recognising that historical truth in an attempt to contain it. Why does Trotsky come to the fore in this same stage as well? - and in reality the commemoration of the Russian Revolution has been a commemoration of Trotsky throughout the world. Almost all the works published by capitalism have been in homage to the ideas of Lenin, Trotsky; Lenin, Trotsky; Lenin Trotsky. As Lenin is not discussed, the one who gets first place is Trotsky who was the one who was discussed.

In Chile the Communist Party edited a pamphlet, which we saw a few days ago, by Luis Emilio Recabarren when he came back from the Soviet Union in 1922. Edited by the Communist Party, it has a prologue by Cesar Godoy Urrutia, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and with a slight Trotskyist past, who in 1923, praised and supported Trotsky, like Recabarren did. That is why he does what he does in the prologue. And Recabarren's pamphlet is from the beginning to end all the speeches he made when he came back from the USSR in 1922, memories of Trotsky, programme, position, policy, Trotsky, Trotsky, Trotsky, Trotsky. And they publish the report by Trotsky to the IV Congress of the III International about the economic situation and the soviets. The pamphlet is edited by the Communist Party even though it doesn't say so - the comrades have reported to us that it was edited by the Communist Party. And the proof of it is the prologue by Cesar Godoy Urrutia. It is definitely edited by the Communist Party. In Cuba they edited various books about Trotsky and amongst them the one by the Italian historian Vittorio Strada, about Brest-Litovsk, analysing Trotsky's role.

One can see with all these publications in a categorical way why Fidel Castro is moving to the left. It is not the product of his theoretical advance, but the imposition of the obligation to study. The language of Fidel Castro's last speeches all comes from our texts. In all of them, from the first to the last. He could not analyse, he could not conceive of their theoretical coherence without our texts. Theoretical coherence starts from an objective, looks for an objective, and the objective is to stimulate the ordered forces, even though they are apparently in disorder of World Revolution, with the aim of taking into his own hands control of the Revolution. This is the conscious stage of the historical process of the revolution, which surpasses and gradually eliminates the unconscious process. The revolution, without leadership, without programme, has triumphed and is now searching for a programme and leadership. It is doing so in Syria, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Uruguay, Chile and Italy. It is looking in an indirect, imprecise way. The language does not express the depth of the process.

They are publishing Recabarren. This indicates the consciousness of the revolution. For all the conciliators' and centrists' programmes and objectives have failed. They have to search out, go to Trotsky, to historical truth. One cannot play with historical truth. 'Das Kapital' was brought out again after it had been buried. The world capitalist press is not made to remember 'Das Kapital' by the passing of its 100th Anniversary. It is the World Revolution and 15 Workers States which make them say:

'That's to do with 'Das Kapital''. 'Das Kapital' means 15 Workers States - that is to say it is the source of the analysis and theoretical orientation that brought about the Workers' States. Today the source and theoretical basis are being determined so that the future of the revolution may be understood. Hence Trotsky is being brought out, and hence the IV International is under attack. Hence there is a combination in the process. And hence Mandel sells himself to Fidel Castro. He went along to offer himself and to sell himself to Fidel Castro. And Fidel Castro is taking him up on it, but he is taking him up on it like an agent of the third order. He is hiring his Trotskyist past. That's it: hiring it. He is making use of his Marxist presumptions.

THE MISERABLE FUNCTION OF THE TROTSKYIST
CAPITULATORS IN THE ATTEMPT TO CONTAIN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

This same Mandel wrote a 'Treatise on Marxist Economy'. There is no such thing as a treatise on Marxist economy. There is the method of Marxist interpretation of society. Amongst the elements in which society is developed and on which the development is based is the one which is the economy. But today this is not the essential element. Today the fundamental element essential to the development of history is the struggle of the masses and the existence of 15 Workers' States. One analyses the economy of countries so as to deduce the possible course of its economic forces, as one of the determining factors in the process of history, not as the centre and objective of history. And this Mr. Mandel, when he speaks of a 'Treatise on Marxist

Economy ' is doing just this, he is making of the economy the objective in life. The U.S.A. is stronger than ever. That is the sort of calculation he is making. The pound fell, and a whole lot of people were waiting with their purses open for the fall of the dollar, and the dollar didn't fall. It is going to fall, but it still hasn't yet. They all awaited the downfall of the capitalist economy. It didn't happen. It was merely a manoeuvre to keep on going. For the objective that was aimed at by the devaluation of the pound was the continuing support for a war economy. That's all. What stimulates the capitalist system is not the perspective of economic development, but how to go on in the face of the Workers' States. This is the centre of animation in capitalism. It is its centre of animation; the preoccupation, feeling, thought and concrete programme of capitalism. If this were not so, three wars against de Gaulle would have already occurred. Three wars would have taken place. And the English would have already found an excuse to justify the invasion of France, and some time ago. Just as at the moment they are manoeuvring in Cyprus again, attempting to set up their own government to justify the intervention of the Yankees to install a NATO base. The Russians said to the Yankees, several days ago, warning them: 'our fleet is in the Mediterranean, and is not going to go.'

The Yankees are preparing another manoeuvre in Cyprus, in an attempt to install themselves there. The Russians warned them a short time ago that they will not permit further NATO expansion. And the Yankees have to go around in circles now grasping at the slightest thing because the failure of the coup d'etat in Greece. The king of Greece, who silently arranged a coup d'etat to overthrow the original coup, had to go through the most tremendous mess in order to escape. It is now known that whilst the aeroplane was in the air, whilst one sector of the army gave it permission to leave, a group of officials - the 'New York Times' reports it - discussed whether to go out and shoot the king down! The Greek military leaders, these greek dictators, have to restrain the king to sustain capitalism. But using him to impede the process, they have to confront socially the aristocracy, the church the landowners and high finance linked to imperialism, in an attempt to ameliorate and modernise Greek capitalism, and in an attempt to defend Greek imperialism. Hence the anti-monarchist tendency, and this is the reason why the opposition has been freed, for they were people who wanted to organise an anti-monarchist movement, and set up a kind of republic.

At this stage, neither the ideas of Mandel, nor those of Fidel Castro nor the Chinese have any value. What does Fidel Castro think of Greece? What is the opinion on Zbiri's coup in Algeria? What do they think of the crisis in Cyprus? What is the programme for a general strike constantly on the cards in France? And the crisis in Belgium? They don't say anything about this, they're silent. This means that their advance is not a consequence of a rise in theoretical and political understanding but an advance that is the direct product, a consequence of an inner impulse of the masses. And as they feel that they are obliged to advance, they need orientations that don't compromise them, for they have no basis, no theoretical and political assurance on which to progress. Those, like Fidel Castro, are revolutionary but they don't have any theoretical or political assurance. So they seek out Mandel who lends them his name and a certain Trotskyist past and plays their game.

This is centrism defending itself from the conscious revolutionary wing. This is what they are involved in. And to do it they are not going to stop at any argument or any means; the false edition of 'Voz Proletaria' which they brought out a year and four months ago, and will re-edit again - all these measures. But on re-editing it they indicate the immense authority that we have in Cuba. Fidel Castro tried to crush us by calling us 'pestilential', he looked around, and nobody held his nose. On the contrary, a year later he read the pestilential programme and said to the Communists - who before were his support in calling us 'pestilential' - 'traitors' and takes up the Trotskyist programme and applies it badly.

In order to apply the programme of the Revolution one needs: cadres, theoretical comprehension, because it permits one to move in the daily course of the world class struggle, because it allows one to understand the course of history. Not its course limited to one country, which cannot be known without understanding the world course of history. And today, Fidel Castro has to go to the Trotskyists. He has to make use of Maitan against us. This is because he himself has not the strength to do it. He has to use the name of an ex-Trotskyist to try to contain the Trotskyists. This is the miserable, vile function of these people. There aren't any polemics between them and us, not from Pierre Franck, Mandel, Maitan or Pablo, nothing, no polemic at all. This Pablo says: 'Posadas

is a dangerous madman or a provocateur, for he goes on insisting that Guevara was assassinated in Cuba.' Alright then, but this 'maniac' has arguments. What does he oppose them with? - whilst Pcsadas uses arguments, he justifies Debray, he has to defend himself with Debray. He cannot accept, nor is it to his convenience to accept, Debray. He says that Debray is a superficial person, who analyses the function of the Party superficially, but he says: 'how can one doubt the death of Guevara in Bolivia, who went to Bolivia prepared to do everything and who foretold everything?' Why was he killed? If you ask him for an explanation he says that you are insolent. All that he has to say is; 'He was killed because he didn't take care, that is why he was killed.' 'Doesn't everyone die?' He says to those who say that Guevara wasn't in contact with the peasants, 'What do you mean?' 'He was in contact with the peasants because he was with the peasants, he met the peasants, he spoke to the peasants.' That's what he says.

But so that there is no confusion and so that it is understood, that Pablo is a Marxist of an new, modern type, a person who does not live in the past, who isn't conservative, but modern, that he is 'the democratic wing of Marxism' and so as to have access to history and find support in history he then says: 'like our masters, Marx, Rosa Luxembour~~g~~, Lenin and Trotsky.' Engles gets left on one side and Roas Luxembour~~g~~ goes in second place. And moreover she figures as our teacher. Rosa Luxembour~~g~~ is not a teacher for any of us. She was an excellent revolutionary who deserves the respect of all revolutionaries, but we have only a very little to learn from her. On the contrary Rosa Luxembour~~g~~ fulfilled a very bad function in one of the most dangerous moments of history: that of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the just, severe criticism made by Lenin, some of the severest he made, was because - not that he was against discussion - but because at this moment she was against the dictatorship of the proletariat. For Lenin polemicised with Rosa Luxembour~~g~~ for 15 years, and when he came to power, and had the power in his hands, he demanded that Rosa Kuxembour~~g~~ should support without discussion. He appealed for this. And Rosa Luxembour~~g~~ was critical, she was against it, and then afterwards she was for it. Because she saw power installed, she submitted herself to it, for as she was a revolutionary, she was won to the revolution. The proof is that they assassinated her for being a revolutionary. But she was against the conception, the fundamental instrument at this stage of history: THE PARTY. She expressed petit bourgeois insecurity in the world historical centralised discipline of the proletariat.

This then is Rosa Luxembour~~g~~. As Trotsky calls her: 'This magnificent revolutionary', but when he wants to show her merits he instances her contribution to 'Capital'. These are the merits which Trotsky attributes to Rosa Luxembour~~g~~, She has other important ones, but not fundamental ones. She was the first to support the General Strike in 1905. There is her article on the General Strike which is good, but it is not a great contribution to history. What was the contribution, was that, once constructed, it is the Party that is the road to power, the instrument, and the form of power; and Rosa Luxembour~~g~~ was against the dictatorship of the proletariat. When Pablo takes her up, it is because he has no confidence in the masses either, he goes back on it and then becomes undemocratic. And this is the man who offers himself to Castro. In Cuba he says: 'It is Posadas who says that Guevara was assassinated in Cuba, and we do not. We say that he was assassinated in Bolivia', and he makes an unspoken addition to this: 'But don't ask too much.' No. Because he would not know how to justify it.

The miserable ~~Ex-Trotskyists~~ Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Franck and Michael Pablo hide the IV International, take advantage of their Trotskyist past to present themselves as defending today a so-called revolutionary programme, which is a conciliatory programme. For it is not a programme which calls for the overthrow of imperialism, it does not call for a world revolutionary United Front to throw imperialism out of Vietnam now with all the arms which the Workers' States possess. There is no other way of overthrowing imperialism. Overthrow it in the Middle East. Imperialism is preparing for another war in the Middle East; make an appeal now to overthrow it. They, who up to yesterday, were living in bewilderment in fear of the atomic war, accused us of being assassins and stupid because we said that the atomic war was inevitable and must be prepared for. Today they have to accept it, but with fear, filled with fear they do so, accepting it and trying to hide their fear. There isn't a single appeal for revolutionary intervention now to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. This is our programme. They criticise our action; they don't criticise our programme. They are afraid of our action,

because they have to use their Trotskyist past to sell themselves to imperialism, Fidel Castro, and the conciliatory and centrist tendencies. Hence these people function in this miserable way, as police informers, like Michel Pablo, he is a police informer. They have no importance, no movement of any weight, but they do offer themselves to the bureaucracy of the Workers' States, as mediators and agents who make use of their Trotskyist past to make themselves pass as Trotskyists and make life difficult, barring the development of the IV International. They are shooting into the void. The International, as opposed to them, has developed and has 20 sections, publishes the Marxist Review in 4 languages, has publications in 20 countries throughout the world. They haven't a single publication of weight or importance. The miserable acts carried out by these people - Maitan, Franck, Pablo, and Mandel - are expressed in concrete terms in their attacks on the IV International and not in any political polemic, and they use their ex-Trotskyist past for this.

These people are preparing to make use of the police force against us. They are already exercising this function. Mandel and all the rest have not the strength, security or capacity to do it, but they are preparing to do so and they have already offered themselves to play this role, to prevent the development of Trotskyism. As they have not the political capacity to fight us, they form a movement, and attempt to bring out newspapers. They have to hamper the Party, and so they do what they are doing. And they try to direct themselves to insecure people, sympathisers, and elements near the Party, gaining access to them by means of stories, rumours and above all jokes. As they can't attack Posadas politically, they therefore hope to have a side effect, not a direct one, they said up to a short time ago; 'The Party is no use', 'Posadas is a fraud' and 'Posadas is a dictator'. Now they don't put forward these arguments, but; 'You don't get any larger, you're very small in number', 'You make promises and don't do anything', 'You are very sectarian'. These are the arguments used in Belgium, Mexico, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and all over the world. They are prepared to be employed by whoever can play and yet recently there emerged a cell in Pierre Franck's group in France which called itself the J. Posadas cell. A group of people that he had won from the Communists, students, are now studying LUTTE COMMUNISTE, organ of the French Section of the IV International, and articles by Posadas. In Belgium a Pro-Chinese group, a group of Social-Democrats, and a Christian-Democrat group have formed study circles of the texts by Posadas. In Italy as well. And the same in France. A number of intellectuals who were supporting Debray, have broken with him and are asking for all the texts by Posadas from the French Section of the IV International. It isn't a circumstantial fact or a question of general reading, no. They are the forces which are preparing to intervene in the coming period. Hence they have the need to search for theoretical orientation to give themselves political security and in order to understand politically. It is not just in one country, there are dozens of countries which have such currents at the same time. At the same time there are Syria, China and Cuba. At the same time as there is this ascent in the publications of Trotsky's works, there is the rise in the direct pre-occupation about us. That is the link: the works of Trotsky, the works of the IV International. It means that in a short space of time one must expect events of very great importance for the IV International. One must expect to strike in Cuba and Syria, for they are going to leave the doors wide open to us. There is going to be an attempt to prevent our development. But it was tried before and did not succeed.

The Cuban government is in search of an intermediary group which calls itself Trotskyist so as to make use of it. This indicates that inside Cuba, the Trotskyist tendency is more forceful, more capable and more extensive than we can imagine from the outside. Otherwise this would not be happening. There is an immense force inside Cuba. And the texts of Posadas must be at Fidel Castro's bedside; unfortunately this revolutionary is not capable of understanding them and assimilating them, and only scratches in them to defend himself from the objective pressure of the revolution.

A series of events have occurred which indicate that our texts are at all their bedsides. At all of them. Not only the proposals for mass control, the moral stimulus and proletarian internationalism, but the structure of a conception. We were the only people after our teachers, after Trotsky, that posed, even in the International in the time of Pablo, to everyone who capitulated; that communism is not a material problem but one of human consciousness. Taking up again the principles of the Communist Manifesto, we are the only people to have said this, and we said it in 1959, in the first polemic

which was gone through with Pablo and Co.. It was exactly this. It was when I posed: conditions are ready for the elimination of wages in the Workers' States. They said to me: 'Eh! You think you're in Latin America.' That's what they said. Pablo said: 'It's the enthusiasm that they have in Latin America.' They think it's a question of eating steak and onions. And they put it like this: 'You lot eat a great deal of meat. You are strong.' And they made an example of Posadas as a strong capable man. I understood that they meant it intellectually. But they said 'No you are a very strong man, a bloke with enormous endurance.' It was to diminish me, to try to restrain me. They saw what was coming to them, and they weren't able to understand or organise anything for they hadn't the strength.

Apart from us, no-one put forward this conception of Communism. It is the conception held by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. But we were the ones who put it forward in the moment when it was possible to put it forward. We have put it forward since 1939, and in definite terms, in Cuba, since 1960. It is a conception which bears in mind that humanity already has reached the socialist level. Well and good, Fidel Castro ended up putting forward this same conception a short time ago: 'Communism is not a question of material wealth, but of human consciousness.' Repeating us, this is what Fidel Castro says. But before reaching the human consciousness there must be social relationships that allow for the achievement of this consciousness, which are not essentially material but social relationships, amongst them proletarian democracy and soviets. They are the instruments that provide for the elevation of human potentiality and the replacement of material wealth with consciousness. Without already having the material wealth it is sufficient.

The human being is not the result of material speculation, but the result of intellectual comprehension. Human thought has been expressed as the most powerful instrument in history. Humanity is constructed not on the basis of machines and productivity, but on the basis of ideas. And the ideas are the result of social relationships which show the possibility of the elimination of human antagonism, by eliminating the social relationships which create it. It has already been stated. And Fidel Castro states it like this. He goes to Mandel at the same time. What for? To contain us. They assassinated Trotsky 27 years ago and yet they have to turn to Trotsky. They are not going to have the opportunity to murder again like they did with Trotsky. They assassinated him. In Vietnam they are murdering many more, many more, and in China they murdered as well. Nevertheless the revolutionary wing progresses. The comrades must not take the conspiracy of all these people lightly or superficially. No, they must take it seriously. They are plotting to impede the course of the revolution, the development of Trotskyism. And they feel the weight and the authority of Trotskyism. They see our authority. They see that throughout the world Trotskyism is developing, Trotskyism, Trotskyism, Trotskyism. The daily paper of Madrid "Arriba", which is the daily paper of the Falange, published an Editorial saying that FUDE is responsible for the whole movement, for the revolutionary agitation and of preparing a new 1917, and it reiterates and undermines not a 1937, No! a 1917.

In face of the correct idea, the correct revolutionary will, there is no possible force of opposition, because it is the necessity of history, interpreted by the masses of the entire world in an empirical form, and by the IV International in a conscious form. Hence at this stage of the conscious process of the world revolution, at this phase of the conscious world socialist revolution, the IV International is at the head. In the first moment with the publication of books of Trotsky, and on Trotsky, in Syria and Cuba and also with the appeal and the acceptance of the ideas and the programme of the Trotskyists, as in Syria, as in Cuba and in the USSR, this is not only a new phase, but a new step in history. This is the phase of the conscious process of the world revolution.

While Castro seeks supporters to contain the Trotskyists, the revolution demands the truth, because now the forces for the truth impose themselves. For this reason leaders of nationalist guerrilla movements, with positions advancing towards the programme of the socialist revolution say to us; "the Chinese give great help, we are very grateful, they are excellent comrades; but they only give us money and arms. You give us that we were seeking; ideas. You give ideas. The Chinese do not give them to us. "We asked them, alright what shall we do?" And they said "Struggle, make a united front win over the democratic sector of the bourgeoisie, oppose imperialism, arms in hand. And above all insist a great deal on the United Front of the four classes". But on the other hand they say to our comrades: "You give us ideas. It is this

that we are seeking."

In this process Mandel seeks to play a role of a candle, seeking to illuminate history with a candle. That is what Mandel's "Treatise of Marxist Economy" is for. One cannot write a treatise of Marxist economy, only a Marxist interpretation of the economy. What is the programme of this treatise of the economy in confrontation with the crisis of capitalism? He does not give one, he says nothing. No, because he is independent and at the same time neutral. He analyses the economy, nothing will make him touch any other theme but the economy. Does he know what the economy is? It is lolly, the green stuff, money, finances, imperialist manoeuvres, juggling on the stock exchange the concentration of capital. Walter Lipman has said it all better and less clumsily. And then this book, 300-400 pages long does not mention Leon Trotsky once. Not once. And he does not mention the IV International once. That is as good as saying that history develops with the economy in one place, Leon Trotsky in another, the IV International in another and then everything gets mixed. Mandel separates everything and writes his treatise on the economy.

It is absurd to speak of presenting the history of the economy, of the capitalist system and of the Workers States without naming Trotsky, without basing oneself on Trotsky and the IV International. This character ignores Trotsky, and the IV International. All the ideas and the commentaries that are logical, that this book contain are taken from Trotsky, and he does not mention Trotsky a single time nor quote the IV International once, not the history of the IV International which foresaw history taking this course.

To analyse the economy is to show how the objective course of humanity expresses in the form of economic development, the objective course of humanity, the crisis of capitalism and of the Workers' States, to see that the bureaucracy and the capitalists have no remedy other than to seek a solution in war, the nuclear war; the nuclear war which the counter revolutionary bureaucracy tries to prevent. It is necessary to give a programme with this perspective. This book does not do so, it does not do so because it has no objective, it is not Marxist. Mandel is simply a commentator who like every commentator tries to while away the time, attempting to write essays restraining people with this subjective individual limitations, and in fear of the development of history. For this reason the IV International, the Trotskyists, our struggle and Trotsky, are missing. They have been left out. It is a book which has no value, no significance.

For this reason, this person offers himself to Castro now as a bridge using his ex-Trotskyist position against the Trotskyists. For this reason he attacks the IV International and Posadas now. It is a miserable effort, offering himself as an instrument in the service of Fidel Castro and the other centrists of the Workers States which are arising and are going to arise. This means he tries to be a bridge, so he can block the way and exercise the function of a brake, an obstacle to the objective development of the revolution. But this also shows the authority of the International and the weight of the IV International and the limitation of these people who cannot speak either in their own name or with their own programme or relying on their own strength. None of these people are able to present themselves using their own efforts and with their own movement capable of organising and directing. Hence they hire themselves to Fidel Castro, to the review "Sinistra" in Italy, and in France to the conciliatory centrist tendencies of the Communist Party who try to advance breaking with conciliation without advancing along the road to the Revolution. These capitulators try to take a middle road in between the revolution, a contradiction. And there is no possibility of this. For this reason they split up and fragment constantly. This is why they say that, they have a movement in Latin America and they do not have a single party, a single publication, a single organisation. On the other hand they devote themselves to slandering, insulting and denouncing us.

In each country where these people are or where they come to settle or succeed in interfering and paying for some publication, they launch a struggle against us. They do not have any influence, the advance of the revolution shows this. They have no programme for any country. For this reason they have no importance in any country, because they have no weight, organisation, publications or intervention in the struggle of the masses. But at the same time they hire out their Trotskyist past to the centrism of Castro, and latch onto Castro. This will be of short duration. The world revolution does not allow for centrism. For this reason Castro moved from the TriContinental to OLAS. But as he does

not have security of his own, a life of his own, or his own programme and security in the future he remains a centrist in trying to impede the development of the IV International. If not, he would accept the programme and the conscious policy, the objectives of the IV International. But at the same time he makes use of them; all the correct positions of Castro are the positions of the IV International. They are ours, taken from the articles of Posadas, the Congresses, of the VIII World Congress of the IV International. These miserable characters, Mandel Maitan, Franck, and Pablo conceal this. All these ideas of Fidel Castro are not the same as he had before, they are taken directly from the policy of the IV International. But to apply them objectively, correctly and to keep up continuous progress later, a team is necessary, the policy and the organisation which responds to this necessity. For this reason the centrism of Castro will be of short duration and soon there will be a crisis which will tend to cause a move to the left. And on a world scale the pro-Chinese tendencies and the revolutionary pro-Cubans are going to have to adopt consistent and revolutionary Marxist programmes, and objectives. For this reason centrism is transitory.

The economy is an expression of human activity, Mandel strangles Marxism. At least that is what he is trying to do. One cannot speak of the history of the economy without speaking of Trotsky. It is not possible to speak of the economy without an objective truth, which means giving the programme to smash capitalism. What is the programme which this character gives in his book to overthrow capitalism? There isn't one. There is nothing, no programme. It is not possible to analyse the economy without giving a programme, without drawing conclusions, without seeking objectives; because to analyse the economy to see what forces capitalism has, what capacity, what solidity it has, in its various aspects, economic, armed forces, police, serves for nothing. On a world scale capitalism has no force in ideas, socially or politically. Mandel says nothing about this he presents a complete abstraction. And Castro says of him, "He is a Marxist in economics". This is not true. He is not a marxist in economics, he is a clown. And a clown in a circus that closed down and that has no public. Mandel shows how far he has moved from the little Marxist understanding which he had before. Marxism is not a treatise on the economy, a method of interpreting history by which one interprets the development of the economy. It is a method of interpretation of the development of the social struggles of which the economy forms a part and not the decisive part; in this stage of history the decisive thing in interpreting and measuring the course of history is the struggle of the masses of the world, the 15 Workers' States, and the 10 states about to set themselves up as Workers' States in Asia, and Africa, and the struggles of the masses in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe. This is the method of interpreting the course of history so as to see the objective and the historic possibilities which exist.

Taken individually and separately, the economy has no importance. The European economy, taken individually apparently has an enormous power. Looked at within the world situation, the European economy is nothing, which shows that what decides is not the European economy but the struggle of the masses of Vietnam, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, the "cultural revolution" in China. To present a "Treatise of the Economy" as a method of interpreting history is to believe that the development of history of the world is decided by the objective development of the revolution. The advance of the revolution, which is what marks the course of history, is decided by what happens in China, Cuba, Vietnam and Syria and in the strikes of the proletariat in France, Belgium, Italy, Germany and Great Britain.

To measure, interpret and judge the course of the capitalist economy is to show where the process is going. And the capitalist economy shows that it is going towards the war. Yankee imperialism shows that it is preparing for war, that all its investments are determined by interest in the war, that the structure of the economic system, and its functioning, and the economic objective of capitalism has to be preparation for the war. So the interpretation in a "Treatise of Marxist Economy" of this type must conclude that capitalism is preparing for the war. It should give a programmatic conclusion to confront this conclusion about the war and Mandel says nothing about this. He is simply a coward, someone who is frightened and who uses his Trotskyist past to try to deceive the tendencies which advance to the revolution and bog them down on such themes, due to the fear which he has of the nuclear war. And the first aim of the revolutionary must be to see the reality such as it is; not to judge it according to what he would like but as the process is. And the

struggle of the masses shows that Yankee imperialism cannot compete, nor has an interest in competing economically and socially with the Workers' States, and the world revolution, because it does not have the strength. For this reason it is preparing the war. Therefore all its production and investment goes in the interests of the war; and all its actions, all its escalation lead to the war in a short time. Hence the language of humanity is warlike, aggressive, on the part of imperialism to defend itself and on the part of productive humanity to smash imperialism. That is why Mandel has no programme.

THIS ARTICLE WILL BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT PAPER WHICH WILL APPEAR
PRINTED, ON THE 10th MAY 1968.

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. All 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.
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.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage.
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.
11. Nationalisations of all key industries without compensation. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a Workers Government.

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. 66

FORTNIGHTLY

MAY 1968

SIXPENCE

Extend the Engineers strike of the 15th May indefinitely to win the demands of the Confed.

ORGANISE APPEALS TO OTHER WORKERS, FOR DEMONSTRATIONS, STRIKES, OCCUPATIONS, THROUGH FACTORY COMMITTEES

The one day strike by the workers in the 30 unions belonging to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers on 15th May will become a new centre for the British masses to organise their own struggles around. Just as in the past the Seamens' strike, and the struggle at Roberts Arundel became centres, so because of the lack of an organic centre in which the workers can mobilise constantly, big strikes have attracted the attention of the workers, and have temporarily substituted for the lack of an organic organising centre. The whole national and international situation is favourable to the engineering workers in their struggle for higher wages, longer holidays and a better standard of life for them and their families. Capitalism and Imperialism are taking a pounding from all sides. In this country, more and more sectors of the working class are putting in higher wage claims, far above the norm which the Labour government is able to pay, and are threatening action if the demands are not met. Each day more sectors of the petit bourgeoisie—the old props of the bourgeoisie—are joining the ranks of the workers and striking for their own demands. An example of this is the extremely well organised strikes of the Post Office clerks, where although the bureaucrats have done everything to limit them, the spirit of the clerks is to lengthen the strikes and make them general throughout the post office. On a world scale Imperialism is losing not only its social base, but its economic base as well, as shown in the retreat by British Imperialism from the Middle East, and the increased nationalisations in Zambia, and also by the fact that after years of bombing Vietnam and employing over half a million troops there, against the Vietnamese masses, US Imperialism hasn't even got control of the suburbs of Saigon.

where everyone should have the right to intervene and put his suggestions and it will be the decisions taken at these mass meetings which the representatives will be authorised to carry out. Nevertheless despite the absence of the committees, there is in the engineering unions at the moment, especially in the A.E.F. a great pressure by the base which is reflected in the statements of Hugh Scanlon as for example when he says that he will go to gaol for these demands, and it is necessary to take advantage of this leadership which responds to the base, (even though responding in order to try to limit the development of independent tendencies) by pushing it further and further to the left, while simultaneously organising the factory committees.

include, nationalisation under Workers' Control, of the engineering and machine tool industries, ship-building and ship repairing, motor and aircraft manufacture, electrical manufacture, docks, natural gas, road haulage, banking and insurance; a national minimum wage for all workers whenever members of the A.E.F. or not; and retirement at 60 instead of 65 with State pensions based on 75% of average earnings over the last five years. Scanlon has also said that the books of the enterprises must be opened to the workers. Despite Scanlon's bureaucratic conception of Workers Control, these resolutions are revolutionary and we support them, but they can only be applied by revolutionary class methods e.g. unlimited strikes, occupations, appeals to other sectors for support etc, methods which will only be organised by the base through the factory committees.

The extent to which the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers is being pushed is shown in one example by the resolutions passed at its recent conference, these

CONT. ON PAGE 3

The strike by the engineering workers marks a new development in the class struggle in this country. When so many workers (3 million) have been able to push their bureaucratic leaders as far as to call a national strike, even if it is only for a day shows the tremendous pressure from the base of the unions. And this pressure is so enormous that even in the top leaderships of these unions there was a proportion of the bureaucrats who called for an unlimited strike in the engineering industries. This is the demand which must be put forward immediately, not merely a one day strike on the 15th of May but a real offensive against the Capitalist class by means of a national unlimited engineering strike, to win the engineers programme of demands:

- The engineers demands are,
1. An immediate all round increase. (approx. £2 a week)
 2. The minimum rate for a skilled man increased to £20 a week, by stages over the next three years.
 3. Three weeks holiday.
 4. The principle of equal pay for women.

These are anti-Capitalist demands, and in this situation of Capitalism, revolutionary demands, and we support them 100% but we underline to the engineering workers that it is necessary to wage a struggle for these demands independently of and not waiting for the union leadership because all the experience has shown in the past that when faced with a determined ruling class the T.U. bureaucrats capitulate rather than lead an all out struggle. Therefore it is necessary to be organised independently of the union leaderships in factory committees. These committees must include all the workers of the factory irrespective of what union they belong to or what job they do, skilled or unskilled; the representatives will carry out the decisions of mass meetings of the workers, and will be subject to instant recall if they do not carry out the wishes of the base. The committees should have regular meetings of all the workers

LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

Reports of the Electoral Campaigns in Italy and Belgium

ITALY

We congratulate the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskista) The Italian Section of the IV International for putting up candidates in the elections in Italy which will be held on May 19th. In spite of the sabotage of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats of the Communist and PSIUP parties, the party has been able to put forward candidates in Rome and Pescara. In Pescara the party is in United Front with the Revolutionary tendency in the 'PSIUP'. "Rivoluzione Socialista". As part of the elevation of the activity of the Party in the elections, the paper of the section "Lotta Operaia" is now being published twice a week, which is a formidable step forward for world Trotskyism and for the struggle of the Italian working class.

The elections, and the campaign in the elections, does not change the content of the intervention of the Italian Section. The task is to push forward the United anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialism United Front to impose a programme of anti-Capitalist demands advancing to the setting up of a workers and peasants government, and in the election this takes the form of the Electoral Class United Front. The content remains the same, but temporarily the form changes taking advantage of the elections to reach wider audiences than before.

The comrades of the Italian Section have launched themselves into the campaign with tremendous dynamism, publishing Lotta Operaia twice a week, producing a printed electoral manifesto, posters, arm-

bands and leaflets, and organising a series of over a hundred public meetings in Rome, Pescara and Naples.

The results of the elections on May 19th will, as with the results of the Belgian elections, be another indication of the decomposition of the authority of the bourgeoisie. The workers will continue to centralise in their mass parties the P.C.I. and the P.S.I.U.P. and will attract, not through the programme of these parties but by their own uninterrupted class and revolutionary struggle in strikes, occupations, demonstrations etc. the petit bourgeois masses to their side. Thus the crisis of the Christian Democrats will continue to deepen and the left wing within it which

is won to the revolution will continue to develop. The intervention of the Trotskyists on a national scale, even in those places where they have no candidates, is fundamental, not because the mass of the workers will break their centralisation in the mass workers parties to vote for us, but because they will take our programme, the Transitional Programme of the IV International and fight for it in their own parties.

LONG LIVE THE DECISION OF THE ITALIAN SECTION TO INTERVENE IN THE ELECTIONS.

LONG LIVE THE TWICE WEEKLY "LOTTA OPERAIA".

LONG LIVE CDE. POSADAS.

BELGIUM, THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS OF THE 31st MARCH

The Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (Trotskyiste), Belgian Section of the IV International, put up a candidate in the recent elections in Belgium, with the aim of publicising the Trotskyist programme, and making it quite clear that the elections were nothing but a bourgeois manoeuvre.

The Party met with considerable repression during the campaign from the police—an electoral meeting held in front of the Discipline glass works was dispersed on the pretext that it was being held without authorisation and three Party comrades were taken to the local police station. Thomas Kilburn, a member of the British Section of the IV International, who was helping in the campaign, was deported. After the elections there was deliberate misrepresentation in the bourgeois press of the results—three different figures were

given for the number of votes won by the Party and a candidate who in fact has nothing to do with the Party was stated as being a member. The lowest figure for the number of votes given was 289, but there is evidence to support a figure of 600.

There were 35 comrades present at the Closing Meeting of the Party's electoral campaign in Charleroi. The hall was decorated with placards inscribed with quotations from the works of cde Posadas, portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the symbol of the IV International and publications of the IV International from all over the world. In the centre was a banner bearing the synthesis of the campaign's themes: 'LONG LIVE THE ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT OF THE WALLOON AND FLEMISH' CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR

The conclusions of the Belgian Elections Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Section

(Extract)

"The 31st March elections represent a victory for the working class and the IV International and show the complete crisis which is decomposing the bourgeoisie and the reformist parties. The working class has centralised in the Socialist Party in Flanders and Wallonia, to show its class unity throughout the country, and its resolution to push forward the great anti-Capitalist struggles which are maturing in its heart and to put itself forward as the leadership of society through direct action. The petty bourgeoisie has not felt this capacity for leadership of the working class in the elections, because the Socialist Party does not give a programme for struggle, it conciliates with the bourgeoisie, and thus the petty bourgeoisie has expressed

again with political confusion, its enormous accumulated discontent, and its combative will against Capitalism, by increasing the votes for the FDF and the Volksunie, and in part for the Rassemblement Wallon. These same radicalised petty bourgeois masses are now finding themselves, and will find themselves even more massively, alongside the working class, when the proletariat will be the centre, in the coming great mobilisations and strikes. The vote of the petty bourgeoisie is not a 'linguistic' vote! With the radio, press, television and helped by the reformist workers' leaderships, the Capitalist regime has tried to confuse the masses, to distract them from the fundamental problems of the struggle against unemployment, redundancy, the high cost of living, and the lack of decent living conditions, by inventing a linguistic problem between the Flemish and Walloon masses in the population. The results of the elections are a notable check on this bourgeois

manoeuvre!—because it has not been able to prevent the accentuation of the decomposition of the Christian Democrats, and above all because the PLP has not been able to gather around it the petty bourgeoisie which is in the process of getting out of the control of Capitalism: all the exploited masses rejoice at this defeat! In spite of the millions which the big capitalists have given to the leaders of the PLP for their electoral campaign, the bourgeoisie has failed in its effort to provide a centre of political stability, to impress the petty bourgeoisie, and to slow down its incorporation in the anti-capitalist united front! The masses have not voted about language problems! They have expressed at different levels of consciousness their unanimous feeling of loathing and deep combativity against the Capitalist regime.

The elections are going to serve as a warning to the bourgeoisie to accelerate its preparation for a violent confrontation with the masses, in organising a government capable of pushing forward this repression; and if it is not found through the normal

parliamentary game, a coup d'etat will be made. But in what conditions of crisis and defeatism for Capitalism! In the face of this, the working class has clearly shown that it is preparing with confidence and security to confront the Capitalist crisis and give to it a class solution, by concentrating its votes for the Socialist Party. And at the same time it has stimulated the workers' vanguard to express at a high level its complete rejection of reformism.

This is the process that is developing in the vanguard: the number of abstentions has gone down because a part of the vanguard which abstained in 1965 to express its rejection of the reformist policy of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, has concentrated itself in the PSB to stimulate the rest of the working class there towards the revolutionary policy to which it aspires. **THE ABSTENTIONS IN THESE ELECTIONS EXPRESS THE EXISTENCE OF A TROTSKYIST CURRENT IN THE HEART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD, AT THE SAME TIME AS THE VOTES GIVEN TO THE PARTY AT CHARLEROI DO."**

OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Belgian Elections

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE
WORKERS'. There were speeches about: Cuba, Vietnam, Korea and the World Anti-Imperialist United Front.

—The incorporation of children in the world Socialist Revolution.

—Assessment of the electoral campaign and the struggle for the construction of the revolutionary leadership in Belgium.

The exposition on the revolutionary struggle of the children of the world and their dynamic participation in the electoral campaign of the P.O.R.(T.) in Belgium

was made by cde. Jean, a young comrade who is 8 years old, and was particularly well received by all the comrades present, as the expression of the tremendous strength concentrated in the IV International, capable of organising and incorporating all the young comrades, as the revolution does on a world-wide scale.

The meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale and vivas for the IV International, cde. Posadas, the revolutionary masses of the world, for the masses of Cuba, China, Vietnam and the Workers' States and a viva for the proletarian united front in Belgium and for the progress, expressed in the electoral campaign, in the organisation of the revolutionary current for the taking of power.

The Historic Audacity of the Vietnamese Masses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

egotism. And a Garrison says to Johnson; you allowed the assassination of Kennedy. They liquidated Kennedy for saying less. That is to say he (Garrison) does not work from his own strength. He speaks because he is expressing a current, which is a way of wanting to block the war; but to block the war as the Yankees do; they want peace, peace but they drop bombs.

We are the most fortunate individuals in history. Never has there been in human history events at the end and beginning of the year like this. Lenin finished the "State and Revolution" saying, "there are a number of points which have not been dealt with. I will leave them because it is better to act than to write". It is clear, the meetings and discussions were better to conduct than to write about. Not because it was not necessary to write; the basis was already written, the rest could be learnt in struggle, in life and he was attracted by this. Vietnam today and the masses of the world, Syria and Cuba are the most elevated examples of the human decision to triumph. This is the most important event of this year. And the second; the decision of the IV International to fight for power. The two wills are identical, the two decisions are identical. We do not compare ourselves to the masses of Vietnam in their means nor in their possibilities, but we are superior to or equal to them in historic decision. This is the most important event of this year.

With the assassination of Trotsky 27 years ago, with comrades arrested in Mexico, in Spain, in Brazil, Cuba, Guatemala, arrests in the Argentine and in some number will follow. They are already organising not a plan of study but a plan of action, now it is not a question of studying, it is a question of action and activity. In Spain every three months, six, eight, ten comrades are ar-

rested. And already they have made a programme for those arrested as to the activity they must develop. The comrades believe they will soon be set free because they say that the students are rapidly released.

The Trotskyists who are arrested continue their tasks without interruption. They are the Trotskyists of this stage of Trotskyism, not of the stage of Trotsky. And they are the organising centre of all the other political prisoners. Mexico is the most clear example of this. The commune in the prison is the example of the ability of the Trotskyists to construct socialism. They prepare themselves to construct socialism. For this reason we have replied with this letter of ours⁽¹⁾, because it has an immense historic importance.

The two greatest events of this year which has just finished, are the will of the Vietnamese masses in struggles to smash Imperialism, and its consequences which are the revolutions in China and Cuba; the masses take account of this. And the decision of the Trotskyists like the masses of Vietnam is to struggle objectively for the leadership of the world revolution and to impel objectively the revolution. These are the most important events. The Marxist Reviews in Spanish, in Italian, in French, in English are part of this. The objective development and growth of the IV International in various countries is part of this. They are the two centres of this stage of history. Neither journalism nor the press nor the radio are going to register this. We, yes, ourselves. The principal element for every historic event is to be convinced that this is the case.

Because we were convinced that we were right, we prepared in 1945 to win the leadership of the IV International. For this reason we were in the leadership of the IV International. We were convinced that we were right. We did not have the

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

NOW ON SALE
IN COLLETS

7/6

understanding, the clarity which we have now, but we had the same historic decision and the same conviction of historic decision. For this reason we are here, since it is necessary to assess this first year to make a balance for the next year, to be at the head of the principal countries in which we have sections.

We are going to change the dates for balances and inventories in the party. It is not a literary or cultural conclusion, it is an historic necessity. The dates are inventories of humanity to measure time and its own action; to measure its ability to act. If not, it has no importance in time. But until now time has been determined by the commercial interest for exploitation. In this sense time is valued in relation to commercial interest. Inventories, balances, conclusions are made to assess experiences to apply in agreement with commercial interest, bureaucratic interest, military interest. Still there is no force to make an inventory of life to use scientific collective experience. Humanity passed through an unconscious phase towards the "Communist Manifesto". From the "Communist Manifesto" a new stage of humanity begins: the conscious stage which is still not organic with humanity. This conscious stage is that of Marx and Engels, in the form of theoretical conception. Until then the historical proof was missing. And the practical proof was given by the International and the theoretical and historical demonstration: "Capital". These are the three dates "Communist Manifesto", 1st International, "Capital". And the historic proof, not theoretical, but historic, practical, material proof that socialism was possible and the way to realise it was the Russian revolution.

⁽¹⁾ The creation of the communes in the prison of Mexico by the Trotskyists, and the rise of the Mexican Revolution.
J. Posadas 18. 10. 67

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THE HISTORIC AUDACITY OF THE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES OF THE EX-TROTSKYIST CAPITULATORS AND THE

Part 2. To be concluded in next issue

THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY WORLD WAR BY IMPERIALISM AND THE OBJECTIVE TROTSKYIST COURSE OF HISTORY

Imperialism from the economic point of view has a power such as never before. Nevertheless at the same time, it is pursued, expelled, fought and obliged to retreat as never before. And in the United States, the North American masses who live in the most powerful country economically with the highest economic level in the world, rise against Yankee Imperialism to throw it out of Vietnam and the negroes rise up with the methods of civil war and are preparing to unite with the exploited white masses to take power. And all this in the most economically powerful country in the world. This is not a consequence of the state of the economy, but of the world influence of the revolution. The world is united and unified, and what unites the world is the will of the masses to take power, and the will of the masses to smash Imperialism.

We have maintained this stand. For this reason we broke with Mandel and expelled him, when he supported the view that Capitalism had a perspective. What is the Programme of Mandel? He hasn't one. What does the analysis of the economy lead to?

In the last instance to an economic competition which is peaceful co-existence with Imperialism. Imperialism does not accept this. It is conscious that economically it is very strong now, but that in a period of years it will be inferior. Imperialism feels that it cannot last for a period of more than five or six years, it feels that it is being swept away by the world revolution. The growth in the United States in the opposition to the Vietnam War is the highest and most catastrophic indication of it to Imperialism. Its pessimism is immense. There is a moral and intellectual prostration of Capitalism. This shows that in spite of economic power, there is moral prostration that does not come from economic weakness, but from a feeling that Imperialism is socially lost.

To this it is not necessary to respond with a treatise on the economy, which only serves to provide statistics and to calculate the economic capacity of the Workers States. It is not this which decides in history. Economically, the Workers States has demonstrated that it is superior. It is necessary to write to organise the class struggle, this is what is important and what decides. Economic treatises are only of use to Imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the Communist Parties, for they do not influence the revolutionary struggles. It is the masses who are deciding history. It is in Vietnam, Cuba, the Middle East, and China, it is in the development of the revolution and of the struggles of the European proletariat that all these struggles are being decided.

All the Mandels, the Franks, the Maitans, the Pablos have neither programme or policy or a solution to these events in history. For this reason we expelled them from the IV International. These people were expelled in 1961 because they believed that the principal struggle which it was necessary to make, was for prevention of the nuclear war. This is in their review "The IV International". There is to be found the appeal for opposition to what they call the "lunacies of Posadas" and the posadists, who say that the nuclear war is inevitable, that Imperialism is preparing for the war and has no other solution, and that it is necessary to get ready for the war and appeal for the preparation for the war and appeal for revolution and the defence of Vietnam, China, and Cuba whatever the cost, even that of nuclear war, which is the lesser evil for humanity. These people say of us that we are "mad". We prepared ourselves for this process, we prepared organising leaderships and parties. That is why we have 16 sections and will have 20 sections shortly, and we were based only on 6 in Latin America when we expelled them. Meanwhile their programme stated that the most important task of the IV International was to prevent the nuclear war, as they said in their "IV International" in 1960-61. What perspectives had they? None.

Imperialism is preparing for the war,

this is evident. Everything leads to the war. So they do not have cadres, a policy, base, programme or a future! For this reason they cling to whatever tendency offers them a perspective, and sell their Trotskyist past. They sell the apprenticeship which they went through as Trotskyists for a few short years, to be of use to the bureaucrats or their minions or the centrist tendencies which have to move to the left but which fear to advance to the revolution because they have neither programme nor perspective and nor have they a team or party prepared for the revolution. None of them has written a text or a programme foreseeing events and the form of the revolution at this stage.

This book of Mandel is written with the aim of introducing himself and selling his services to the bureaucrats of the Workers States, and those who replace the old bureaucrats, who are no longer any use and who cannot maintain their positions, seeking to replace them with a new programme which tends to sustain bureaucratic control but not the revolution. Meanwhile it is evident by what is happening in China and in the Middle East that Imperialism is preparing for the nuclear war and it is necessary to get ready for this nuclear war. In Capitalist Germany they have passed a law about 'serious emergency', which indicates that they are preparing for the nuclear war very shortly. These are measures which they are taking and applying in order to be prepared for the nuclear war. Everything is for the preparation by Imperialism of the nuclear war.

The Negroes of the United States speaking through Carmichael do not put forward the programme of the Pablos and Mandels, they have the programme of the Trotskyists: 'it is necessary to prepare for civil war in the United States, there is no other solution', 'the masses of the United States, the whites and blacks united by the proletarian revolution, can finish with racial segregation'. This is the Trotskyist programme, this is our programme. Hence they reject all of them. They are the ones who supported Ben Bella. They are the ones who supported the denigration, the attack by Fidel Castro in the Tricontinental slandering the IV International. He keeps quiet about all this and these miserable types conceal the fact. They go on attacking and bringing up the calumnies made by Fidel Castro, and now they summon up the current that follows a conciliatory and centrist road, whether in the wake of Fidel Castro, in the Middle East or anywhere in the world. They lack programme and perspectives.

Therefore they do not have a single perspective and for this reason they could not foresee anything. These people cannot show that they foresee anything, that they foresaw the course of the revolution, the process in the Middle East or the great strikes, and nowhere do they come out for the struggle, for the taking of power. In general all their struggles are in defence of the partial interests of the masses but they do not go any further.

Our programme is the programme of the Permanent Proletarian Revolution, the Socialist Revolution, the Political Revolution, the necessity to expel Imperialism from Vietnam whatever the cost, the

necessity to support the "Cultural Revolution" in China, such as we said three years ago, because it is the form in which the development of the Political Revolution is manifested in China. But these people attack the "Cultural Revolution" as if it was a struggle of bureaucrats. Undoubtedly there are bureaucrats but the meaning of the struggle and the force which impels the struggle is not in the least bureaucratic. In the necessity which the bureaucrats have to organise the Chinese Workers State and defend themselves from Imperialism and from other bureaucrats, they have no other remedy than to give way to certain historic necessities of the Workers State, that is to yield to the masses, although they would like to control and block them. So this step which they have taken will give impulse to the left wing and to the Trotskyists, and a Trotskyist wing will appear. The process is like this.

The capitulators did not foresee this and did not prepare themselves for any of it. So they joke and they lie when referring to Latin America, trying to appear to have sections there. We invite them to show a single newspaper in America, a single section, a single movement. And these unworthy and miserable people conceal the fact of our imprisoned comrades in Spain: Whilst they run down the acts of our comrades in Guatemala they keep silent on the imprisonment of our comrades in Spain, the 18 imprisoned in Spain, 12 in Mexico, they conceal this. They are the servants of the centrist wing in this stage, the history of the revolution which they assist and consequently they are ready to use any slander, any denigration, and any police dénonciation, just as Michel Pablo, does in his publication. They are police informers. What they have not done up till now, they will do, and the conditions for this will be there later on.

The Mandels, the Pablos, the Maitans, and the Franks were incapable of foreseeing, organising or orientating any great event, among them that of Guatemala, and that of Cuba. It was the IV International, the articles of Posadas written over a period of years, which foresaw the 'sui generis' course of the Political Revolution in Cuba, the centrism and the inclination to the left of Fidel Castro, in spite of the assassination of Guevara. Mandel and the other capitulators never said anything about this, because they did not have the courage, the capacity, the political courage, to understand this. We have written, analysing and foreseeing these events, and the form the revolution takes at this stage. We wrote "From Nationalism to the Workers State", "Guerrillas in the struggle for Workers Power", "The Role of the Military in the Nuclear War", "Structure and Functioning of the IV International", "Soviets and Communes", about the mass Peronist movement as part of the revolutionary movement of the masses of the world, about the role of the students, about Socialist morality, about the construction of the conscious militant in this stage of history, about the possibility of the petit bourgeoisie taking power in Cuba before it happened, but that afterwards this would pose the necessity of a Revolutionary Party, we wrote about the Political Revolution in the Workers States, about all decisive events. We prepared ourselves for this process, we prepared the parties, the cadres, the leaders for this process.

These calumnies made by Mandel in the name of the Pablos, Mandels and Franks are directed to block and prevent the conscious functioning of the conscious

tendencies, with revolutionary objectives in Cuba, China and the Middle East with the IV International. The articles of Posadas provide the means of fusion, so attacks and calumnies are made on Posadas with use being made by the Mandels and company of their Trotskyist past, because they feel themselves to be weak, incapable of understanding the political course of history and they lack the political and social courage to understand, organise, lead and fuse with this process. Therefore whilst the Trotskyists had 20 comrades imprisoned in Cuba, and none were accused of anything and were freed by the Cubans without any accusations being made—just as in the Soviet Union there are also imprisoned Trotskyists—and they defended the permanent revolution, the political revolution—whilst we had 18 prisoners in Spain and now have 6, the Franks, Mandels, Maitans, Pablos join in the chorus of the Communist Party against Trotskyists, in the objective service of the counter revolution. The political programme of the Trotskyists in Spain is for the taking of power, for a Workers and Peasants Government. They are the ones who organise FUDE, and it is FUDE that the government attacks through the daily paper of the Falange 'Arriba', as the organiser of the revolution in Spain.

All these Franks, Maitans, Mandels, Pablos are incapable of understanding, analysing and combating politically our positions, which are the same as those of the IV International which they defended for a period of years and we threw them out in 1961 when they stopped defending them. Thus they did not have and have not a programme and policy, and they latch on the programme and follow the road of the centrist wings anywhere in the world, adapting themselves to them. They try to contain the objective development of the revolution, the Trotskyists and of the IV International by volunteering information about Posadas and the other leaders of the IV International, like Pablo does, in his publications and as they do through their personal ties and like they do in Latin America serving the counter revolution indirectly. The Mandels, the Franks and the Pablos in Latin America have no organisation, but they offer money, corrupt the centrist petit bourgeois elements and ally themselves with the CIA to betray, block the development of the IV International and betray Posadas. The forged edition of 'Voz Proletaria' of Argentina last year was the work of the CIA helped by the people connected with Maitan and all these people.

The weapon which Castro has used has not been any use, he has fired it again and again and he has failed. He has to employ other means, other inferior resources. What he did before was to give orders to take up arms saying "pestilential" and he expected the collapse of the thing. There was no collapse. The "plague" advances, reaches him and he has to be infected. As he has to continue defending what he tried to liquidate, he sends for Mandel. He has to adapt to Trotskyism, he has to adapt to us. He tries to do what the Church is doing, adapting himself to the course of the revolution to defend himself from it. This is what he is doing. And he is doing it badly because it finds no echo; it cannot have conclusions favourable to the revolution. To fight the Trotskyists, it is necessary to fight them with a policy, positions and to demonstrate that they are mistaken. But the objective course of history is Trotskyist. Even when we are silent, the mouth is Trotskyist.

THE HISTORIC AUDACITY OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES, THE SOCIAL FEAR OF IMPERIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The Syrians, without directly knowing us or with only indirect knowledge of us, know Trotsky, and took up the neces-

sary positions in certain aspects, although not in all of them. They are going to dismiss Mandel. History is one single

VIETNAMESE MASSES, THE ELEVATION OF WORLD, THE MISERABLE FUNCTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

J. POSADAS 27/31-12-67

whole, the world is one single whole, it is not just Cuba. Therefore there is no echo or importance in what Castro is doing. On the contrary, he is losing ground, it is open to other influences. Thus when a comrade criticised the Soviet bureaucracy for its attitude in the Middle East, a Syrian leader said: 'Yes, they are weak; the Soviet bureaucracy is afraid of the war, but,' he said, 'in the long run, it will have to confront the Yankees. Without intending to, it will have to confront the Yankees in the long run. But this leadership is not the same as it was in 1917. They lack the leadership they had in 1917. He did not name Trotsky or Lenin, but 1917 means Lenin and Trotsky. And this is what is in all their thoughts.'

The Syrian leaders have declared, 'We are preparing for another war which perhaps we are going to lose, but even so we are going to win, because it is a social yearning of the masses.' It is sometimes Fidel Castro, and sometimes the Syrians, but they all allude to 'social necessity', 'social sense' and that they have social resolution not military resolution. Before this was not so. It was a question of who had more arms, more bullets, more military power, but now war is resolved socially, not militarily.

Walter Lipmann is one of those who has the appearance of a pall bearer, he points to the dead and already he is weeping for them, for he states in definite terms, 'There is a development in history which we do not understand, which we do not understand or know.' Before, everything was clear to them. There was a revolution, a movement, and the ships were sent in and bang, bang, bang—everything was settled. They understood very clearly. Now when there is a revolution, like Vietnam, they go, bang, bang, bang—and one, two, five years go by. The wounded, and the massacred feel themselves to be strong, and they wait for the bombs to make holes, which they can plant rice in. The schools, technicians and engineers go on but the Yankees are decomposing. Then Walter Lipmann says, 'There is a world which we cannot understand.' It is his way of praying not to die. They are confronted with a world event, confronted with a process of history which they do not understand because they have tried to smash it and have not been able; so they do not understand human nature. They believe that human nature is like themselves the product of money, of material interest. They do not take into account that human nature is social interest, the aspiration of human knowledge elevated to the consciousness, to the conscious assimilation, even though it is still not assimilated theoretically. It is assimilation of the collective life. They are not able to understand this. It is logical.

It escapes all the scientific, cultural and rational foresight of Capitalism. For this reason this character says this. Where have you seen a character like Johnson, the representative of the instrument, of the biggest military capacity in history who goes running to the Pope to say: 'Look receive me, I am ruined'. And this type feels the end, death, and runs to the Pope. When Johnson runs to the Pope he runs like a corpse held up by string. He does not run to the Pope to give orders, he runs to the Pope to use him to justify himself before the United States; but also to direct himself at the bourgeoisie of the world to say: 'I have no other remedy than to continue the war and finish it.' This is it. This is the contradiction of Johnson. He is not as the previous Presidents of the United States who said: 'I am here, come to see me' and you knocked on the door and they said: 'I am busy'. No, this time he goes to Australia. He goes to see if they have found the body of the prime minister who took to the water (in time). If they drowned him or not, it has no importance. He died. And Johnson had to go to Vietnam. He left before he got there. He was there for forty minutes. This is the weakness of these people: the President of the most powerful Capitalist nation of the world fears attempts on his life so that no one can get within ten miles of him. He goes to Vietnam and why does he go? For what? He is a defeated type who goes to try to stitch up holes, nothing more than this. This is not the tour of the conquerer. The victor has no need to be reassured. When he goes it is because it is the corpse going to its fellow to see if it can sustain him. This is the tour which Johnson made. And to the Pope he had to say: 'you have to help me because it is the war'. And the Pope saw him, listened to him, and left him. Just left him, it is clear. The Pope did not make any declaration favourable to him.

The visit of Johnson to the Pope is the last cartridge which Imperialism is spending. The authority of Imperialism has diminished by 1000%. The nuclear bombs demonstrate that Johnson does not have the power to impose himself. He has to go to the Pope to ask help, so that the North American masses, the petit bourgeoisie see that Johnson goes to the Pope: 'I am going to say to him that I want peace.' He goes running to the Pope. North American Imperialism with all its nuclear bombs runs to the Pope; the war is near. Why does he go to see the Pope? not to seek to arrange matters, but to justify, to gain time. How much time? Cambodia, Laos... now again Cyprus. And soon the Middle East again. But their fear is an intellectual fear,

social fear which they express intellectually. This is Walter Lipmann. The articles of Lipmann and of Sorensen are the same. The types who until a little while were the mental assessors, the animators like those on the radio who stimulate and entertain to try to win people. Thus these people have acted. They have tried to sustain all this appearance of power and they have believed that they can triumph, but now they see that they are losing. They see that they are losing and not just in Vietnam, they are losing in the world. And their programme is the programme of the desperate; they rush to the lesser evil. The declarations of Lipmann and of Sorensen grasp the lesser evil. A whole intellectual sector of Capitalism has been overwhelmed by defeatism. It is a world that they do not understand and evidently do not understand because they cannot resolve it with guns or with nuclear weapons. They see; we are able to drop nuclear weapons and tomorrow? what is tomorrow? There is a tomorrow which they do not understand. There is a void in front of them. They go to Vietnam, they go to the world through Vietnam. There is no discussion in the world in which Vietnam does not appear. Two children fight over missiles; 'you want to do what they are doing in Vietnam.' I hear it now. They fight because one brings down more missiles than the other. Vietnam is in the mind of humanity.

Thus as human language is aggressive, is warlike, everything is resolved by means of force, of imposition, the masses defend themselves and impose themselves on Capitalism and the bureaucrats also. The language is aggressive. Vietnam is the centre of the human decision to conquer. What Greek tragedy! Sop-

holes is suffocated! Vietnam. There is no historic comparison with Vietnam, there is nothing. Nevertheless human progress demonstrates how it advances with collectivisation. The Greeks to understand the world had to write all the tragedies which they did, which was their tragedy. The Vietnamese do not have a tragedy; and they have tragedies greater than those of the Greeks, comparatively. In the family, everyone is killed and they continue fighting. They have no reliable place where they can live. They have no certain food. They have to go escaping the bombs and they acquired such an ability that now they dance around the bomb. And they have such ability that they can calculate mathematically the fall, the position of the bomb, the type of the bomb; they have the notion already, otherwise there would have been a disaster, and they have the capacity of collective education to centralise themselves around the results and from the experiences to organise themselves how to evade bombs, how to work, how to confront the bombardments. What other people in human history has done this? None. They already have been smashed by bombardments, by disasters. But the Vietnamese people master the situation, master it. The Greeks now would raise themselves from the tomb to see this.

Of all the facts, the most important events are; the historic social magnitude, the courage, the feats of bravery, the historic audacity of the Vietnamese masses; and the disconcerting of the ruling class. There is an enormous disparity. De Gaulle does things which in another phase of history would have led to wars. But now they say it is only

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

In the last couple of weeks two major victories have been won by the working class. Firstly the management at Roberts Arundel have been forced to recognise the unions and take back the workers they previously sacked, and they have been forced to sack the blackleg labour which they have employed for the past year. And secondly in the same week the government have been forced to rule that rises of up to 7/6 a week only may be made in the rents of council houses in any one year. Both these victories are the result of systematic militant action; in the case of the strike in Robert Arundel, the constant demonstrations and sympathy strikes in Stockport, and the battles with the police outside the factory, while in the case of the rents, the constant mobilisations of the council house tenants all over the country, with the storming of the town hall in Coventry, the rent strike in Walsall, and the recent demonstration of 3,000 council tenants to Hyde Park in London. Capitalism is not strong enough to smash whole sectors of the working class as it wants and needs to but in the face of constant mobilisations they are forced to retreat, and concessions can be won by the working class in this period but only by aggressive class actions.

In the same two weeks as these victories have been won, showing the strength and the unity of the working class, and on the eve of great class and revolutionary struggles, Enoch Powell made his now famous racialist speech. This was done as a very conscious move on his part and as a representative of the right wing of the Tory Party who see the working class becoming more and more organised, demanding more and more from Capitalism, more wage increase and workers control, they see women demanding equal pay for equal work, they see students supporting the struggles of the workers, and they see children holding demonstrations—all showing an elevation of the level of the conscious struggle in this country

and to combat this they try to divide the working class on racialist lines. True there have been some demonstrations by a small sector of the dockers and meat porters in London, the second sector led by a fascist candidate to Parliament, but they do not represent the mass of the British working class. There have been no demonstrations in support of Enoch Powell from the big car factories for example, where for years black and white workers have worked together and also workers organisations have condemned the attack. The majority of immigrants in this country work in the lowest paid jobs, live in the worst housing and their children go to the most overcrowded schools; they are the principle victims of the decline of Capitalism and Powell knows this. But the essential thing is that this manoeuvre by Powell and the Tories has failed.

The 15th of May one day strike must be extended indefinitely until the Capitalist class gives in to the demands. The engineering workers must appeal to other sectors of workers to join the strike, calling them to put in similar demands in their own industries, demands like, 30% increase in the basic rate, 3 weeks holiday, equal pay for women, no redundancies etc. The engineers must build factory committees with full proletarian democracy and appeal for the active organised support of the working class housewives, the students and the children, for their struggle. The resolutions of the A.E.F. Conference, for the nationalisation of all the major industries under workers control etc. which are the highest programmatic level the struggle has reached in this country, must be demanded and fought for by all sectors of workers as a part of the struggle for a workers government, at a time when Capitalism and Imperialism is unable to develop the economy or solve any of its problems and is preparing in a very short time to launch the atomic war to try to terrorise and smash the forces of the world proletarian revolution and the Workers States.

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Long live the French Workers and Students

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. 67/68

FORTNIGHTLY

MAY 25th 1968

SIXPENCE

MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD: TO THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS' STATES: TO PROLETARIANS: TO PEASANTS: TO UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY STUDENTS: TO CHILDREN: TO HOUSEWIVES: EMPLOYEES: TO THE MASSES AND REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT CADRES OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES: AND THE NATIONALIST AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT MOVEMENTS: TO SOLDIERS: LOWER OFFICERS AND YOUNG OFFICERS WHO FEEL THE NEED FOR HUMAN PROGRESS:

COMRADES:

The Capitalist world is in a more and more constant crisis, and all the forces of oppression and repression are being cornered by the strength of the uninterrupted ascent of the revolution. The world forces of Capitalism and Imperialism, the forces of the bureaucracy of the Workers' States, and all the leaderships of bourgeois parties that are in contact, linked to or with popular bases, are in decomposition and disintegrating. The Christian-Democrat parties and bourgeois democratic parties with a mass base, even in Capitalist countries, where they have some popular support, are disintegrating, shaken and constantly influenced by the revolution. The popular masses desert and separate themselves from the leaderships of the bourgeois parties. Christian-Democrat movements are won over to the revolution. Petit bourgeois movements that aspire to the development of society through Capitalist democracy are won over to the revolution. They all feel the decomposition, the disintegration, disorganisation and collapse of the Capitalist system. The impetuous and uninterrupted advance of the revolution provokes these facts, which reach all the forces in society—the uninterrupted advance of society, the progress of this stage in society, marked and determined by the unrestrainable ascent of the revolutionary will of the masses of the world. The highest progress in society is the incorporation of the masses in the revolutionary struggle, and they are intervening deciding the course of history. The intervention of the masses in society: men, women, children, old people and the peasant population which up until yesterday was nomadic—which are incorporated in social progress, occurs by means of the socialist revolution. It is the socialist revolution that marks and raises the social development of history. It is the highest source of progress throughout humanity. This progress is worth more than all the scientific discoveries and satellites launched into space. The basis on which knowledge and human progress are determined is their service to the end of developing the standards and historical level of humanity. Humanity is composed eighty per cent of exploited masses. Everything that is useful to the development of humanity must be used to the exploited masses, drawing them out of their misery, their backwardness and their ignorance, and drawing them out of the insecurity that the Capitalist system and the bureaucratic leaderships of the Workers' States cause. The insecurity of humanity depends exclusively on the directing classes, the existence of Capitalist regimes, the bureaucratic regimes of the Workers' States, the bureaucratic leaderships of the Communist Parties, the Communist governments and Parties of the Workers States who conciliate with Capitalism. Everything which enables the stimulation and development of the exploited masses of the world is the highest source of all human progress, because it is the progress which will express itself in inventions, in economic progress, in the progress of the highest social relations, which are the things which determine the progressive course of humanity. And in this stage of history, the masses of the most backward countries of the world, who up to yesterday were living in the most complete poverty, resolve to take up and eliminate, seeking to organise the elimination of all forms of oppression, of society, nationalising the property, planning the economy and eliminating, trying to eliminate, seeking to organise the elimination of all forms of oppression.

The world proletariat which is the decisive force in history, which is the concentrated force, the lever of the economy and society, when it cannot intervene directly to determine the course, of society, as in Capitalist countries, does so through the forces that have already been expressed and proved by history: through the programme of the proletarian revolution, the construction of society towards Socialism; and also does so by the development of the Workers States, through the socialist revolution, through the programme of the nationalist revolution in the 'backward countries', raising it directly to that of the socialist revolution. In this way the proletariat makes it felt that the course of humanity is determined by the inevitable necessity to organise with the programme of the socialist revolution, to overthrow the regimes of oppression or

what remains of the regimes still based on private property, elevating them to nationalised property, and from there going on to the construction of socialist society. Although the world proletariat cannot intervene directly with its programme and leadership, although the world proletariat is hampered, hand cuffed, by rotten leaderships, capitulators to Capitalism, who conciliate with it, do not believe in the historical force of the proletariat, are afraid and who have developed interests and social links which tie them down and make them united to all manner of exploiting and oppressing regimes—to the Capitalist system, and the system that usurps the proletariat—although the proletariat is impeded in expressing itself directly, the course of history is marked by the constant ascent of proletarian revolutions, socialist revolutions and armed

revolutions which tend immediately to plunder and dispossess the repressive and oppressive forces of society—those of Capitalism, feudalism and the bureaucracies of the Workers' States—and to impose regimes with state-owned property, collective distribution.

The orientation of this stage of history is determined not by scientific discovery, satellites or sputniks which go to the moon, but it is determined by the masses finding the way to organise society to serve logical and immediate ends, which are those which will determine the whole of the coming scientific course of humanity, serving the local and immediate course of the needs of humanity in this stage of history. The sooner that the forces to finish the system of repression are organised, the less damage the atomic war, the atomic destruction that Capitalism is preparing will cause humanity, and it will go on to the complete re-organisation of the whole of human history, putting the

development of society in the hands of these organised forces. This will demand and reinstate the forms of organisation which allow all of society to intervene and determine for itself the course of history so that this is not determined by small sectors who exploit and live off society, as do the Capitalist regimes, the bureaucracies of the Workers' States and the leaderships of the Communist Parties.

What marks the course of this stage of history is the constant rise, the constant eruption, of the masses, becoming more and more numerous in the revolutionary struggles—women, children and the old people—forces in society which up to yesterday almost, were ignored and kept in historic backwardness. Today they intervene with a decisive force, with a decisive security to organise and elevate society. The revolution is bringing to the same level sentiments and capacity, and the utilisation of the sentiments and human

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

For the European general strike factory occupations, worker's control, workers militia

We await the analysis and conclusions of Posadas and the International Secretariat on the most recent events in France but it is clear that the seizure of the major factories, the tremendous intervention of the French proletariat is the beginning of yet another phase, another qualitative leap in the world revolution. The IV International forsook this process and is prepared for it.

Despite every obstacle in their path, a rotten TU bureaucracy, Socialist and Communist parties dedicated to class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the French proletariat has shown that it is totally prepared to overthrow Capitalism. As the bourgeois press have commented, De Gaulle "seems" irrelevant in such a situation—a commentary on the total weakness of the bourgeoisie. Dual power exists in France in its most advanced form so far in Europe. The opportunity for workers power exists now in France.

The French CP tried to separate students from workers, they only called a one day general strike. The strikes which have led to a general strike were the actions of the masses. The CP bosses have shown themselves to be saboteurs, but have been forced to advance by the centralised power of the Communist masses. And the CP leadership will place itself in so far as it can at the disposition of De Gaulle against the masses. Its attitude is criminal but there is all the difference in the world between the situation in 1936 and the situation now. Then the CP leadership to a great degree enjoyed the confidence of the French vanguard and the masses were faced with the full counter-revolutionary force of Stalinism and a relative

downturn in the world revolution. In 1936 the CP were able to arrest the revolutionary process which began with sit ins and strikes, now they can delay but they cannot prevent the road to the overthrow of French Imperialism, the overthrow of European Capitalism. It is perfectly true the Workers States have not given the support to the French masses that they should have done. They should appeal for the overthrow of European Capitalism, general strikes throughout Europe, full support from the trade unions of the Workers States. And all this should be combined with appeals for the overthrow of Yankee and world Imperialism, general strike in the USA, in all the continents, expropriations etc., out with Imperialism in Vietnam. Cuba, Syria, China must make all these appeals which unify the world struggle of the masses to overthrow Imperialism and isolate all the Imperialist states.

The action of the French masses has been founded on all the conquests of the world revolution and the struggles of the masses in Vietnam and throughout the world. It has marked the result of all the struggles of the Spanish, Italian, Belgian, British and German proletariats in particular and in its turn will vastly stimulate the overthrow of Franco, the downfall of German Capitalism, the overthrow of Italian Capitalism, the overthrow of British Imperialism. The consequences of the French proletariats action are incalculable for the future victory of the world proletariat. It is a prelude to an

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Because of its fundamental importance we are devoting the majority of this special double issue to the Manifesto of the 1st May. We urge all worker and student militants, labour, communist and T.U. militants, to read, discuss and organise on the basis of this Manifesto.

(Continued from page 1)

potential in the fight for human progress. It is the revolution which makes historic conclusions. In no other part of history did such possibilities exist. In every part of the world, the children are intervening in the revolution with the same rights and the same capacity. Mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, all those people that Capitalist society leaves aside as though worn out or consider burdens on society, are intervening with historic decision—social forces ignored and crushed by force and by the regimes of repression, be they Capitalist, bureaucratic in the Workers' States, bureaucratic in the Communist Parties, or be they bureaucratic in the national forces or catholic movements. Today these forces are rising up, organising and deciding the course of society. Already they are posing the conditions for the harmonious development of socialist society. What stands out in the progressive course of this stage of history is that the living forces of humanity, which yearn for human progress, are those which show the desire to incorporate all the masses into the struggle and the leadership of society. They are the ones which show the necessity, possibility, the desire and the resolution to incorporate the immense forces of humanity, which are kept in ignorance and in backwardness separated from the possibility of deciding, so that there can be incorporated in their turn all the social energies which today are wasted, unused, and repressed. On the contrary, it is necessary to organise them so that they can develop the economy of society, and social relationships in such a way as to eliminate the dependency of humanity on the material forces of nature and of society itself, eliminating all the forms of repression and oppression, with all their power. The forces which try to maintain the Capitalist system, the bureaucratic leaderships of the Workers States, are the forces which in one way or another try to maintain the domination

FROM THE 1st MAY, 1967 UP TO TODAY THE COURSE OF EVENTS MARKS AN UNINTERRUPTED PROGRESS IN THE REVOLUTION

What marks this course of history is the uncontainable rising of the will of the masses of the world to eliminate all systems of oppression and repression. The objective united front of humanity exists. In all parts of the world Capitalism is besieged. The bureaucracy of the Workers States, and the leaderships of the Communist Parties are besieged. Khe Sanh marked and still marks the highest, most complete and centralised level of the will of the masses of the world in their decision to smash Capitalism. It marks and shows the will and the historic capacity of the masses to smash world Imperialism, starting with Yankee Imperialism. They do not allow themselves to be intimidated by atomic arms and by atomic repressive forces. Humanity feels it is capable of smashing the repressive and oppressive forces of the Capitalist system. Khe Sanh is the demonstration of the world-wide encirclement in which the masses have put the Capitalist system.

It is the revolution which progresses daily and which is gradually breaking down the forms of oppression, imposition, and repression of the will of the masses, and it is gradually eliminating daily and constantly all the forces which oppress and repress humanity. Constantly the struggle, the programmes, and the objectives are advancing. It shows that the masses want to eliminate anything which impedes social progress, anything which impedes the masses of the world from joining in fully and freely in the decisions about all the problems of humanity. Discussing, resolving, organising themselves in a way so that the opinions, and the will of the masses become that which decide, eliminating every caste, every sect, every appropriation, every exploitation, every use of the wealth of which humanity constructs by small cliques of society; be it material wealth, social wealth, or be it scientific riches.

The Capitalist system is in constant collapse, the masses of the world are destroying it. Be it in the Capitalist countries, be it in the Workers States, what advances is the course of the Socialist revolution. The Capitalist system is disintegrating through the effects of the world revolution. Capitalism is incapable and impotent to influence, incapable of sustaining itself socially and politically. It must

of a caste, clique or sector, against the overriding interest of humanity, are those which prevent the immense historic and scientific progress of humanity.

While Capitalist society launches enormous rockets, and has an immense capacity for atomic destruction, it is incapable of solving the problems of the Negroes in the United States. It has neither the force, the interest, the possibility, nor the capacity. The resolution to get democratic and revolutionary rights by the Negroes is against the interests of the Capitalist system, it cannot let it go forward. The resolution and the interest of the peoples of S.E. Asia is against the existence of a Capitalist system. In the same way the Capitalist system in the rest of the world is powerless and incapable of solving the small problems of the masses in the interests of society, and the development of the economy and society. In the same way the interests of the bureaucracy of the Workers' States, by its very existence, originated, as now they are finding their origin in Czechoslovakia, in the rise and the development of tendencies and groups who are trying to make history retreat towards Capitalist or semi-Capitalist regimes. Society is mature for Socialism. Throughout humanity, from the most backward countries to the most advanced, from the Yemen to the U.S.A., from Cuba to the Soviet Union, in the Capitalist states and in the Workers States, humanity is already ready and yearning, seeking to unify itself for the construction of Socialism. The obstacles are the forces which oppress and repress the masses, be it the Capitalist states, be it the bureaucracies of the Workers States. Humanity is spread all over the world and inter-related, the masses being mutually influenced, seeking to impel the progressive development of society to a more elevated level.

resort to atomic arms. Because of this in Khe Sanh, just as throughout Vietnam, it shows that it is powerless to beat a small people of 15 million inhabitants. It doesn't have the social or political force to do it. And even though it has the military force it cannot employ it because this would unleash the world force of the revolution which would smash Capitalism. It is frightened, because of this it hesitates. It conciliates with the Soviet bureaucracy, and the Soviet bureaucracy conciliates with it, trying to maintain status quo impossible to maintain for very much longer.

All the forces on which Capitalism bases itself are disintegrating, they are disassociating themselves from its course, and escape from its authority. The social forces by which Capitalism is sustained are getting less and less. Because of this it increases, to fight encirclement, its atomic military power more and more, but its social and political ability, power and force diminish more and more. Two of the essential pillars on which Capitalism sustains itself have collapsed: the Church and the petit bourgeoisie. More and more sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are gained for the revolution. The Christian-Democrat organisations were set up after the second World War to try to impede the rise of the revolution, and be a bone of contention in the revolutionary development of the masses, but now these organisms are decomposing and disintegrating. In all parts of the world the Christian-Democrat parties are entering into a violent crisis, and their left wings, which tend to win over the centre and are in the majority, are influenced by the revolution. The Church was the pillar that sustained Capitalism by means of ignorance, terrorism and ideological repression, and now the Church is disintegrating.

In all parts of the world, even in the developed Capitalist countries, more and more important sectors of the Church, from simple priests in contact with the population, up to the higher representatives of the Church, show thinking, programme, policy and objectives contrary to the Capitalist system. They condemn the Capitalist system. More and more numerous groups of priests, the ideological instruments of the Capitalist system,

maintaining its repression, the ideological oppression of humanity, are influenced, beaten and dislodged by the revolution. The influence of the revolution prevents the Church from continuing to accomplish its previous function of being a solid prop and support to the Capitalist system. Today the Church, in order to sustain itself, has to change its form to be able to keep its authority over the catholic masses, and the masses of the 'backward countries' particularly, because they are disassociating themselves from religious authority and attacking the Capitalist system. Consequently they confront the Church for they see it allied to Capitalism. The base of the Church is in disintegration.

The world revolution can stand up to more than all the machinery of repression, the whole system of oppression, and all the intimidation made with atomic arms by the Capitalist system. It is the Church which is trying to fit in with the development of the revolution. Hence, more and more, from the Pope to the most remote churches on earth, positions must be assumed which are criticisms directed at the Capitalist system. And this occurs so as to maintain contact with, and to keep authority over the masses and not be completely bypassed. It is a diplomatic attitude of trying to keep up a position by deceiving the masses, but the Catholic masses do not make do with the declarations of the Church, but are won practically, effectively and organisationally to the revolution. Thus the masses in the semi-developed and developed Capitalist countries are more and more won over to the revolution. From the Frei Christian-Democrat movement to Columbia, to Venezuela, Brazil and Mexico and even in the U.S.A., representatives of the middle and lower orders of the Church, show their sympathy and their support for the movements of the demands for the masses of the exploited countries. A greater and greater quantity of movements amongst the priests are won to the programme of the revolution. They have not a decisive or important weight, because they do not bring social or political capacity to the struggles, but the most important conclusion of this position taken up by the Church and the priests is that it reduces the strength, disintegrates the strength, of Capitalism and removes from it its present support.

The Christian democrat political movements have entered in to crisis relentlessly harassed by the world revolution. These two pillars—the Church and the petit bourgeoisie—which sustained the Capitalist system, are in disintegration. On the other hand, the world masses are uniting more and more. The bureaucracy of the Workers' States is impotent, incapable of organising, keeping up and developing movements which tend towards the destruction of the Capitalist system. In the full crisis of the Capitalist system, in the full crisis of the disintegration of the social and ideological bases of the Capitalist system, the bureaucracies of the Workers' States and the leaderships of the Communist Parties seek out ways of conciliating, and how to reach new agreements, on the basis of a higher form of peaceful co-existence with the Capitalist system. When the bases of the Capitalist system are in collapse, are already being brought to collapse by the masses, when the masses are, in practice and in definite terms, socially and militarily, defeating Capitalism as in Vietnam, Cuba, Syria and in the Yemen, the bureaucracy and the leadership of the Communist Parties is conciliating with it. It is the leadership which impedes the revolutionary ascent of the masses and their world unification. One of the fundamental causes of this destruction of the power of the Church and the Christian-Democratic

parties is the world influence of revolution. It is the influence of the revolutionary struggles of the masses over the Catholic masses and they accept it because they see this as the road to the revolution. They see that it is the road to progress to destroy all oppressive regimes and to enable the opening up of the course of humanity towards satisfaction and fraternal relationships amongst humanity. They see that the elimination of all forms of oppression and repression must be done through armed struggle. Hence the Christian-Democrat movements are won over more and more by their left wings or by revolutionary movements, not simply making declarations which condemn High Church or the relationship of the Church with Capitalism, but which call for the struggle organisationally, to overthrow the system of oppression and repression, be it Capitalist, bureaucratic or Imperialist.

This indicates the world influence of the proletariat; it is the decisive influence of the world proletariat. It is the programme and policy of the proletariat. Everywhere it is the revolution that advances, which dictates the course of history. The whole course of history from 1st May, 1967, to 1st May, 1968, is one of constant defeats for Capitalism. There has not been a single defeat of importance or a retreat in the advance of the world revolution. On the other hand there have been defeats and retreats of the forces that oppress and repress humanity: from the attempt of Imperialism to invade Syria and Egypt in order to crush the rise of the socialist revolution in those countries, up to the Yemen, a country that has recently emerged from feudalism, and even maintaining feudal forms, has just formed Workers' Militias. In one of the most backward countries in history the world influence of the programme, objectives and the form of relationships and social struggles of the proletariat get through, influencing the Yemeni masses who live in the most backward social and economic conditions in history. This indicates that the masses of the world are united by a common feeling, the historic feeling for progress. Therefore the proletariat can influence the Yemen, for the masses in Yemen are open to and prepared for progress. It is an example of the fact that all the masses of the world are like this. If they do not do the same it is because their leaderships impede them.

All the time from 1st May, 1967 to 1st May, 1968 there has been constant and uninterrupted progress of the revolution. Meanwhile Capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy have been incapable and impotent of producing a single success, a single objective act of progress, which serves the historical ends of humanity to liberate the masses from backwardness, oppression, the oppressive regimes, ignorance, misery, hunger, epidemics and plague, and the consequences of war; the masses of the world have influenced, advanced, inter-influenced each other, towards the domination of society and the destruction of all Capitalist and bureaucratic regimes of oppression and repression to advance the progress of humanity. There has not been a single event, discovery or social action, be it of Capitalism, Imperialism or the bureaucracy of the Workers' States which is useful and beneficial in a historical way to the masses. The military and space discoveries of the Workers' States are of an immense importance, but they are inferior, infinitely inferior to those which humanity needs. Whilst Imperialism sends rockets to the moon and employs more and more destructive atomic bombs, the Vietnamese masses are defeating it and crushing it. They show that they are not afraid of the atomic war. Whilst Imperialism launches the Imperialist army in Israel, in the service of Yankee Imperialism, to try to contain and crush the course of the socialist revolution in Syria, Egypt and Iraq, to try to prevent the development of the socialist revolution in

THE ELECTORAL SYMBOL OF THE ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Vota
TROTSKISTA



MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

all the Arab States; the masses throughout the Arab States crushed the Israeli army, they prevented its triumph and disorganised it. The aim of Imperialism proved futile. Whilst Imperialism invades Vietnam with 600 thousand soldiers and atomic arms which are to destroy the whole of South East Asia, the 15 million inhabitants of North Vietnam, supported by the masses of the world, and by the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world, are overthrowing Yankee Imperialism. Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam was surrounded by the Vietcong offensive, it was surrounded in Khe Sanh.

For the first time in history a little country, a Workers' State with 10 million inhabitants, with 50 military aircraft and nothing more, scarcely 5 or 6 warships, hardly containing three or four hundred soldiers, took prisoner one of the most important spy-ships of Yankee Imperialism and prevented its recovery. With all its power and atomic threats Yankee Imperialism was incapable of making the population of North Korea hesitate, be intimidated or frightened. It is Imperialism that is negotiating for the return of the ship and negotiating through the law, not by force. It wanted to use force and it attempted to crush the population like it did in Cuba and Santo Domingo and it was defeated by the Korean masses. And in their turn by the masses of the world, amongst them the masses of the Workers' States, for the Korean masses had their support. Imperialism tried to invade Cuba again and has failed. The Cuban masses replied decidedly in their defence against pressure and Imperialist invasion. With their offensive the Vietnamese masses have shown that the military and social potential of the revolution is superior to all atomic arms. The essential effect of atomic arms is to intimidate the population, disarming it of its capacity to fight and create, and of its initiative, intimidating it into remaining timid and inactive. The Vietnamese masses have shown that they are not frightened by this. The Cuban, Korean, Vietnamese, Syrian and Yemeni masses, and the masses that defeated the Imperialist Israeli army in the Middle East showed that they were not afraid of atomic arms and that they feel capable of defeating them, and in Vietnam the masses show that they are militarily capable of defeating Imperialism.

Therefore it is Imperialism which has to negotiate, pretend, and go through the parody of negotiations to attempt to gain time and to be able to prepare for a new offensive. Imperialism counts with the policy of observation and conciliation carried on by bureaucracy of the Workers' States, particularly the Soviet Union, to do this.

The Vietnamese masses managed to lay siege to Imperialism in Khe Sanh, it was on the point of being destroyed. If the masses of Vietnam had destroyed Imperialism in Khe Sanh it would have been the basis of a world offensive to destroy what remains of the Capitalist system. The very fact of the siege of Khe Sanh meant a period of great ascent in the class and revolutionary struggles of the world, and stimulus to decision in the great mass struggles. There was only lacking a little push to destroy Imperialism, but the bureaucracy of the Workers' States, particularly the Soviet Union, intervened, supporting the bureaucracy in Vietnam, particularly Ho Chi Minh, to prevent Imperialism being crushed in

THE SIEGE OF KHE SANH EXPRESSES THE WORLD STRENGTH OF THE MASSES WHO LAY SIEGE TO WORLD CAPITALISM

The students, who come from another of the pillars of the Capitalist system, the petit bourgeoisie, are more and more, all over the world, entering into conflict with and antagonised by the Capitalist system. For the first time in the history of the Capitalist system, and dating back many years, the students have been incorporated in a progressive way into the struggles, they are intervening, they are mobilised in a massive way against the Capitalist system. Students in secondary education, and university students are uniting in the struggles to eliminate systems of oppression in the schools and universities. They are not strikes or movements directed at changing the teachers or to get student representation, they are movements whose essential characteristic all over the world is determined by the desire of the university and secondary education masses to

Vietnam. For this would have not only meant the world development of the revolution and the destruction of the Capitalist system and of what is left of Imperialism, but also of the oppressive and repressive forces including the bureaucracy of the Workers' States. Hence Imperialism which was, and still is, besieged in Vietnam, which was besieged in Khe Sanh, was able to get out of the siege, breathe and win historical time to enable its passing through this historical stage.

Imperialism showed its impotence in maintaining a basis of domination inside the U.S.A. The struggle of the Negroes shows in one form the civil war struggle in the U.S.A. and the social crisis of Yankee Imperialism. All the bases of the Capitalist system, the oppressive and repressive forces, even inside the Workers' States are in disintegration, constantly besieged, under pressure, fought off and cornered by the strength of the revolution. In the heart of the cities of Imperialism, Yankee Imperialism has to stand once again the onrush of the uprisings and insurrection of the Negroes. It is one of the forms of the social struggles and the social crisis of Yankee Imperialism inside the U.S.A. Although there is still not an extensive and open economic crisis, there is already the development of a very great crisis in Yankee Imperialism. This shows the incapacity of Yankee Imperialism to sustain its inner stability as it did before, and even if the stability is not shaken by the economic crisis, it is shaken by the struggle of the Negroes, which have an infinitely superior importance to the economic crisis.

The Negro struggle in the U.S.A., its struggle methods, methods of combat, desire to crush or burn everything that means oppression, and everything that is white power used against the Negroes, is showing that the will of the masses, the Negroes in the U.S.A. is more and more influenced by the world revolution. Yankee Imperialism has not been able to gather support from the white workers and the white petit bourgeoisie against the Negroes. It has been impotent to do it. It has sent 600 thousand soldiers to Vietnam, but it has been impotent in the search for a small army of a few thousand demonstrators, and it has not been able to confront any social, political, syndical, religious or scientific movement. It is impotent because it cannot find the base to do so. The United States' masses are already influenced by the revolution. Hence there has been no reaction, movement or spontaneous mobilisation of the white masses against the Negroes; neither spontaneous nor organised. Imperialism has had to have recourse to military repression, when if it had the strength it would have recourse to social mobilisations to demonstrate that it has the authority to contain the Negroes. The form of the social crisis in the USA, which is still expressed through the struggles of the Negroes, is going to attract the whites shortly, in their turn, and they are going to be influenced, as are the Negroes, to use arms, the methods and objectives of civil war against the white oppressors, just as the Negroes are doing at the present moment and which is already influencing them on to the road to the unification of the Negroes and the whites to overthrow the Capitalist system.

eliminate syllabuses, the organisational system of study, the way in which the universities are run, and the type of syllabuses, directors, and teachers which are the expressions of, support and represent repressive, feudal, fascist, anti-democratic and reactionary studies, organisational methods and direction. And the students struggle for socialist programmes, to impose their will over teachers and syllabuses, to impose their will in choosing and intervening in the government and running of the university. In a more and more extensive way, the students look for support in the workers' movement, they obtain it and there are demonstrations and movements of students and workers to impose a programme in the universities whose historical foundation is anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist. Throughout the world the university movement has been

and is at the centre of the fundamental structure of the Capitalist system. It is from there that it draws its leaders, scientists, representatives and the basis of the leadership of the Capitalist system the governments, enterprises, offices and the structures which sustain Capitalism, arise from the university. And the university is already harrassed by the world development of the revolution.

In Italy, Germany, Belgium, Britain, France, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Columbia, Venezuela, Japan, and in the U.S.A., throughout the countries of the world, the university masses are united by the will to fight reactionary and repressive syllabuses, governors and systems of education. The student and university masses in the U.S.A. are incorporated in the struggle in direct defence of Vietnam. More and more university movements in the petit bourgeoisie, professors and teachers grow in number and combativity against Yankee Imperialism and for its withdrawal from Vietnam. The whole world student mass, one of the pillars of the Capitalist system, is won over to the revolution.

In Germany, where there is the strongest Capitalist system after that of the USA, in which the proletariat has not been able to rid itself of its conciliatory and capitulatory leaderships, who are direct leaders of Capitalism, the proletariat shows its adhesion where it can, in the moments that it can, when by means of its struggles it can find the way of expressing its revolutionary feelings, showing its adhesion to the struggle in Vietnam and to the student masses against the Capitalist system. The Dutschke movement in Germany hasn't its own strength, university strength as such. It is a reflection of the sympathy and the will of the exploited impoverished and middle masses and the middle petit bourgeoisie in Germany, who rise in their desire and will to unite themselves to the world revolution. The Dutschke movement that has developed greatly in a short time, and has been the origin of demonstrations of support of up to 300 and 400 thousand people, is showing that the German petit bourgeoisie like the petit bourgeoisie in the USA, measured as the most developed countries in the Capitalist system, is incorporated into and already won over to the revolution. They are showing that it is not a higher standard of living than in other Capitalist countries that is the determining thing in life, but that consciousness determines life. Hence the student masses are shaking off the system of oppression and they are the vanguard, although a temporary one for a short time, which show the will of the masses of Germany to overthrow the Capitalist system.

Students all over the world, but particularly in Rome, during an entire month of struggle, show the influence of the world revolution on them. Students from different tendencies, Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist, and left-wing Christian democrats were united in the will to overthrow the oppressive, repressive, fascist and archaic system in Rome University. What the parliamentary Communists and Socialists were not capable of doing, what all the diplomatic movements—political leadership expressed fundamentally in Parliament—were not able to do, what the Socialist and Communist leadership were not able to do, the students did with their own movements. These methods demonstrated and will demonstrate to the world masses that one cannot depend on either Parliament, diplomatic channels or on conciliation with representatives of the system or with organisms in the Capitalist system like Parliament, but that direct action is necessary.

Students, the Vietnamese masses, the peasant masses in Italy and the rest of the world, the Asian, African and Latin American masses show that it is not in Parliament that they are going to find the solution to their problems, but directly in their own struggles.

And the Japanese students in the Zengakuren movement have just drawn up a programme which is Trotskyist. They have just made an appeal for the programme of: the expropriation of Imperialism, the expropriation of the Capitalist system, the expropriation of the land and the handing over of the land to the peasants, down with Imperialism in Vietnam, the destruction of the Capitalist system, the world development of the revolution and the united front of the world masses to crush the Capitalist system. In the same way the student movements in Mexico, Rome, Brazil and Peru are adopting the programme for proletarian revolution, not a programme for student demands. They associate their struggles against reactionary, senile, fascist teachers, and study syllabuses with the adoption of the programme for the Socialist revolution.

Factory occupations, university and land occupations, the taking of hostages in the factories and universities, their running by the workers and students, all over the world, shows that the working class is prepared to direct society itself. They show the world influence of the Socialist revolution.

The struggles of the student and proletarian masses in Belgium, throughout a whole period—and it will continue without a break—have involved the occupation of factories, mines and universities, and they have held demonstrations and meetings and been united in their will to struggle. The elections in Belgium showed that the masses centralised themselves in supporting candidates linked to the worker movement, or either they abstained, without voting for bourgeois candidates. But these abstentions in Belgium are the expression of combativity, not of deception. They are made by the workers who have not supported candidates that they have seen to have been conciliatory, allied and linked to the Capitalist system. That is why they have not voted for the workers' candidates, but they haven't voted for the bourgeois candidates either. And the elections show a retreat for the bourgeois parties and a stagnation in the workers' parties. But the fact that has remained constant, even in a small district, is the votes given to the Trotskyists, showing that there exists a vanguard prepared to advance to push forward the struggle for the revolution.

The struggles of the Italian proletarian masses, the 300 thousand engineering workers on strike, against the orders of Communist Party, and Socialist and trade union leaders, the support given to the meetings held by the Trotskyists in Barra, Naples, the development of Trotskyist activity in Italy, and its favourable reception, show the existence of a vanguard that wants to develop, gather together and organise itself with the programme for the proletarian revolution. It is an expression in Italy of the same thing as the masses in Vietnam, Cuba and Korea, and in all the Capitalist countries and Workers' States are showing—that they want to advance.

Peasant movements everywhere in the world are rising more and more to the revolution. The peasant movements in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are incorporating themselves into the struggle, accepting co-operative and collective ways of exploiting the land. The peasant, the petit bourgeois, the Church, and the Christian-Democrat movements—the bases and pillars of Capitalism—are in disintegration, won over to the revolution and they are incorporating themselves actively against the Capitalist system. The

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MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

Sicilian peasants, the masses of Sardinia and the whole of the south of Italy have just show that they feel the influence of the revolution, the Italian proletariat and the proletariat and masses of the world.

In Sicily after the earthquake and the floods, the peasant masses organised with the proletariat, and took into their own hands the direction of the administration of the villages to solve the problem of the floods and earthquakes, distributing houses, and food and setting up welfare centres for the population which had ended up without shelter as a result of the floods and earthquake. The peasant masses in the states in the north-east of Brazil are trying to organise themselves in a Socialist way. Individual appropriation of the land does not attract them fundamentally. One of the basic reasons why the Capitalist system and the Church still had bases of influences, was the peasant feeling for individual appropriation of the land. Peasants are seeking more and more for a collective solution to the land. And the peasant masses in the north-east of Brazil are expressing this, having just kept up a powerful struggle to attempt to take over and share out the land and winning over a sector of the Church to this struggle. The same thing is occurring in Columbia, Guatemala and Mexico. The peasant masses in Mexico struggle and have won a series of victories for the collective exploitation and collective distribution of the land. More and more organised movements of the peasant masses, particularly in Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile are rising in their struggles for the collective distribution of the land. This is an indirect, and sometimes direct form of the world revolution.

All over the world, peasant, student, university and secondary education movements and Christian-Democrat movements are being won over to the revolution. One of the bases which supports the Capitalist system is in collapse and disintegration and won over to the revolution and all these movements accept the anti-Capitalist programme, anti-Capitalist struggle, collective exploitation of the land, nationalisation of property, planned economy, democratic elections and the revocability of elected representatives. The student, peasant, and left Christian-Democrat masses are won to and associated with the world struggle for the programme of the proletarian revolution which is the programme for the Socialist revolution. The Capitalist system is besieged by the world revolution. The European proletariat is rising in its proletarian struggles in France, Italy, Belgium and Spain.

The mobilisation of the students in Japan show the influence that they feel and that they work for the Socialist revolution. To begin with the movement was in opposition to atomic war, atomic arms and Imperialism. Now the defence of Vietnam is more and more in the ascendant and they are against the Capitalist system. Christian-Democrat movements which break with their Christian-Democrat leadership or who conduct struggles inside the Christian-Democrat movements, adopt the programme for the proletarian revolution. Programmes that are based on: the expropriation of Imperialism without compensation, expropriation of the principal sources of Capitalist production, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade,

and beginnings of the formation of soviets—it is the programme of the proletarian revolution. All the peasant, student and left Christian-Democrats movements, the pillars of Capitalism are already won over effectively, organically and organisationally to the revolution. They are won over to the programme of the revolution and they struggle for the programme of the proletarian revolution.

In Khe Sanh the Vietnamese masses worked along with, under the influence of and with the world support of the revolution. The Vietnamese masses were not alone in Vietnam. It was not the support of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba or Korea, but the world support of the revolution which prevented Imperialism from concentrating its forces to crush Vietnam. It is the highest form in evidence of the world united front. All these struggles show the historical capacity of the proletariat to influence and stimulate the struggles of the world masses. There exists an objective united front in the world revolution. This is expressed in the programme of the most backward masses in the world, who adopt the world programme of the revolution, which already expresses the historical experience of the masses; they take up and defend this programme with workers' militias. Syria and the Yemen, two of the most backward countries, were recently incorporated into the Socialist revolution and Syria has become a Workers' State already, whilst the Yemen comes out of backwardness and has just formed workers' militias. It is the influence of the world revolution. It indicates that humanity in the most backward parts of the world, takes up socially and economically the highest programmes for human progress.

Capitalism is in complete withdrawal. It defends itself, for it hasn't any capacity for taking the initiative socially, politically or economically. Neither Capitalism nor the forces of the Soviet bureaucracy have any initiative to impede the world development of the revolution, by checking it, dissuading it or crushing it. They both want to do so, but they are impotent to achieve it. There are 16 Workers' States. A quarter of humanity has already been won over to the Socialist revolution. The force of the world masses consists in the existence of 16 Workers' States. This is the constant influence of the revolution. The existence of Capitalism is not due to any force that sustains it or supports it, but to the conciliatory policy of the bureaucracy of the Workers' States and the leadership of the Communist Parties. The masses in the Communist Parties live yearning to impel the revolution. Capitalism has not its own social forces to sustain itself; it has neither the economic, social nor the military force. In Vietnam it is demonstrated that the atomic power of Yankee Imperialism is impotent to conquer the Vietnamese masses. It is an example for the masses of the world. And they feel it as being such, and hence they make the assault on the Capitalist system.

In Rome the students assaulted the Capitalist system, with only the university as a centre, not having the Party to guide them in the struggle, not being organised

and led by the Communist or Socialist parties who could and should have done so. The masses had to work out their struggles at a distance, divided and separated from the rest of the population and go forward in the struggle alone, just as students, against the system of cultural oppression in the university, when conditions were ready for organisation and the overthrow of the Capitalist system in Italy. The masses saw this. And it is the same thing now in Vietnam, the masses feel themselves capable of crushing the Capitalist system. Imperialism needs 500 thousand men to prepare an offensive against Vietnam. The Vietnamese masses

THE WORLD MASSES FUSE WITH THE WORKERS' STATES AND ADOPT THE PROGRAMME, POLICY AND THE NECESSARY OBJECTIVES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Whilst the forces of Capitalism are in disintegration and being destroyed by the advance of the world revolution, the masses of the world are more and more united with the Workers' States, adopting the programme, policy, position, and the objectives necessary to the development of the Socialist revolution. Therefore Vietnam can resist. Therefore Cuba has not been invaded. Therefore Korea can arrest a Yankee spy ship and confront the threat of reprisals from Yankee Imperialism, for it is the forces of the world revolution which sustain her. For Capitalism, as a social regime has not the historical strength to be centralised, concentrated and to crush the revolution, for there are in existence 16 Workers' States and the revolutionary will of the masses who attract to the revolutionary struggle, organise and stimulate the peasants, students and sectors of the Church which up to a short while ago were in support of the world Capitalist system. But the Workers' States cannot work in a direct and living way. They are handcuffed by the leadership in the bureaucracy of the Workers' States. The existence of the bureaucracy has permitted the germination, development, creation and unfolding of reactionary forces, like those in Czechoslovakia.

In Czechoslovakia there is an attempt by the bureaucracy in the Workers' States that determines the economic and social organisation to respond to the interests of a small caste of bureaucrats, segregated from the interest of the Workers' State, and whose interests get nearer and nearer to the Capitalist system. The existence of a bureaucracy is the origin of this phenomenon in Czechoslovakia; it is not the existence of the Workers' States. It is the other way round. The power of the Workers' States shows that Imperialism is impotent to invade Cuba, Korea and crush the masses in Vietnam. What is happening in Czechoslovakia indicates bureaucratic administration, the existence of bureaucracy, which is what must be eliminated, not the Workers' State. It is not the fault of the Workers' State, but the existence of the bureaucracy. And in Czechoslovakia, even there, it shows the powerlessness of these sectors rising from the bureaucracy, to return to Capitalism. Yugoslavia, in the process of 20 years, with bureaucratic sectors which have already accumulated dominion and interests in society for the return in Capitalism, is impotent to do so. Recently there was a demonstration of 300 thousand workers in Yugoslavia in defence of Vietnam, which shows that the masses in Yugoslavia are united to the world revolution. And it is an expression of the fact that they are prepared to fight internally against the sectors that are getting ready, and would like to return to Capitalism.

The masses in the Workers' States do not intervene with all their force in the process of the revolution. The proletariat and the masses of the Workers' States, like the masses of the world, live with full decision and full intensity their desire to intervene in support of Vietnam and the world revolution. They cannot do it directly, because the revolutionary party does not function, there is no trade union independence in the Workers' States nor independent functioning of workers mobilisations, meetings, or assemblies. The masses make themselves felt by the expression of public opinions in the factories and discussions, in feelings,

with a few thousand, carried out an offensive and surrounded Imperialism, and it was practically expelled from Vietnam. If it had been the desire or intention of the leadership of the Workers' States to overthrow Imperialism, it would have already been done in Vietnam. They checked its expulsion, because that would mean the world development of the revolution and this is not in accordance with the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. But as much in Vietnam, as in Korea, there was shown the initiative taken from below and the rising pressure of a Workers' State. Whilst the Capitalist system is in collapse, losing its strength, losing its bases of support—the students, peasants, petit bourgeoisie and the Church—the Workers' States are gaining more and more support.

relationships and ways of giving their views and showing their resolution, which bring pressure on their leaders and through them bring pressure on the government. This occurs due to the necessity of the structure of the Workers' State which demands a policy of unification with, and defence of, Vietnam. The Soviet masses intervene limitedly in this way, they cannot make use of all their power in the way that they could through demonstrations, meetings etc.

It is necessary to demand that there be demonstrations and meetings in support of Vietnam held in the Workers' States. There must be multitudinous resolutions in all the Workers' States and the formation of workers' militias. Appeal for them now to expell what remains of capitalism in the world, be it in Vietnam, the Middle East or in the Capitalist countries. The Workers' States are not advancing as they could and must advance. The Soviet bureaucracy shoots rockets to the moon and is making military arms for use from space. Such arms are right and necessary for the crushing of Imperialism. The Workers' State needs to develop atomic arms to crush world Capitalism and Imperialism—it is right and necessary—but the world support of the revolution is much more right and necessary, which means the gaining of historical time and the disarming of Capitalism. Without the direct intervention of the masses as an organism, the petit bourgeoisie, peasants, students and the Church are influenced by and won over to the revolution. If the Workers' States launched themselves as Workers' States appealing to the masses of the world to take power and defeat the Capitalist system, Imperialism would not have the time—only a small period—in which to cause harm and destruction with atomic arms. Vietnam shows this. Imperialism would be destroyed before it could cause great harm to humanity.

Imperialism feels that it has not the means to compete economically and socially with the world revolution and hence it makes atomic arms. All the expense of repressing the Negroes in the USA is greatly superior to the small cost of eliminating the misery and hunger in the USA. This shows that Imperialism has not the capacity, the desire, or the interest, and that there is no other strength with which it can replace these. Yankee Imperialism is preparing for atomic war. The parody of offering peace talks in Vietnam is simply a farce. The parody of giving up the candidature in the elections for president is directed to moving the petit bourgeoisie and centralising the Yankee bourgeoisie in order that there shall be only one candidate—even if two stand—one candidate for atomic war and very soon. This is what Imperialism is preparing. It was proved, felt and estimated that it has no other solution. Imperialism cannot go on being sustained for a long time in history. It prepares for and hopes for the opportune and convenient moment for itself, to launch atomic war. Internal dissensions shows this. The assassination of Luther King shows the team that assassinated Kennedy is working to prevent all possibilities or attitudes of weakening on the part of a sector of Imperialism to discuss with the bureaucracy of the Workers' States, to weaken to the civil rights of the Negroes, for this would be in its turn a very great stimulus to the social struggles of the masses in the USA.

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MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

The repressive forces that dominate the economic, social and military machine in the USA are those that decide this line, not the 'democratic' sectors which are simply a wing of Imperialism, which hide and act as a cover for the sinister intentions of atomic war. Those who decide are those who in high circles murdered Luther King and who murdered Kennedy. All the rest is simply a parody to gain time, deceiving the masses and at the same time serving as a justification to the bureaucracy of the Workers' States in searching for a conciliation with wings of Yankee Imperialism. A conciliation that it is impossible to obtain because Imperialism has no other way out except the war. It cannot withstand a democratic regime or the struggle of the Negroes, and if it cannot withstand the existence of Cuba, Vietnam and Korea, small countries, it can withstand far less the existence of the development in rising ascent of the world revolution, in the workers, peasants, students and catholic masses which is being extended more and more over the entire globe.

The development in the USA shows the immense capacity of the Socialist revolution and the very existence of the Workers' States. In spite of the existence of the bureaucracy and its incapacity, lack of preoccupation interest and historical impotence, for the revolution is not in its interests, the Workers' States go on advancing and it is they that determine the course of history. What is taking place in Czechoslovakia is an attempt at retreat, the possibilities of which are limited. It is not the action of reactionary and counter-revolutionary sectors that is determining in the course of the Workers' States; on the contrary, it is the advance of the Workers' States. The regressive and counter-revolutionary attempts on the part of the bureaucratic layer in Czechoslovakia is an example of the fact that in the Workers' States there are tendencies and sectors of the bureaucracy which have developed with the same interests and with the same historical origin as the bureaucracy in Yugoslavia; and trying to do the same thing. But there isn't either the historical time or place to do the same. There is no historical gap between the Workers' State and Capitalism for a new class, a new sector or a new regime. It is an expression of the crisis of decomposition, the virulence of the crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers' States. It is a forewarning of coming historical resolutions. For the reactionary and counter-revolutionary attempt made by this layer of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia shows that the Workers' State already cannot put up with bureaucracy, not as it is in the U.S.S.R., of the type found in Yugoslavia nor as it was in Czechoslovakia. The ascent of the revolution impels a historical solution, stimulating the political revolution throughout the Workers' States, expelling all sectors of the bureaucracy, and imposing soviets. Hence the repressive forces in Czechoslovakia are in a hurry to strike their blow for they feel the rise of the world revolution and the rise inside the Workers' States.

Every repressive and oppressive force attempts to prevent the ascending course of the Revolution. Each tries in an empirical way to be united checking the development of revolution: Imperialism, repressing the Negroes, trying to crush the Vietnamese revolution, using the Imperialist army of Israel to attempt to check the development of the revolution in the Middle East and the bureaucratic sectors that have arisen and developed interests that are now far off from those of the Workers' State are trying to unite on a world scale to make a united front in an attempt to confront the final encounter, which will occur shortly. But this shows that we are getting to a decisive stage. At the same moment that the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia tries to take

the government of Czechoslovakia into its own hands, the forces of the revolution rise much more powerfully than this sector of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. There is not historical support for it, it is simply an expression of the impotence of the bureaucracy which still has interests linked to the Workers' State to prevent the rise of such tendencies in its very heart. It is a development inherent to the existence of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy must be overthrown to prevent the rise of new tendencies. In the course of the world revolution the masses of the Workers' States have felt and are seeing that the existence of reactionary sectors is not the product of the Workers' State but the product of bureaucratic administration. And they are united to the world revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy. It is an expression of the world united front of the revolution. The world proletariat, even without a party, without its own leadership, without its own organisms which represent its revolutionary will, the world proletariat makes its historical power felt now by means of the programme, policy and the objectives of the revolution. Hence in Czechoslovakia there is a small group that has taken power and has not been able to extend its authority. Quite the reverse, in Poland and in Yugoslavia it has been directly and immediately checked with movements that tend to preserve the Workers' State. It is not the bureaucracy that is behind this but the initiative of the masses themselves. Things will happen quickly in the Workers' States. If the Vietnam masses were capable of checking Imperialism and are able to besiege it and throw it out like they could have at Khe Sanh, in the Workers' States, particularly in the U.S.S.R., the masses will show that they are going to eliminate all forms of bureaucracy. The characteristic of the unfolding of events in the Workers' States is the ascent of the Socialist revolution. In Cuba, a small country surrounded by Imperialism, the Cuban masses impose on their leadership the programme for the elevation of Socialist relationships, advancing towards forms that eliminate private appropriation, caste dominion and which enable the intervention of the masses, the elimination of individualist and material incentives and interests, replacing them with moral stimulus and the beginning of mass intervention in soviets, through Popular Tribunals—a beginning of a form of mass intervention, the ascent of the world revolution. In Vietnam the rise of the revolution in the siege of Khe Sanh, shows already the beginning of decision to solve all problems directly. Without the will of the Vietnamese masses there is not any military, social or political leadership that can determine things. The Vietnamese masses showed their Socialist enthusiasm by laying Yankee Imperialism to siege. They were not intimidated by the destruction of their families, thousands upon thousands of human beings, they were not intimidated but kept up the struggle. It is the only historical example which demonstrates that only Socialism can give such security to a country bombed daily for 5 years and which is capable of lying Imperialism to siege. This is the immense will, due to the Socialist security of humanity.

In China the revolution is moving into the highest phase yet programmatically, and as regards revolutionary objectives and political leadership. There are not abstract discussions now about the 'red heart of Mao Tse-tung', the struggle against 'infiltrators' and 'Capitalist agents, number one'. In a more and more elevated way there is discussion about revolutionary and Socialist policies and objectives. Therefore the last declaration attributed to Mao Tse-tung indicates an ascent in the revolutionary pressure in China.

The declaration attributed to Mao Tse Tung says that: "The struggle of the Negroes in the United States must be directed to and will only terminate with the destruction of the Capitalist system". This is a Trotskyist declaration. There is no correlation between this declaration and the previous politics of China but when they must attribute to Mao Tse Tung such a declaration, it is because there exist forces which seek to unify themselves with the world revolution, with the anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist programme.

The political revolution in the Workers States which means the liquidation of the leaderships which impede the socialist development of the Workers State is already developing in an unequal and combined form and is constant and uninterrupted. The condemnation in Cuba of the fractions of the Communist Party related to the bureaucratic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, the struggles in China condemning the leaderships which hinder the socialist revolutionary democratic struggles, the development of the workers militias and popular tribunals, is the ascendancy of the political revolution which is the liberation of the socialist revolution from the obstacles which impede the advance of the Workers States. And these are seeking to unify with the world revolution. This is the course which characterises the process and not that of Czechoslovakia which represents retrogressive interests which find no place in history. This must be the base and the source of confidence for the leaderships of Cuba, Syria and China, to appeal to the rest of the Workers States, to pursue this road and formulate a programme of revolutionary demands, to reestablish and implement the soviets which are the source of security, of confidence, preventing the structuring or development of the bureaucracy.

What characterises the Workers States are the enormous forces of the revolution which do not show themselves clearly. The policy of the Soviet Union and of the majority of the other Workers States is of support in Vietnam. In spite of the fact that they discuss a policy and alliance with Capitalism, in spite of the fact that the bureaucratic leaders seek the alliance with Imperialism, that there are struggles and discussions over the meaning of life and that there are bourgeois relations, the structure of the Workers State imposes on the bureaucracy the defence of the other Workers States.

In Vietnam the immense force of the revolution is shown because it expresses itself in a unified form—at the same time as the struggle of the masses to smash Imperialism there is the struggle for the political revolution. What is expressed is the direct intervention of the masses, in the form of organisms in which the masses decide and these feel their historic security to eliminate afterwards and immediately all the forces of bureaucratic oppression which seek to prevent the participation and democratic socialist decision of the masses. This is one of the examples of the combination of the struggle against Imperialism and the political revolution, although it does not express itself in the preponderant form in the political revolution.

In Africa and Asia a series of revolutions are in constant advance towards Workers States: Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, Tanzania, Guinea and other countries show the advance of these countries towards the socialist revolution. Capitalism has not provided a single example of return to the Capitalist system. Even in Indonesia almost three years after the defeat of Soekarno, the stage reached before of nationalisation is almost intact. They have not the strength to retreat. Even in Czechoslovakia the counter revolutionary retrogressive forces have to hide behind the Communist Party to justify their action, they cannot proclaim themselves openly and directly, cannot present themselves directly as a reactionary force, they have to hide themselves behind the Communist Party. They can do this because the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, as in the rest of the Workers States, is composed of bureaucratic leaderships who have originated and developed interests remote from the Workers State and in consequence far from the Communist future of humanity. In fact in

Czechoslovakia, they have to conceal their intentions through the Communist Party. They cannot do this immediately because they would be smashed, because they are struggles of apparatuses. As much in Czechoslovakia as in Indonesia, the retrogressive means and repressive means of society are not realised in open, public form with social authority but through the apparatuses, because the masses have not intervened. The masses of the Workers States still have not been able to intervene. The ascendancy of the world revolution still is contained because the masses of the Workers States cannot weigh in these historic decisions, even desiring to do this, they cannot. For this reason in Czechoslovakia, the masses have not been able to intervene. The decisions are those of the apparatus, struggles of the apparatus of the party, of the government, they have not been determined by assemblies, meetings, demonstrations, factory assemblies, of the residential areas, of the zones but simply through small sectors. They are not expressions of the will of the masses but of small nuclei. The masses have not been able to intervene. It is the apparatuses who intervene.

The opposition of Breznev, of the team of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the reactionary attempt of Czechoslovakia, is because it sees the danger to its own existence as a bureaucracy, because they support themselves on other interests than those which the sector of Dubcek leans upon in Czechoslovakia. But there are no mobilisations of the masses, whilst it is these who can and must decide. Imperialism gives support, uses this situation to be able to advance and prepare for the nuclear war. Nevertheless it is Imperialism which is more divided than ever, never before in history have its forces been more divided, disintegrated. The internal struggles of Capitalism shows that the advance of the revolution has cornered it.

The recent crisis of gold is the crisis of the monetary system of Capitalism. And the monetary system is the source of the Capitalist relations. The perturbation in the monetary system affects the whole structure of the Capitalist system, because what unites the Capitalist system is its form of relation. And money is one of the most essential pillars, or the most essential, in the functioning of the Capitalist system, uniting the relations of Capitalism. Every means which tends to destroy the system of relations through the monetary system, is a blow at Capitalism, which deprives it of force and possibility, blocking the efforts to prevent its interior social and economic recomposition. Every blow directed to the essential source of its relations, which is the monetary system, is a blow directed at the structure, at the solidity at the world relation of the Capitalist system. And when they reach such a crisis, it is because Capitalism is not in the condition to sustain the immense resources which the counter revolution demands, particularly in Vietnam, in Germany, in Israel, in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America, to confront the advance of the world masses which demand and which struggle to defend its level of life, against the enormous investments, the resources demanded of by the world counter revolution. It shows that Capitalism has reached a stage of disintegration. And the essential base is not the crisis determined by commercial and economic crisis, but the crisis, which they cannot sustain financially, of the Capitalist system confronting the advance of the Workers States and the advance of the revolution. This is the basis of the crisis of the monetary system of Capitalism. In the crisis of the monetary system, as in that of the Negroes of the United States the crisis of Capitalism is expressed socially, not economically. The gold crisis which is the crisis of the monetary system is the social crisis of Imperialism. Capitalism does not have the strength to support its function at the present moment and is disintegrating. The intensification of inter Capitalist competition prevents its centralisation and concentration of social, political, economic capacity and makes Capitalism weak. This increase in competition is due to the world advance of the revolution, which prevents the concentration of Capitalism to confront the revolution a united way. Imperialism enters into the full stage of the final settlement of accounts totally broken within and with a total lack of

**Full support for
the struggle of
the French workers
and students**

MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

security and full of pessimism.

All the conditions block Capitalism—the world revolution, the struggles of the masses of Vietnam, the masses of the Middle East, the advance of the struggles of the students, the world unification of the students in the anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist programme, adopting the programme of the proletarian revolution not merely student demands. All the struggles of the worker, peasant, student, catholic masses, hem in Capitalism. Only a small force is necessary to overthrow Capitalism. Capitalism is waiting for the moment to launch the nuclear war. There is no other historic solution. It neither expects or believes in economic or social competition. The two bases of competition with the Workers States are excluded. Socially it cannot compete, it is sufficient to see that the United States is not capable of facing the Negroes. It needs 3,500 millions dollars a year to impede the triumph of the revolution in Vietnam because the triumph of the revolution in Vietnam is the triumph of the revolution in the whole of Asia. It has in consequence to depend on the preparation of the nuclear war. There is no other solution for Imperialism. Imperialism accepts peaceful co-existence to try to win historic time. Hence the parody of Johnson over Vietnam and his resignation of the candidature. It is a game simply to win time.

The Workers States which are the decisive weight of history cannot employ all their forces, because the masses who are the base of the Workers States cannot intervene. The bureaucracy of the Workers States is impotent to confront Imperialism. It tries to conciliate with it, tries to contain Imperialism, tries to prevent it advancing, but there are no forms to impede or contain it. Imperialism needs the nuclear war. The forces of humanity are ready to overthrow the Capitalist system. In every part of the globe, the slogans, the programme, the objectives of the masses are anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist, against every regime of oppression. It is a very simple force to overthrow Capitalism. Imperialism will reply with the nuclear war, seeking to sustain itself through the nuclear war. Vietnam shows that the masses have no fear and that Imperialism will smash it, are disposed to do so.

Humanity confronts the nuclear war without fear. It is the bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats, those who have power in the Workers States and in the Capitalist countries who fear the nuclear war. The masses do not fear the nuclear war. Quite the contrary. The influence over the Catholic masses of the world revolution shows that the masses do not fear the nuclear war. They feel that it is a terrible event which Capitalism is going to unleash but they are ready to face it and they are disposed to conquer. There is a united world front of the masses of the world, as much in the use of the methods of struggle, of the programme and of the revolutionary objectives, as in the feeling and resolution to fight. It exists throughout the world. For this reason the immediate development of the influences of one country with the rest of the world, because the masses are ready, think, live, are concerned with feeling the necessity to overthrow the regimes of oppression and they desire to intervene in these struggles.

The condemnation in Cuba of the Escalante tendency indicates the concern of the Cuban masses for socialist development; the development and the will of the Cuban masses to develop the socialist revolution, which is the programme and the objective of the IV International. This is the confirmation of its appeals in previous years for these objectives which the masses of the world are realising. For this reason between the IV International and the masses of the world there is a unification, there is the same will to combat. While the leaderships of the Workers States who wish to advance in the revolution must adjust themselves to this course of the revolution, to the struggles against Imperialism, against Capitalism, through the revolution, the IV International maintains unalterably this programme the same as in the epoch of Trotsky.

This is the magnificent base to overthrow what remains of the Capitalist system, unifying the Workers States, the masses of the Workers States with the masses of the rest of the countries of the world. What characterises the de-

velopment of the Workers States is the advance of the socialist revolution, not the retreat. As a consequence of the bureaucracy, the Workers States do not develop in an equal and unified form. Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, Syria show the advance of the Workers States. The "cultural revolution" in China each time approaches political and programmatic forms, seeking revolutionary objectives, its interior struggles show more and more tendencies which seek the road of the revolution. This indicates that in a short time the Workers States will be drawn into these discussions. The masses of the world are unified in this will to combat and will influence the Workers States.

The bureaucracy of the Workers States is an impediment to this historic necessity. For this reason in the Workers States there is still no direct demonstration of the masses, the leaderships prevent them doing so. But the declaration of the CC of the CPSU condemning the retrogressive counter revolutionary measures in Czechoslovakia, indicates that the bureaucracy fears the course of the counter revolutionary wing, because it affects them but they do not call upon the masses to intervene. But this indicates what it must do to contain it, to content, to satisfy the enormous pressure of the masses of the Workers States. The declaration of the Soviet Union against Yankee Imperialism to contain its intervention in Vietnam indicates that the Soviet population, the bases of the Soviet Workers State has the strength through the military, trade union or political wings, to make Imperialism feel that it will not allow the invasion whether of Vietnam, Cuba, Korea or China. Already the forces exist in the Workers States who wish to do this, who wish to intervene but they are not able to work in a direct and resolved way to intervene in the world struggle of the revolution. If the forces of the Workers States could intervene, they would appeal to intervene directly for the overthrow of the Capitalist system.

Little remains of the Capitalist system. All the evils which Capitalism perpetrates and is preparing to perpetrate with the nuclear war can be reduced to a minimum by encircling Capitalism, by making a world offensive of the masses. The Capitalist system has no strength.

The Workers States do not exert all their social, economic, political and military force, because each time instead of tending to unite, they are divided. There is a division in the Workers States, a division imposed by the bureaucracy. The example of Czechoslovakia shows this. The national interest of each bureaucracy of the Workers State is determined by the lack of the development of the Communist consciousness, which impedes the Communist interest. Whilst the masses of the world demonstrate that they elevate themselves in their Communist sentiment, in the bureaucracy of the Workers States there is retreat in this, because its function is unnecessary. It is the fundamental impediment to the advance towards the revolution. The same is in the position in the leadership of the Communist Parties, the leaderships of the Socialist Parties, nationalist parties who have in their hands the power of the movement, and impede the world unification of the masses to overthrow what remains of Capitalism.

The Communist Party of France accepts a united front with the parties who are connected with the bourgeoisie and with the old apparatus agents of the bourgeoisie, with the Socialist Party of Mollet who is an old agent of French Imperialism. The Communists are seeking the way which impedes, avoids the road of the revolution and work around the parliamentary perspective. The secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Longo, makes a declaration saluting the "democratisation" in Czechoslovakia when this is a return to Capitalism. It shows that from the leaders of the Communist Parties there is nothing to hope for, it is necessary to brush them aside. The Chinese, the Cubans have to appeal to the Communist bases of these parties. The masses are disposed to overthrow the Capitalist system. When in Yemen, workers militias are adopted, it is because in the most widely separated places, the influence of

the most progressive and necessary course of humanity, the forms of combat to progress in history dominate and finds expression in the workers militias.

In Syria, a small country surrounded by the Imperialist forces of Israel, agent of Imperialism, by reactionary forces as those of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the socialist revolution advances, the nationalisation of the oil wells and of nationalised property advances and the masses in the form of workers militias are incorporated in the revolution. Yemen is one of the most backward nations of the world, it adopts forms of military and social organisation taken directly from the Workers States, which are those of the socialist revolution, and adopts the forms of workers militias. This is the progress of the revolution. They are the forces which advance and which determine the course of history. This is the revolution.

The counter revolutionary sectors in Czechoslovakia, Imperialism in Vietnam, in the United States, the repressive policy of Capitalism in France and Italy, are forces which defend themselves, but have no initiative to contain and destroy. They defend themselves.

It is the leaderships of the workers parties which impede unification. It is not divisions, nor the interests, nor political differentiation which keep the masses divided, it is the leaderships which impede unification. For this reason when Capitalism tries to invade a Workers State, the masses unify themselves. For this reason, the students of the world unite themselves with common slogans—anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist slogans. The will to centralised unification of the masses exists.

IN THIS PHASE OF HISTORY THE FUNCTION OF LITTLE WORKERS' STATES IS OF A DECISIVE IMPORTANCE. THEY MUST LAUNCH THEMSELVES IN DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME!

The conditions could hardly be bettered to smash what remains of the Capitalist system. Between the masses of the world and the masses of the Workers States, the structure of the Workers States, there is a complete unification. The masses work with the function of smashing what remains of Capitalism and take the anti-Capitalist forms necessary for the unification with the Workers States. In this phase of history, the function of the small Workers States, who launch themselves, who appeal for the defence of the anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist objectives and programme has a decisive importance. What decides militarily undoubtedly is the Soviet Union, but what decides socially and politically is not the bureaucracy of the Workers States. If the social and political will depended on the bureaucracy of the Workers State, there would be no Vietnam, but the bureaucracy is obliged to intervene in Vietnam because the world revolution weighs on the masses of the Soviet Union, the Soviet masses weigh on their leaderships and force them to take these positions of confrontation with Imperialism, because the structure of the Workers State imposes this necessity. On this basis the leaderships of Cuba, of Korea, of China, of Vietnam, of Syria must work and understand, and they must appeal for the anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist world united front, counting not on the forces of Cuba, but on the forces of

What does not exist is the leadership and the programme to struggle. There exist bureaucratic interests which like the interests of Capitalism, impede the unification of the masses. This is the most important task to complete in this stage of history. And this is the task which is demanded of the leaderships of the Workers States, the most developed, the most conscious at this stage of history. And this is the task which is demanded of the most developed, most conscious leaderships, which must fulfil an historic indispensable function. The leaders of the Workers States who are conscious of such a necessity, must come out to fight, to appeal for this unification. The leadership of China, of Cuba, of Korea, part of Vietnam, of Syria must appeal for the unification, the anti-Capitalist anti-Imperialist front. Imperialism tries to gain historic time, but hesitates, vacillates, is not unified in a common resolution.

It is disintegrating from within. The common interest of Capitalism to unify itself to try to confront the advance of the revolution and the revolutionary world war of the masses maintains itself. But its organisation is disintegrated, affected. The pessimism, the decomposition of the Church, the radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie, of the students and the influence on them of the world revolution, indicates the pessimistic, defeatist feeling of all world Capitalism. Capitalism is not preparing to triumph, it is preparing to defend itself, in doing all possible damage. It has neither the feeling, the will to triumph, the possibility to continue. For this reason they are preparing with nuclear arms, for this reason their interest in nuclear weapons. This shows the indecision, vacillation, the internal pessimism of the Capitalist system.

Counting on this is the least evil for Cuba, it is the most certain world historic defence to prepare for the inevitable unleashing of the war which world Capitalism is going to make. It is going to try to invade China, Syria, Korea, Vietnam. Capitalism is preparing for such an invasion, prepares for such repressive actions because it cannot sustain for much longer the existence of the Workers States. And the leaderships of Cuba, of Syria, of China, Korea, Vietnam must appeal for the united world anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist front. The defence of Syria cannot be made without the appeal for the destruction of the Capitalist system; For this reason the declaration attributed to Mao Tse Tung that to resolve the problem of the Negroes, it is necessary to smash the Capitalist system in the United States. They are the thoughts not of the Chinese but the thought of the IV International taken by the Chinese. This is the function of the IV International which corresponds to Cuba. Cuba must appeal to the Workers States to unify themselves in an anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist front. It is not possible to expect such appeals from the bureaucratic leaderships of the Communist Parties nor from the Workers States. They intervene in the inter Capitalist competition adapting themselves to the bourgeoisie of each country. The leaderships of the Communist Parties

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

EDITORIAL

For the European general strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

enormous intervention of the proletariat throughout the world.

The AEF strike and the prospect of future mass strikes in Britain is part of the same process showing itself in France. Demands for nationalisations and workers control in the programme of the AEF show the TROTSKYIST course of the world struggle and parallel under different conditions at the moment the process in France. The struggle of the AEF is the most elevated struggle of the British masses, it advances the struggle in the process of dual power, carries within itself the

potential to overthrow British Imperialism. We appeal to the British proletariat to support their French comrades and to elevate their own struggles, led particularly at the present stage by the engineers. FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS, FOR PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IN THE FACTORIES, WORKERS CONTROL, GENERAL STRIKE, PREPARATION OF DEFENCE COMMITTEES, FOR THE WORKERS MILITIA, FOR A WORKERS CENTRE IN EUROPE, FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE, FOR WORKERS GOVERNMENTS IN BRITAIN AND THE REST OF EUROPE!

Continued from page 6

and of the Workers States feel that the control of the development of the Worker States and the Communist Parties escapes from their hands, for this reason they tend towards complete degeneration to disintegrate. The recent resolution of the representative and leaders of the Communist Party of Chile to make a united front with the Frei, with the bourgeois government means the decomposition of a sector of the Communist Party, which is the expression of the decomposition of all the Communist Parties. The leaderships come out to defend the Capitalist system through this policy to impede the revolution. In relation to Cuba, its policy, in place of being the defence of Cuba by smashing the Capitalist system in Chile, is the defence of the Capitalist system which is against Cuba. The leaderships come out to defend the Capitalist system, through this policy to impede the revolution. This shows that it is not possible to expect a revolutionary policy from any bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Party. On the contrary the Cubans, as the Koreans, the Syrians, the Vietnamese, the Chinese must appeal to the masses of the Communist Parties to rebel against their leaders and to fight for the anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist programme. To appeal for the seizure of the land, to smash the Capitalist system, to nationalise, to plan the economy. This is the duty of these leaderships. It is not necessary to expect more from criticisms, sanctions or objections to the leaderships of the Communist Parties or to expect that these correct themselves. Such leaderships are not going to correct themselves, they are insensible, they have no confidence in the revolution nor in the future of Socialism. But they have bureaucratic interests which prevent them understanding and advancing. There are sectors and tendencies in the leaderships of the Communist Parties which can advance. It is necessary to appeal to them to take the leaderships, mobilising the masses. Cuba, Korea, China, Vietnam, Syria must appeal to the masses of the world to destroy the Capitalist system, to discuss in the Communist Parties, the programme of the proletarian revolution and to eliminate the leaderships, all the obstacles which are opposed to this necessity. It is necessary to struggle so that in each Communist Party, proletarian democracy develops to discuss the programme of the proletarian revolution. Czechoslovakia demonstrates the risks inherent in the existence of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy creates and nourishes the tendencies which afterwards turn against the Workers States. There are no forms to impede it. It is necessary to overthrow all the bases which allow the origin of the bureaucracy. And these are the bureaucratic regimes. Install soviets, soviets, soviets. It is necessary to demand in all the Workers States the functioning of the soviets, proletarian democracy with the revocability of delegates, factory committees, workers committees, workers control, independent functioning of the unions, the worker militia and territorials in all the Workers States, which is the most elevated form of the military, social and economic organisation, which does not interrupt the development of society and maintains fully the military capacity of the Workers State.

It is necessary to appeal for the re-establishment of soviets or the installation of the soviets where they have not existed; to demand the right for all revolutionary tendencies to function as a party and for the elimination of all the tendencies which defend private interests, individual interests or those of private property. It is necessary to appeal to the Communist Parties for the struggle for the revolutionary programme to overthrow the Capitalist system, to unify the Workers States, planning the economy of all the Workers States, the revolutionary policy, the military policy. It is necessary to confront and to be disposed to smash now Imperialism in Vietnam, to overthrow it, militarily, to help and to impel the Workers States who economically and militarily are most weak and to help them for the development of the socialist revolution in these Workers States.

It is necessary to appeal for the MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL for the World united front of the masses under the anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist programme, to plan the strategy to overthrow what remains of the Capitalist system, and to

MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

develop and plan the world economy. It is necessary to appeal for a world conference of the workers parties, of the trade unions to plan the struggle against Imperialism, the strategy to overthrow what remains of the Capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal in each country for the united front, for the single workers centre of workers, peasants, students, employees, soldiers, to appeal to them to unify with the anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist programme. It is necessary to appeal for the expropriation and the surrender of the land to the peasants, for the collective exploitation of the land. It is necessary to appeal for the united world anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist front of Africa, Europe, of Asia, of Latin America, of the Middle East. It is necessary to appeal for the Socialist United States of Europe, of Latin America, of Asia, of Africa and of the Middle East unified in the anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist programme in the development of the soviets, of the factory committees, of workers control, of the popular tribunals, in the programme of preparing for the nuclear war, smashing what remains of Capitalism and confronting the nuclear war which inevitably Capitalism will unleash. It is necessary to appeal to the Negro masses of the United States to seek for the unification with the workers and the exploited white masses and to form the workers party based on the trade unions with an anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist programme, with the development of soviets, of factory committees, of workers control, of popular tribunals, with the programme of preparing for the nuclear war smashing what remains of Capitalism.

We appeal to the masses of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America and where it is necessary and possible the formation of Workers Parties based on the trade unions with the anti-Capitalist, anti-Imperialist programme, and we make the appeal for the single centres, for single trade union centres for the countries and for the continents with the anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist programme.

We appeal to the masses of the Communist Parties to rebel against the capitalist leaderships who conciliate with Capitalism or maintain them regulated within parliamentary dispute, appealing for the elimination of the parliamentary dispute and struggle, and to combine the struggle of the masses with that of the Communist, Socialist deputies so that they express in parliament the necessity to struggle for the revolution, so that parliament is not simply a centre of proclamation, of agitation, but a centre of political activity of the Communist Parties. It is necessary that the centres of action should function in the streets with the programme of factory occupation, nationalisation, factories functioning under workers control.

This is the programme to prepare for the nuclear war, to appeal for the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam now, demanding all the necessary military arms on land, sea; militias, money, economic help. The Workers States must send all the necessary arms to Vietnam now to smash Imperialism. We appeal so that the declaration of Johnson on discussions for peace is shown to be simply a parody to show to the masses of the United States that the Vietnamese masses are ready to discuss on the basis of—out with Imperialism from Vietnam. It is necessary to direct ourselves to the United States saying to them "We want to discuss peace, but the Capitalists do not wish to discuss, this is a manoeuvre". Whilst doing this to overthrow Imperialism it is necessary to show that Imperialism wishes to gain time nothing more. This appeal has to be directed to the masses of the United States to make them understand the manoeuvre of Yankee Imperialism, and at the same time to continue the struggle to expel it from Vietnam.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses of South East Asia to overthrow what remains of the Capitalist regime, to take the land, to exploit it in a co-operative and collective form. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of South East Asia to overthrow what remains of Capitalism, to elevate the programme of the proletarian revolution, to unify the masses with the world Workers States, to nationalise

the economy, to plan production under the form of soviets, communes, workers control, factory committees. This is the socialist revolutionary democratic form which prevents the formation of all forms of bureaucracy.

It is Imperialism which is resisting history, which is rushing to seek the aid of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the Workers States and of the Communist Parties to sustain itself. It is not its own force, or the economic, social, military force of Imperialism which allows it to sustain itself but the fear, the policy of the bureaucracy, the existence of the conciliatory bureaucracy which allows Imperialism to sustain itself. But for that, it would already be smashed. The function of the leaderships of the Communist Parties, the Cubans, Korean, Vietnamese is immense. The forces disposed to organise exist. The authority of these Worker States appealing for unification would have an immense effect. It is for them at this stage to make such appeals. This is the stage in which to overthrow the Capitalist system is the least evil. Imperialism prepares the nuclear war awaiting the best opportunity for itself. It is necessary to confront its sinister and criminal desires which it demonstrates already in Vietnam and to go forward smashing Vietnam, appealing to the masses of the United States to smash Imperialism in the United States itself.

On this 1 May, it is necessary to appeal to the masses of the world to smash what remains of Capitalism, to use the full influence of the Workers States. And this can be done appealing directly to the Workers States, to smash what remains of the Capitalist system. The forces of humanity are ready, have demonstrated that they wish to smash every repressive and oppressive regime. Students, peasants, catholic masses, independent masses, nationalist movements are all gained by and influenced by the revolution. It is the leaderships of the Workers States, of the Communist Parties, who impede the unification of the masses, who in reality in an organic form are smashing the Capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal to them to do this. It is necessary to unify them in each country with the programme of immediate demands, with the programme to overthrow Capitalism. In each Capitalist country we call for the programme for the increase in wages, better conditions of life, reduction of the hours of work, programme for the planning of production of the means of life, of roads, of sanitation works, of electricity, of water, of the utilisation and to the benefit of the population of every increase in production for cybernetics and for automation directly for the benefit of humanity, utilisation of nuclear energy to the benefit of humanity, 30 hours weekly work in the most developed countries and 36-40 hours in the least developed with a maximum of 40 hours of work.

The IV International appeals to the leaderships of the Workers States, calls directly to the government of Fidel Castro, of Korea, of China, of Vietnam, of Syria to take the historic responsibility to make

Extend the Engineering strike of the 15th May indefinitely to win the demands of the Confed.

Text of a leaflet distributed at the engineers' one day strike

The one day protest strike by the engineering workers in the unions belonging to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Industries is being held in the most favourable conditions. On a world scale Capitalism and Imperialism are losing ground both socially and economically, and all over the world the working class and the petit bourgeoisie—white collar workers—are more and more taking the initiative, and with strikes, demonstrations, clashes with the police and occupations of factories and universities, are holding Capitalism to ransom.

The demands which the engineers are putting forward, an all round immediate increase (approx. £2 a week), the minimum rate for a skilled man increased to £20 a week over the next three years, three weeks paid holiday, and the principal of equal pay for women, are anti-Capitalist

appeals to the Communist Parties, to the leadership of the Workers States for the organisation of the world anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist united front to eliminate from the Communist Parties the tendencies which conciliate with Capitalism, which submit to parliamentary policy and to the programme of reforms, of alliances and of conciliation with the Capitalist system. It appeals to them to take the historic decision of such actions which will have a repercussion and acceptance in a very short stage in history.

It sends an immense, warm, fraternal and revolutionary greeting to the masses of the world, of Vietnam, of China, of Cuba, of Korea, of Syria, of Yemen, which have been the essential factors in the smashing of the Capitalist system.

It appeals to and salutes the proletarian masses of France, of Italy, of Belgium, of Great Britain, of all the Capitalist countries of the world, who with their struggles are blocking Imperialism and sustaining the world forces of the revolution.

We salute those who for the first time in history of humanity, the children, old people, the women and the mothers, intervene with rights and capacity equivalent to the adults. Our salutes go to the Communist masses, Socialist masses, Trotskyist masses, to the mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, and to the children who intervene with the same resolution, same capacity of decision with a social power equal to their adult brothers all over the world. They make an immense contribution to the socialist revolution. The IV International salutes with the greatest revolutionary joy this incorporation obtained with the effects of the world revolution and it is a symbol and a sign at the same time of what the masses of the world are aspiring to.

We greet the masses of the Middle East, of Africa, of Latin America; the worker, peasant, municipal employee, university and secondary students; soldiers, under officers and young officers gained by the revolution; the nationalist masses influenced by the revolution and appeal to them to incorporate themselves with the struggle for the objective programme of the proletarian revolution which the IV International fights for.

It appeals for the mass Communist international, for the planning of all the Workers States, which is the essential basis of the MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. This is the stage and the phase of the world smashing of Capitalism.

Viva the world socialist revolution

Viva all the masses and proletarian masses of the world who are smashing Capitalism

Viva the Workers States and the masses of the Workers States

Viva Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky

Viva all the sections of the International and viva the IV International which is fusing with and expressing the revolutionary feelings of all the masses of the world

Viva the anti-Imperialist, the anti-Capitalist world united front

Viva the mass Communist International

IS of the IV International. April 1968.

demands and in this situation of Capitalism, revolutionary demands. It is the enormous pressure of the workers at the base of the unions that have forced Scanlon of the A.E.F. into even more militant positions than those of the Confed. The executive of the A.E.F. has been forced to put forward demands which include nationalisation of all the major industries under workers control, a national minimum wage for all workers, and retirement at 60 instead of 65. In putting forward these demands Scanlon is being pushed by the workers, but nevertheless, still doing this in a limited way, and it is necessary for the workers to extend this strike indefinitely until their demands are gained.

It is necessary for the workers in the engineering industries to organise independent

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Long live the strikes & occupations in France Organise the Factory Committees to prepare the same methods of struggle in this Country

TEXT OF A LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED BY THE PARTY AT VAUXHALLS

We salute with all our revolutionary fervour the strikes and occupations of the workers, students and peasants of France. Renault is occupied, Citroen, Berliet and the mines of Lorraine are occupied, Sud Aviation is occupied and the manager held hostage, the Red Flag flies over ships and cranes in Marseilles, Bordeaux and St. Nazaire. In all over two hundred and fifty factories are occupied. In Brest the workers and peasants elect a student as president of their demonstration. In the universities the faculties are occupied; the worker and student alliance is functioning in the streets and on the barricades, despite the efforts of the trade union bureaucrats to prevent this alliance. The workers are demanding the 40 hour week paid as 48, the minimum wage of 1,000 francs a month, but the strikes and oc-

cupations express a much deeper content than these economic demands, important though they are; all the masses are demanding "We want power, we are ready and able to take it". Throughout Europe the masses have the same sentiment of dual power.

In France the influence of the world revolution, particularly the anti-bureaucratic struggle in China and Cuba, shows itself clearly within the Communist movement; "Socialist Democracy" is the slogan which is a central concern of the masses. For the first time Trotskyists, pro-Chinese, Anarchists were able to walk in a demonstration of the C.G.T. (the Communist led T.U. Centre) without being repressed by the bureaucrats. These bureaucrats first of all opposed the students' demonstrations, but the Communist base forced them to support the students. All the time they tried to stop the development of the struggles but all the time the centralised force of the workers forced them forward.

In Renault, Billancourt, it was the direct intervention of the revolutionary tendency "Notre Lutte Ouvriere" (Our Workers Struggle) in united front with the PCR(T), the French Section of the IV International which forced the C.G.T. bureaucrats to call the occupation of a sector of Renault, and from that sector it rapidly spread to the whole factory. It is a vivid example of the role a small determined vanguard, who express consciously the desire to struggle of all the masses, can play.

These revolutionary class methods of the French proletariat to impose their trade union demands must be taken up by the British masses. It is the only way to make the bosses and the bourgeoisie give in to the workers' demands. The programme of the Confederation of Engineering and Ship Building unions (at least £2 on the basic rate, three weeks holiday, equal pay for women) will never be won by a one day token strike, but it can be won by the unlimited engineering strike with occupations of the factories. The crisis in the car industry with the redundancies which are coming, particularly in BMLC, and the speeding up of the tracks in all the industry can only be resisted by such measures as are being employed in France.

To organise this struggle, it is necessary to organise the strength of the rank and file through the factory committees. The factory committees, grouping together all the workers of the factory whether they are in the union or not, Labour Party, Communist Party, Trotskyist, everyone must have the right to intervene giving opinions and suggestions, and the com-

mittees must discuss and decide all the activity within the factory. Not in opposition to the trade unions, on the contrary to support and impel the unions to go forward, but to be against the conciliatory policy and the sabotage of the union leaderships.

We appeal for the formation of these factory committees and for the United Front with the IV International. We appeal to the vanguard of Vauxhall and Austin to build the revolutionary tendency "United Car Worker", which is linked to "Notre Lutte Ouvriere" in Renault, to send messages of support to the strikers occupying Renault through the address of Notre Lutte Ouvriere; Alain Joly, Poste Restante 173 Fg. St. Denis, Paris 10. But most important of all it is necessary to take the example of the methods of the struggle in France and begin now to build the factory committees, to prepare to organise the unlimited general strike with a programme of demands to unite all the exploited masses.

The car workers cannot fight for their

own demands in isolation from the rest of the class and on the contrary can, because of their weight in the economy, be a decisive sector, which can lead the whole working class forward in the struggle for a programme of anti-Capitalist demands.

For a 35 hour week in all industries paid as forty

Equal pay for men and women

All profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher pay and shorter hours

No redundancies, work sharing without loss of pay

Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation and under workers' control

Worker, student government of the university

Unconditional support to the Vietnamese revolution and for the workers' struggle throughout Europe.

For a Workers Government in Great Britain.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

Extend the Engineers strike

Continued from page 7

ently of the union leaderships, to extend the strike for their demands. Organising factory committees, committees open to all workers, skilled and unskilled, no matter what union they belong to, factory committees with full proletarian democracy where elected representatives are subject to instant recall if they do not carry out the decisions of the base, all decisions to be taken at mass meetings of all the workers.

Appeals must be made to other sectors of workers in this country—and to the students—to support and extend the strike, holding demonstrations and sympathy strikes, joining up on the same programme of demands, appealing to women in all industries to campaign for equal pay. Scanlon has made the point that the Confed. covers three million workers and that these workers families are ten million people, therefore appeals should be made to working class wives and children to hold demonstrations supporting the strike and the demands.

At this stage in the development of the struggle in this country the workers are gaining enormous confidence from the development of the whole world revolutionary process, from the struggle in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in the United

States and in no way is Capitalism and its agent the Labour government able to intimidate them. Each struggle of the workers tends to become a centre and an encouragement for other sectors of workers and we have seen this process already at Roberts Arundel, during the Liverpool dockers' strike and around the Barbican strike. Already the one day strike has attracted other sectors of workers outside the Confed., Data have agreed not to cross the picket lines and the maintenance engineers in the printing industry are coming out in sympathy. The maintenance men of British Rail have called for a one day strike in a months time on the basis that if the engineers can do it so can they. This is an expression of the need for a conscious organising anti-Capitalist centre and the appeal of the Liverpool bus workers for a one day strike on May Day by all workers in the city is a conscious expression of this need. The engineers can fulfil the role of an organising centre by extending the one day strike, by adopting an anti-Capitalist programme including such demands as an immediate 15% wage increase to combat the results of devaluation and the budget plus an all round 30% increase to give a decent wage; a basic minimum wage of £20; an immediate 35 hour week without loss of pay; equal pay for women; no worker to be sacked—work sharing without loss of pay; all factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control; all profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours, and the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control and without compensation to the former owners.

In calling on all sectors of workers, students and petit bourgeois (clerks, technicians etc.) to support them by adopting the same programme, by adopting the same forms of organisation the engineers will be acting as an organising centre for the anti-Capitalist struggle of the working masses in this country.

The document by Posadas "The Historic Audacity of the Vietnamese masses, the elevation of the consciousness of the masses of the world, the miserable role of the ex. Trotskyist capitulators and the development of the IV International has had to be held over and will be concluded in No. 69 of Red Flag.

European Marxist Review No. 1

CONTENTS

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

Editorials By J. Posadas

—The social triumph of the Arab masses in the Middle East against Imperialism opens a new phase in the rise of the Socialist World Revolution.

—The Crisis in China and in Cuba, the development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States and of the World Socialist Revolution.

VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

—Communication of the VIII World Congress

—Manifesto of the 1st May

—Opening Speech Horacio

—World Development of the Revolution J. Posadas

—Development of the Revolution in Europe Arroyo

—Development of the Revolution in Latin America Ramirez

—Development of the Political Revolution in the Workers States ... J. Posadas

—Considerations on the Reports of Cdes Arroyo and Ramirez and the interventions of the delegates J. Posadas

—The militancy and the morality of the trotskyists must base itself on the conception of Socialist society J. Posadas

—The supposed letter of Guevara serves to contain and limit the development of the political revolution in Cuba J. Posadas

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We send our salutes to the heroic French masses

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



NO. 69

FORTNIGHTLY

JUNE 25th 1968

SIXPENCE

Use the same revolutionary methods of struggle as the French Workers — General strike and occupations — to impose the demands of all the British working class

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN, ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS, MINIMUM LIVING WAGE TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING

Forward to the European General strike

All Europe is preparing for tremendous historical events. The revolutionary general strike in France, the electoral triumph of the CP and the proletarian Socialists in Italy, the continent wide students demonstrations, show that the exploited masses led by the working class are preparing, as they have just done in France, to throw themselves against the forces of repression, be they Capitalism or the bureaucracy. Britain is not outside this process; the French general strike has powerfully influenced the working class and the students here. Today the students are mobilising on a national scale, occupying colleges, boycotting exams, establishing at least some control over the syllabuses, setting up 'free' universities, and tomorrow in a space of months it will be the working class striking, taking over the factories and imposing workers control. In the actions of the students we have seen a soviet type of functioning; assemblies, discussions, committees which seek to control everything. It is the spirit of dual power, which exists in all the masses and which among the students is showing itself in organisational forms.

If the proletariat are not, at this moment mobilising on a national scale, it does not mean that they have ceased to struggle, but that they have not yet found the way to overcome the sabotage of their leaderships and unify their struggles throughout Britain. But the experiences in France, which have had an immediate echo in the student field, and the mobilisations of the students themselves, will help the vanguard to by-pass its leaderships, giving it the confidence that it can attract the rest of the working class.

Encouraged by the process in France the women machinists in Fords bring the entire vast Imperialist enterprise to a stop; with their demand for equal pay. This struggle will have enormous repercussions throughout industry. It is one of the most glaring contradictions of Capitalism that in the automated factories with all the latest in 20th century technique, the women are treated as if under feudalism; with an inferior status to the male, it is absurd. When these 180 women workers find the confidence to strike, it is not only the influence of the world revolution on them, but because they feel the sympathy of the men workers. If they did not feel this sympathy they would not have the confidence to strike. Already this strike has the support of the NUVB (Vehicle builders) and the AEF, and already there has been a sympathy strike by the women workers at the Ford plant at Halewood. This is a demand which unites the whole of the exploited masses, and which strikes a death blow at Capitalism, and it is one of the demands on which the general strike must be organised. There are other big struggles coming, the overtime ban on the railways which will quickly affect the functioning of Capitalism, the claim by 3 million engineering workers is still outstanding and the car workers are preparing to struggle against the inevitable redundancies following the B.M.C. Leyland merger. In the situation of sharpening class struggle which is coming, the workers must build the organisms to carry on the struggle independent of the union leadership. We appeal to all the militant work-

ers, to the Labour, Communist and T.U. vanguard to organise factory committees in their place of work. Not to break with the union, but to involve all the workers, whether they are in the union or not, in assemblies and mass meetings within the factories to discuss the programme and the ways to apply it, and electing from these assemblies a factory committee in which all the representatives will be subject to instant recall. This is the organisational form to express the anti-Capitalist sentiments of the working class.

Caught between the increasing pressure of the masses and its own loyalty to the ruling class, the Labour bureaucracy enters further and further into crisis. Every meeting of the Labour MPs becomes a miniature civil war. The recent meeting of the 'Socialist Charter' MPs was the clearest example of this. The old "Tribune" lefts, Foot, Mikardo and Co. are putting forward, in open opposition to the leadership of the LP, a vague collection of reforms, and in this they are supported by Cousins and Scanlon. The importance of this United Front of 'left' MPs and T.U. leaders must not be underestimated; a sector of the apparatus more sensitive to the pressure of the masses is beginning to wage a struggle against the leadership in a programmatic way. This is not to say that Foot and Co. are going to put forward a socialist programme, but to try to contain the process they will put forward more left measures and this in itself will be an encouragement to the Labour masses. The Labour masses do not support the leadership, they vote Labour to express their class centralisation and in this period in the bye-elections, they abstain massively to show their rejection of the policy of the leadership. **THEY DO NOT GO TO ANY OTHER PARTY, THEY ABSTAIN.**

The vanguard must take confidence from all these national and international events. The students in this country are expressing the galloping decomposition of Capitalist authority over the petit-bourgeoisie. In the last days the students have founded the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation, which despite its limit-

ations is an attempt by the student vanguard to organise its struggles nationally and put itself in contact with the working class. One hundred lecturers form a revolutionary action committee in support of the students! Here is expressed all the impotence of Capitalism, when its intellectuals are won over to the revolution! It is on this that the workers vanguard must base its confidence, on this and the action of the Ford women workers, and the favourable world situation which is a product of Vietnam, Cuba, Syria, and the struggles of the workers students and peasants of the world, in order to organise the struggles in the next period.

We appeal to the workers vanguard, to the Labour, Communist and T.U. militants, to the intellectuals, to the base and the regional and local officials linked to the base of the 'Socialist Charter' move-

ment to organise a discussion of the planning of the general strike for the demands of all the exploited masses. For equal pay, a minimum living wage to rise with the cost of living, 30% increase in wages, all profits of automation to the workers, nationalisation without compensation and under workers control, abolition of exams. Worker-student government of the university. Workers government. These are the demands which moved the whole of France in the general strike, and they must be fought for here.

It is also necessary to unify the whole workers struggle throughout Europe now with the slogan for a SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE, and for the European general strike so as to prepare the way for the overthrow of Capitalism and the construction of the UNITED STATES OF SOVIET SOCIALIST EUROPE, in the next stage.

Long live the electoral success of the Italian section in the last elections Down with the repression against our comrades

The RWP (T) the British Section of the IV International, salutes with great enthusiasm, the success of the PCR (T) the Italian Section of the IV International in the recent Italian elections. According to the bourgeoisie the party gained 1,425 votes in Rome, and 551 votes in Pescara, but there was a great fraud in the counting of the votes especially in Pescara. The comrades calculate that they really won between 3,000 and 3,500 votes. Thus the influence of the party and the programme of the IV International is having a mass influence among the Communist vanguard.

This does not mean that the party in Italy is going to have an immediate mass development, but that the vanguard are going to take the revolutionary programme of the IV International and fight for it in their mass organisations, the Italian Communist Party and to a lesser extent the PSIUP.

We salute the financial participation in the campaign of the I.S. and the Uruguayan, Peruvian, Brazilian, Argentine, French, Belgian, Italian and British sections.

On the 5th June, two comrades of the party were arrested in Lanciano (Pescara) during a demonstration of support to workers who were occupying a tobacco factory. The police have tried to eliminate the conscious leadership of the struggle throughout the region by arresting Antonio di Camillo and Antonio Mucci. They are accused of "subversion against the political and economic institution of the state", which could bring them a sentence of between 5 and 12 years in prison.

The Italian Section has already constituted a commission of lawyers to defend the comrades, and have launched a campaign among the worker and student vanguard to demand their release, and to collect money to cover the cost of the trial.

We appeal to all the Labour, and Trade Union vanguard, to the students and intellectuals to demand the release, immediately, of these two comrades.

The March of the Political Revolution, the attempt at bourgeois regression in the Workers States and the advance of the World Socialist Revolution

March 68

J. Posadas

Parts of the text of the exposition of comrade J. Posadas, adopted as a resolution in the Enlarged International Secretariat of March 1968.

Events on a world scale follow one another, and interinfluence but this influence and mutual interinfluence which is exerted between them, is made in a constantly ascending direction. There is an incessant and more accentuated elevation of the struggles, of the rise of the revolution, of the intervention of the masses, of the retreat of Capitalism, of the retreat of the bureaucracy in general. But what determines the course in this stage is not one or another event, in one country or another, but the general course of the struggle, which is what influences and determines the other struggles. In this case, it is Vietnam, China, Cuba which decide. The expression of this concentrated and centralised process—which allows that the course of this stage is determined not by one isolated event or another, but by the general sense of the movement—is determining because in the Workers States, at the same time as in the Capitalist countries, all the oppressing forces, which oppress and repress the revolution are defeated.

And the revolution advances establishing solid, important and more elevated progress, by means of programme, policy and concrete organisational advances. In this process, a partial blow, a retreat or a partial standstill are not retreats of the revolution, but that in the stage of advance there is a part which does not advance as the rest. It is necessary to look at it this way. This permits us then to base ourself on absolute confidence, in the absolute optimism of the uninterrupted ascent of the revolution, of which certain parts do not advance in the same proportion as others, and the detention which they suffer does not mean an important retreat of the revolution, nor an important or partial retreat of any country. For example, in Czechoslovakia. The events in Czechoslovakia are not a retreat. It is the stabilisation of a force which has already been operating. It is not greater than the retreat which Novotny was already making. Novotny was better, more convenient, because he was bound up with the party and depended on the state apparatus, and was forced

to defend it. But Novotny prevented the masses from intervening. Because of this the masses did not come out to defend Novotny, they did not have anything to defend. Absolutely nothing to defend.

In Czechoslovakia the wing which responds to self-management, to those who want autonomy of enterprises, the planners, the administrators, have triumphed. This is the triumph, nothing more. To establish themselves they have to continue this activity to transform the structure of the Workers State. They have to pass directly to social, administrative and political measures which are counter-revolutionary. The fall of Novotny does not mean that the revolutionary wing has been defeated; it is a bureaucratic wing, an interbureaucratic struggle. Novotny defended the interests, the bureaucratic structure dependent on the party not on a technocratic function, or that of a military or police leader: and because of this comes the struggle between them, nothing more. And the course of this process is going to be determinant on what happens in the Workers States.

The mobilisations of the students in Poland is not the same as 8 years ago. The mobilisations of the students today, have a directly regressive and counter-revolutionary character. One cannot demand a theatre play where "Great Russia" is spoken of. This is a direct instrument of Imperialism. It is the students who are using it—some of whom sang the International—against the Communist world centralisation. This is what is expressed in these student mobilisations. At this moment today there is a sufficient maturity of the masses, so that they don't resort to attacks on "Great Russia". Already there is more than enough maturity. And these students who demand this theatre play, are the representation of the disintegration of the bureaucracy, in which they are one expression.

Not to understand what is going on in the Workers States is to sink into desperation; because it means resorting to all sorts of adventures. The Workers States are the fundamental centres which decide history. And they are going to return with

force in the next years. There cannot be any event of fundamental importance, there cannot exist a continuity of the process, of the course of the revolution without Vietnam, Cuba, China having existed before. Because an important event means the ascent of the revolution and the intervention of the masses directing the revolution, and they are the ones who are going to determine, and influence, in this period which is going toward the final settlement of accounts. It is a combined process of the political revolution in the Workers States, of the ascent of the socialist revolution in the countries in which the nationalist movements are in power, and the process towards the socialist revolution in the Capitalist countries. And out of all these what weighs and determines is the political revolution in the Workers States. And the Workers States are taking prime place and are increasing in importance.

In an unstable process, as a consequence of the absence of a leading centre of the revolution, there is a daily displacement of the vital centres of the revolution, a daily displacement. The difference with the previous stage, of this concentrated and centralised stage, is that being weak, Capitalism doesn't have its own forces to sustain itself—it doesn't have its own forces to sustain itself. It depends on, that its class enemies, the Workers States, the communist parties, the revolutionary masses, do not take the initiative. They depend on this. Not on its military, social nor economic capacity or quality; the crisis of the dollar shows it.

The siege of Khe Sanh is a symbol of the debacle of the world Capitalist system. If Capitalism had the force and responded logically to its historic world interest, everything would have to be concentrated in defence of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam. Because the siege of Khe Sanh shows to the masses of the world that Imperialism is weak, incapable, powerless. It has military forces but not social or political forces. It has financial forces, but they are not the things which decide. The masses of the world feel this. Because of this two months after the confiscation of the "Pueblo" the Yankees have to accept it. And they have to go along crying. "They have confiscated it, its my boat, give it back to me." The most powerful Imperialism of history, which says "Nobody treads on my hat." But this time they are standing on his hat. The Korean people stood on his hat and the Yankees have to put up with it, to allow it.

And the crisis in Cuba, the ascent of the political revolution in Cuba shows the most elevated ascent of the revolution; Cuba, Syria. In this process what is going on in Czechoslovakia does not have any importance, nor historic perspective; it is simply a struggle between bureaucrats. In Yugoslavia, 20 years ago Tito began the process of leaving the stalinist bloc; firstly to defend himself from the bureaucratic policy of Stalin, but not having confidence in Communism he took the road of bureaucratisation. 20 years afterwards the Workers State continues to be a Workers State. He has not been able to go back. They wanted to go back, they took economic and political measures to go back. But the weight, the importance, of these measures have been stopped, they have not been able to continue to reach the stage where the power of the regressive forces would be stabilised; by eliminating the functioning and the structure as a Worker State.

While world Capitalism runs to help Dubcek, Novotny did not, does not have the force to resort to the world masses because he is against this road. He and the sector of the bureaucracy of the party wish to remain in the ambit between this

Dubcek and the revolution. This is not a legitimate aspiration, this stage has finished. Because of this he was liquidated. It is in this stage that these events occur. And of all things, those which determine the essential and principal course are the events in the Workers States.

The development of the revolution is gradually leading so that in this period, and in this phase, the events which occur in the Soviet Union are those which determine the course of history. It is the Soviet fleet in Lattaquia, and in the sea of Japan, it is the declarations of the admirals and chiefs of staff which contained Imperialism and stimulate Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba and also the Middle East, and what stimulated and stimulates, in one way or another the rest of the Workers States to advance in their resistance, in their opposition and uprising against Imperialism. Neither the Soviet government, nor Breznev, nor Gretchko, nor still less Kosygin, asked for these conclusions. They don't have any interest in the development of the revolution. But they cannot capitulate like Stalin in Spain, in Teheran, and in Yalta; they cannot. It is the forces which have developed in the Soviet Workers State, and the other Workers States, in the world proletariat and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—or which were colonial and semi-colonial—which prevent them doing it. Already there is quite a great weight of the process, of progress, of ascent of the revolution which makes itself felt on the middle bureaucratic layers, linked to the masses, on the military chiefs linked to the masses. On military chiefs who feel that Capitalism is going to the devil, that it is disintegrating and they feel that Capitalism is going to resort to atomic war to destroy all of them; and they don't have any remedy than to respond with the revolution. They don't have any other answer. But as the revolution does not interest them, they respond with the war. But in order to make the war, they don't have any other remedy than to stimulate the struggles against Imperialism, to encourage them, appease in every way anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist forces, tendencies, and sentiments. They do not determine nor organise, nor foresee, they are not the creators, those who have the initiative, but they do not have any other solution than to be on the side which is opposed to Imperialism.

In these circumstances, the struggle in the Workers States acquires different forms. And the political revolution acquires diverse phases and dynamism. This is the vital centre of the course of this stage of history; a centre which animates, impels, the world revolutions. And in turn, they the Workers States are animated by the revolution constantly, from cause and effect, it has stages in which the essential centres of the revolution are displaced, constantly. But even being displaced constantly, what is going to decide history are not the revolutions which are going to be made, but the 15 Workers States which already exist; which are against anything which the Capitalist world is preparing; they are the centres which decide history. And already in the Workers States the political revolution has begun with a great depth, with great dynamism; Cuba, Vietnam. In Vietnam it is the war against Imperialism, and at the same time the political revolution; the two things at once. The confiscation of the Yankee pirate boat is the political revolution; because one of the essential conditions for the advance of the revolution in that country; is being decided to confront Imperialism, is breaking with the policy of co-existence, of conciliation, of collaboration. And this action means breaking with these.

CONT. ON PAGE 3

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

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Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

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

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

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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.

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Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, reproduced by the P.O.R. (T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, reproduced by the P.O. (T), Argentina.

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Rivista Marxista Europea (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059 - 00153 Roma (Ostiense)—Italy.

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The historic audacity of the Vietnamese Masses....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

with old ideas: and beautiful ideas, beautiful ones. When humanity has the time, the whole of humanity will study 'Das Kapital' and will find that it is an incomparable, irreplaceable work. There will be nothing comparable to 'Das Kapital' in human history. But the greatness and historical importance that 'Das Kapital' has, are the result of the 'Communist Manifesto'. For 'Das Kapital' is the means of showing the historical, theoretical verification of the conclusions of the 'Communist Manifesto'. In the 'Communist Manifesto', this short text, there is concluded and included, concentrated the human capacity for organisation, the capacity of foresight and historical scientific security. The Trotskyists must be, as a minimum, comparable to Marx in his will to bring out the 'Communist Manifesto'. This can and must be so, and this is so. If it were not so we would not be where we are. If we were not guided, sustained and constantly stimulated by the theoretical assurance and the historical-scientific conviction of Marx, we would not be where we are. We would have been overcome by errors, attacks, etc. At the same time there is Pablo from the side of those who were Trotskyists, opening up the doors to police information and attempts against us; Fidel Castro calling us 'pestilential'; Imperialism persecuting, chaining up and imprisoning our comrades; the bourgeois and the Communist Parties attacking our Party. And we are a small group; but those who have been overcome are not us; it has been them. In Spain our comrades are the centre of political discussion; that's why the daily papers 'Arriba', and 'Ya' do not attack the Communist Party, they attack FUDE, and they say, 'FUDE is, indirectly, a way of developing a 1917'. Well and good. That is a guide book for our comrades. So, yes, we will have a good ending of the old year and a good beginning to

the new year. In tune with this stage of ours, we will hold a minute of silence in honour of the dead comrades and revolutionaries by singing the 'International'.

We constantly review ourselves, re-examine the past, the more distant past, if necessary, to certify positions, to verify or correct. It is to assure ourselves, to establish security. The militant must be honest. And to develop as an honest militant, and to set oneself the task of being an honest militant—a militant who knows how to get the best and the full ability out of his qualities; if this is not so, it cannot be demanded of others. Nor is there an example made to others. The Bolshevik Party was, at the same time as being the organiser, the orientator, that which gave an example. That is why it attracted the masses; for the masses said, 'It does as it says.' And humanity is still moving and will logically move in this way towards Socialism. The example is irreplaceable. The comrades cannot say, 'Comrades! You must work!' and not work themselves. They call for a strike and they go on strike too. But if one calls for a strike and goes on working, one cannot have authority. Each one must think about the Party. Think about the newspaper, and the life which you lead. Let them make a list of all this—it's a very beautiful list. The most beautiful, for it is in contact with the most beautiful thing in life: confidence in the future that belongs to humanity. And so that humanity has this future it is necessary to construct Socialism. So one feels fulfilled, completed by the strength and security of it: there is no problem that cannot be solved. And if there are mistakes they are corrected. When, on the other hand, there are mistakes and there follows justification, lamentation, and bitterness, it is the case of a petty bourgeois turning in on himself. The Party is not afraid to recognise its errors. Lenin, the greatest revolutionary in history said—

look in his texts—'What defects there were in what we said.' There is no reason to be afraid; but what must be done is to raise and harmonise one's Communist life.

All celebrations are part of the activity of developing and preparing, of the advance of the team, the militants and the leaders of the Party. Sometimes it is not strictly necessary to speak of the political positions, about what is to be done, analysing experiences, the conclusions and the situation in the class struggle to contribute to the establishment of security, but to speak on other subjects that are a part of life. The class struggle is not only composed of the struggle in the trade union, the Party, bringing out the paper, and holding meetings or gatherings. The class struggle is uninterrupted, and the preparation and organisation of the militant is uninterrupted. For to give security, raise peoples' conviction in the Communist life, raise fraternal feelings, raise people to living in a fraternal Communist way, and to feel confident in the Communist future of humanity and live it now inside oneself, is so important that sometimes it is above all other human activity. For this gives the security to enable one to see the world, observing it with Communist eyes and with scientific experience; it is not enough to be Communist, it must be seen with the scientific experience of the class struggle. The commentaries on the meetings and discussions that we hold are directed, all of them, to raising, uniting and harmonising comprehension to organise a militant life. It has as much or more importance than the discussion of the newspaper, than 'He didn't do such or such,' when the other aspects of this meeting get left on one side, without having importance given to them. It is a limitation of the militant spirit. It is sectarianism that affects us. It is to believe that, 'the rest is alright, everything is wonderful, but for this, and the thing that really matters is why we aren't getting on with the newspaper'. This certainly happens. But at the moment we are not saying why we are not getting on with the newspaper the centre of discussion, we are discussing a vision of the Communist world, an analysis, an interpretation of the Communist world. Being interested in these 'problems, going into them in depth and living them within oneself is something that cannot be lived through in practice except in the life of the Party. It has as much importance as bringing out a good newspaper. And it will give the security to correct the newspaper afterwards. If this is not so, one clutches hold of individualist and sectarian feeling and each person searches for the solution of the problem on his own: 'Why wasn't that done, why wasn't the other done, why didn't we have a meeting?' And they don't see the Communist life and world. The whole of my intervention is directed to putting the feelings and consciousness of the comrades into interpreting life with a Communist vision of the world.

All the anecdotes and stories we are telling, show the formation of our Communist feelings and the security of our Communist feelings. And we will face

even more difficult situations with optimism. These situations are more difficult than any personal disagreement. A personal disagreement can produce the separation of two people without their dying, without their giving up living or stopping being useful. Nothing worse happens—but on the other hand, an error in Vietnam or Guatemala can bring about the paralysis or retreat of the revolution. He who looks at it in an individual way sees family tragedy as the centre of the world and lives on tragedy. But the Vietnamese masses stand up to daily bombing by the Yankees and they are not at all sorrowful nor do they feel the pessimism of grief at all.

It is necessary to feel that life is this, it is optimistic. In such a way all individual problems—so-called up till now—only exist because they are looked upon as individual. All these problems are inferior, completely inferior to the objective necessity for progress in life. It must be felt in this way, in this way Socialism is brought about. That is Socialism. There are 15 Workers' States and various others in formation, countries in Europe which in the next part of the struggle—the struggle of the coming year—will be close to the taking of power: Italy, Belgium, Spain and Germany. There are several countries in Latin America which are moving into a virulent crisis: amongst them Brazil, Argentine, Chile, Uruguay and Peru. In reality what must be asked is where is the country that isn't in crisis.

It is necessary to concentrate in a much more centralised way on the necessity of being preoccupied at each stage with the right thing. This does not limit or anul all the other things that for the moment we do not discuss, it prepares 'better conditions for doing this. For the aim of meetings is to exalt, bring one the consciousness, the conviction, and the understanding of historical security, which does not only depend on intellectual comprehension, but on intellectual and material practice. There exist coffee and library Marxists who read and become convinced that, 'Yes, that's right.' When one says to them, 'Good, tomorrow there's a meeting' then it's 'Ah but look here, tomorrow I've got to...' They are convinced from the hair up; but from the hair down they aren't. And all those old sectors of the International which were privileged and saw things as intellectuals protecting the working class and who wanted the Party to consist of administrative formulas, are outside this, completely outside it.

Our ideas, our struggles, demonstrate progress. The behaviour and the struggle of the masses are Communist. They have no organisational idea of Communism. They work in a Communist way, but they cannot live in an organised Communist way. But to live in a Communist way means as well to order one's life so as to be useful to the method, the means of bringing about Communism; it is organisation of one's life so that one's brain responds in the best way and in the time made available by the necessary stages to apply the ideas and the instrument: the Party, the Party, the Party.

J. POSADAS

26th and 31st December, 1967.

The March of the Political

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

The political revolution expresses itself in very different ways, it does not have precise forms; it has precise leaderships. It is logical that in the Workers States where the process of the autonomy of enterprises, where the technocrats and the administrators have been able to influence and concentrate themselves, they have tried to profit to the maximum in the different countries, to advance as much as possible, and to dislodge the forces which compete with them. The struggle in Czechoslovakia is this. They are the tendencies which are seeking through Federation—Dubcek proposes the federalisation of Czechoslovakia—the breaking of centralisation. The Workers State has an incomparable advantage over the Capitalist system; that it centralises the forces. It decentralises them in their functioning; centralises them in the planning. What they want to do now is what the Yugoslavs are doing, federation of planning, each Workers State plans for itself. Because of this there is the dispute between the Slovaks and the Czechs. And in this dispute there is the interest of the bureaucrats linked to the bourgeois tendencies which still remain there. As Novotny is based on the structure of the Workers State, and this Workers State is centralised, any attempt to attack this centralisation is an attack against Novotny and Co. Because of this Novotny defends centralisation. But as he defends centralisation not for the benefit of the masses but for themselves as a bureaucratic structure, they cannot resort to the masses. Because of this the others strike a blow knowing that he will not resort to the masses. And they attack Novotny in the abstract name of 'democracy' of 'liberty', to try to unite those tendencies who do not see to the depth of the problem, behind them. They believe that effectively it is a question of going against the dictatorship of Novotny, and trying to attract other. Because of this, these people, the Dubceks, have still not been able to get one workers assembly which supports them. They have a panic fear, they are trying to establish an interbureaucratic struggle excluding the participation

of the masses. On the other hand there are the peasants and the Catholics, certainly they attract these, because they are forces interested in property, either private, co-operative or semi co-operative. But not the proletariat. And Novotny, with his team, bases himself on the apparatus of the party, from which he came. He is as corrupted, corrupt, sinister and criminal as Dubcek, they are the same. Novotny does not defend the interests of the Workers State nor of Socialism, but of those who as a bureaucratic layer are based on the centralisation of the Workers State, that is all.

The ascent of the Political Revolution in the Workers States has a more powerful force that all the attempts of the counter-revolution. The counter-revolution does not eliminate the Novotnys, nor seeks to eliminate the Breznevcs because they are defenders of the Workers State, but because as they are interbureaucratic administrative struggles, they are their immediate rivals. They have to eliminate them so as to direct themselves afterwards against the masses. They don't have the time, the period, nor historic perspectives. And history needs in every way to accomplish the necessities which the development of society imposes; the elimination of Novotny is going to facilitate the tasks of the masses. These people have wanted to eliminate Novotny so that they could advance. As they conduct it as a struggle between apparatuses, they cannot count on the masses, they do not feel, nor understand, nor can they see that in this struggle they have eliminated a factor of contention, and that they are going to make the masses see now, that they cannot wait for the apparatus of the Party. This is the immediate thing which is going to happen. And in the Communist Parties of the world it is the same.

It is a logical simple process, easy to be seen, which is written in our documents; In the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union this is expressed in the article about Rumania and about Czechoslovakia. It is sufficient to orientate the International.

J. Posadas

March 1968.

Apology to our Readers

The Editorial board of Red Flag criticises itself for the following two important errors which occurred in the Manifesto of 1st May published in the last edition of Red Flag. The first error was as follows. The Manifesto is from the International Secretariat of the IV International and this should have appeared clearly in the headline, but through negligence it was omitted.

The second mistake was that in the first paragraph of the Manifesto, three lines from the end, a line of type appears which should have been eliminated. In its place there should have been the following "...arms, to take into their hands the leadership ..." thus the last sentence of the first paragraph, should read, "And in this stage of history, the masses of the most backward countries of the world, who up to yesterday were living in the most complete poverty resolve to take up arms, to take into their hands the leadership of society, nationalising property, planning the economy, and eliminating, trying to eliminate, seeking to organise the elimination of all forms of oppression."

The editorial board apologises to the readers of 'Red Flag' for these two errors which are the result of carelessness and routinism. We recognise that such mistakes cannot be allowed to be repeated, and resolve to improve our political life which is the key to improving all the technical and organisational tasks of the party.

THE HISTORIC AUDACITY OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES, THE ELEVATION OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES OF THE WORLD, THE MISERABLE ROLE OF THE EX TROTSKYIST CAPITULATORS & THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Humanity is going to measure time in a complete form, not in a broken form as it does now. For agriculture and for natural reproduction, they had to measure the suns and the moons; through interest and commercial necessity also. But humanity in the future is not going to measure in this way; it is going to measure human capacity, diminishing the role of time as between the blind forces and empirical forces of nature and the conscious forces

OUR PROGRAMME

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

of organised society. There, time is going to be measured without being subject to the intervals of the sun and the moon and the times of agricultural birth-reproduction. Because now the substitute forms of nature, emerging from nature—the isotopes and nuclear energy—are going to replace sun, moon, air, water, earth. They are going to replace these. It is going to be less necessary to depend on the moon, the sun, the water.

But we are going to measure time as we measure it now, in relation to the capacity for action which we have. We celebrate the festivals, not to celebrate bucolic events as Capitalism does, nor to celebrate with noise which is the expression of the sentiment of struggle, of aggressiveness and of discontent at the same time. It is for this reason that there is a noise when there is a festival. It is like someone who plays at the lottery winning little and spending more money playing than in winning, because it is the expression of the desire to conquer adversity "bad luck", poverty, indigence. It is a sentiment of struggle, of wishing to conquer all these. It is a form in which feeling is expressed, seeking an individualist solution. The best way and the only way is being in the trade union, in the revolutionary party and to take power. In the union, in the revolutionary party there is a collective solution and it is the only possible way to act.

It is necessary to seek all the festivals, those which communicate with the continuity with humanity. We do not deny, we do not forget the past. Towards the "Communist Manifesto" humanity marches; there is no other way of proceeding. But the "Communist Manifesto" is a condensing of the best in humanity, synthesised and centralised in Marx. Marx centralised and synthesised the best of the scientific experience of all humanity. And he gave the forms which at that time it was possible to reach in human progress—"The Communist Manifesto". Whilst others by the steam engine, the telephone, the weaving machine expressed progress, Marx expressed it with the "Communist Manifesto". Marx was the one who expressed the most complete scientific continuity. And from that, humanity has inaugurated another stage of history in which thought, the brain, is the most complete and powerful instrument, the best humanity has; and also progress advances in the forms of ideas and not in the form of material means. Undoubtedly humanity advances through Capitalism but how does it advance; a part of humanity advances by means of the systematic destruction of the best of humanity; human beings. Whilst Marx originated and developed the idea to organise security to combat this, the systematic destruction of the human being, which the society of private property created in a most advanced form. From this basis it is necessary to celebrate events, inventories.

Humanity has to have inventories. It has to inventory, to continue, deduce, adopt measures drawing the consequenc-

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:

All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International
Editorials by J. Posadas

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

es on how to advance, how to progress. Socialism is going to diminish and eliminate the relation between the capacity for creation and time. And the capacity for creation is going to be more rapid than time. Today we depend still on what is going to happen; if it is going to rain or not to rain. Then tomorrow we are going to say: Thursday it rains and on no other day. We control and we determine time, we dominate time. To the sun we are going to say; do not appear tomorrow. Thus it is going to be. If today the atom possesses energies in a small ball, which is comparatively a substitute for the sun, then tomorrow this is going to be organised and there is going to be no more dependence on the sun. In the relation between the cosmos and the earth, tomorrow we are going to control and dominate.

There is not a single section of the International which is not intervening, struggling in the highest point of the struggle of the masses. They are all intervening. The IV International is in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Workers' States. The will of the International to develop is inexhaustible. There is to be found a feeling, a capacity for feeling, of fraternity and common consciousness that is very high. There is centralised behaviour, a concentrated centralisation of the will to triumph in the International. All over the world, there is constant and growing preoccupation about our theoretical texts and our articles. So it is that in Uruguay the Communist leaders said that, 'the Trotskyists are a shadowy spectre.' They wanted to diminish us for a 'shadowy spectre' does not influence, does not have authority, or attract, stimulate or organise. Now these same communist leaders say, 'The complete works of this man will pass into the history of the universal literature of the absurd.' In 11 months such a difference—the 'shadowy spectre' fed so well and secretly that he ended up by adding his 'complete works to universal history', even if it is absurd, but he got into history. And one doesn't get into history like this any more. On the contrary, one only gets out of it like this now, like Stalin. Stalin was never in history, because to go down in history means to be admitted and accepted as a guide, a leader that determines human actions and activities, amongst them the revolutionary ones, which are the most important ones. Stalin's ideas never determined anything. Apart from the defeats which he caused he did not determine the course of history at all. And when the bureaucrats come to us, and remember us, and attack us, it is because we are at the head of their rank and file of intellectuals and militants who oblige them to take notice of us.

This is the inventory that must be made this year for the coming one, for the one we are entering upon. There is no interruption in the activity. We are not pausing to calculate and remove the bad and continue with the good. It is not an inventory of good and bad actions. The principal inventory consists in seeing what is the course of history. We have already made one on the 1st May with the History of the Russian Revolution; we repeat it again now: it is necessary to understand that the International is establishing itself in all the places where the masses of the world are struggling and where the World Revolution is, there it is developing and ascending. The International is there as a part of this process, as a part of its leadership, or intervening, influencing the leadership. This is happening everywhere; inside and outside the Workers' States, inside Cuba and Syria and

(Extracts)

Part III

J. POSADAS

inside other Workers' States. And the aim of the International is to continue consciously in this process. But what rôle do the comrades play in this? It must be demanded of every comrade by himself that he goes beyond the present limits of the function that he has. The militant will must never be broken; it is possible to make a mistake, one can commit political errors, but they can be corrected. Never interrupt the activity, because this always, always, inevitably leaves the doors open to other forces, other preoccupations, which one has to be rid of afterwards. To be a good militant one must be unalterable, consistent, and go forward uninterruptedly.

If Capitalism had the strength and possibility to go on, it would have ideologists writing about this now. One of the essential functions of art and literature is this: to serve to anticipate the process. They stir it on. For example the French Revolution had its antecedents in Rousseau and Diderot, they were in the forefront of all that stage. It was they who prepared access to the judicial, scientific, literary, artistic progress for this. The same thing happened in the Russian Revolution; it was prepared for by Marx. And who prepares for the survival of the Capitalist system after the atomic war? Lipmann who says, 'This is a process that we do not understand?'—or the Pope who runs saying to Breznev, "After all you are not so bad." He says, "Why shouldn't I latch on to you so as not to die?" They haven't the intellectual consciousness or comprehension of the present or the future; the bourgeois superstructure is as good as dead. And those who write about a Capitalist future write fantastic science fiction, and even this is no longer a going concern. For there's no more science fiction coming out now that everything is certain. That's finished with. It means that Capitalism is impotent. It is necessary to prepare to overthrow what is left of world Capitalism. And preparation means scientific seriousness, and the demanding from everyone more scientific seriousness.

Today is the celebration of the old year and the new year. It is a new year

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

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



NO. 70

FORTNIGHTLY

JULY 10th 1968

SIXPENCE

Prepare the way for the Revolutionary General Strike. Impose the line of workers control, Factory occupations. Build a United Front of the Labour Masses, The Communist Militants, the Revolutionary Student Vanguard, the IV International

More and more the historic process as Posadas has argued becomes concentrated and polarised. While the masses adopt the methods of civil war whether in France or in the United States, in the Negro struggles, Imperialism loses its bases of support and falls back on repression as its only weapon. The third world war, the final encounter between the forces of the masses and the Workers States and Imperialism with all the forces which exploit and fetter humanity can occur at any moment. The Pentagon has shown with utmost clarity in the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers and Luther King, that the policy of peaceful co-existence has been so terminated that Imperialism has given up any serious perspective of winning over the petit bourgeoisie. Imperialism is desperate and blind. It is reduced to the perspectives of gangsterism, it cannot even tolerate among the Capitalist class itself any important tendency which raises the issue of negotiating over Vietnam. That is why Robert Kennedy had to be eliminated. The other aspect of the world situation is the continuous advance of the socialist revolution, which takes on more and more clearly specifically Trotskyist form—from workers militias in the Yemen to the revolutionary general strike in France, which has posed directly the necessity for workers power now. Within the Workers States, the tension between the necessity to defend the interests of the Workers State and the reactionary policy of conciliation by those sectors alien to the Workers State almost reaches the level of paroxysm. Kossygin proposes an arrangement with the Imperialists over a ceiling on the production of anti-ballistic missiles, but at the same time the Red Army newspaper warns of the preparations by Imperialism for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union and the necessity to be prepared. Breznev launches a contemptuous attack on American Imperialism—despite conciliatory conclusions—an echo of the desire in the Workers States for a serious revolutionary policy and programme to unify all the forces of Socialism to dispose of Capitalism and Imperialism—the line of the preventative war. The force which is prevailing in the Workers States is not that of the “liberal” return to Capitalism as proposed in Czechoslovakia, but the interests of the Workers States against Capitalism.

All this process constantly effects the masses in Great Britain, they feel the effect of the balance of forces favourable to the revolution. And on the doorstep there is the added stimulus of the crisis in the rest of Europe, particularly in France. All of European Capitalism is in its death agony. Although the phase of mass armed insurrection has not yet been reached, the beginning of the socialist revolution can be seen in the attitude of the students in all countries who show the psychology of civil war, the violent clashes between workers and the police in France, the wave of factory occupations first of all in Italy and then in France. Everywhere the masses feel their strength, and see in Vietnam a model for the whole world where the full might of American Imperialism cannot quell a small people. Capitalism cannot call upon mass fascist terror because the bulk of the petit bourgeoisie are either won to the revolution or feel the weight of the Workers States, and see no fascist perspectives. The attitude of the French Communist Party leadership has shown to the whole world its counter-revolutionary objectives. Power was for the asking and they refused to take it. Now the French Communist Party apparatus is preparing—in united front with de Gaulle—to intimidate the revolutionary vanguard and the Trotskyists. But they will fail because it is totally impossible in the full spate

of the victorious advance of the world permanent socialist revolution to stem the will to triumph of the masses. No apparatus on earth, however counter-revolutionary, whatever the repressive measures can do more than block for a short period

this advance. De Gaulle has gained a little time by making enormous wage concessions to the masses—disrupting French Capitalism in the process—but his real objective is repression. And that is the real perspective for Capitalism, an attempted repression, because there is only a brief stage before the collapse of Capitalism. De Gaulle's electoral “victory” means nothing. The proletariat maintains its will to victory and power.

In this country the crisis has not as yet reached the climax of that in France, but the ground is being prepared for it, the process of Capitalist disintegration continues and deepens, the concentration and determination of the masses intensifies. The trade union apparatus delays the unification of the struggles but is cannot prevent it. Empirically there is a process towards a general strike situation. Railway workers, clerks in the steel industry, car workers have taken the lead recently, and with the claims of the engineering union show the real extent of the wishes of the masses—despite the union leadership, which in the case of the engineers tries to fetter the struggle by confining action to a token strike. The student occupations at Leeds and Birmingham are a reflection of the fact that the basically the whole population is prepared for the advance towards the revolution. The intervention of the women workers at Fords, as with the intervention of the trawlermen's wives at an earlier stage is yet another sign of

the tremendous suppressed potential of the revolutionary class struggle.

The dynamism of the class struggle in Great Britain, the constant pressure of the masses for fundamental changes in the social structure provokes a series of tensions within the Labour Party apparatus. The resignation of Brown and now Gunter are of no great significance in themselves, but they do show the enormous state of uncertainty and disintegration within the top ranks of the Labour Party apparatus. Gunter talks quite hypocritically of the need for the party to be closer to the worker base. In fact his resignation shows the defeatism felt by sectors of the apparatus in face of the actions of the masses and their feeling that they can do nothing to contain it. It is not without significance that the commission on the Trade Unions adopted a line contrary to the line of repression and that Callaghan said the incomes policy would have to be abandoned. In relation to the women workers at Fords a conciliatory line had to be adopted. The Labour Party apparatus will continue its attempts to rescue Capitalism, but these efforts do not allow a policy which is based on the policy of a vigorously enforced wage freeze. As the masses advance towards Socialism the apparatus disintegrates—which does not mean of course that Capitalism will not attempt to terrorise the revolutionary vanguard.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Salute to the French Masses from the British Section of the IV International

TAKEN TO THE WORKERS OF RENAULT ON THE 3rd JUNE

We greet with enormous joy and enthusiasm the magnificent revolutionary general strike of the French workers and students which has expressed in a very dramatic way the readiness not simply of the French, but of the European and world masses to smash Capitalism and organise a Socialist society.

The French workers and students have delivered an enormous blow against world Imperialism and Capitalism. The occupation of factories has totally paralysed the bourgeoisie and shown that the ‘power’ of de Gaulle was a fiction. His only support lies in sectors of the C.R.S. French Capitalism cannot even rely on the army or the police. The way is open to the formation of a workers’ government.

At the same time as the workers,

peasants, students of France prepare to overthrow Capitalism completely, the Vietcong deliver tremendous blows which weaken the centre of world Imperialism, Yankee Imperialism, the Italian workers increase their votes for the C.P. and the P.S.I.U.P. and destroy the ‘centre left’ coalition in Italy, opening the way in Italy for the final encounter with Italian Capitalism.

There is already a world united front ready to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism. In Peking, thousands of workers and peasants came out in support of the struggles of the French masses. All over the world in different forms the world socialist revolution advances hostile to all forms of repression, bureaucracy and exploitation.

The French masses without breaking their centralisation around the Commun-

ist Party and the trade unions have shown that they are in no way limited by their leaderships, but go beyond them on the path of imposing the general strike, factory occupations etc. This will act as a tremendous stimulus to the whole process in Europe, stimulating the overthrow of Franco, and encouraging currents in the German, Belgian, Italian and British proletariats who are prepared likewise to advance towards the overthrow of Capitalism.

In Great Britain particularly we are greatly encouraged by the example of the French masses. The Engineering Unions, which have three million members have embarked on a policy of high economic demands, a wholesale rejection of the wage freeze of the government. Everywhere strikes are on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The Revolutionary Mobilisations of the French Masses led by the Proletariat, the Counter Revolutionary Role of the Bureaucrats of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Paralysis of French Capitalism and the Need for a Conscious Leadership to Transform the Insurrectional General Strike into the struggle for the taking of Power

(Extracts) J. Posadas 24. 5. 68

The events in France are far from coming to an end. The CGT is making a united front with the government to try to smash the vanguard, reduce its confidence and separate it from the students, who are in the vanguard objectively and in the struggle. They are at the head. This does not mean that it is they who attract the rest of the population, but they have basically the most elevated programme and basically the most persistence. They have been the vanguard in conjunction with the young Communists, the proletarian and Communist vanguard in general. The Communist leadership, along with the Socialists, the CGT and the government seeks to separate the vanguard, the youth, the new proletarian vanguard from the old vanguard, the students, and the peasants and all the exploited population, including the soldiers, in order to smash and cut off the vanguard and enable a makeshift agreement with the bourgeoisie.

But even with this being so, the blow that they can give the vanguard is momentary, because the whole population is in movement and there will not be a complete withdrawal. And in the process if there is a return to work, the strike will still be on the point of breaking out at any minute. This will happen due to world events and events in France. It is not a wave that can be blocked. Hence these events are very far from coming to an end, despite the preparations for more repression and for a greater return to work which the CP has decided upon. This is a wave that reaches throughout France. And it is necessary to base calculations on this and on its repercussions throughout the world. The repercussions are going to cause a chain reaction; repercussions with time, not immediately.

One of the principle slogans to agitate, and the objective to obtain, is an appeal to the Communist masses to rebel against their leadership. To rebel! But this has

to be in an organisational form, organisation of factory committees, workers' areas committees, trade union committees and SOVIETS. It is necessary that they function as though in soviets, all of them; to rebel and not to obey the resolutions of the CP. It is necessary to make good the workers' resolutions, to take the factories and make them function, to expropriate Capitalism, to eliminate all Capitalist leadership, to replace it with their own leadership. It is necessary to appeal to the army to hand over its arms, to appeal to the soldiers, to appeal to the police to go over to the side of the workers, bringing arms to the workers and guaranteeing that they do not remain without work, without employment and without the means of living. Yes, appeal, to pose the problem of smashing Capitalism itself now. For this it is necessary to be armed, to seek arms.

THE ATTEMPTS OF DE GAULLE TO GAIN TIME TO ORGANISE THE REPRESSION, REFORMISM AND THE DIVISIONISM OF THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE CP, SP, CGT AND THE PROLETARIAN PROGRAMME, WHICH ORGANISES THE COMBATIVE WILL OF THE MASSES

Capitalism can pass through these events and attack the masses because there are no objectives, no programme. The masses are all united, showing their will to combat but there is no programme. It is necessary that these demonstrations put forward the programme, programme, programme; programme to expropriate factories, to make the factories function, factory committees with right of tendencies, to form true soviets, in factories, workers' areas, houses and unions, and to make them function with the objective of imposing socialist measures. It is necessary to eliminate

Capitalism, to eliminate private ownership of the principal sources of production, to nationalise all the banks, to hand over the land to the poor peasants, to eliminate all the debts of the poor and middle peasants, to make co-operatives, socialist co-operatives to help them to function; those peasants who prefer to own their property individually for a period can do so, while the great estates, which recently have been concentrated in the hands of the great Capitalists, are collectivised.

And it is necessary to appeal at the same time to the masses of Europe to sup-

port the revolution. It is necessary to discuss the study syllabus and to replace it by another. The university movement must discuss: "We want such and such a programme of study", "we want such and such teachers", teachers chosen from the Socialist point of view. There should be a leading discussion in the university, so that this serves Socialist ends, that is to eliminate the Capitalist system. Science in the hands of Capitalism is limited. Only a small part of the scientific capacity of humanity can be utilised, because Capitalism utilises only what is useful to it to maintain itself. And it has no more interest in scientific progress, because the development of scientific progress shows that Capitalism is unnecessary. In reality it is an obstacle and an impediment to the development of human happiness. For this reason Capitalism has no interest in the real development of science. The problem is not the reorganisation of studies or changes, it is a question of overthrowing the Capitalist system.

The student movement throughout the world as in France, is impelled by the world socialist revolution. For this reason, with the necessity for reform, changes in the system of teaching, syllabus, leadership and the structure of the university, the students propose to abolish the present university structure and replace it with Socialist education. The world influences of the revolution in currents which guide the steps of the students, make them understand, feel, see from their own experience that they cannot make a reform or a change, that Capitalism cannot sustain itself with its own structure; nor can it endure the necessary historic profundity of these measures. Capitalism cannot support such changes or reforms, because they are not really just reforms or changes, but demand a complete change, antagonistic to the educational system and the structure of the university. For this reason the students are won over by Socialist ideas. At the same time they feel that their training in the university is simply that of serfs

to the Capitalist system. They are part of the industrial machinery, nothing more. They feel that they do not develop any role beneficial to humanity, but are simply instruments of the Capitalist system for the nuclear war...

... At the same time it is necessary to launch residential committees, to discuss all problems; not to leave it to de Gaulle or parliament to decide. Already the real election in France, the real plebiscite has been made. Parliament voted the rejection of de Gaulle's proposal. De Gaulle called for a plebiscite and there followed greater strikes than before. That was the reply. As Lenin said in 1917 "The masses at the front voted with their feet, by leaving the front." When there were elections to see whether they would vote for peace or war, Kerensky said "The soldiers have not voted" and Lenin said "Yes, they have voted." "And how have they voted?" "They left the front," said Lenin. That was the way the soldiers voted. In France it is the same thing... De Gaulle is hoping to gain time to unite the army, and fascist bands, whatever their origin, to launch them against the masses. De Gaulle tries to gain time today in alliance with the Socialist and Communist leadership, and the CGT, to use the reaction against the worker masses tomorrow. It is a measure of self-defence. The workers' militias have to function now; they are not committees of self-defence but aggressive committees, organising the forces of power. The students, like the workers, must adopt a programme; the proletariat must launch a programme for planning the economy, selling products, now. It is necessary to show that it is capable of doing this and can do it. It is necessary to appeal for a unification, to plan production, to increase consumption, to raise the standard of living and reduce, in consequence, the cost of production. All the measures, which the government takes are to save the Capitalist system.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY FOR CAPITALISM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, WHICH CHECK THE MASSES; THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AND OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The intervention of Imperialism, the French army, to smash the masses cannot be accepted with indifference by the Soviet army. The gradual conservative advance of the French Communist Party trying to prevent civil war is of use to the Soviet bureaucracy and army. They are afraid; but equally it is not an advantage to the bureaucracy of the army and the Communist Party of the USSR that there is a progress in the reaction and the counter revolution in France. An open intervention of the French army is going to stimulate the intervention, in one form or the other, of the Soviet Communist Party, whether in a political, military or economic way. They are going to intervene. They have to intervene to try to contain the advance, the triumph of the counter revolution in France. They want to moderate, want to play a controlling role, for a gradual advance of the democratic conquests of the masses in France to contain French Capitalism. But already there is sufficient conviction and force within the USSR to feel that they must intervene and they are going to intervene. Whatever the manner of intervention they are going to intervene; events are going to stimulate the forces of the revolution in the USSR who want to intervene in the proletarian revolution in France.

It is necessary to accuse the bureaucracy, the leaderships of the Communist Parties of the Workers States, the Communist Parties of the rest of the world, of being

insensitive, remaining distant from this process. They have not come out in support or in solidarity. On the contrary their whole attitude tends to prevent the advance of the proletariat to the taking of power. This is the miserable role of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, which shows that it is necessary to overthrow it.

Whilst the masses in France rise up to overthrow de Gaulle, the bureaucracy and the workers aristocracy in Rumania render homage and give authority to French Capitalism against the masses of France. The bureaucracy, to defend its interests, is treacherous, is against the revolution, against the interests, even the immediate interests of the masses. It is incapable of understanding, of seeing, and it shuts itself more and more within its nationalist interests. It is supporting French Imperialism and American Imperialism by discussing Vietnam.

The development of the revolution is an enormous impulse to the Vietnamese revolution, because it mobilises the North American masses, weighs on North American Capitalism and blocks it, limits its capacity for action. And it elevates the North American masses and brings them close to the revolution. Reuther has just said in a trade union convention of the Christian-Democrat unions, which was held in Europe, that they are for the withdrawal of the troops from Vietnam. They are showing that their differentiation from the AFL-CIO is because they are for a programme, which tends to respect more and

EDITORIAL contd. from page 1

We have no need to elaborate further on the vast opportunities for the intervention of the revolutionary vanguard in united front with the IV International. To take only two recent events, the crisis in the Liberal Party shows the inability of the traditional leaderships to prevent the radicalised petit bourgeois adopting a socialist "colouring" and the fact that security guards allied with the students at Guildford, who they were supposed to throw out, shows the abject failure of traditional Capitalist authority. (The civil police would not act). But in all the objective maturity of the situation for the overthrow of Capitalism, the problem of the revolutionary leadership remains. The traditional centres of the working class organisations, the LP and the TUs, sustained by the CP block the unification of the struggles, but the pressure of the masses demands the creation of the independent organisms of the working class, factory committees, which could rapidly become the bases of soviets, committees in the workers areas involving women and the youth, where everything is discussed. All these committees with a regular life facilitate preparation and the transformation of the general strike into the vehicle to impose workers power. In France during the May days, the workers in effect controlled whole regions, set

prices etc. functioned in a soviet manner, just as the students functioned as a soviet within the Sorbonne. This is the path for the workers in Great Britain. And all this can be achieved with the united proletarian front uniting the Labour masses, the revolutionary vanguard of the students, the communist militants, the women and the children, a united front with the IV International. The Revolutionary Workers Party (British Section of the IV International) is intervening in the industrial struggles and among the students. It is to the forefront in all these. We appeal for the United Front on the basis of the most fundamental social and economic demands. Impose the 15% emergency wage increase—as the French workers have imposed their economic demands. All wages to rise automatically with the cost of living. Equal pay for women NOW. All trade union officials to be revocable at any moment. 35 hour week in all industries. All the profits of automation to the workers. No worker to be dismissed. Nationalisations under workers control, without compensation. Worker, teacher, student government of colleges and universities; for the liquidation of all Polaris bases and their means of supply, for the United Socialist States of Europe. Prepare for the general strike. Forward to factory occupations and workers control.

The Revolutionary Mobilisation of the French Masses

to defend the interests of the North American masses and not the interests of the North American government and this includes withdrawal from Vietnam. Meanwhile in the AFL-CIO the opposite wing is preoccupied with maintaining Imperialism and keeping North American troops in Vietnam.

The conclusion is that in a short time there will be a greater elevation of the struggle. Whatever might be the measures, whatever might be the agreements, which Capitalism can reach with the Communist, Socialist and CGT leadership, they will be of short duration. All exploited society is united around the proletariat. The students have not succeeded in attracting the population. At first it was the students, no one else. But the students were the detonator which set off the proletariat, because the conditions for it were already there. The proletariat needed an exterior stimulus apart from their own organizations; but this in its turn is a warning for the students. If the proletariat had not been organised in its trade union organisations and political organisations, it would not have pushed forward the whole plan of the previous struggle, and what occurred would not have been sparked off. The student action unified the proletariat, because it was already organised in its trade union organisations and proletarian political organisations and these allowed it to make all the necessary experience and gain security in struggle; and permitted the action of the students to be the detonator. If the proletariat had not been organised previously, if it had not organised its whole life centralised in the workers unions, Communist, Socialist, and left-wing Christian-Democrats unions, and if it had not pushed forward the struggle over the years in general strikes, of strikes, of resistance against the leaderships, it would not have come out as it has done. The unanimity reached in a few days when all forces come out into the streets occurred because the class was already centralised.

It was because the class had already felt in the factory, the trade unions, in its parties, and in its trade union and political fights, its centralised security. Thus the action of students can be a detonator. But this also shows that the students feel that in order to advance the will and the revolutionary decision that they have, to destroy the system of Capitalist exploitation they need proletarian support. It is for this reason that the Communist leadership tries to separate them, tries to present a difference between what the students want and what the proletariat wants. No. They want the same thing. It is the Communist and Socialist leadership which divides. But the students, the peasants and the proletariat have shown with their unanimous action in the revolutionary general strike against de Gaulle that they want to abolish the Capitalist system. These are the conditions which exist.

It is necessary to appeal to the peasants, workers, students, to unify themselves in workers militias. In each factory, in each workers' area, in each student sector, it is necessary to organise militias. The attitude of the police in refusing to repress, indicates that it feels the authority of the proletariat and is afraid, it sees that it is the proletariat which has the authority.

The police try to gain advantage from the authority of the proletariat to seek an increase in salary. They have found support in the authority of the proletariat to ask for an increase in salary. But as a police institution, they should hurl themselves against the proletariat. This shows a fear to confront the proletariat alone; for this reason the police ask for the intervention of the army. It is necessary to appeal to the young officers, soldiers and non commissioned officers to help the workers to form militias: workers' area militias, zonal militias to exercise the leadership; do not allow police repression, confront it with armed force; take arms from the police and at the same time appeal to the police. It is necessary to appeal for a programme to abolish the Capitalist system and also to draw up a true programme of study, cultural study, production for the population and the raising of the standard of living of the population; show that Capitalism is im-

potent to solve the problems of production, unemployment and dismissals; maintain the standard of living respecting the democratic will of the population and its capacity for scientific and cultural education. If Capitalism could do this, it would have done so. If now it agrees to discuss, it is because it has no other solution. It accepts what comes from the Communist leadership, because it is trying to win time, trying to disorganise the united front of the population, so that Capitalism can impose the most violent repression. Now is the moment to confront it and advance.

It is necessary to appeal to the Italian dockers who have demonstrated solidarity with the French proletariat. It is necessary to appeal to the whole of Europe. This is the slogan now. But it is necessary to pose at the same time the liquidation of the most important obstacle within the workers' field, which prevents advance in this revolutionary general strike: the corrupted leaderships and agents of Capitalism. It is necessary to make this advance, to draw up resolutions. It is not necessary to have as a central objective the liquidation of such and such a leader, but to call for the programme of proletarian democracy, for the programme of workers' control, for revocability of delegates, expropriation of all the factories and making them function according to the interests of the exploited population.

This is not to liquidate the French economy and the development of the economy. On the contrary it develops it. It is necessary to eliminate the leaderships who do not respond to this programme. This is the struggle to expel and overthrow the

leadership of the Communist Parties. It is necessary to make the workers areas, trade unions in each region of France, put forward declarations, demonstrations, unanimous meetings in which resolutions are adopted, imposing them in the Socialist and Communist Parties and in the CGT so that this whole programme is pushed forward eliminating every leader who goes against this programme. And it is necessary to elect new leaders who support this programme.

To be an old leader of the FCP of the SP or the CGT is no merit. What does it mean to be an old leader? If they had more capacity, quality or scientific or cultural comprehension, enabling the understanding of the problems, the old leaders would have already accepted the will of the masses to take power. Old leaders mean nothing more than old manoeuvrers. Just as with an old factory owner the fact that they are old gives them no recommendation for social, political or cultural capacity. The owner is such because he has the power in his hands. And the trade union and French C.P. bureaucrats are old leaders because they have the apparatus in their hands. They have been able to grasp the apparatus in their hands. But not due to the merit of leadership. The leader is seen through his capacity to give directives, and orientations. None of them does this. Directives and the capacity for action means understanding what the masses want and what they can do. And now the masses want power and can take power. They have expressed this. And these leaders are against it.

What use are these leaders? they are

agents of Capitalism working consciously; thus the struggle to overthrow this bunch of agents and bureaucratic agents of Capitalism is a progressive measure. It would not disorganise, or disintegrate the student, worker, peasant front but on the contrary it would seek to give the precise leadership necessary to impel the will of the masses to take power. It is necessary to overthrow all this old gang now: directly. This is the basis of the programme to take power. It is not a fight in the abstract, for electoral posts, trade union or parliamentary positions, but it is a programme for revolution.

The same struggle is necessary in Italy to get rid of, throw out and smash the capitulatory leadership of the Italian CP and push forward the struggle for the leadership of the revolution in Italy. And it is the same thing in Spain. Although Capitalism is obliged to yield important position to the masses, this is not going to conform with the wishes of the masses or block the masses, because these are going to feel their strength, because they see what they have taken from Capitalism, and the world revolution is going to stimulate the consciousness that they can overthrow it. This is what they want to do and what they are going to do.

Although the French CP may be obliged to yield to negotiations with French Imperialism for concessions to contain the masses, the masses are not going to be satisfied with any concessions that be given to them. Whatever French Capitalism may give, the masses have within their

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Only strikes and occupations on a National scale will stop the closures of the mines

ALL THE PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE MINERS

The government, acting as ever in the general interests of the Capitalist class, are demolishing the coal industry in the interests particularly of the oil monopolists and those exploiting natural gas. And all the inhumanity of Capitalist production is being exhibited in the brutal closures in full swing all over the country, which are wiping out whole mining communities. Over the last years there were 51 pits closed and 14,000 men made redundant, but the labour force actually fell by 27,500. This year the government intend to close 75 pits and throw 50,000 men out of work. The Coal Board has been exhorting miners to produce more and save their pits. This is all lies and should have been denounced years ago by the NUM leaders. In the 13 weeks ending April 20th. output per man shift went up by 8.7% over last years figure. The role of the coal industry since nationalisation 21 years ago has been to provide a steady income for the bankers through interest, to provide cheap fuel for the rest of Capitalist industry through cheap electricity, gas etc. and to give a profitable area of work for mining machinery firms. Capitalist nationalisation has meant that the coal industry has been subjected to all the chaos and anarchy of Capitalist competition, which is the mad rule of the market over production. The governments whole fuel policy is chaotic. Even with all the fuel industry in its hands and even a large part of B.P. it is incapable of planning, because each branch of the fuel industry is run as a Capitalist enterprise. Each competes with the other for the market and each is expected to produce profits like any Capitalist enterprise.

Thus Robens and Edwards hurl charges of poachers at each other and the N.C.B. spends £100,000 on advertising to "reassure the customers" while the Durham miners have their pittance of free coal chopped again.

And Paynter, far from denouncing and ridiculing all this buffoonery, joins in and advocates that every miner must be an "ambassador for coal" and get the bloke next door to buy another bucket-full, or some such nonsense. The fuel policy, or lack of it, is based on estimates of market trends, but they cannot plan, and they can't eliminate the root of the problem because it is the basis of Capitalism; competition, along with the economic weight of the private sector, and most important of all that the whole economy is distorted by the war expenditure and preparation.

What is happening in the pits today is characteristic of a process in action throughout Capitalist Europe, that is, increased exploitation through automation and work study. It has a host of names; profitability, better use of manpower, competitiveness, but it means the same, in the car industry, the buildings, engineering and everywhere, automation, speed-ups and redundancy. It was clearly summed up after an experiment in shearing at Betteshanger in Kent: "Reduce all delays to a minimum (12 shot firing etc.) and introduce systems of working which require less manpower to operate them". The scheme for the pits is clear. The number of pits is to be drastically reduced while those that remain are to be fully

mechanised and run non-stop 7 days a week. The miners are to be replaced by a handful of technicians and the NCB will cease to be a mass employer and will function as a sort of mining agent for the machinery and installation manufacturers. Capitalism in these actions shows its total lack of any perspective outside the launching of the nuclear war. It has no possibility of expansion. Robens is the head of the bureaucracy, which is forced to compete for state support, hence the common ground with Paynter and the NUM bosses, thus they moan about closures without doing anything about it.

The miners have not ceased to struggle because of nationalisation, but the union bosses have deliberately tried to separate their struggles from the rest of the working class. Last year there were 105,000 days lost through disputes involving more than 40,000 miners, the previous year there were many more mobilisations, but these are never reported in the Capitalist press, or propaganda machine. The NUM branches and lodges have proven themselves incapable of waging a really militant struggle against closures. The leaders at branch level are not rotten and cynical, as are the top bureaucrats, but they lack the force and decision and programme that the situation demands. If one pit under threat of closure was to be occupied, or the red flag run up over the pit head as in the French mines, the closures programme could be halted. The NUM must be democratised from top to bottom

and the mining industry must be placed under workers control. The instrument for this is the mine committee. There must be a committee for every pit, elected by all the miners and in which everyone can participate, taking all the decisions affecting the pit. The committee members must be subject to immediate recall and must be responsible for carrying out the decisions of the miners. These committees must be linked regionally and nationally, and linked with the workers of the gas and electricity, to impose an integrated fuel policy under workers control, to demand an end to compensation and interest, nationalisation without compensation and under workers control, of the oil, natural gas and mining machinery industries. This does not contradict working in the unions. The NUM belongs to the miners not to Paynter and his gang, and the rising spirit of combativity of the miners is echoing in the top of the union apparatus. The Scottish NUM have voted for industrial action against the fuel policy, Yorkshire delegates have called for a national strike and there is now an official demand for a wage increase. All this is the result of the actions of the miners and the pressure must be kept up in the unions, to push the leaders and use them as far as they will go, but at the same time to build the leadership that will go all the way.

There are many good reasons for 100% mechanisation in the pits, its a dirty, dangerous and unhealthy job. But the miners cannot allow themselves to be discarded like pit ponies. Automation is progress but Capitalist progress means more unemployment, higher prices, wage freeze and closures. This is the concrete proof that Capitalism has outlived its historic purpose. The miners must demand all benefits of automation in the pits, for themselves in shorter hours, higher pay, better conditions, 40% increase in wages, committees to control the mines, all union officials subject to instant recall and paid at the average workers wage. The national mining strike with the anti-Capitalist demands of all the exploited masses can become the centre for the organisation of the general strike. UNITE THE STRUGGLES OF THE MINERS WITH THOSE OF ALL THE MASSES, MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN, COMMITTEES INVOLVING EVERYONE IN THE WORKERS AREAS. FORWARD TO OCCUPATIONS AS PART OF THE NATIONAL MINING STRIKE.

The Revolutionary Mobilisations of the French Masses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

consciousness, already acquired, the will to overthrow Capitalism. And the process of the advance of the world revolution, and the retreat of Capitalism, is going to stimulate them to push forward this struggle. The conquests that they have made will give them the security in their strength to overthrow the bureaucratic leaders and Capitalism as well. Even though the CP, the Socialists and CGT might succeed in making the movement hesitate or divide it so that one part returns to work, this will not exhaust the possibilities or the conditions for the revolution in France. There will be an immediate reanimation because numerous sectors that have come out whilst the whole population felt the attraction of the action of the proletariat, will develop and influence the rest. A selection will occur and from this the new leadership will develop. Later, there will be the necessity for a Single European Centre and a United Proletarian Front with a programme of general demands, which go rapidly to the taking of power. For example, in Spain, Italy and Belgium.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

This does not render redundant or exclude the necessity of a programme of immediate demands, which is needed as the means of uniting and mobilising the masses, but this will go on rapidly to the struggle which leads to dual power and the taking of power throughout Europe. This is the stage that we live in. Hence the attitude of the Chinese, who greet the great struggle of the European masses with demonstrations, saluting their struggle though without calling for the Proletarian Revolution up to now, is important. It shows great progress. It is important at this stage that the Chinese and the Cubans should help the French masses to unite to take power.

French Capitalism is not in the condition to give any important concession. If it were able to do so it would have done so before, it would not have allowed itself to get into this situation. The dislocated state of the structure of Capitalism disorganises and disintegrates its ordered force and authority. It is obliged now to make concessions because it has no other solution to avoid losing power. In an attempt to remain in power it accepts discussions to gain time, trying to re-establish unity, assurance, a certain encouragement for Capitalism, to gather itself against the masses. If Capitalism had been able to raise wages, insure employment, provide work and follow a programme of scientific-socialist education, it would have done so before now.

Capitalism has not the means of putting this into action, on the contrary, the function of Capitalism, and this government in the name of Capitalism, is to prevent the masses from taking power, prevent them from having a Socialist education, for the only way of providing a Socialist cultural and scientific education is anti-Capitalist. It means breaking with the teaching which has as an objective the defence of the Capitalist system—Capitalist conceptions, relationships, culture and feelings, which are individualist—private property, the sentiment of private property and that is in the service of those who interests lie in keeping their economic power. Capitalism is trying to re-organise internally to carry out a reactionary coup, mobilising fascists and ex-military groups, ex-soldiers, attempting to unify society to confront the proletariat.

The result of this situation is that if the proletariat does not now succeed in advancing to the taking of power, Capitalism will have enough time to bring about a reunification in one way or another. All the sectors that have resisted de Gaulle will try to get rid of him now and adopt another figurehead. Not as a weakening gesture, but to provide an acceptable centre. Capitalism has realised that de Gaulle is of no more use to it. Therefore the main newspapers of French Capitalism are now demanding that if it be necessary for the salvation of French Capitalism that de Gaulle should be liquidated that this be done. Not because they have lost interest in de Gaulle, but because

they feel that time must be gained. Thus, liquidating de Gaulle they are gaining time meanwhile to re-organise the strength on the bourgeois front, with the help of world Capitalism, to save French Capitalism.

The 'New York Times' is giving advice to de Gaulle. It says that he could make use of his 'full powers', which are authorised by the constitution, that he could announce a 'State of Emergency', even without parliament. But they advise de Gaulle not to do this, because by doing so he needs to use army support and this is tantamount to civil war. And they are not confident that de Gaulle would win. If world Capitalism had confidence in de Gaulle's triumph with the support of the army it would have already have told him to make use of the army because it has an interest in this...

The biggest obstacle is not Capitalism. The masses feel that they are defeating Capitalism. They feel that they are defeating de Gaulle's government and French Capitalism. The greatest obstacle is their leadership which is conciliating with Capitalism. In this stage the masses are discussing and gaining experience as to how to rid themselves and shake off this capitulatory and treacherous leadership. One of the principle tasks to be carried out which the masses and the French proletariat have before them is their organisation to overthrow this leadership.

This stage in the permanent revolution in France has begun. And the world masses are in support and in their turn they are living with their longing, feelings and fraternal will and solidarity in support of the French masses. Meanwhile world Capitalism is also living dependent on the result of the French revolution. This is why they do not criticise de Gaulle. Yankee Imperialism has the perfect opportunity to criticise and crush de Gaulle. In spite of this its attitude is not to crush him but to save French Capitalism. Therefore it gives him advice in an attempt to sustain French Capitalism.

In this stage of the permanent revolution in France it is necessary to be prepared, it is necessary to develop the revolution quickly, maintaining the conquests already made: beginning with the factories that are occupied, making them function, by the masses: open the universities, open the theatres running them in the popular interest. Appeal for the nationalisation of the banks, planning production from now on, even if still in a limited way according to districts, according to factory departments, so that they are points that stimulate, that advance and that proceed, extending the advance of the revolution, and meanwhile they must arm themselves: appeal for the arming of the whole proletariat, of the masses: demand arms from the soldiers, ask them to help in the siege of the barracks: appeal to the public to come over to the side of the people, and to give their arms to the population, and

submit themselves to the will of the proletariat. Organise the proletariat with its own district commission, which exercises the function of leadership and revolutionary repression against the counter-revolution and from there advance up to the overthrow of Capitalism rapidly.

This is the stage of the permanent revolution in France. In this stage the small Trotskyist group—small in number but large due to its programme, its objectives, its capacity for action—the French Section of the IV International, must develop with this perspective, being daring and resolute, in order, together with the rest of the sectors, workers, peasants, soldiers, petit bourgeois, students the Communist vanguard, the young proletarian vanguard, which is attracting the proletariat to these struggles, fuse itself with them in order to construct the new leadership, the leadership of the proletarian revolution in France. It is a decision to be carried out immediately. The proletarian revolution, developing the permanent revolution in France, opens a new phase in history which is the continuation of events in Syria, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Korea, and which stimulates the proletarian revolution throughout Europe. It is a new phase which will have a chain reaction and in which it is necessary to intervene with this conception. Imperialism is going to reply with the atomic war, but in the worst of conditions. It is losing one of its most important points of support which was that of having ties with the bureaucracies of the Workers States and stimulating the bureaucratic tendencies in their return to Capitalism. The world perspectives are favourable to the proletarian revolution in France and not Capitalism. It is with this conception of the proletarian revolution in France, that it is necessary to intervene in this stage of the revolution.

J. POSADAS

24. 5. 1968

Salute to the French Masses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the agenda, on such a scale that the situation approximates to that of 1926, but this time at a stage when the world revolution is immensely powerful and world Imperialism and Capitalism immensely weak. Within a short stage the way is opening towards the imposition of workers governments throughout Europe. And the experience of the revolutionary general strike in France, the series of factory occupations is fundamental in accelerating this process.

FOR THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE

FOR FACTORY OCCUPATIONS LEADING TO WORKERS CONTROL, NATIONALISATIONS AND THE PLANNING OF PRODUCTION

FOR THE WORKER STUDENT GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE ORGANISATIONS OF WORKERS MILITIAS

FOR THE PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT

FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT EUROPE

FOR THE OVERTHROW OF IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE USSR, AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN THE OTHER WORKERS STATES

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE.

LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF FRENCH WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND STUDENTS, WHICH IS PREPARING TO OVERTHROW FRENCH CAPITALISM.

Resolution from the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International

For the release of the Italian Trotskyists

Letter from the Newcastle Socialist Students

Socialist School Students,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne
24th June, 1968

The Italian Embassy
14, Three Kings Yard,
London, W.1.

Sir,

We of the Socialist School Students Movement, completely condemn the arrests by your government of two militants Comrade Antonio De Camillo (31 year) and Comrade Antonio Mucci (28 years) of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) Italian Section of the IV International.

They were arrested after a demonstration by Tobacco Workers on the 4th May 1968 in Pescara on evidence based on leaflets stolen from the locale of the R.C.P.(T), which was broken into and sacked by police, and also on what these comrades said over a megaphone at the demonstration.

They have been charged under old fascist laws such as article 270, which accuses them of "wanting to establish the dictatorship of one social class over another", for which they can receive between 5 to 12 years imprisonment.

We, of the Socialist School Students organisation, see these arrests as a direct attempt to intimidate the working class and especially its vanguard, and an attempt to eliminate the conscious leadership of all the exploited masses which is the IV International. Thus do we demand the immediate release of these two comrades and the return of everything taken from the locale of the Party.

We are making extensive propaganda throughout schools, colleges and universities condemning these arrests by your government so that the student vanguard may understand the true nature of the action.

Signed
Central Committee
Socialist School Students

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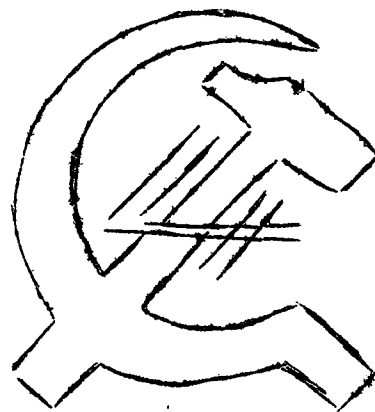
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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

- Trotsky

RED
FLAG



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

No. 71 Fortnightly

August 1st.

Sixpence

ORGANISE THE UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE
TO SMASH THE INCOMES POLICY
UNITE THE BUSMENS
AND ENGINEERS STRUGGLE

In the period directly following the Revolutionary General Strike in France the class struggle in Europe and the rest of the world, the struggle of the masses for the socialist revolution has continued at an ever higher level. There have been more strikes in France, and the students there have once again clashed with the police in street fights, while in Italy the constant process of strikes and demonstrations by the workers and peasants continues. Even in the island of Malta, the class struggle reaches new heights with the calling of the general strike by the General Workers Union of Malta, which was supported 100% by large sectors of the proletariat; the dry docks, the commercial harbour, the air port, the postal services-etc. were all brought to a standstill. In the United States, the struggle of the militant black working class has again erupted into violent street battles against the police and the National Guard, and in Vietnam where the Vietnamese masses, men, women and children, are daily fighting against the full force of U.S. Imperialism the war goes on with no sign of the Imperialists getting anywhere near a victory.

Contd. page 2.

RED FLAG DUPLICATED DUE TO THE PRINTERS
HOLIDAYS

This issue of Red Flag appears in duplicated form because the printer is on holiday. To accommodate his holiday this issue of the paper covers a period of three weeks instead of the usual two. The next issue of Red Flag will appear on the 25th of August, in printed form, containing the article of J. Posadas of the 7th June on the Revolutionary General Strike in France, the Assassination of Kennedy, and the Demonstrations in Yugoslavia.

WE SALUTE THE RE-EDITING OF THE REVISTA MARXISTA LATINOAMERICANA
IN BOLIVIA AND SPAIN

We salute with great revolutionary enthusiasm the re-editing of the Revista Marxista Latino-Americana by both the Bolivian and the Spanish sections. We congratulate the comrades of Bolivia and Spain, the European Bureau of the IV International and Cde. Posadas, for these publications which will be an essential instrument for the construction of the new revolutionary world leadership.

Now the American bases in Thailand have been attacked, this is a new stage in the war in S.E. Asia and is another blow to U.S. Imperialism, which at home and abroad is besieged by the revolutionary masses.

In this country the class struggle is increasing each day with the workers gaining more and more confidence. After the success of the railwaymen and the Ford women, both of whom got an increase outside the limits of the Prices and Incomes Policy (although the Labour M.P.'s tried to make out that it wasn't) and the success after a long and militant struggle of the villagers of Aberfan in getting the government to promise to remove the tips, now we see two big sectors of the working class coming into direct conflict with the Labour Government and capitalism, over the Prices and Incomes Policy; the busmen and the workers in the unions belonging to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

The busmen are calling their strike on August the 12th in the face of opposition of the union leadership. At the meeting of the delegates of the busmen with the union leadership, Frank Cousins of the T.C.W.U. argued and pleaded for limited dispersed actions. But he was soundly rejected. It is a sign of the militancy of the bus workers, that when it was announced that their 51 pay increase was not to be paid, immediately there were independent strikes of some garages, while others banned overtime, or worked to rule. In Rhyl in N. Wales, conductors refused to collect the increased fares which their company had introduced, letting passengers travel at the old fares. Among the workers in the Confed. there have been calls for a national strike to win their demands which include an all round wage increase, equal pay for women, and longer holidays. The talks between the unions and the employers which have lasted over 9 months have now completely broken down, and Hugh Scanlon the leader of the unions in the Confed talks of working to rule, and banning overtime, but the demands of the engineering workers will not be won by these means, their demands are directly against the Prices and Incomes Policy, and as such are a direct challenge to the Labour government and to capitalism.

We appeal to the busmen and to the workers in the Confed to link up their struggles, and smash the Prices and Incomes Policy once and for all. This already has holes in it from the railwaymen and the Ford women, and determined actions of strikes, demonstrations and sympathy strikes for the busmen and the engineers would finish it off, and strike a tremendous blow at the capitalist system. It is necessary to demand a 30% INCREASE IN WAGES, A NATIONAL BASIC MINIMUM WAGE TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, HIGHER PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS, ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER PAY, NO MORE FACTORIES TO BE RUN DOWN OR CLOSED, NO MORE UNEMPLOYMENT, STUDENTS TO RECEIVE THE AVERAGE WORKERS WAGE, NATIONALISATION OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, A WORKERS GOVERNMENT. Using these slogans whole sectors of the population would be drawn into the direct offensive against the Prices and Incomes Policy.

The fact that both Frank Cousins and Hugh Scanlon, the leading bureaucrats of two of the largest unions, have said that they are prepared to go to gaol to win their members demands is a sign of the increased militancy at the base of the unions pushing the leadership to the left. At the same time as this is happening, the Trade Unions try to increase their control over the Parliamentary Labour Party with the election of Nicholas as the new Secretary of the Labour Party. It is an expression of the growing conflict between the Labour Party bureaucracy and the Trade Union bureaucrats; it does not damage the masses in any way in fact it stimulates and facilitates their independent activity.

At this stage of the development of the world socialist revolution not only the working class but the petit bourgeoisie and students are more and more brought into direct conflict with the capitalist class. We see strikes of airline staff over proposed redundancy, women become more and more active in tenants committees, and the committee at Aberfan etc. and all the time the students are being drawn into the class struggle on the side of the working class, as they see that the only way to improve their educational system; improvements of facilities, syllasuses, teachers, abolition of exams etc., is to overthrow the capitalist system, and they accept that the working class is the only force which can do this.

These are ideal conditions for the workers struggle to develop. The busmen imposed their will over the leadership of the largest union in forcing the

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE,

THE REACTIONARY AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES OF THE

CALL FOR ELECTIONS, THE TREACHERY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY,

SOCIALIST PARTY, UGT AND CPST LEADERSHIPS AND THE STRUGGLE

FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

J. Posadas 4.6.68.

Of the events in France during the Revolutionary General Strike, the aspect of the highest importance is the dispute for dual power. There is a functioning of dual power. The factories are functioning as with dual power. The factories have already been occupied for 20 days, and where the workers have been ousted, they have retaken their territory, as for example with the Strasbourg railways that were run under police protection, and which the workers took over again, paralysing transport. This is due to the functioning of dual power and factory committees. Power organisms are being developed. The masses have already found a centre of inter-communication, in the relationships between one factory and another, the factory and the countryside, and the factory and the students.

At this point there is seen in all its magnitude the limitation of the university movement. As a university movement it cannot give any more, for it is not faced with the necessity of organising itself in power. The essential problem in France is finding the road to start up the factories. It is not a question of a new party, this is not the stage for a new party, but that of making function what has already been achieved in the factories now. Impose this so that the Communist masses, within the Communist Party, impose it on their leadership. Thus it is not an appeal for a new party - the students are wrong about this - but an appeal for a united front with the students on the basis of a revolutionary programme: on the basis of the programme for the elimination of capitalist education and appealing to the workers to struggle for power. Contrary to this, directing attention now to the organisation of a new party means diverting attention from the main issue. It is not excluded that there might be in the immediate future the need for the selection of a new nucleus, but the students must appeal to the workers to set up factory committees with meetings held between them, for mutual organisation; must appeal to the Communist masses to impose this conclusion on the CP; the struggle for power. The students must unite with this movement making a united front with the factories through a 'sui generis' functioning with them. At this stage it is necessary to proceed in this way. This is the task to be completed. Alternatively, an appeal for a new party distracts the attention and draws it away from the centre which could be established now basing oneself on the factory committees.

The factory committees and the masses congregated in the CP are the basis of proletarian organs, and they are the basis which exists now. It is necessary to make them function properly as factory committees and for the students to incorporate themselves there. The students must organise the Sorbonne committees with this programme and with a movement that tends to unite with the workers. A new party can appeal for a movement for this revolutionary programme, appealing to the Communist masses, but not in competition with the Communist masses, but appealing to them to struggle with this programme against the Communist leadership. And to struggle, moreover, against those notorious elections.

The masses demonstrated, through the Revolutionary General Strike, and by keeping it up as they still are, that they don't believe in Parliament, and that they reject parliamentary solutions. They reject the elections. The masses show that they want to produce a revolutionary, and not an electoral, solution.

They are going on with the strike, not only with trade union objectives, but trying to bring pressure on their political leadership to advance. It is not only a continuity of struggle in the trade unions to gain better advantages, bigger and better conquests. The masses feel strong, they have control of the factories, they feel their duality of power and they work as a second power. And in such a situation it is they who say to their leadership, 'do this!' Hence the trade union leaders have to negotiate with the management and consult the assemblies, and the assemblies reject them.

The proletariat is functioning like a soviet. These factory committees are real soviets, they function as real soviets, still without having reached completely being the organs in power, but certainly functioning as organs that are going to take power. This is the reason for the resistance and persistence of the workers in the factories, and it has a meaning which is far greater than that of obtaining

better demands and conquests. It means that the masses want to go on with this, meaning that they are willing to go on to the end. They are appealing to their leaderships, 'press on', we are prepared to sustain these conquests! Therefore the occupations of the factories persist and the masses do not agree to go back with concessions.

It would never be possible to explain the unanimity of 10 million workers on strike, united by a will to struggle, without organisations, or leadership, if they were not encouraged by a common centre: the fact that they feel capable of overthrowing capitalism. If this were not so, they would not be able to keep it up like this. It is not a trade union interest, because a trade union front would have been broken by now. The bourgeoisie is manoeuvring, offering more to one union than to another, it has given advantages to some, pouring them on to the workers aristocracy so that this brings weight on to the masses, and they have remained unanimous. The revolutionary proletarian vanguard is the centre which is leading the masses, keeping them united in their will for anti-capitalist combat. The workers aristocracy has hardly been able to do anything in this process. This movement is not sustained simply by trade union demands, because if that were the case it would have already been broken and there would be a return to work. If it is being maintained it is because it aspires to much greater things. And doing this, it is trying to bring pressure on its leadership to impel it to advance, so that power is taken, and the electoral intervention is eliminated.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE, THE ELECTIONS, THE TREACHERY
OF THE COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST, CGT AND CFTD LEADERSHIPS
AND THE IMPOTENCE OF FRENCH AND WORLD CAPITALISM.

The preoccupation of the workers keeping up the occupations of the factories is not in the elections. No one is interested in elections. The masses are looking for a revolutionary solution. So, DOWN WITH THE ELECTIONS! TAKE POWER! Continue the factory occupations, extend them and form now the nuclei of a Workers and Peasants Government, functioning now in power, appealing for a solution to the situation, imposing the solution of the situation: including the nationalisation of all the big factories, now this minute! out with imperialism in France, and the nationalisation of the bank. These are slogans which lead to the taking of power. Also, the elimination of capitalist education in the universities; discussion of the revolutionary syllabus. Let the students and teachers determine the syllabuses to be worked. Total democracy, like in the Sorbonne. Full discussion of all problems, on the basis of eliminating the capitalist system. All this leads to the elimination of capitalist power.

The Communist leadership is trying to keep the masses on the road of electoral perspectives. And the masses are rejecting this. If the masses are interested in an electoral solution, hoping that an electoral triumph would give them the conquests which they are making now they would give up the strike, give back the factory and turn to the elections. When they keep up the occupations and moreover the movement extends, it is because they see the solution in the factories. There it is that they feel strong. And they have no confidence in Parliament, the same as they did not trust it before. They do not trust the elections either. This is the reason why when the censure of De Gaulle was rejected by Parliament, the masses did not give it any importance, they went on with the strike. They demonstrated that this was the road they wanted to take and they still do.

The Communist Party was not at all interested in taking power when conditions were right for doing so, and it brought down repression so that power should not be taken. This must be publicised, showing how the bourgeoisie saved itself with the communist party and is still doing so. In this case it is necessary to be didactic, not just insulting, but making a political analysis and drawing political conclusions and afterwards giving things their names, showing that the communist leadership has carried out real treachery, and appealing to the Communist Rank and File and the revolutionary masses to punish them for this treachery. There are millions of workers who are still on strike. And when 10 million persist in striking it isn't just for a rise in salary. It is a political interest in overthrowing the capitalist system. What moves them? There isn't the leadership, they are confronting the leaderships of the CGT, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, who want them to go back to work, accepting the agreements. The masses have already made a conquest which will be irreversible, which is workers' control, proletarian democracy and dual power with their own leadership in the CP, SP and CGT. The trade union leaders cannot negotiate any more in the name of the trade unions, they have become intermediaries. They discuss with the management, or with the government, and they go to the factory and it is the factory which makes the decision and rejects the negotiations. Up to

now the factories have rejected all the measures that the trade union leaderships have wanted to impose. The leaderships have shown that it isn't they who represent the masses' will to fight, but that they are nothing but intermediaries. This conquest, which means that the factory has a dual power, stems from the running of the factory committee. It is there that the revolutionary leadership is emerging from the base. It is the factory committees that have already started to function in the face of the leadership and the bourgeoisie, and in order to take power tomorrow.

This is the conquest of one of the highest forms of proletarian democracy. It is necessary to conduct a whole campaign about this, the factory committees, like the one at the Renault factory, and in all the big factories where thousands and thousands of workers hold assemblies in which they openly discuss with equal rights and with equal right of tendency. It is necessary to conduct a campaign that goes to the depths of this. There is to be found proletarian democracy, and it is there that the forces and possibilities to advance are being consolidated. It isn't the leadership of the Communist Party which determines when it is possible to advance, it's the masses that by-pass the leadership. It's not the Communist, Socialist or CGT leaderships.

Appeal for a United Front of tendencies to advance the struggle for the stabilisation of the conquests, to defend the conquests and the functioning of the factory committees. The great conquests of the masses at this stage in France are two: they have demonstrated themselves capable of overthrowing all terrorism, the whole bourgeois apparatus, the bureaucracy of the CP, the SP and the CGT, imposing their factory committees, and they have made a United Front. The United Front is there. The Mass Communist International is already functioning in France, the Communist International in France. 10 million workers divided into different organisations confronting capitalism and their leaderships, are united in their will to defend their conquests and take power. This is the Communist sentiment of the masses. All this must be the complete basis of the development of the activity.

There is not only a stage of revolutionary struggle in France, but it is concretely the stage for taking power. This is the stage of the Revolutionary General Strike, because of its ends, its objectives and its methods. All the factories are occupied. The workers decide in the factories, not the trade union officials, not the CP or SP leaders. The factories decide. This is a revolutionary sentiment and decision. Already the organism of dual power and of power are being organised and developed. They are developing. The masses are rejecting their leadership, on the basis of the revolutionary united front and the Mass Communist International. The most advanced sectors are keeping up the strike intransigently, imposing their will in the face of the management, the state, capitalism, under De Gaulle's nose and in the face of the conciliation and capitulation to capitalism of the Communist and Socialist leaderships.

The elections are an inferior method of struggle when there is a Revolutionary General Strike on, when the mobilisation of the masses exists, when they are in full combat. The elections are an inferior means of action which can unite, and centralise the masses winning over other exploited sectors tending to centralise them in the class objective of overthrowing capitalism; but when a Revolutionary General Strike is taking place, elections become a reactionary measure, diminishing, lowering the level reached in the struggle. This would be the case in France, when elections are substituted for the Revolutionary General Strike, for they are an inferior method of struggle for class conquests and objectives. Trade union struggle is one aspect of the struggle contributing to the organisation of the masses, for the taking of power. It is necessary to go on from the organisation and conquests at the level already achieved in order to advance. To stop the General Strike and to switch to elections is to substitute for the elements of triumph, elements of conciliation, as the Communist, and Socialist parties, and the CGT and CFTD leaderships are doing. The experience of the Russian Revolution shows how Lenin used strikes, elections and the participation in strikes and elections. When there are elevated possibilities of struggle, then the most elevated one is chosen, because it centralises the aptitude, conditions and organisation most favourable to the taking of power.

Capitalism cannot be overthrown or suppressed by persuasion, by elections and Parliament but by force. The masses are united in the strike, in the factories, in the streets, in the Sorbonne, in the schools, in the countryside; the masses are united against the Socialist and Communist leaderships and the leadership of the CGT in the will to impose themselves on capitalism by force. Even in present conditions, without taking power, it is possible to make conquests which are superior to those already made. Now this minute ! Impose direct participation in the factories, workers control in the factories, factory committees, now ! Nevertheless the CGT does not agitate any of these slogans, slogans which mean

to unify workers power. On the contrary, the Communist and Socialist, and CGT leaderships switch to elections which are an inferior method at this stage. Parliament is vastly inferior to workers control and factory committees. The communist party leadership does not agitate either of these two slogans because they are slogans which confront capitalism directly. And moreover, they make the masses see the power and capacity that they possess. There is no identity between the revolutionary will and necessity of the masses and these leaderships. The leadership of the Communist Party has the apparatus, but it isn't identified with, nor does it represent the revolutionary will of the masses. Hence it has no interest in agitating the slogans of factory committees and workers control.

Thus it is necessary to appeal for the continuation of the factory occupations and from there extend them with a programme of the nationalisation of the whole production, the planning of production immediately! The trade unions must agitate for and apply the slogans of nationalisation of all industry, nationalisation of the banks, planned production! launch a programme for production in alliance with the peasants and the university students. This is the programme that must be launched.

The bourgeoisie feels impotent, it feels that it hasn't any strength. It has not been able to disarm the movement. The tanks, the troops, the military mobilisation has not disarmed the masses. The very opposite has occurred: the bourgeoisie is afraid. It has had to recall the elite of the troops, selected ones, very selected ones - Massu's troops, that assassin from Algeria, who is the political enemy of De Gaulle. De Gaulle has recalled the entire right wing, he is uniting it now against the revolution. But as he cannot say that he is against mass revolution, he has to say that he is against totalitarian Communism. But he calls it 'totalitarian Communism' as though making a differentiation to bring pressure on the Communist leadership to break the General Strike. He is making overtures to the C.P. leadership. De Gaulle is hoping to unite the whole of capitalism against the danger of the proletarian revolution in France. And at the same time he is talking about 'the danger of totalitarian Communism'. He does not talk of the Communist leadership, which has just held out its hand to save French capitalism. In the midst of full occupation of the factories, in the full development of the Revolutionary General Strike, the Communist Party says, 'that's an end to it, now on to elections!' It holds in its hand the triumph of the development of the revolution and the C.P. determines that this development be cut short by taking part in elections. Capitalism sees, and feels the attitude of the C.P. leadership to the extent that it does not attack the leadership. What capitalism attacks is the danger of the revolution which goes beyond the C.P. Hence it tries to intimidate the socialist, left radical, independent and liberal petty bourgeoisie to prevent a unification, a united front, which, even if only electorally, could overthrow de Gaulle and is going to be a stimulus anyway in cracking the bourgeois front, and in stimulating the ascent of the masses.

But the masses are in an infinitely superior situation now than any other which can immediately follow. They are in occupation throughout the factories, they have the dominion of the country in their hands. There is no electoral solution. Electorally even de Gaulle can win, because sectors of society that have no role in the economy, or in society, science or anything, intervene. Parasitic sectors are included in the count. That is what capitalist democracy consists of. It is a complete lie that it is a representative democracy. There intervene in the elections a whole load of people - war veterans, pensioners, petty bourgeoisie, bourgeoisie, managers, the families of the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants - who do not play any role in the economy and are simply parasites. On the other hand, the ten million workers on strike are those who decide the economy of the country. When they stop, the country stops. And if all the bourgeois who support de Gaulle stop nothing happens. An outstanding fact is that de Gaulle feels himself obliged to attack the C.P. so that it keeps the revolution in check. De Gaulle has no strength, if he had he would have already launched the tanks against the masses. He mobilised the army to intimidate the masses, trying to bring some pressure. And the C.P. used the tank mobilisations to say, "We'll go back, that's an end to the strike, on to elections now". The C.P. declaration amounts to this.

This is the reason why the French bourgeois press sings the praises of the C.P. Raymond Aron, one of the ideologists, a conscious representative of French Imperialism, praises the C.P. He has published an article in 'Le Figaro' in which he says, 'The French C.P. and the C.G.T. demonstrated clearly by their behaviour through the crisis that they are not in the least interested in overthrowing power, and that they are united with the Gaullists in defence of the State.' and that "It is possible to have as much confidence in them as in a bourgeois party." And "If the C.P. were to get into power, it would be more intransigent and hard.

with the new forces on the left than any bourgeois party". He shows that when the conditions were right for doing so, the C.P. was not interested in taking power and that it was a partisan in repression to prevent power being taken. Aron praises the Communist Party because he feels that it is a direct help to capitalism, for he knows that capitalism cannot make the workers stop striking, put a finish to the factory occupations and go back to work.

If De Gaulle had had the strength he would have already used it. De Gaulle feels impotent to give a social counter revolutionary solution, and he is trying to take the electoral way out. So he is manoeuvring to gain time. Socially he hasn't the force to crush the masses. He mobilises the tanks, launches an ultimatum to finish the strike, launched an appeal for elections, and the masses are still on strike. De Gaulle is trying to take the electoral way out of the situation, knowing that it would be the lesser evil for capitalism, diverting the masses from the solution which the dual power now existing presents, for elections are the lesser evil for capitalism. And he is even hoping for a parliamentary majority. It is possible that he could get a parliamentary majority, because it is easy to get one. A quantity of people, individuals and sectors of society that do not play any role in the economy, take part in the elections. De Gaulle attempts to take the parliamentary way out, when the solution is social revolutionary. For this reason it is necessary to say, 'Down with the elections! Long Live the Revolutionary General Strike!' This is the slogan: 'Long Live the Workers and Peasants Government! Go on from the Revolutionary General Strike to form soviets, plan production, expropriate the large and middle-sized properties without compensation, Workers and Peasants Alliance, Out with Imperialism from France! This is the solution.

Appeal to the soldiers, appeal to the army, appeal to the police to incorporate themselves into the ranks of the workers. Organise Workers Militias. Out with the elections! Down with the elections! which are a reactionary, counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. These elections are a measure against the factory occupations and against the prospect of an ascent starting from the factory occupations. It is undoubtable that the masses feel that their leaderships are leaving them in isolation but the masses persist. It is undoubted that the masses feel that the Communist, Socialist and C.G.T. leaderships don't want a revolutionary solution. The masses are trying to keep up full revolutionary consciousness, decision, dynamism and vigour in an attempt to impose on their leaderships that the struggle goes forward. And the leaderships are conciliating with French imperialism in an attempt to double-cross the revolutionary sentiment of the masses. They are trying to make agreements to put an end to the strikes and factory occupations. Imperialism hasn't the strength to do this. If the Communist and Socialist Party leaderships succeed the workers will be made to accept agreements with the management, which in spite of the great conquests which they will have made, will be inferior to what they could have achieved now - the taking of power and the overthrow of capitalism.

French imperialism shows its poverty, inability and impotence in confronting the masses; in order to fight the masses it has had to make immense concessions which wreaks havoc with the whole structure and functioning of French capitalism. And with it the whole structure and functioning of world capitalism.

The government has declared that it is going to keep all the promises it has made, amongst them the 40 hour week which is an immense conquest for the masses! But the masses feel that if they have been able to conquer the 40 hour week with such a movement, its because they could have gone much farther. The masses want more, they want dual power in the factories. The masses feel themselves obliged now to reduce their power, and the application of their social, organic power expressed through the trade union movement, because their leaderships are not accompanying them. Their leaderships are trying to break them up, presenting them with a parliamentary solution, and meanwhile the masses are showing that there is no parliamentary electoral solution.

All that they are conquering, all the measures that they are imposing on capitalism, are enormous demands, a minimum wage, a 35% rise, an increase in trade union power in the factories, the elimination of unemployment and the achievement of the 40 hour week, all these are not won in parliament, but through their own strike. So it is that de Gaulle has to make use of the C.P. the Socialists and the trade union centres, the CGT, CFDT, and 'Force Ouvriere' - because he hasn't the strength to regain control. If he had the strength himself he wouldn't only mobilise the troops in the way he did, he would order them out against the masses, the way it was done in Algeria and Vietnam. Just as there was an attempt to crush the revolutionary masses of Algeria and Vietnam which failed, in France it failed too, De Gaulle has no strength, or he would have already used it against the masses. De Gaulle is impotent, hence it is necessary to reject the measure

that is proposed of an electoral solution; on the contrary, it is necessary to impose the revolutionary solution. This strike is part of a process which will not come to an end in the period of a few weeks or months; this struggle will not come to an end, it is part of a whole process. There has opened, through the French Revolutionary General Strike, the phase of the proletarian revolution throughout Europe. This process is going to last some time because there is no leadership and the struggle of the masses consists of finding a leadership.

The French proletariat is making a magnificent effort, worthy to be recognised as one of the greatest in history. It has been on strike for 25 days and with this it is saying to its leadership, 'WE WANT POWER! WE WANT POWER! WE WANT POWER!' No strike can last 25 days without being encouraged by a social feeling of power. It is impossible, without such a thing the strikers would all go back to work. This social feeling of power is accompanied by the exploited masses throughout France, who make up 70% of the population on strike. This is why they are involved. It's not because the factories are occupied, but because the whole of the French exploited population, the poor and middle petty bourgeoisie, possess this feeling. That's why they feel involved.

This process will not come to an end at this point. Even through the bourgeoisie succeeds in making agreements with the trade union bureaucrats of the CGT, CP and SP, even if they succeed in cutting off the movement, breaking it up and getting it to fizzle out, the masses have already made the decision that they can act as they are doing, and they will work in this way again in the coming stages. The different tendencies and sectors of the proletarian vanguard of various types that have taken part in the struggle, are not going to abandon their 'gusto', their will, or the experience from which they have just emerged. The revolutionary youth, the new young revolutionary vanguard has felt united to the old revolutionary vanguard in the common identification of their feelings, decision, objectives and resolution. They have seen now just what can be done. This struggle has put the old vanguard in communication with the new proletarian vanguard and the proletarian and university youth. The university students were the ignition, the detonator of the process. But they were so because there already existed the right conditions and the masses were waiting for the right moment. The masses prepared for their action with an infinity, simply dozens, of strikes. In this way this strike broke up all the apparatuses. The movement went over the heads of all the apparatuses. It showed the imbecility of the capitalist leadership and the bureaucratic Communist, Socialist and CGT leaderships. They were taken by surprise by the process. They didn't expect it and they had confidence in the apparatuses. They believed that the apparatuses were unshakable. The masses went over their heads and this united the old and the new vanguards and attracted the students and the peasants making a united front amongst them. In spite of the sabotage of their leaderships, in spite of the difficulties that the proletarian vanguard faced preventing the use of all its power, there already exists a real united front of students, peasants and the young proletariat. The old proletarian militants have realised that they have the same feelings, desires, will and resolution and they have seen the poverty and limitations of capitalism, the immense weakness of capitalism!

De Gaulle, with all his apparently enormous strength, and who is the bridge between capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Workers States in an attempt to attract them to capitalism, found himself in this crisis and was impotent and incapable to foresee it, and what's more, hold it in check. This shows the enormous weakness of French capitalism! French capitalism is not preparing to conciliate with the Workers States and the workers leaderships; the shock force which it is developing on which French imperialism spends more than 1,000 million dollars, is directed against the world revolution. It isn't directed against English imperialism or Yankee imperialism, it is directed against the world proletarian revolution and against the Workers States. And even with such a force in preparation, capitalism was impotent in understanding foreseeing and keeping this revolutionary process in check. The masses feel that they are stronger than the whole of the French imperialist army. Just as the Vietnamese masses feel stronger than all the world atomic power of Yankee imperialism put together. Just as Cuba feels stronger and more capable than the fully armed blockade and with Guantanamo bristling with atomic weapons. The masses feel superior to them. They are not afraid of war, death or destruction. They feel that it is a necessary evil, because they live with it all the time. Every day! And during this strike the masses are feeling the same thing. They are preparing for the atomic war. This farce of making out that the masses are on strike because they are pushed to it and have trade union interests is a complete lie. They are on strike because they aspire to power; if it were not so they would not go on in these conditions.

It is necessary to make appeals for the organisation now of workers militias.

Bring out a programme for this in which the comrades of the French Section of the IV International must make an appeal for anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist organisations. Now. Unite the movement, confront the criticism, attacks - including personal attacks, criminal attacks and assassination - made by the leadership of the Communist Party, and French imperialism against our comrades. The programme is for the expropriation of imperialism, large and middle scale industry and the nationalisation of the banks, now this minute! Workers control of them all; planned production; keep the factory committees going; link them up amongst themselves to elect in this way the leadership that will fight for this programme. Then make an appeal directed to the French people saying that the general strike shows that they are the only people who can find a solution to all the problems of the French proletariat: problems to do with wages, unemployment, trade union rights, democratic rights, culture, art and science. The masses are the only people who can find a solution to all this. So the programme of the expropriation of imperialism and capitalism, of the heavy and middle industry, planned production, expropriation without compensation, factory committees, soviets and the organisation factory by factory to plan production and its direction, must be followed. Keep the factory committees going, make soviets, incorporate the students in this activity. Worker-student university, worker-student government of the university, with a syllabus for the building of socialism - a syllabus of which the textbooks, teachers and the objective are the building of socialism. Do this now! It is one aspect of the Permanent Socialist Revolution in France. There has already begun the stage of the Socialist Revolution in Europe, and at this stage the French proletariat is at its head. Appeal to the peasants to incorporate themselves in this process. Condemn the elections and those who call for intervention in the elections, showing that this is a reactionary measure taken by French imperialism in an attempt to come out on top of the strike and put a stop to it.

If imperialism had the strength to sustain itself if would launch an attack against the masses. What does it call for elections for if it has the majority in the House of Deputies? When in calls for elections it is doing so as a measure of diversion to try to crush the strike, and draw the activity of the masses from the social revolutionary sphere of the strike and orientate it to the elections in which there is hope of a conciliation, and in which capitalist power is not put in question. For the strike is putting in question and showing the impotence of capitalist power, whilst elections keep capitalist power going. The Communist leadership which has just taken part in the vote of no confidence in de Gaulle in Parliament, now recognises him and accepts the call for elections. This shows to the petit bourgeoisie and the masses that the C.P. leadership accepts capitalist power and de Gaulle along with it. It is a measure of support for de Gaulle and the lesser evil as far as he is concerned. All de Gaulle's attacks on the C.P. are of no importance. For exactly this reason the bourgeois daily press, such as 'Le Monde' and 'Le Figaro' does not criticise de Gaulle for his attacks on the C.P: "He must attack it politically, not as an enemy, because it is our saviour," is what Aron says in 'Le Figaro'.

contd. on page 10.

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THE PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION IN EUROPE, THE INFLUENCE AND THE
ROLE OF TROTSKYISM AND OF THE 1VTH. INTERNATIONAL
AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN FRANCE.

In the recent elections in Italy there are two facts of great historic importance which must be underlined. There is the concentration of the proletariat in the communist party and the PSIUP and this means the attempt of the masses to push forward the leaderships of these parties to take power and there is the support to the Trotskyists. For the first time the Trotskyists have presented themselves in an election. A small group which has existed for hardly six years won 2000 votes, although presenting itself in only two cities. Despite the sabotage of the communist party and of the government, despite the swindles made in the elections which they were not able to control, they obtained 2000 votes. Despite this sabotage the comrades were able to confirm that they had obtained 2000 votes. These votes indicate that there exists a proletarian vanguard disposed to struggle for power; because the programme of the Trotskyists has been and is the struggle for the workers and peasants government, for the factory committees, for the soviets, the struggle to elect revolutionary leaders, for democratic elections and the right of instant recall of all representatives; for the expropriation of capitalism and the planning of the economy, and for the programme to smash capitalism on a world scale.

Two thousand revolutionary militants have voted for this programme in Italy. A small party without material means, without great material possibility obtained 2000 votes in two constituencies and we calculate that this in reality was 4000 because the others were fraudulently suppressed and not counted. The ten million votes to the socialists and communists, the 2000 votes to the Trotskyists indicate that the working class in Italy wishes to take power. The proletarian vanguard has stimulated the Trotskyists so that they fight within the communist party, stimulated the masses to fight within the communist party for the taking of power. The struggle of the worker, peasant, student masses in Spain is unifying itself. The Trotskyists are at the head of this fight. The masses are indicating the will to take power, they are already posing demands which the French masses have already achieved, showing that they also wish to elevate themselves in the struggles as the French masses, and take power. All Europe is doing this, Germany, Britain, Holland. In Holland there are already repercussions of such a process. The German masses are feeling this process of elevation in the struggles which also expresses itself in the sector of the students but the proletarian masses are observing attentively the process in order to intervene. There have been previous struggles among the engineers, the miners, the chemical workers who carry forward the struggle for the programme and the socialist revolution.

The French proletariat has obtained a great triumph and thus the masses throughout Europe will feel it, in particular, but also in the world in general in pushing forward the struggle against capitalism, making permanent conquests and on this basis to organise to take power. It is an enormous triumph. They have defeated capitalism. Capitalism has had to yield on all fronts. It has not yielded more because the communist, socialist and the OGT leaders have contained the proletariat seeking to save capitalism. Capitalism has had to increase wages, reduce the hours of work, accept the elimination of unemployment, increase the minimum wage, everything, and this goes against the interests of the structure of French capitalism. It launched its own struggle to prevent the proletariat triumphing but has had to yield on everything. And it is the least evil which capitalism has accepted from the communist and socialist leaderships so that these might contain the revolution. But the masses feel that they have obtained an immense triumph and will continue the struggle to overthrow capitalism. Capitalism will not be able to crush them and make them return home with the conquests that have been obtained, because the masses have perceived that they are powerful and capable, they have seen that they are centralised and unified, that they can achieve results without breaking revolutionary unification and against their own leaderships. For this reason the Trotskyist votes have a great importance in Italy, because they are the expression of a revolutionary vanguard which seeks to impel the struggle for power. It is necessary to consider this in the process of the world elevation of the revolution. The French masses - as the students are the detonators of the struggles in France - are the detonators for the proletariat of all the capitalist countries throughout the world.

Throughout the world, not only in Europe. In various parts of the world particularly in Latin America, the bourgeoisie is observing when the wave is coming. It will not come immediately, it will slow down a little in the sense that a process of reflection must follow.

When the masses persist in a unified way, centralised in this struggle, it is

because they feel the weakness of capitalism and feel themselves to be very powerful. This is one of the bases which the more advanced sectors maintain with the less active sectors in the class struggle. When such a unified structure is maintained, it is because there is a national will of the masses to overthrow the capitalist system.

Of all the capitalist countries of Europe, France is the one in the best conditions to resist the masses because of the alliance with the communist party, the socialist party and the CGT. And unquestionably it has had to yield. This is the image of the weakness of all capitalism in Europe. The conquests of the masses disintegrate the whole economic structure of French capitalism and force it into a desperate struggle - as far as capitalism can resist the process in the short space of time that remains to it - through competition thereby weakening itself still more socially. An immense number of wealthy petit bourgeois, of small industrial enterprises will be eliminated, liquidated, absorbed by the great financial concentrations. There will be an acceleration of the concentration of capitalism and a greater social weakness of world capitalism. And this is favourable to the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

This is a stage, a phase, nothing more, in Europe. All Europe has been attracted by the struggle of the French proletariat. There will be a wave which will not end. There is already an open process in which the masses are seeking how to find their own leadership, how to take the leadership. There is a process of unification, the masses perceive that they must remain unified, thus the bureaucratic leaderships who hold in their hands the apparatus, have still a very great advantage, to be able to contain it. But to contain it, nothing more. They will not be able to break either the will or the sentiment or the revolutionary intention of this strike, and there are sectors of the whole of society in motion. All, all in unison. And when they maintain themselves for so long it is because they are disposed to conquer and to triumph. Thus it is necessary to count upon a whole process which is advancing which will stimulate revolutionary organisations. In this process itself small parallel circumstantial, organisations will be formed to make the strikes advance. There will be no retreat from these conquests that have been made. It is necessary to elect leaders on the basis of their attitude during this revolutionary strike. In the factories it is necessary to discuss at the same time as the programme for the conquests which they are obtaining, together with the 40 hour week, guaranteed work and the government of the factory, the election of leaders on the basis of their behaviour in this strike the dismissal of all those miserable leaders who have conciliated with capitalism. It is necessary to impose proletarian democracy, the workers right of instant recall of all delegates and to impose them now.

Our French section must intervene with this resolution and with this conclusion. These old Trotskyist groups who intervened in a first phase have utilised Trotskyist ideas. Their Trotskyist positions are dead because they have no programme, no objectives and are not prepared for the revolutionary Bolshevik struggle. But this demonstrates at the same time the immense importance, the echo, the historic justice of the Trotskyist programme and objectives. These groups have had for this reason a certain immediate importance. After this they will disappear, because they do not have the objectives, they are not prepared for revolutionary objectives. But on the other hand our French section has intervened with great will and resolution. It must continue with this activity to organise the revolutionary leadership in this phase, where in a united front, hundreds of thousands of young revolutionaries are maturing. The revolutionary French youth-university, worker, peasant- are advancing and showing that they wish to take power. It is necessary to be based on this to be orientated towards the struggle of new phases for the organisation of the revolutionary tendency to take power in a short stage. Already in France the phase of the taking of power has opened. It is necessary to impose democratic election and the right of instant recall of all delegates, where all delegates are submitted to the decision of the factory, of the student, worker and peasant organisms. It is necessary to elect leaders who support the revolutionary programme, the policy, the objectives, who express the revolutionary feeling of the masses. This is the task which it is necessary to carry out now. It is necessary to appeal for a general strike throughout Europe.

THE STUDENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA SEEK TO STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMANDS,
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE
FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS POWER IN FRANCE.

While De Gaulle went to the workers states to seek to link the bureaucracy with the capitalist system, giving to this process an organic form, the French masses are stimulating the masses of the workers states to rise against the bureaucracy and smash the putrid bureaucracy and recommence the march towards socialism. One of the proofs of this is the fact of the demonstrations in Yugoslavia - even if they do not represent consciously this process - which announces this process

and mobilisation. This mobilisation of the students in Yugoslavia does not have the same reactionary significance as had the movement of the students in Czechoslovakia and in part in Poland. In part because a sector of the Polish university movement sought to impose revolutionary socialist ideas. The movement which is taking place in Yugoslavia is under the influence of the movement in the development of the revolution in Yugoslavia and of the revolutionary struggle of the masses in France. But it does not originate from here. The Yugoslav masses have already demonstrated; 300,000 workers, students and peasants shouting Ho Chi Minh, Guevara, Marx in defence of Vietnam, long before the revolutionary strike in France. The masses are seeking to push forward Tito, seeking Tito as a centre. Thus they display in this student mobilisation in Yugoslavia portraits of Marx, Guevara, Tito. Not Tito the bourgeois, this has a great importance; but Tito when he was a guerrilla. With this language they are seeking to place themselves in contact with the masses of the country and seeking to push forward the wing which they feel or believe they can impel to stimulate the Yugoslav revolution. Thus they display Tito as the guerilla leader not as the Tito of today. Thus together with Marx, and Guevara they show Tito. And it is of great significance, very great. It is the language of the masses who are seeking to impel the revolution. Events in Yugoslavia are not the same as those in Czechoslovakia. It seems that there might be within the students a tendency which still in a confused way, without yet linking itself with the political revolution, poses the problems of the political revolution. It is necessary to observe with attention this process in Yugoslavia because it can give an immense leap, in Yugoslavia before all this, there was the demonstration of the 300,000 for Vietnam, which indicates the development in the concern of the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard to intervene. The behaviour of the unions is interesting, because although they might be directed by the bureaucrats, supposing that it is the union leaderships who are speaking and that they are bureaucrats, these have been obliged to say that they are in agreement with the demands and the methods of the students. That is to say the trade union bureaucrats have had to calm the discontent of the worker base which has wished to support the students. Now they come out to confine the process, presenting themselves as those who direct this action, to prevent the mobilisations in the factories escaping from their hands. This shows that in the factories they want to come out in support. Before this there were the 300,000 demonstrators for Vietnam, and besides it is very interesting and reveals an enormous understanding that now they have carried forward the portraits of Guevara, of Marx and of Tito but of Tito when he was a guerrilla. These students are not asking for bourgeois and capitalist democracy. The movement gives an impression that there may be a tendency which wishes, is orientating, to understand this process in order to intervene, seeking the support of the masses of the proletariat.

It is important that these slogans, among which are to be found demands for equality of wages, are an attack against the bureaucracy. The same applies with the right to speak, to assemble, to discuss. These do not speak of western democracy, they speak of the right to speak, to discuss. It is against the bourgeois socialists those who enrich themselves through bourgeois communism. They are attacking the sectors of the bureaucracy. There is still an impression of confusion, but we believe that there is a very good process in Yugoslavia from which it is necessary to learn.

We believe that there is a tendency which is developing, is seeking the way to unite itself to the world revolution and it is within these actions of students and workers who have made an immense number of strikes. Last year there were three hundred strikes in Yugoslavia. The process in Yugoslavia is not the same as that in Czechoslovakia. It gives the impression of a move to the left, it is necessary to regard it as such. The behaviour of the students is not the behaviour of bourgeois democracy. It is closer to the demands of the socialist revolution than to democracy. There is still not a concrete declaration. But although this is absent, there is the desire to impel the struggle to seek the struggle for socialist demands. These mobilisations in Yugoslavia are expressing the echo of the revolutionary mobilisations in France and it is necessary to expect great new movements in the other workers states.

The bourgeoisie seek to pass over the general strike in France, to seek to stabilise itself and deliver blows against the masses to seek to contain, to close this phase. World capitalism is being dislocated. It does not have a centre. It does not have equilibrium. The discussions on Vietnam in France, show a catastrophe for capitalism. Impotent to impose on petit bourgeois public opinion to which it directs itself, American imperialism is gaining time in the discussion in Paris. It does not have the intention, nor the possibility nor can it have, nor is it convenient to it, it does not have the strength to yield, it is falling to pieces. Imperialism is only winning time. It is manoeuvring to gain time, seeking the opportune moment to launch itself into the nuclear war. This is the service which

the communist party is rendering to it in France. Capitalism wishes to pass through this revolutionary period. The masses of France are intervening in the discussions in Vietnam, defending the war in Vietnam because with their own struggle they fetter, separate and disintegrate the forces of capitalism on a world scale, and it prevents imperialism concentrating its forces against the revolutionary general war of the masses of Vietnam and against the masses of the world. This is the world revolutionary united front.

We must condemn the Cuban leadership which has not said a single word on the revolutionary general strike in France. The Cuban masses should appeal to condemn the leadership of the government and of the Cuban communist party. It is a criminal attitude, there is nothing to justify this silence. The soviet bureaucracy has not said anything directly, has almost condemned the process. It should appeal to the masses of France, making appeals for the struggle, for the general strike, for demonstrations, committees throughout the world against French imperialism and for the struggle for the workers and peasants government in France. This silence of the Cuban leadership is to be condemned, and demonstrates all the limits, the absence of theoretical understanding of the government and of the Cuban communist party. They have no reason for silence.

The French masses are working in conditions of greater danger than the Cuban workers state. And without doubt they are going to launch themselves forward without fear to throw out capitalism. It is necessary to condemn the leadership of the French communist party, the CFDT, the CGT and the French socialist party. They are traitors, they have betrayed the masses. They have capitulated in front of capitalism. They seek to draw electoral advantages by selling the revolution. In the conditions of the development of the revolution, when the masses show themselves to be masters of France, the duty of the honest and conscious leadership is to understand, feel and act on this. It is not possible to construct socialism without smashing capitalism. It is not possible to dispose of capitalism without smashing it by force. Capitalism is not going to depart by means of good will.

What better conditions could be asked for than in France? It was possible to smash capitalism with the least risk, with the least damage to humanity and to the French masses. The leadership of the communist and socialist parties are opposed to this because they are against the revolution. They have no confidence, do not believe in the masses and do not feel the revolution. They feel themselves to be impotent. They are petit bourgeois who utilise the apparatus of the communist party, and support themselves on the revolutionary traditions of the Russian revolution, and of the French proletariat. They support themselves on these bases for co-existence with capitalism. Capitalism can only be smashed by force. In France there are the best conditions to do this. In these conditions of great mass mobilisations, the slogans of expropriation without compensation of all the large and middle enterprises, the planning of production are vital slogans. There are ten million workers on strike. The communist leadership does not accept this because this means entering into conflict with capitalism and besides they are slogans which would go beyond the capacity of the leadership, of understanding and of the intention of the communist party leadership, which has no interest in the overthrow of capitalism, has no interest in carrying forward the struggle to smash the capitalist system. But the struggles of the masses have already created within the communist party the bases for a profound crisis which is developing and which will acquire in the next phase a very great significance. This struggle of the masses has shown that the apparatuses can be conquered and crushed. The masses are demonstrating with their struggles that it has been realised that it is against these apparatuses that they have made this strike, which will stimulate and is stimulating within the factories, outside the factories, within the communist parties, the revolutionary currents, and tendencies to animate themselves, to destroy the apparatuses which impede the struggle for the taking of power. They feel that there are the conditions to take power and that it is not possible to take power except by force.

There is no peaceful road, it had been seen that there is no peaceful road. If French capitalism had been able to satisfy the demands which the masses are asking and the conquests which the masses are making, it would have satisfied them before, without awaiting similar mobilisations which have demonstrated all its weakness. When French imperialism is obliged to concede, what it has conceded to the French masses and cannot smash them with the army - despite the fact that it might have mobilised to await the right moment to launch the army and the fascist groups against the masses - it is because it did not have the strength to do so earlier. On the other hand it has profited from the behaviour of the communist party, expecting that the leadership would break the strike, disorganise the strike, and then they would seek to smash it. Fascist bands are being prepared and the leaders of the communist and socialist parties and those of the CGT are idiots when they do not see that French imperialism is preparing its own fascist bands, just as imperialism prepared in Vietnam, Algeria. If it was not able to conquer, either in Algeria or in Indochina it is because the masses threw them out, supported by the French

proletariat which has not made solidarity with the bourgeoisie. But capitalism is preparing fascist bands in a thousand forms because French imperialism has felt that in France the revolution has begun and it lacks the strength to sustain itself. It feels that the socialist and communist leaderships will be impotent to contain the masses. It utilises them in this stage to give itself time to prepare.

The revolutionary solution is on the agenda in any case even if imperialism seeks to overcome this phase and seeks to reorganise its own forces; thus the demonstrations of the right wing for De Gaulle were against all the revolutionary movement of the masses not against the communist party. They are seeking to gain time. This is the process which will develop rapidly towards the solution of power; either proletarian power or a reactionary coup. This is the perspective which exists in France. The masses are disposed to take power.

The extent and the depth of this movement is such that it cannot retreat or be defeated, or disintegrate. All sectors of the population are intervening, directed by the revolutionary French youth - worker, student and peasant - which has attracted and is united to the old proletarian vanguard, has gained the confidence of the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie.

This is the phase in which it is necessary to struggle for the revolutionary leadership seeking to maintain to the maximum these conquests which have been made. It is necessary to maintain in the factories, the factory committees, the soviets. It is necessary to appeal for the workers and peasants government and see that it functions.

It is probable that the leadership of the Communist Party, working as a function of the interests of capitalism and imperialism, will seek to contain the masses. The Communist Party and the C.G.T. must be forced to confirm the conquests which have been obtained, conquests made by the masses, not themselves. And on the other hand these are conquests which mean the least evil for capitalism, because the masses can, at the same time as winning the 40 hour week without loss of salary, take power. On the other hand the Communist leadership abandons the 40 hour week and does not take power, contains the struggle for power and leaves power in the hands of capitalism. The masses are beyond this level.

It is necessary, even against the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties, and the trade unions, to appeal for the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front, for the Proletarian United Front of the European worker, peasant, student masses to overthrow the capitalist system.

It is necessary to take the initiative, as the French student masses and the students of the rest of the world have done to impel the struggles against their leaderships. It is necessary to make an appeal for the single European centre with the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme, with the programme of expropriations and nationalisation of all the big and medium concerns, expelling imperialism, making appeals for the overthrow of imperialism; intervening now militarily, making appeals directed to these discussions on Vietnam in Paris, so that the Vietnamese leadership accuses imperialism of its policy of assassination and appeals to the North American masses to overthrow the capitalist system, and proclaims that the only way to see that imperialism ceases to attack the masses is to overthrow the capitalist system and throw imperialism out of Vietnam, militarily and in all the rest of the world.

It is necessary to make this appeal now. It is necessary to appeal for proportional representation of all the tendencies, full proletarian democracy, democratic elections, revocable election and representation, that is full proletarian democracy as was expressed in France at the Sorbonne, in the factories, with full discussion for all the tendencies, which showed that the proletariat is not afraid of all the tendencies because it feels that they are discussing how to overthrow the capitalist system and express the necessity for full discussion to use all the capacity for creation of the distinct tendencies and currents concentrated in the objective to overthrow the capitalist system, to impose the soviets, the factory committees, workers and peasants government. It is necessary to carry out all these tasks and activity now. This process is developing and it is necessary to be ready to intervene in this struggle, in this process which is advancing towards the struggle to overthrow capitalism. All the ideas, programme, methods of struggle, the objectives with which the French masses are advancing are Trotskyist, all, there is not a single idea, expounded by the Communist Party. The conquests which the masses have made, the objectives which they have, their forms and methods of struggle, democratic elections, and all elected representatives subject to instant recall, which the masses have been establishing in the factories with this objective united front are Trotskyist. These measures have not been achieved or proposed or appealed for or agitated for or organised by the communist party. They are Trotskyist objectives and the masses take them naturally. For

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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SIXPENCE

EDITORIAL

It is necessary to organise independently of the reformist T.U. leaderships, by means of the factory committee on the anti-capitalist programme

The crisis of British Capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Labour Party and Trade Unions, continues to deepen at an accelerating rate. This is the national expression of the world wide crisis of Imperialism, Capitalism and the bureaucratic leadership of the Workers States and the Workers Parties. Nowhere has Imperialism been able to smash the masses or to win back positions which it has lost; everywhere the masses are advancing towards Socialism in spite of repression and in spite of the obstacles put in their way by their leaderships, and, as a result of this advance they eliminate the bases of conciliation between their leaderships and Imperialism. From this stems the crisis of the bureaucracy at this stage, this is, as the International has said, the period of the masses and not of the apparatuses. The worker masses of Western Europe, while remaining centralised in their parties and trade unions, and exerting a pressure on the leaderships, forcing them to advance, are at the same time seeking to organise themselves independently of these leaderships. And this work of independent organisation which is going forward in the course of the day to day struggle against Capitalism, takes places in the world conditions of the struggle in Vietnam, the struggle of the Arab masses against Imperialism and Zionism, the Cultural Revolution in China, and the French revolutionary general strike, all of which influence and give confidence to the workers vanguard.

The French Revolutionary General Strike has begun the phase of the Proletarian revolution throughout Europe. All the worker and poor petit bourgeois vanguard has discussed and drawn the conclusions for the organisation of their own struggles in the next stage. The Vanguard has seen the betrayal by the French CP and T.U. leaderships, and therefore it sees the need to organise itself independently of its own reformist leaders. In strikes and demonstrations throughout Capitalist Europe the worker, peasant and student masses show the same anti-Capitalist, anti-bureaucratic spirit which the French masses showed in their strike. In Italy there have been general strikes in whole regions with factory occupations and struggles with the police, in Belgium, strikes of engineering workers, postmen, and tram drivers, in Spain Franco has been forced to impose a type of martial law throughout the whole country, while in this country there has been a wave of strikes from one end of the country to the other. The British working class is showing that it wants to use, and is preparing to use the same methods of revolutionary struggle to solve its problems, as the French masses used.

In Britain the bourgeoisie feels the approach of a new 1926, but a 26 which they will not be able to win. Its only perspective is to, in alliance with U.S. Imperialism, launch the war against the Workers States and the world masses. Everything is devoted to this objective; it has no plans to solve the increasing crisis in housing, health, schooling, transport, employment which grow worse everyday. It can only concentrate and rationalise its industry, raising the rate of exploitation and the level of unemployment. This is what it has done in the mines, in the car and electrical engineering industries and what it plans to do on the railways. The agreement which the railways board has just made with the N.U.R., even though it contains some monetary concessions, will mean that

70,000 railwaymen will lose their jobs in the next two years. This shows that even though the bases of conciliation are being eroded, the T.U. bureaucrats in the absence of an organised opposition, can still make agreements which go against the vital interests of the proletariat. It is the same with Cousins and the busmen. Again the bourgeoisie have had to make concessions, and these concessions plus the aid of Cousins and the bureaucracy of the T.G.W.U., have avoided a national bus strike which the bourgeoisie feared would serve as the detonator for the general strike. But from this agreement the bourgeoisie have merely gained a little time, a few months until December when the £1 which has been agreed will have to be paid and backpayed for twelve months. But the Prices and Incomes Act expressly forbids the back paying of increases frozen under the act, so in December the busmen will be confronted with a struggle which will not just be economic but will challenge the power of the Labour government and the Capitalist state.

In all the strikes, up and down the country, by the busmen; in Northampton, Bolton, Grimsby, Dundee etc. this small sector of the proletariat has expressed the general will of the exploited British masses, to unite in a mighty class action against British Capitalism. They want to unite but the trade union blocks this unification, and at this moment the independent organisms to make this unification, the factory committees, do not exist and have to be constructed in the course of the struggle. But even without such an organisation the workers are striking and demonstrating; the television technicians, busmen, engineering workers, car workers, lithographers, the women workers striking for equal pay in Fords and Rolls Royce, the demonstration of the nurses with slogans calling for 'more nurses control

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

The Czechoslovakian crisis and the declaration of Bratislava

The following is a statement by the Political Bureau of the RWP(T). The full statement of the line of the IS of the IV International by Cde Posadas on the significance of the Bratislava declaration will be published in the next issue of Red Flag.

The attempt of the counter-revolutionary sectors in Czechoslovakia to utilise the Dubcek wing of the Communist Party to support their measures tending to reassert Capitalist norms in political and economic life; liberty of the press for openly bourgeois tendencies, closer economic relations with Imperialism, steady dismantling of the state planning of production, reassertion of "nationalism", has suffered a severe defeat as a result of the discussions at Bratislava. But the significance of the whole process which led to Bratislava cannot be confined to the fact that the openly counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia have suffered a defeat. The whole process is an aspect of the advance of the political revolution throughout all the Workers States and the crisis of Czechoslovakia is merely one episode in the movement gathering momentum on all sides to eliminate every obstacle which prevents the proper proletarian functioning of the Workers States and their total unification with the world socialist revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy attempted to settle the crisis with the least possible disturbance. But they were forced to go beyond mere diplomatic pressures and the threat of a purely administrative military intervention. The middle and lower layers of the Communist Party of the CPSU in particular, imposed a line on the Soviet bureaucracy which it had never intended. It was forced to use a language entirely out of keeping with its intentions. It spoke of the need of the Czechoslovak workers themselves to dispose of the counter-revolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia. It is true the apparatus of the Communist Party gave no serious programme of action but its actions reflected the enormous pressure of the proletarian masses in the Soviet Union and the Workers States. It was forced to use the threat of an appeal to the Czechoslovak masses. For this reason Breznev held meetings with the 6,000 delegates of the party cells in Moscow and the trade unions. The Soviet bureaucracy used this pressure to intimidate the Czech leadership, but at the same time it is a pressure whose consequences go far beyond their intentions.

The whole process of the political revolution in the Workers States will be given a tremendous impetus by the inter-

vention, however limited, of the Soviet bureaucracy against the counter-revolutionary wing in Czechoslovakia. The declaration at Bratislava clearly puts forward the necessity for a united front against any measure whatever, which went against the system and the structure of the "socialist state". It called for the defence of Vietnam and said nothing about the talks in Paris. The nature of these statements show that the bureaucracy is forced to defend in however limited a way the integrity and nature of the Workers State.

All the vital forces of the Workers States are moving into action against bureaucratic deformations and privileges. The re-establishment of proletarian soviet democracy is being posed at every minute now in the Workers States. The tendencies in Czechoslovakia and Rumania which encourage pro-Capitalist and "nationalist" outlooks, who want a foreign policy of "friendship" with Capitalist countries have no historic perspective, they represent only the most degenerated sectors of the bureaucracy.

We call upon the Chinese, Cuban and Syrian Workers States to take a clear revolutionary stand on the events in Czechoslovakia and support all measures for proletarian democracy in the Workers States.

For the re-establishment of proletarian democracy throughout Czechoslovakia and all the Workers States, with full right of expression for revolutionary tendencies.

For workers councils to discuss the political line of the Workers States and to decide all matters of economic planning.

For proletarian democracy in the trade unions and their complete independence from the state.

For the establishment of workers and peasants militias.

For the integrated socialist functioning of Comecon.

For the direct social, economic and military intervention of the Workers States with all their force to accelerate the socialist world revolution and the overthrow of Imperialism and Capitalism; Troops of the Workers States into Vietnam, appeals to extend the world revolution etc.

Long live the revolutionary currents on the march to the political revolution in the Workers States.

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

ON SALE LONDON. FROM COLLETS DILLON AND HOUSMANS.

IN EDINBURGH AT CAIRN'S BROS AND THE BOOK CELLAR

CONTAINS ALL THE DOCUMENTS OF THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS

8/6 P.P.

News of the World campaign for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists

Appeal of the I.S.

APPEAL TO ALL SECTIONS OF EUROPE AND AFRICA TO REINFORCE THE WORLD CAMPAIGN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL FOR THE COMRADES IMPRISONED IN MEXICO, CUBA, BRASIL, GUATEMALA, SPAIN AND ITALY

The constant rise of the process of the World Revolution, of which the IV International makes a constituent part, causes a very great concern on the part of the repressive apparatuses of the bourgeoisie, and of Imperialism. Nevertheless, as our comrade Posadas develops in the document; "The problem of clandestinity in this phase of the World Socialist Revolution" "Imperialism is clandestine because it is encircled by the World Socialist Revolution", it is the bourgeoisie which is clandestine and it is the masses who are encircling them with all their revolutionary activity. The siege of Khe Sanh is a symbol of this stage of the revolution; it is the revolution which is besieging world Capitalism.

The campaign for the liberation of the prisoners, which we call to redouble, must be the motive of a constant preoccupation, in view of the fact that the activity of the masses, united to the activity of the Trotskyist militants, has realised some very important successes. The world activity of the International for the liberation of all the anti-Imperialist and revolutionary activists in prison and for our comrades, has already led to the liberation of several comrades in Mexico and in Brasil. But the prisoners of the International are still numerous, as are also the anti-Capitalist prisoners in Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America.

Here is the latest news on the situation of the imprisoned comrades. **IN SPAIN:** The comrades are DIONISIO GOMEZ SAENZ, metal worker, recently condemned to 7 years and three months; the comrade RAFAEL MORALES CABALLERO, a leader of FUDE, militant of the IV International, condemned to three years; FRANCISCO VELAZQUEZ LOPEZ, bakery worker and militant of the IV International; the tribunal is demanding 10 years in prison for the comrade. Through the tribunal they have just condemned two comrades who have evaded prosecution; MAXIMO LEOZU FERNANDEZ, militant of the IV International, leader of FUDE, condemned to 10 years; and JOSE MARIABORRAS, militant of the IV International and member of FUDE, condemned to 10 years and three months.

IN CUBA: one of our comrades, a member of the Cuban Section of the IV International, still remains in prison, and the news from Cuba tells us that the treatment of the comrade becomes worse and worse.

IN MEXICO: After the liberation of the imprisoned comrades of Mexican nationality which represents a triumph for the world activity of the IV International, the prisoners who are still waiting for their trial are; OSCAR FERNANDEZ, ADOLFO GILLY, and TERESA CONFRETA. The last news says that the liberation of the comrades is imminent, but it is only the mobilisations of our parties, and the masses which will be able to get them out of jail.

IN ITALY: The comrades in prison are ANTONIO DI CAMILLO, member of the regional committee of Pescara of the Italian Section, and of the tendency Socialist Revolution in the PSIUP and the comrade ANTONIO MUCCI, member of the regional committee of Pescara of the Italian Section of the IV International, and of the tendency Socialist Revolution in the PSIUP.

These comrades are in prison in Lanciano, a city close to Pescara, after having participated at the head of a demonstration of tobacco workers. Their trials are pending, and the bourgeoisie is using this trial as part of a national campaign of intimidation to terrorise the revolutionary vanguard which nationally has launched itself in combative and revolutionary mobilisations in all the sectors of the exploited masses. The Italian Section is developing an intense activity for their liberty which has a very great echo within the vanguard of the PCI, PSIUP, and PSU. They are accused of having broken at least 10 rules of the Fascist code which still survives and which is used by the bourgeoisie in the case of the comrades for the first time in 20 years, since the fall of Mussolini.

IN BRAZIL and GUATEMALA: We do not know, in depth, the situation of the comrades in Brazil or in Guatemala; but we do know that in both of them military tribunals have just given monstrous sentences both to those who are in prison as well as to those who are outside the reach of the repression.

The campaign in Great Britain

The campaign has received a favourable response in various sectors sympathetic to the progress of the Socialist revolution. On one relatively small demonstration alone, 112 signatures were collected on a petition sent to the Italian Ambassador in London protesting about the arrest of the two cdes of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario, Italian Section of the IV International.

The 'Socialist Leader', organ of the Independent Labour Party, has published most of the campaign leaflet sent out by the Revolutionary Workers Party, British

Section of the IV International, thus helping to make propaganda about the imprisoned cdes., the political motives behind their repression by Capitalism, and the effective means of combating this repression, that is by extending the revolution.

In addition to the letter of protest sent to the Italian Embassy by the Socialist School Students, which we published in the last edition of 'Red Flag', this revolutionary tendency has sent similar letters to the Cuban, Mexican and Spanish embassies.

Letter of the British Section to the Court in Lanciano

Sir:

We, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International, condemn, with all our revolutionary fervour, the arrest by your government of our two comrades, Antonio di Camillo and Antonio Mucci, militants of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskyist), Italian Section of the IV International.

The comrades were arrested after they had helped to lead a demonstration of 7,000 people in your town of Lanciano, in solidarity with the workers of ATI, who were on strike and occupying their factory. The demonstration was severely repressed by the police. The comrades are charged under an old fascist law which has not

been used since the war and are liable for between 5 to 12 years imprisonment.

We are publicising the facts of their arrest throughout our press and conducting a vigorous campaign for their liberation.

We denounce the comrades' arrest as an attempt to intimidate the working masses of Lanciano and to smash the conscious leadership of the struggle against Capitalism.

We demand the comrades' immediate release, and the return to the Party locale of all the material stolen by the police when they broke into it and sacked it.

John Davis
for the R.W.P.(T).

Meeting of the Italian Committee for the release of the imprisoned Comrades of Lanciano

Information from the Committee for the liberation of the comrades arrested in Lanciano.

The committee for the liberation of the comrades arrested at Lanciano has organised a press conference at Pescara at which some 50 people were present, militants and workers of the PCR(T), of the PCI, and of the PSIUP. At this conference some lawyers spoke, senator D'Angelosanto, a member of the Italian Communist Party, and the lawyer Georgetti, of the College for the defence of the comrades

Antonio Di Camillo, and Antonio Mucci, and Piero Leone, editor of "Lotta Operaia"; this conference made up a part of the campaign organised by the Italian Section to liberate our comrades.

The committee of occupation of the Tobacco Factory (A.T.I) of Lanciano has decided to give the imprisoned comrades the sum of 30,000 liras which was the result of a collection of solidarity for the strikers, and they did this to show their solidarity and fraternity with the imprisoned comrades.

Editorial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

over hospitals', shows the level which the class struggle has reached. This level shows itself not only by the number of strikes, but the new methods of struggle employed, such as the busmen of North Wales refusing to charge passengers higher fares, only charging the old lower level, when they saw that their pay rise was blocked while bus fares have been allowed to rise. Already this experience has been followed by the busmen of Norwich. Parallel to this increasing struggle against the bourgeoisie, goes the struggle against the bureaucracy, the struggle to impose workers democracy within the unions. The demonstrations outside the E.T.U. headquarters by militants wearing masks so as they would not be recognised, are important expressions of the anti-bureaucratic struggle, but the real way to fight the bureaucracy is to organise the factory committees independently of it, on a programme of anti-Capitalist demands,

the 35 hour week, 4 weeks paid holiday, for a 40% increase in wages, all the profits of automation to the workers in the forms of shorter hours and higher pay, etc.

The bourgeoisie can do nothing to halt this process towards the unification of all the exploited masses. If it uses repression it will only stimulate new struggles and if it does nothing the situation will rapidly get out of hand. Inevitably its attitude will, and is in fact hardening and it tries to intimidate small vanguard sectors of the workers and students as for example the television technicians threatened with redundancy or the student and lecturers who took part in the occupation of Guildford and Hornsey Art colleges, but fundamentally it lacks the social force to embark on a wholesale campaign of repression as it needs to do. British Capitalism as part of the world Imperialist alliance prepares for the final settlement of accounts; this is its only perspective and all its resources are geared to this end. It knows that its alliances, its bases of

conciliation with the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the workers parties in the Capitalist countries are being destroyed. It sees the conference of Bratislava where the bureaucracy was forced to make declarations of support to Vietnam and the Arab masses, while nationally it sees the T.U. bureaucracy being forced to declare strikes official or even to call strikes under the pressure of the masses. The ruling class although preparing for the war, feels full of pessimism and defeatism, while the masses from Vietnam to Syria, the Negro mass of the U.S., the workers of this country all feel full of confidence before the might of Imperialism.

In this situation the vanguard must accelerate the work of the construction of independent organisms, the factory committees elected at mass factory meetings, with delegates subject to immediate recall. The T.U. bureaucrats, as the experience of France has shown, can be pushed so far, but can never lead an aggressive class action. The factory committees can. Factory committees must be constructed in all industries with the participation of all workers, whether members of the

trade union or not, militants of the L.P. the Communist Party, the women workers and the youth. These committees must discuss and adopt programmes which not only deal with issues within the factory, but which will attract other sectors of the population, like the housewives, students, pensioners etc. who are not involved in the process of production. These programmes must contain demands for the 35 hour week without loss of pay, 4 weeks holiday, all wages to rise with the cost of living, 40% increase in wages, all profits of automation to the workers in form of higher wages and shorter hours, equal pay for women and youths, worker-student government of the university, pensions to equal the average wage and to rise with the cost of living, nationalisation of the key industries under workers control and without compensation, for a workers government.

This is the only way to defend the standard of living of the masses in this period of the death agony of Capitalism, and at the same time it provides the organisation and programme for the revolutionary general strike which is going to break out in the next period.

The programme, the tasks and the development of the political revolution and of Trotskyism in Cuba, the construction of the Workers States in the stage of the final settlement of accounts with capitalism and the role of the IV International in the rise of the World permanent Socialist Revolution. J. Posadas. (Part I)

Dear Comrades of the Cuban Section of the IV International.

It is with great joy and with all our enthusiasm and fraternal revolutionary solidarity that we send this letter in the name of the International Secretariat of the IV International. We have no means of placing ourselves in communication with you other than using these opportunities and we try to do this as frequently as possible. We are continually sending publications, but you inform us that they do not arrive so we must use these opportunities to place ourselves in contact with you. We will try to do so as frequently as possible from now. We receive all your letters with great joy. All the letters sent by the section to Fidel Castro and the Communist Party have been published by the International, have had an enormous diffusion throughout the world. They are known and discussed.

The courageous and resolved attitude of the Cuban Section is known, considered and supported by the world proletarian vanguard. It has an echo and an immense importance. This helps in the understanding and development of revolutionary confidence in the unfolding political revolution in the Cuban Workers States. This also helps the Cuban Section of the IV International to play its historic function in the struggles. Simultaneously it shows and makes felt the security and the historic resolution of the IV International. It makes the world proletariat, the leaderships of the Workers States, particularly and directly the leaderships of the Communist Party and the Cuban Workers State, feel the resolution, the historic security and the justice in action of the IV International. It stimulates and impels them to push forward the struggle, to confront all the obstacles in this stage of the preparation of the final settlement of accounts, which we have entered, the final stage of the nuclear war.

The IV International is still numerically a small group, organisationally it is a small group, but it has an immense power with an incalculable force through its capacity for intervention, through the resolution in intervention, the confidence and decision of its members, the immense weight which the international acquires, is developing and is making itself felt throughout the workers movement and the world revolutionary movement, particularly in the Workers States. This immense force of the International, short of material resources and cadres—with a quantity of cadres, but small in relation to the historic necessities—this immense force of the International is due to its historic security, the historic continuity of its function as the world representative of Marxism and effective leadership, the continuator of the thought, and work of our masters. Continuity of action and revolutionary thought are necessary for the development of the struggle for socialism, within and outside the Workers States. The historic function of the IV International is shown in all its power in Cuba, in the existence of our small section. Its security consists of confidence in the ideas, the policy of the future, and the perspectives of Marxism. They are the correct ideas which produce the strength and the security for withstanding, confronting, resisting and then conquering all obstacles, all repression, all persecutions, and the weight of the reaction, and terrorism, the combined repression of Capitalism, Imperialism and of the bureaucracy of the Workers State and of the Communist Party. For this reason they have not succeeded nor will succeed in smashing, intimidating, or bringing about vacillation and doubt in the IV International. The world seeks the logical necessity for its continuity, seeks to organise itself harmoniously. It is ideas which

organise the world. And ideas in this stage of history, are represented in their highest form by revolutionary political ideas, by the programme, organisation, and the Party which makes it possible to foresee, sketches perspectives and organises nuclei for this perspectives which are those of destroying what remains of Capitalism, the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and the Communist Parties and continuing the struggle for the construction of socialism, outside and within the Workers States: the world socialist revolution, the political revolution in the Workers States.

Your magnificent task, Comrades of the Cuban Section, is to continue the activity which we are already carrying out. Our documents bear great weight, and they will bring decisions to an important sector of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard in Cuba. They stimulate and encourage it to stand firm and secure because it feels supported by the orientation, analysis and Marxist conclusions. It feels sure of itself and it feels adherence to Marxist ideas through the influence, orientation and leadership of the IV International. Although our section still isn't a mass movement, it already exercises influence over those sectors which determine the mass movements. And through them, on the leadership of Fidel Castro himself. Through the Cuban Section, the IV International exercises this influence.

All the important ideas of Fidel Castro's government and the Cuban Communist Party, all the corrections which the government and the Cuban Communist Party have made, have been taken from the orientation, criticisms, and appeals which the IV International has made. This action of the IV International has had an indispensable weight and influence for in this stage the leaderships of the Communist Parties and Socialist Parties, the leaderships of the Workers States, including the Chinese, are disorientated, they have neither programme, perspective or objectives. They cannot face up to the present stage of history as it is developing objectively—to the atomic war—when none of them have any perspectives because they have no programme, they have no understanding of the process as they do not make use of Marxism and they do not understand or have confidence in the objective historic force of humanity. This force is the masses of the world, including the proletariat of the Workers States which already have the security and the confidence to take into their own hands the leadership of the historic process. As the existing leaderships do not trust in the masses they are and they feel themselves to be suspended in the air: they do not feel as though they have the answers, they do not understand the process and they feel suspended in the void and dependant on situation and conclusions which they cannot understand.

Only the International understands and lives through this process in a so conscious way and foresees the conscious solution; hence it prepares in a conscious way. And your struggle Cuban Comrades, is of immense importance, it was, is now and will be to tomorrow even more so, because it helps the Cuban proletarian vanguard to feel itself firm and secure in a definite way. This helps it to continue its struggle to try to take into its own hands and impell the formation of a united front in which the leadership of the Cuban revolution, belongs to the Cuban revolutionary vanguard which guides Cuba towards socialism, and prepares her to confront the next stage of nuclear war and violent world repression, to be carried out by Imperialism and the bureaucracy of the Workers States involving the destruction of a considerable part of the riches constructed by humanity.

Our Cuban Section is an indispensable force in the preparation of the intervention of the Cuban masses with the perspective of the final encounter. But also for the intervention that should be made now this minute to bring pressure for and decision to the stimulation of a world revolutionary United Front between all the Workers States, Communist Parties, revolutionary organisations, the world revolutionary proletarian vanguard without a party and the nationalist and left catholic movements which are rising with the orientation of destroying what remains of the Capitalist system, oppression and repression, so that this is applied against the Capitalist states,

Imperialism, the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the bureaucratic leaderships of the Communist Parties. This must be done before the atomic war develops a process of the concentration of the forces in society: on the one side the revolutionary forces which seek to destroy what is left of Capitalism—the few which survive to carry on 'Capitalist civilisation'—and on the other side the few—though they are immense in comparison with the Capitalist system—who have been able to create the Workers' State (which are few only because they have been tied and impeded by the bureaucracy from developing their historical capacity.)

THE WORKERS STATE, THE HISTORIC SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE OF HUMANITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION, AND THE FUNCTION OF THE CUBAN SECTION IN THIS STAGE

The Soviet Workers' State, through its 50 years of existence, gives confidence and security to humanity by demonstrating that the Workers' State is capable of depending upon itself, without fearing the difficulties presented by the character of the economy, and falling into the empiricism, blindness and anarchy of Capitalist society. In 50 years and no more, the Workers' State has demonstrated that it is possible for society to be its own guide and to build itself eliminating all the bad things that cause misery, hunger, war, destruction, devastation, earthquakes, illness, etc. In 5,000 years the system of private property was impotent to give security even to the 'fleas which live parasitically on private property relations. But the Workers' State has not been able to exercise more influences and capacity because its action has been impeded. The bureaucracy has handcuffed and degenerated the Workers' State so that it has been unable to exercise its function. But in spite of the bureaucracy the proletariat in the Workers' States is what possesses the historic security and confidence in the building of Socialism. No atomic war, not the destruction of all the riches constructed by humanity, are going to intimidate the proletariat. It has been proved and felt in the Workers' State that it is possible, and that the proletariat is capable, of constructing and re-constructing society. If humanity, through Vietnam, shows that it does not fear atomic war, if through the political revolution in China, the so-called 'cultural revolution', there is demonstrated that the revolution in ascent, searching for the destruction of all systems of oppression and repression, all social differentiation and distinctive privileges, then humanity has already accumulated the strength through the Workers' States, and has concentrated its capacity and strength ready to take into its hands the reconstruction of society during and after the atomic war.

It is the proletariat and the masses of the Workers' States that have accumulated this security. This is the reason for the concentration of the forces of Imperialism which seek the 'solution' of the atomic war. The bureaucracy is seeking an intermediate 'solution' which it is impossible to achieve, it is trying to prevent the atomic war in order to save itself, but it is also trying to prevent the progress of the revolution. The bureaucracy hopes to hold Capitalism in check and eliminate it, but it has no other remedy than to conciliate with Capitalism because it can only be destroyed with the revolution, and it is afraid to carry through the revolution.

The bureaucracy of the Workers States and the leaderships of the CPs cannot express, give, develop or create any confidence either in the present or the future. Capitalism cannot give any confidence, either in the present of the future. Both

are bypassed by history. Imperialism is surrounded in Vietnam. The Soviet bureaucracy, surrounded by the advance of the revolution and the decomposition of its own bureaucratic system created at the expense of, robbing and usurping the function of the Workers' State. The end of a whole historic stage has been reached. And in Cuba this is, and is going to be felt. For this reason the little country Cuba, although small in population, expresses such a great influence in the world course of the revolution, not just through the forces found in Cuba, but because it expresses the world force of the revolution in a concentrated way. Capitalism is impotent to destroy this; the bureaucracy is impotent to bring about its submission because the force of the revolution impedes this, working against the bureaucracy, Capitalism and the leadership of Fidel Castro's government itself which seeks to conciliate with the bureaucracy of the Workers' States for a whole period. This has brought about a concentration of the forces. The basis of this world concentration of these forces is that the masses of the world have already felt and understood, and are secure in the understanding that they are able to take power and develop the power. But there is still the lack in this historic stage of mass organisations in which they can decide and direct.

Hence the events in France, which are called the students' 'cultural revolution', are an expression of this revolution. They are indirect manifestations which seek to eliminate the system of oppression and privilege and seek to shake the bureaucratized and bourgeoisified leaderships. In the depth, these student mobilisations express an immense force which is rebelling against bureaucratisation, against the bourgeois functioning of the leadership of the workers' parties. This shows with historic depth that they have no confidence in Capitalism. Fewer and fewer students support Capitalism. And in France, Capitalist society appeared to have a greater assurance than in any other country. For de Gaulle plays the role of the mediator between Capitalism and the Workers' States and tried to exercise this function in order to save the Capitalist system, helping Capitalism out of its blind ally. But the Gaulle does not work in accordance with a programme or plan. He works in a blind, stupid way, trying to get a slice out of what the Capitalist system might have left. The events in Vietnam paralyse him because he has no programme, no answer, and he does not work with the security with which Capitalism worked when it was born. He works with the rottenness of the Capitalist system, attempting to latch on to the fear of the bureaucracies in the Workers' States and the impotence of Imperialism, trying to save himself—French Imperialism—and in this.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Letter to the Cuban Section

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

way, world Imperialism. De Gaulle's entire attitude is that of the blindness of the last hours of Capitalism, trying to save itself hanging on by the fingertips, taking temporary measures, without being able to count on any success, or even on enduring till the following day. If de Gaulle and French Imperialism were capable of surviving, French Capitalism would have already incorporated the young, amongst them the students, into this perspective.

When the students in France break loose so completely and attract and impel the proletariat, it is because the world revolution is literally bursting with maturity everywhere.

It is an explosion, the maturity, an escape route, a safety valve, which the Capitalist system must make use of whilst the bureaucracy and the leadership of the Workers' States make difficulties and hem in the masses to prevent them from taking power. But as students have an independent attitude, and can act in an independent way due to their function in society—they are not submitted to trade union organisations, nor do they need to live like the proletariat—they can work independently. Simultaneously they demonstrate that they are impotent to decide the course of the coming stages. They have not the programme, policy or social weight, to be able to decide.

They show, at one and the same time, the failure of French Imperialism and the leadership of the Workers' States, and the limitation of the historical role of students. The French proletariat still has not exercised a function such as the students have done. But wanted to do so before them, for it had occupied factories before, it had gone on strike on its own initiative, against its leadership's wishes, it had broken forth in twenty different ways trying to attract the population, and the students had followed this in only a very limited way.

There is a difference between the functions of the students and the proletariat. The proletariat needs to live a daily life of constant demands. It is united in the trade unions and workers' organizations because it is they which bring the exploited masses together. It is through them that the masses acquire their confidence and security and work as a class. Hence they cannot act in a decentralised way. This is not so with the students. Students don't need to struggle daily and permanently for the demands that the proletariat has to struggle for. Thus they can exercise an apparently independent function, that is independent from daily demands, but not independent in the last instance of the harmonious world-wide solution of the crisis of the Capitalist system, which is its overthrow. The action of students, which is immense due to its meaning and importance, does not succeed in being the political directing centre of the masses, because it does not have a precise programme or objectives. It has empirically established objectives. It cannot be otherwise, because the students cannot have such objectivity.

The greatest objective of the students, which is to transform the university, does not paralyse the Capitalist system. Even the Capitalist system can temporarily cope with this. On the other hand, Capitalist society cannot do without the factories, the centres of production. Thus the students can exercise an independent function, but not the proletariat, which lives bound to its organisations. The Capitalist system is sensitive to the proletariat which has the party as well as its trade unions; Capitalism feels that the masses are united through the party and that this and the trade unions attracts and centralises the rest of the exploited population.

The proletariat cannot work in the independent way that the students do. But it does work in a way that is independent of its leaderships and has manifested and launched a struggle which is infinitely superior to all the students' mobilisations the world over in its power to attract the population. The French proletariat has occupied factories, taken hostages, gone on strike against its leaderships including general strikes, but has not succeeded in being the directing centre because there was not the combination of these mobilisations, struggles, and manifestations made

by the proletariat, with a directing organisation. This is the failure. This is the deficiency, which shows in the erroneous policy of the Chinese. If the Chinese had understood in time, if they had felt the necessity of the proletarian revolution in France, if they had felt the role of the proletariat, they would already have helped the proletariat to this solution, adopting the Trotskyist programme.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION, THE NECESSITY AND THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE CUBAN WORKERS STATE TO INTERVENE IN THIS MATURE PROCESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

It is with these perspectives that our Cuban Section must base itself particularly in the next stages—that is on the high level of the "cultural revolution" which is the political revolution in China and in Cuba. Even in a very limited way the elimination of forms of relations of private property, that are still Capitalist, the norms of Capitalist stimulus, of materialist stimulus in Cuba indicates an advance of the political revolution. But the leadership of the Cuban revolution has no programme nor clear, precise objectives, has no theoretical notion of the process of history—like the other leaderships of the communist parties and the Workers States—and it works empirically. They do not support themselves on each success, each advance to extend and develop them, whether on the plane of the economy, industry, agriculture or social, revolutionary, cultural relations. There is no co-ordination and harmony in the measures which the Cuban leadership takes. They are empirical leaderships disconnected one from the other. When the theoretical understanding points to what is progressive in each stage, it is necessary to be based on this to extend it to all the planes of the relations of society.

This is the permanent revolution. There is no "cultural revolution". If it is called "cultural revolution" it is because the process of the political revolution has not been made in time, nor led or understood. For this reason it is called the "cultural revolution". The "cultural revolution" is absurd, taken in an isolated way. It is the result of the backwardness of the leaderships who have not known how to develop in time and to eliminate Capitalist forces and relations. For this reason it is necessary to advance now in this form. But it is not the "cultural revolution" which is going to decide the development of society but the forms of social relations, of social organisation which are the soviets, the workers committees. For this reason the "cultural revolution" is only a very limited progress. If it is not accompanied with the forms of social soviet organisation, with workers control, the "cultural revolution" has a very limited level because culture is only an aspect of the social relations which prepare actions and understanding but not the decision of the leadership of society. This is performed by the forms of the organisation in which the Workers States are constituted. In not having soviets, the "cultural revolution" has only a very limited effect, very slight and ephemeral. And it has not succeeded in establishing the means to impel, to organise society, to put power into the hands of the masses themselves, into the soviets. But nevertheless the "cultural revolution" can be a centre, a means to achieve the establishment of soviets, to pass over to the establishment of soviets.

It is for this reason that our Cuban Section must prepare itself in this stage. The tendencies, groups and sectors which seek to advance consciously in Cuba are progressing and they are going to progress much more. Behind all these methods of progress of Fidel Castro, there is the very great impulse of these revolutionary tendencies. It is on these tendencies that our section must support itself. It must support and impel these struggles, and seek organic measures in common with them. Together with the appeal to Fidel Castro it is necessary to impel the organic functioning, so that nothing harms the Workers State, nothing detains, impedes the functioning, whether economic, social or revolutionary of the Cuban Workers State; nothing creates difficulty for the functioning of the government in all the

It is necessary to take into account that this process in France, which is of immense significance, is a possibility throughout Europe, in Germany, Belgium and Great Britain equally. There is a process of elevation in the struggles of the exploited masses. Europe once again draws near to great revolutionary class conflicts. And this is going to shake the Workers' States, impelling the political revolution.

progressive measures advancing the revolution. And it is necessary to prepare for a possible invasion shortly by Yankee Imperialism, whether invasion comes from the Yankees whether it comes from the Latin American bourgeoisie, particularly from the bourgeoisie most interested in containing the Cuban revolution, those of Brazil, Argentine, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile and Mexico also. Although that of Mexico has no military force to impose itself, the rest of the Latin American bourgeoisie have the necessary strength. And this is a combination of interests of Imperialism which wishes to turn all the Latin American bourgeoisie against Cuba, and the Latin American bourgeoisie who wish to do this for their own good. But neither the one nor the other has the strength to do this. If the Latin American bourgeoisie had the strength to invade Cuba they would have done so. They do not do so because not only the military power is necessary, but the social security is needed. If they invade Cuba, it means an interior decomposition which can result in turning the arms against themselves. The crisis of Capitalism in Latin America, the social, political, economic, moral crisis of them all, the crisis of organisation of the Capitalist system, prevent them organising its forces with efficiency to invade Cuba, if not they would already have been able to do it. But on the contrary there is a constant decomposition of all these Capitalist states.

It is on the basis of these possibilities that it is necessary to be based, to realise at the same time that they are going to try to invade in every way but as a force which is in decomposition and collapse. It is necessary to expect the invasion and to intervene with the decision to smash them in a short time. For this reason an appeal to the Latin American masses is necessary, so that they may intervene in the revolutionary struggle in each country. This is the function of the Cuban revolution. It is necessary to unite the interior struggle of Cuba, the development of the socialist revolution in Cuba with the development of the socialist revolution in Latin America, and with the rest of the world and also with the political revolution in the Workers States. It is necessary to intervene as an essential factor. Cuba influences the Workers States and the world revolution because a centralised concentration of the revolution develops more and more, for this reason Cuba influences and decides. For this reason the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union cannot destroy the Cuban revolution because the world advance of the revolution weighs on the bureaucracies of the Workers States. They feel they cannot betray Cuba because the masses of the Workers States would demand a reckoning and it would be a factor in the insurrection against them. They also feel that they cannot betray it, because it is a decisive factor in the relations of conciliation, of peaceful co-existence with Yankee Imperialism. They are not able to decide, as previously in the Workers States just as they are not able to decide in Vietnam. It is on this that the government of Castro and our Section must base itself. But for this it must intervene in the world process of the revolution, it is necessary to appeal outside Cuba without making an idealist, disconnected or empirical policy by making appeals that are not related to the process. But making appeals which correspond to necessity.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the United Latin American Front to overthrow Capitalism. It is necessary to have for a programme the expropriation of Im-

perialism in Latin America. To impel the revolution to support the nationalisations of the land, the expulsion of Imperialism, the expropriation of the principal sources of Latin American production. It is necessary to support workers control, a single Latin American workers centre, workers parties based on the trade unions to concentrate the exploited masses and attract the rest of the population. The immense majority of the exploited Latin American masses are concentrated in the workers trade unions.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to make appeals for the organisation of the Latin American masses. It is necessary to make an appeal for the anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist united front. We appeal for this now. We appeal to them immediately to intervene to organise a single Latin American worker, peasant, student and soldier centre, a single centre with the anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist programme, with unconditional support for the struggle of the masses of the world to expel Imperialism from Vietnam. It is of immense importance that at this moment Cuba should make an appeal to the masses of Vietnam appealing to them to yield nothing, to continue the struggle, to repel Imperialism from Vietnam through force of arms and revolution, at the same time that there is discussion with Imperialism which is only a parody. But these discussions should not be to justify Vietnam but should be directed at the North American masses. The discussion on Vietnam with Yankee Imperialism has to be directed at the North American masses so that they can see that Yankee Imperialism is lying, that it has no interest in peace, in conceding or in respecting the right of the Vietnamese people, and that the discussions are simply a parody to gain time to attract the petit bourgeoisie in the elections in the United States. Whilst discussions continue in Paris, the government of Vietnam has to organise the continuation of the struggle to smash Yankee Imperialism by armed strength. All the Workers States should intervene with arms, now to smash Yankee Imperialism. This combination would show to the North American masses that the solution in Vietnam is the revolutionary solution, that Yankee Imperialism has no interest in respecting the Vietnamese people, in withdrawing from Vietnam and in respecting the revolutionary right of the Vietnamese people to decide its own destiny.

It is necessary to develop this discussion now, not in the form of documents in general but in a daily discussion. There are no organised tendencies in Cuba. The government of Castro has no security, acts in a vacillating way, is not stable. It does not continue revolutionary policy and positions. After each position, each advance, there is a stagnation, a paralysis. The immense majority of positions which are correct are taken from the International. They are taken from the articles of Cde Posadas, from the resolutions of the International.

It is necessary to help the government of Castro, the currents and tendencies within this government which seek a revolutionary solution, to fulfill a historic function, and it gives a centre which can impel the revolutionary tendencies in the Workers States, in the communist parties of the Capitalist countries, to organise revolutionary tendencies, to appeal for the revolutionary struggle and to overthrow what remains of the Capitalist system. It is necessary to push forward this interior discussion. It is within Cuba that it is necessary to push forward a public discussion of all the world problems of the revolution, to intervene, to take positions in the crisis of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, to condemn, to intervene, condemning the reactionary policy of the return to Capitalism of the communist parties of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia. It is necessary to appeal for the masses to intervene and not to submit to the decisions of the Soviet bureaucracy in making empirical, superficial condemnations against the Czechoslovakia or against the Rumanians and the Yugoslav-

Continued on page 5

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

ians. But it is necessary to appeal to the masses of Czechoslovakia, of Rumania, of Yugoslavia, of Poland, of all the Workers States, to intervene, to form soviets, to oppose the military pressures and solutions on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy against the communist parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia they should intervene so that the communist parties, the trade unions of all the Workers States, of the USSR, of China, of Cuba, appeal to the masses of Czechoslovakia, of Rumania, of Yugoslavia and of Poland to come out to form soviets, for the independant functioning of the unions with an anti-Capitalist, anti-bureaucratic programme for democratic socialist rights, to eliminate all Capitalist stimulus, all form of Capitalist production and relation.

The Czechoslovak reforms going towards Capitalism are presented by the bureaucracy as a necessity for the development of the economy. It is a lie. They are to defend the interests of the bureaucracy, not of the Workers State. The Workers State rejects this. All the gains that have been made by the economy, all the progress made in the few years since the soviet Workers State came into being, and the rest of the Workers States is due to the nationalised economy, statified property, through the monopoly of foreign trade, through the planning of the economy. If it has not advanced more it is because the bureaucracy prevents this, through its bureaucratic management which impedes, creates difficulties, blocks and annuls the effects of the development which the economy and the planning of the economy allow. This is the evil which it is necessary to eliminate. But as it has social and economic interests, established as a state bureaucracy of the state apparatus, now it tries to make reforms. The elimination of the bureaucracy does not require a military solution but a political solution. Out with them all! And if the political revolution demands military intervention, it must be revolutionary socialist one, in the form of workers militias, soviets workers control. The Cuban government must make this appeal. It must present this appeal beginning to do this within Cuba itself. It is on this perspective that the revolution must develop in Cuba, to intervene in the process of the final settlement of accounts which will be combined with the political revolution. Our Cuban Section has an immense function to play in this process. It is necessary to help the organisation of this activity. It is necessary to appeal to the Cuban government, to the revolutionary tendencies to work, to discuss, to demand statements by the Cuban government in the defence of the interests of the socialist revolution. The small Cuban Workers State can develop an immense function within the Workers States through the weight which it has through the concentration of the revolution which allows it to have an immense weight, to influence the rest of the Workers States, the revolutionary tendencies, the sectors groups, and revolutionary tendencies of the Workers States who are awaiting to intervene and to guide the conscious revolutionary tendencies, consciously marxist in China, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland who are waiting to intervene.

The Czechoslovakian proletariat is waiting for the solidarity, the help, the stimulus of the other proletariats of the Workers States to intervene. For this reason the Czechoslovakian trade unions have not said a word. It is the bureaucracy which has spoken supporting the bourgeois reforms, the proletariat no. There have been no resolutions for the reforms in the factories, in the workers areas, in the trade unions, in the workers assemblies, not one. And the workers assemblies that have been held have declared themselves against. The same in Poland. It is necessary to appeal to these proletariats. It is necessary that the masses intervene in a free and independant form, in a socialist revolutionary form; in assemblies, demonstrations, in which are discussed the problem of the economy and the future of Czechoslovakia, of Poland, Rumania etc. through appeals for soviets, workers control, planning of the economy, out with material stimulus, for the moral stimulus. A gigantic impulse allowed the construction of the soviet Workers State and this in its turn was the mould for the construction and the development of the other Workers States. The gigantic impulse was the socialist

Letter to the Cuban Section

moral stimulus of the 1st years of the revolution. It was the Communist teams who then impelled the revolution. And it was nationalised property, the planning of the economy on the basis of nationalised property, the monopoly of foreign trade, the rest of the factors which allowed the development of the Workers States, which the system of private property could not do in 5000 years, to eliminate poverty,

THE CUBAN MASSES MUST BE: SOLDIERS, PRODUCERS, AND LEADERS OF SOCIETY AT THE SAME TIME THE SOVIET ORGANISATION IN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY PREPARATION OF CUBA FOR THE ATOMIC WAR AND THE SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION

It is necessary to search out the way of being in contact with the revolutionary population, tendencies, and organisations. It is necessary to be prepared for the war. The decision will not only be taken in consideration of Cuba but with respect to events throughout the world. Imperialism will launch the atomic war rather than allow the advance of the world revolution which it cannot withstand. But on the other hand the revolution does not ask permission of Imperialism, nor wait for its reaction. The proof of this is the world advance of the revolution and Vietnam. It is Imperialism that has had to withdraw and which had to ask for discussions, pretending to discuss peace to justify itself to the North American people. This is one of the ways in which the advance of the revolution is expressed. If Imperialism felt strong it would not take part in any negotiations and it would invade Vietnam. It hasn't the strength because it has to justify itself to its own people. It is in the process of justifying itself to the North American masses because it feels that they are not in agreement with it and it wants to win time to make the decision to launch the atomic war, preventing the revolution inside the United States. This shows the immense weakness of Imperialism.

The revolution can advance in an uncontrollable way, making enormous progress, without waiting for or being afraid of Imperialism preventing it or launching the atomic war. The proof is that Imperialism has to put up with Vietnam; it is certainly going to launch the atomic war, but in worse and worse conditions for Imperialism. Therefore the more the revolution advances, the more historical time, positions and historical bases are won for it.

Comrades of the Cuban Section, it is fundamental to discuss this in Cuba. It must be discussed in its entirety, without fear of being isolated. Cuba is not going to remain isolated. It is in a situation of great risk, undoubtedly, but this letter shows the solution. The alternative is to allow Cuba to be disarmed and surrounded by the Capitalist countries and by the atomic arms of Imperialism. But taking the first way out is to bring about Cuba's advance and make the Latin American and world revolution advance. It will find itself much better prepared for tomorrow. The economy must be strengthened to the maximum, but it must be an economy drawn up in the perspective of war, considering that the perspective is war and that this is going to destroy half or almost half, an immense proportion of the present production force. Discussions must be made with this perspective. Increase production to the maximum, work to the maximum, increase military power to the maximum but in the form of workers militias. The way to augment military power in Cuba is through the workers' militias in Cuba, preparing defence against the invasion of Cuba, or to advance the revolution outside Cuba. Imperialism is going to try to destroy Cuba by means of bombing. Imperialism is afraid to invade Cuba because it knows that it is going to come up against the resistance of every single inhabitant of Cuba, who to the last man are going to fight against the Imperialist invader.

Workers' militia must be prepared, to defend the revolution and to export it. This is the most complete way of maintaining the highest degree of efficiency in military preparation and combine it with production for consumption at home, export, and commercial exchange: production which allows consumption to rise and for greater military efficiency at the same time. The most complete form of popular

hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy etc. Everything which Capitalism has been impotent to do, the Workers State has achieved in fifty years. And the Workers State really lived in a soviet form only in the seven first years of the revolution, years which were sufficient to show the historic power of the forms of soviet organisation of society; infinitely superior to any other system which has existed.

militia is that in which the whole population—7 million Cubans—is soldier, producer and directs society at the same time. Workers' militias, workers' control, soviets. It is the most complete form of organisation in preparation for the final encounter coming shortly.

Because of this an aggressive intervention of our Cuban Section is necessary, even considering the conditions of repression which it is suffering and the fact that there is one comrade still imprisoned. Up till this stage we have not put the liberty of our comrade forward as an essential consideration. Now we do. We believe that the moment has now come in which to measure the development of the socialist revolution in Cuba by the fundamental consideration of the freedom of our imprisoned comrade. There is no reason for keeping him in prison. He is in prison for being a revolutionary. He is in prison for defending the Workers' States against retrograde tendencies which, just as in Czechoslovakia, have taken a backward turn. This is the reason why our comrade is imprisoned. He is a prisoner for defending soviets, workers' control, socialist democracy, for being against the bureaucracy and for moral stimulus, and for the World United Front for a Mass Communist International. Our comrade is in prison for having made this struggle. Hence a campaign must be made for the liberty of our comrade.

It is necessary to appeal for soviet functioning, to hold demonstrations in Cuba, meetings, public assemblies with thousands and thousands of people present where all these problems are publically discussed. Appeal for demonstrations, assemblies and meetings of this kind. It will have an immense effect and influence over the North American masses. When the North American masses see the Cuban people publically discussing and deliberating, being its own leadership, discussing all problems, giving opinions, finding solutions, applying them and keeping up a high level of efficiency and ever more constant industrial expansion, with military efficiency at the same time, it will exercise an immense influence over the North American masses who will see the

capacity of soviet forms of organisation. And they will measure and compare them with the reactionary and backward methods of Imperialism and Capitalism and those of the bureaucratic leaderships in the Workers' States.

We understand the difficulties which the comrades have, but we believe that this is the task that must be accomplished. Combine the appeal for the liberty of our comrade with the suggestion of production plans and workers' militias at the same time. Planning, considering war to be at hand, increasing capacity for production, commercial exchange, and developing industrial machinery more bearing in mind the possibility of war, to raise efficiency, meet the needs of the consumers, and prepare for the war and for after it. These are necessary plans that must be made. In this way a combination, which increases the consumption of the population, satisfies the population more and extends consumption, and a great increase of production for world trading with the increase, on a proportional scale of industrial production, is made. All this must take into consideration within the perspective of the war preparation, the essential of which is: destruction by the war of the main sources of production. It must be an economy prepared for war. Not a strictly war economy now, but with the perspective of war shortly.

This is what must be discussed. It will come out clearly in the discussion. And with it, the limitation of dependance on the bureaucracy of the Workers' States. Dependance on the bureaucracy must be broken, but, on the other hand, the united front relationship and planning with all the Workers' States must be augmented. Plan Cuba with the rest of the Workers' States Appeal for the World United Front, the Mass Communist International, world organisation with the programme to overthrow what is left of the Capitalist system. This is the most important programme for the economy and for the future of Cuba, just as for all the Workers' States.

Make an appeal to the masses in the Capitalist countries to overthrow the Capitalist system at the same time. The comrades must work with this in mind.

This is the programme and the perspectives. The whole International supports the Cuban Revolution, the Cuban Workers' State. Even in the worst moments, when Fidel Castro's government attacked, insulted and belittled the IV International we did not cease to defend, and appeal for the support and defence of the Cuban Workers' State, with all our decision, resolution and strength and to appeal to the masses to destroy the Capitalist system and defend Cuba. We continue doing this now. Historical necessity demands the defence of Cuba, and simultaneously, progress in the development of the Political Revolution. The development of the Political Revolution in Cuba must bear

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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ALGERIA: *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).
De Arbeidertrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.
BOLIVIA: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.
BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.
CUBA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq. Zuleta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.
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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.
PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:
Cuarta Internacional, organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International. Lu's Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
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European Marxist Review (In English) organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2., England.

Letter to the Cuban Comrades

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

more weight, to influence in China, the USSR and the rest of the Workers' States. Appeal to them for a discussion of all these problems to do with the economy for the planning of all the Workers' States. Appeal for the planning of the economy of all the Workers' States in accordance with the interests common to them all and not of one or another—the biggest state, the Soviet Union, China or Bulgaria. Instead do it in accordance with the interests of the least developed Workers' State so that it improves much more rapidly than it does at the moment, within the possibilities of development thus presented and by exploiting its own resources. Prepare militarily for the final encounter on the basis of workers' militias and the organis-

OUR PROGRAMME

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

ation of soviets.

It is necessary to appeal for a World United Front now; to intervene to overthrow what remains of Capitalism, and to go into the atomic war with the world forces of the revolution unified. The strength of the Workers' States does not consist in their independent functioning but in their unification and their planning as a single whole. This is their real strength. The W. Ss. amongst them Cuba, have still only developed their strength very little, because the essential basis of their strength is the world and national planning of their production and also political-military planning. The political and military unification of the W. Ss. on the basis of the programme for the revolution, based on the common planning of the W. Ss. would be an invincible force. It would shorten the historical stages and destroy all that remains of the Capitalist system. Particularly it would stimulate the masses of U.S.A. to intervene

THE TASKS OF THE CUBAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL IN THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION, THE IRRESISTIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP TO OVERTHROW WHAT IS LEFT OF CAPITALISM

All preoccupation must be concentrated in appealing and interesting the Cuban government, the Cuban Communist Party and the revolutionary tendencies in Cuba in functioning with a view to these discussions. The section must discuss all this, this programme and these perspectives. Make a concrete appeal to the Cuban government in the name of the IV International for this policy. We are ready for a public discussion and for a United Front with the Guevarist revolutionary tendency, other revolutionary tendencies and the Cuban government. We are prepared for a public discussion and it is necessary to appeal for a public discussion on these problems in Cuba. We understand that the Soviet bureaucracy is opposed to it and tries to intimidate the Cuban government so that such an action does not occur. We understand that the government has to take certain measures and has to protect itself from the Soviet bureaucracy, the pressure of the bureaucracy in the W.S. and the C.Ps. in the Capitalist countries. We understand that such protection for the Cuban government and CP is necessary. But the best way of doing this is by appealing to the Cuban people to intervene openly.

It is necessary to make appeals for public discussion in Cuba. We understand all the difficulties that Fidel Castro's government has in confronting the Soviet bureaucracy. The bureaucracy of the WS, particularly the Soviet bureaucracy is going to try to prevent this, because it is afraid of public discussion, it is afraid that all the problems of the W.S. should be brought to light publicly. It would mean discussing the problem of the policy of the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy; why it is going towards Capitalism; why is there a retreat in the WS? It would mean discussing the problem of Vietnam; why was the offensive on Khe San allowed to die down, why was Imperialism allowed to get in new supplies, what are the reasons for this situation? We believe that there exist a series of situations that justify the fear and preoccupation of Fidel Castro's government, and the Cuban CP, but this is not the road. Cuba alone cannot put up a resistance to the pressure of world Capitalism and Imperialism. The development of Cuba is united to the development of the world revolution. Cuba would have already been crushed without the development of the world revolution.

It is possible that the discussion going on at present, the attempt by Imperialism to discuss Vietnam, is a manoeuvre made by the Soviet bureaucracy as well, on the condition that if the siege of Khe Sanh is held in check by them, then Imperialism will make some concessions. But the maximum concessions that Imperialism could make are not of any importance. The withdrawals which Imperialism is obliged to make are not of great importance to her aim of preparing for atomic war and launching it. Imperialism is decided, it has no other way out than the war and that is the way it will take. Consequently it will attack Cuba as well, it will attack all the Workers States and all those that it considers can become Workers States shortly.

to overthrow the Capitalist system, to mature and to organise themselves politically in a period of a few years. It would make this progress possible on a process of a few short years.

It is not a solution for Cuba in particular, nor requiring what is generally known as political skill. The problem is not to be solved by diplomatic manoeuvres by the Cuban government. It can be solved economically, politically and militarily, and this must be prepared for. The problem is the unification of the Ws' Ss. Cuba cannot stand up to Imperialism alone. It is on the basis of the world revolution and the resistance to Imperialism made by the Ws. Ss. that Cuba can resist and persist, be sustained and develop. The solution is all-embracing: overthrow the Capitalist system so that Cuba and the rest of the WS can go on existing. If the reverse happens the Capitalist system will have the strength to go on. Comrades, this is what must be discussed in Cuba.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the Cuban government to discuss and to the masses to discuss. We appeal for the holding of a public discussion. It is a difficult task because accusations of sabotage, of being nothing but a fraction, and enemies of Cuba must be confronted. But the discussion must be made. We were called the enemies of Cuba once before when we made suggestions for the programme for the revolution and it is Fidel Castro's government which had to come to the Trotskyist policy and had to apply the Trotskyist policy.

It is necessary to make this public appeal now before it gets any later; before Imperialism can recondition itself make provision for and organise a new intervention in Cuba. It has already made the decision to intervene in Cuba. It is necessary to win time before it carries out the decision. Winning historical time means appealing for discussion in Cuba for this will have world-wide repercussions. Discuss the necessity to crush world Imperialism and Capitalism. The tendencies existing in Cuba are timid, they have not the confidence to do it. One cannot wait for others to do what we must do. The Guevarist tendency and the revolutionary tendencies that are on the ascent within Fidel Castro's team itself do not have the assurance, they do not take it upon themselves to organise themselves or to make appeals and present a programme and policy. They do not have the confidence to do so. It is not a problem of habit, custom or fear, but one of not knowing how to do it. They have not the security to do it. They have risen gradually to political comprehension empirically. They do not possess the tradition of formation, with the party life. Hence they hope simply to bring pressure to bear, they have no inner life and they do not go to the masses. It is partly a lack of confidence and security in the masses and partly dependence on the apparatuses, because all their life has been with apparatuses. They did not see the intervention and the strength of the masses. They have believed that it has always been the apparatuses that have decided. And they are following this same rhythm, this same tradition believing that it is the apparatuses that decide. It is necessary to make them feel that they must go to the rank and file. Guevara was eliminated just because he went to the base. His journey to Asia and Africa was a consultation with the rank and file, that is to say, consulting the masses to mobilise them and bring pressure on their leaderships. This task must be carried out now. In order to do this our section must have a more direct life.

We believe that you must send periodical reports, giving opinions about the functioning, and that you must function as a small Party, with all the necessary measures so as not to appear to be wanting to usurp the function of the Workers State, but nevertheless as a Party. And functioning in a regular way. Make plans for a growth in size, organising the Guevarist tendency. Appeal in the name of the programme of the IV International to the Cuban government to come out now with an appeal for the United Front and the

Mass Communist International.

Functioning as the Party must include plans for expansion, winning people over in order to be linked to the Guevarist tendency. A more public appearance of the Cuban Section will encourage the Guevarist tendencies to appear more publicly and it will cause Fidel Castro's government to take courage as well. The initial fear of Fidel Castro's team demonstrated that he has no notion of theory, he does not have theoretical or political continuity. He advances in leaps. In leaps, influences by events. There is no regular, constant functioning in which the first leap is the preparation and support for another. For example, after the elimination of the 'microfraction', there wasn't major progress when the conditions were present for great progress. We understand that the Soviet bureaucracy is in opposition, carries out sabotage and threatens Fidel Castro's government. But Fidel Castro's government can go to the masses and make their wishes known in a more direct way. The crisis in Czechoslovakia shows that the bureaucracy cannot dominate or hold things in check, neither with the right wing or the left wing. And the ascendent process of the revolution is in favour of the Cuban government.

It is necessary to be supported by the mobilisations that are in development at the present moment in France. All the explosions of the students in France are the expression of the fact that there is already the decision in numerous layers of the exploited masses, amongst them the students that runs against all systems of oppression, repression, privilege and bureaucracy. It is a protest against the bourgeois policy of the workers' parties, particularly the C.P. But the students cannot be widely effective because their programme cannot attract the whole population. But they have already stimulated the proletariat, they have re-initiated the proletariat in its march which it had started out on long before the mobilisations of the students. The Cuban Section must find its support in this.

Events in France, England, Italy and Germany show that the proletariat has taken the road of mobilisations and will attract other sectors to its side and put in question, for example, the programme. This is how the programme is going to be discussed in the coming stages. The mobilisations of the students in France are putting the programme to the fore; it is the programme that they are discussing. The programme for the revolution, the leadership of the revolution. The students are appealing to the workers to set up factory committees which are small soviets. This will stimulate the whole struggle and give organic form to anti-bureaucratic leaders against conservative and conciliatory leaders who capitulate to Capitalism. The mass movement is going to bypass its present leadership even though this may not occur at this stage. It is going to show the road to follow, and the fact that it is possible to take it without risking breaking class centralisation. This is one of the important functions of the student mobilisations. They give a stimulus to a movement that already exists in the consciousness of the masses and which the masses have wanted to realise for scores of years. The world process of the revolution favours and renders possible such a movement now.

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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SEPTEMBER 10th 1968

SIXPENCE

The meeting at Bratislava, the conservatism of the Communist Parties of the U.S.S.R. & of Czechoslovakia and the development of the Political and Socialist Revolution

J. POSADAS 3. 8. 68.

The declaration brought out by the Soviet, Bulgarian, Polish, Hungarian, German and Czechoslovakian Communist Parties indicates that there has been great pressure on the conference from cadres, leaders, groups, and sectors in the Workers' States, particularly from the Soviet Union and Poland and partly from Czechoslovakia. There is a change in the attitude of the bureaucracy since the first discussions held about 'liberty', the liberalisation, autonomy and independence of Czechoslovakia, and about not leaving the Warsaw Pact.

This resolution tends to go towards the beginning of functioning as a Communist International. It is not the Communist International, but it is a reply to a necessity of the Workers' States to come to an agreement about problems which up until now have not been settled between them: a common policy, a common economy, and a certain world strategy. One can say that this is the beginning of the Communist International with regard to one of these aspects—world strategy. It is not a Communist International to direct the revolution or to organise the revolution. What is indicated is that since the beginning of the discussions up till today, there must have been pressure from the factories, trade unions, and places of work, intellectual sectors, the army, the countryside, and all the worker sectors who have seen a very great danger. The magnitude of the danger has shown itself with the manifesto by the Czechoslovakian intellectuals and the separation of the Communist Party from the Czechoslovakian government, all of which means giving free rein to sectors linked to world capitalism. And the reaction was due to this.

This reaction is one which is far from what the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wanted to make at the beginning. But as it was not within the consciousness, or the will of the bureaucracy, this reaction expresses the resistance of factories, trade unions, households, neighbourhoods, of centres where the middle and lower bureaucrats move, and which have imposed a change on the Soviet bureaucracy. This objective did not appear at the beginning, nor was it in any way a proposition of the bureaucracy at first. On the contrary, the different forms that socialism can take, was their concept. All the articles written by the Soviet newsagencies up till yesterday, declared that: 'The different forms of Socialism and the different roads to socialism must be respected'. They justified all this. What they wanted to do was to reach an agreement to prevent the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy from coming out of the Warsaw Pact, giving free rein to bourgeois methods and going back to private property. They wanted to put check on these three measures.

The resolution of the Communist Parties meeting in Bratislava goes a great deal further. It shows a united front 'against any measure that goes against the system and the structure of the Socialist State'. They support Vietnam. They do not support the decisions made in Paris. They are against the discussions in Paris. They do not suggest that the solution for Vietnam is in Paris, but that it is necessary to throw imperialism out of Vietnam. They show unconditional support for Vietnam. They are against capitalist Germany's pretensions to get back her old frontiers, whilst the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy is already in negotiation with capitalist Germany. They declare themselves against all this and at this moment. These are measures which go towards the defence and development of the Workers' States. It is a reaction of fear on the part of the bureaucracy which has seen the enormous risk in the existence of this

capitalist sector. And at the same time as the fear, they have seen the resistance of Dubcek, who would not weaken, and they must have threatened him with mobilising the masses. This is why the previous appeals of the Soviet bureaucracy were about the fact the Czechoslovakian workers, peasants, and intellectuals, will not allow any blow against Communism! And meetings of sectors of the trade unions in Moscow were held.

In the decision that has just taken place, the Soviet team must have threatened the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy with really mobilising the Czech masses and

appealing to them for an uprising, combined with the intervention of the Soviet army. The meetings between Breznev and the 6,000 delegates from the Moscow cells and the trade unions from all over the USSR were held for this reason. The Soviet bureaucrats have been obliged to go much further than they wanted to. And in doing so they have had to fight the resistance of a sector of the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy — neither bureaucratic nor military impositions were sufficient for them. For this sector of the Czech bureaucracy finds its support in imperialism, to resist the Soviet bureaucracy with this support and solidarity. But it can not stand the threatened intervention of the masses, because this means an uprising of the masses within all the Workers' States.

This shows that the bureaucracy cannot solve its inter-bureaucratic contradictions anymore now that the Workers' State itself is in danger. Even through the bureaucracy puts the Workers' State in risk and at danger it feels that this threatens its whole existence. And that this threat takes on a double form: a sector of the bureaucracy and the Soviet masses were saying to the bureaucracy, 'Either you put a check on the sector that wants to go back to capitalism, or we will throw it out ourselves'. This was present in the minds of the Soviet masses. The thought in the minds of the Soviet masses has been expressed in the uprising of the Yugoslavian masses who obliged Tito to make some

concessions — even if only in form — to promise — even if he is not going to carry it out — that he is going to give in to the demands of the Yugoslav students. This is an expression of the power of the necessity in the Workers' States for unification, as we described in the article about the crisis of the Czechoslovakian and Soviet bureaucracies of the 25th July. (THE ATTEMPTS TO RETURN TO CAPITALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE CONTRADICTIONS AND INTER-BUREAUCRATIC STRUGGLES IN THE WORKERS' STATES, THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION). The bureaucracy has already got to the end of the possibilities of solving its inter-bureaucratic contradictions by means of administrative measures, 'ukases', bureaucratic manoeuvres and army mobilisations. It is caught between the advance of the world revolution and the existence of sectors in the Workers' States which are already on the side of capitalism in their interests, and which cannot be taught simply with object lessons. This shows that the bureaucracy is obliged anyway to make use of means and instruments which are going to go against it very shortly: like the unconditional defence of the Workers' State, support for Vietnam, and support for the Arab countries.

Vietnam is not part of the discussion about the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy. CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EDITORIAL

For the indefinite General Strike with the methods of Factory Committees, occupations and Workers Control, for all the demands of the masses

The struggle to launch the indefinite general strike of the engineering workers takes place in the context of the wholesale advance of the world socialist revolution and the preparations in both the camps of imperialism and the Workers States for the final settlements of accounts. The process in Czechoslovakia reflects the decision of the Workers States however limited and distorted by the manoeuvres of the Soviet bureaucracy to smash the pro-capitalist restorationist sectors of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia and to finish with the remnants of peaceful co-existence. The struggles in Vietnam, the imminence of a new outbreak of fighting in the Middle East, the conclusion over the US presidential election in an atmosphere of war preparations, all show that the world socialist revolution cannot be prevented by imperialism. And in Great Britain as in the rest of Europe everything advances towards a final settlement of accounts with capitalism, and the overthrow of imperialism.

The historical process is advancing with enormous rapidity, one phase rapidly merges with another, but one fact is clear — that great leaps in the advance of the vanguard are inevitable at this stage and that with the launching of an indefinite general strike, the achievement of workers power is going to be posed. All the pres-

ures of the world socialist revolution, all the tremendous crisis of the bureaucracies, of the mass Communist Parties weighs on and effects the resolution of the British masses. It perpetually stimulates and encourages them even when the lack of proletarian organisms and the constant sabotage of the existing leaderships delays

and blocks the initiatives of the masses.

The extent of the crisis for British capitalism and for the LP apparatus and the Trade Union bureaucracies can be seen in the fact that a resolution calling for an indefinite general strike was finally passed in the AEF, although every effort will be made to prevent its taking place.

The demands of the AEF for large wage increases, equal pay for women etc. cannot be met by capitalism and although they are limited compared with the full proletarian programme, they are a sufficient index to show that the British proletariat is prepared to go towards the destruction of the capitalist system. All this coincides with the crisis of the union leaders and the LP as shown in the Trade Union Conference. Such a conference which does not reflect the real ideas and tendencies of the masses, which is a handpicked conference of the bureaucracy, cannot be expected.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The meeting at Bratislava,

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

The Arab countries are not part of the discussion. And at this moment they pull the defence of Vietnam and the Arab countries out of the box, whilst in all the other meetings of the Communist Parties they made a special point of being against China, which is not mentioned this time. Quite the contrary is occurring, there is an appeal to all the Communist Parties in the world to make a united front. This means that there is immense pressure within the Workers' States, for the same bureaucrats who bring out this declaration, did not do so 4 days ago. If they had done it, making an open proclamation, this would have had the support of the entire Czechoslovakian masses. The fact that the bureaucracy is obliged to bring out this resolution now is because the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, hidden behind Dubcek, resisted pressure from the Soviet bureaucracy. So it had to threaten mass mobilisation. That is why they have brought this resolution out. It is not a simple agreement, the independence of each country, the autonomy of each country. Not in the least. The essential accent is not put on the autonomy of each country, but on the necessity for co-ordination, to harmonise all the Workers' States and hold an economic conference to co-ordinate their economies, responding to the necessity for a planned economy in the Workers' States, even though the declaration has a bureaucratic form and was not planned thus. But it is an attempt to draw near to responding to a necessity. Why didn't they do this? Because the masses within the Workers' States had to bring pressure on them, for they have seen the danger and manifested the anxiety to intervene. This is why world imperialism has not intervened, for it felt the danger, which wasn't really the possible intervention of the Soviet army, it was the uprising of the masses of the Workers' States, and in the United States of America too.

The resolution indicates a retreat of all the forces in the Workers' States that wanted to return to capitalism, and moreover, the immense stirring and stimulation of the masses of the Workers' States, Rumania and Yugoslavia, in the struggle against the bureaucratic sectors. The bureaucracy, in order to maintain itself, has inevitably had to carry forward the struggle against sectors which find their support in a market economy, autonomy of enterprise, material stimulus and linked to and maintaining privileges. Inevitably it has had to confront this. It cannot keep such a programme going if it is not encouraged or propelled and moreover without defending the programme for the Socialist Revolution.

This resolution is not just a simple agreement amongst the Communist Parties. It has been brought out in the midst of the Vietnam war, in the midst of Israel's preparation for war in the Middle East. They have brought out a resolution of support for the Arab countries when this was not under discussion. They have brought out a resolution of support for Vietnam, when this was not under discussion. These resolutions are made because of the desire to make contact with and gain the sympathy of the working class. They are resolutions directed at the working class, seeking its world support. Such resolutions are made in order to maintain authority in the Workers' States when the masses are building up their pressure. This is a direct reply that searches contact with the world working class. The liaison that the Soviet bureaucracy is trying to make with the world masses is an attempt to maintain relations and check the pressure within the USSR. This is not happening because of the bureaucracy's wish to take such action. The bureaucracy is trying to respond with this resolution to an internal pressure in the Workers' States, particularly in the USSR. But at the same time, as it is not possible for the bureaucracy to act as it did before, finding a way out through conciliation, because it feels that great decisions are in the making and that war is on the way, it is preparing for a stage of war.

This resolution is going to introduce a crisis within the Communist Parties.

Up until yesterday the Italian Communist Parties supported the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, defending 'the liberty of Czechoslovakia', and as they said, 'the independent right of Czechoslovakia to follow its own road to socialism'. And this declaration from the Communist Parties meeting in Bratislava, says that there are no national roads to socialism; there are particular roads, but there aren't national ones. Thus they speak in general terms about socialism, and of principles which are applicable to all of them. These conclusions indicate that the world advance of the revolution already has a powerful force in the Workers' States. There has already begun now, in an administrative, superficial way, the process which imposes on the bureaucracy the admission of the necessity of putting a check on bureaucratic sectors which want to return to capitalism. It is doing this politically now. Later it will have to do it socially and economically. And this will stimulate a sector which realises that it is no longer possible to continue in this way by making agreements at the top, and that there must be the elimination of bureaucratic forms, organisation and programme, the absence of soviets, autonomy of enterprise, market economy and re-initiating once again along the road to soviets, a planned economy and the planning of all the Workers' States.

This resolution is an expression of a world centre of the revolution and it is made in a very disfigured, limited and superficial way, because it is done to defend bureaucratic interests. This resolution is to maintain the interests of the bureaucracy. Now, in order to do this, they have to bring out a resolution like this whilst before they crushed the Hungarian uprising. This resolution is reached on the same day as there occurs an impulse in the Brazzaville revolution and at the same time as events in Iraq. It provides a conclusion and will give free rein to and stimulate the intervention of the sectors of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union linked to the trade unions, and simultaneously it will impell the struggle within Yugoslavia and Rumania of sectors of the middle bureaucracy and the masses to eliminate privilege, differentiation, material incentives and moreover conservative, reactionary politics. It will stimulate revolutionary sectors to liquidate bureaucratic sectors in Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The resolution adopted declares that the government must be in the hands of the Communist Party, which is a blow against the tendencies linked to capitalism. These are resolutions which are favourable to the bureaucracy linked to the Communist Party. The bureaucracy does not propose to develop the Socialist Revolution. But the bureaucracy was obliged to adopt the resolution to sustain the Workers' State, even though in a bureaucratic way, for it must check capitalist tendencies and stimulate the revolutionary struggle and initiative of the masses inside and outside the Workers' States, the Political Revolution in the Workers' States and the Socialist Revolution in the capitalist countries.

It is a direct stimulus to the world proletariat, the proletariat of the Workers' States and the middle cadres of the Workers' States, who even though under the control of, or being, bureaucrats, are made to feel the necessity to eliminate all forms, functioning, sectors and structures that put the Workers' State in danger. What puts the Workers' State in danger is: a market economy, material incentive, the absence of soviets, and autonomy of enterprise. This is a direct reply to this. And moreover it indicates that the bureaucracy feels the war coming nearer. These are not resolutions taken with the perspective of a stage of development of peaceful co-existence. They are resolutions which tend to prepare for future measures and events to do with the war.

The weakening of the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy indicates this as well. Although it went prepared to keep up its front, defending the whole of its previous programme, now it is tending to renounce this. Amongst other things one of the essential sources of courage to the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, was the agree-

ment with capitalist Germany. And this meeting condemns capitalist Germany. This also confirms our previous analysis of the differentiation between sectors of the bureaucracy: that in any case Dubcek is a member of the Communist Party. He is an old member of the Party, not a technocrat. And it was on him that pressure was put into operation, because he represents the party, and pressure was brought on the Party to bring pressure, in its turn, on Dubcek.

The capitalist sectors of Czechoslovakia were defeated not by the presence of Soviet troops, but by the interests, pre-occupation and the mobilisation, already begun, of layers of the workers, the revolutionary masses of Czechoslovakia and the Workers' States. This is a point of support relied upon by the bureaucracy. Therefore the resolution speaks of unconditional support and defence of Vietnam, defence of the Arab countries, which means the socialist revolution in the Middle East, it attacks Israel and imperialism, it attacks capitalist Germany and the measure which it is in the process of taking on its frontiers with Czechoslovakia. They do not speak of the defence of Vietnam along with support for the peace discussions in Paris. Not a bit of it. Unconditional defence for Vietnam and support for the overthrow of Yankee imperialism. They are all points which seek solidarity, contact and liaison with the world revolutionary masses. It is an attempt of the bureaucracy which shows an attitude of fear and panic. All these resolutions hide panic. 5 days ago they did not have them, or they would have been proclaimed. It is panic which has made the bureaucracy pass these measures in an attempt to put a check on the process. The depth of the measures indicates the panic of the bureaucracy on all sides. It has had to threaten with an appeal to the masses and the danger of revolution. This corresponds to the invasion of Finland and Poland in 1940, when the Soviet bureaucracy, in an attempt to protect itself from the advance of capitalism, had to invade, justifiably so and with full rights, two capitalist countries which were the spearhead of German imperialism.

In this case, although there is no invasion, this declaration corresponds to the same conclusions. The bureaucracy exerts itself to check a process which was gradually increasing in weight, and permitting the entrance and pressure of capitalist forces in Czechoslovakia.

The defence that the Soviet bureaucracy is making of the Workers' State is a conservative defence, preserving its interests, because it does not make appeals for, or organise the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. It does not appeal to the Czechoslovakian masses to hold meetings, demonstrations, and mobilisations to overthrow the sectors of the bureaucracy that try to return to capitalism. Therefore this is a transitory patching-up. The Soviet bureaucracy gave in to a change of concessions that keep in line with a series of measures favourable to sectors of the bureaucracy having individual interests in Czechoslovakia. The capitalist sector is going to try to persist with the Communist Party itself and this will impel a more direct intervention of the masses.

It is a defeat for the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, but also for the Soviet bureaucracy that has had to bring forward conclusions and resolutions which were not within their propositions two days before. They did not have these propositions in mind before or they would have been in evidence: the declarations would

have been made before. It is quite the reverse: all the previous texts, up till the day before, claimed, 'We respect the independence of each country, the peculiar form of socialism in each country, the liberalisation of each country, even though we must maintain socialism. This resolution does not speak either of liberalisation or of respect for the socialism of each country. It is a very general resolution whose essential accent is: the defence of the Workers' States, anti-imperialism, the defence of Vietnam, the defence of the Arab revolution. It is against everything that threatens the socialist structure of the Workers' States! That is to say, it is an immense triumph for the masses of the Workers' States, for the Revolutionary General Strike of the French proletariat and for the masses of the world. The conclusion which is drawing nearer in the coming stages is of an ascent of the Political Revolution in the Workers' States. Moreover, this resolution is — as we have said in the article dated 25th July, 1968 — going to accentuate the crisis of the Chinese and Cuban Communist Parties, who have been absent from this process.

While Fidel Castro is talking about how many cows he possesses and the amount of sugar they are going to harvest, he is absent from such a process that is ten thousand times more important than all the sugar harvest to come. Because what is happening in Czechoslovakia now, and this resolution, impell the world revolution a great deal more than all the production of sugar that can be made in Cuba, even though all the sugar production is necessary. This is very important and the Cubans have not said a thing, and neither have the Chinese. And this when the conditions are being put in evidence in which the Soviet bureaucracy sees itself obliged to pass such a resolution to check a retreat to capitalism. For it is the only way in which the bureaucracy can sustain itself. It has tried peaceful co-existence, it goes on proclaiming co-existence. But the Bratislava resolution isn't a resolution about co-existence. It is an aggressive resolution of combat. It appeals for the defence of Vietnam, it appeals for the expulsion of Israel from the Middle East. This is to attract the support of the masses in the Arab countries, to show solidarity with the Arab States in agreement with the revolution in the Middle East. Meanwhile the Chinese and the Cubans are absent from this process. In China there will be discussed the accusations of the Chinese leadership against the USSR being 'a Capitalist State' and that 'Breznev and company are agents number one of world capitalism'. This will bounce back on the leadership. It shows all the casualness, superficiality and theoretical ignorance of the Chinese leadership, incapable of understanding the contradictory character of the Soviet bureaucracy, which whilst it is based on the Workers' State, conciliates with imperialism. It wants both things: to maintain the Workers' State and continue relations with imperialism, and this is impossible. The bureaucracy has to sustain itself by defending the Workers' State though in a passive and conservative way. The defence that the Soviet bureaucracy makes of the Workers' State is a conservative defence preserving its interests, because there are no appeals, or organisation of the struggle to overthrow capitalism. But it is an aggressive resolution, limited, but aggressive. It is an impulse in the world development of the revolution.

J. POSADAS

3rd August, 1968.

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The programme, the task and the development of the political revolution and of Trotskyism in Cuba, the construction of the Workers States in the stage of the final settlement of accounts with capitalism and the role of the IV International in the rise of the World permanent Socialist Revolution. J. Posadas. (Part 2)

Contd. from Part 1 which was published in Red Flag No. 72 dated 25. 8. 1968.

It is necessary to take account of all this process so as to make it weigh within Cuba while waiting for the next stage, when Cuba will discuss the programme. It will have to discuss the programme! The essential centre of the programme will be two fundamental problems; the formation of soviets, and the elimination of all forms of bureaucratism. At the same time, it will be necessary to eliminate private property in the country-side; to call for forms of co-operative collective and socialist functioning; for the elimination of small private proprietors who are a very great weight and a point of support of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in Cuba. You must show that the elimination of this form of private property in the countryside does not represent any danger for the Workers' State. The Workers' State has sufficient force to do it. With a preparation of six months, it is necessary to begin the liquidation of this form of property and the integration of the masses into the Workers' State. But in order to arrive at this, forms of Soviets must function in the trade unions, in the industrial proletariat of the towns, under the forms of factory committees, workers control. This is going to gain the small poor and middle peasant and integrate them in the factory committees, in the Soviets, in the peasants Soviets. The capitalist tendencies, which are in the minority, are going to find themselves confronting an organised force against all the capitalist interests, against material incentives which contain and sabotage the revolution.

We believe that you must discuss all this with complete decision. But it is necessary to develop an internal life, more dynamic, more linked to the International, you must function as a party, as a political bureau, regional committees, cells, take resolutions, apply them, discuss all the problems of the revolution in the world and in Cuba so that the militants can lead a discussion, a party life, small though it be. This is the source of security; of ability, a stimulus for the revolutionary Guevarist tendencies and for Fidel Castro himself, an impulse to go forward, whatever be the risks. We believe that you, comrades of the Cuban section, must carry on this activity. All the International unconditionally supports the action of our Cuban comrades.

We are in process of making a very great effort, so that you can be in permanent contact with the International. You must make the greatest effort to put yourselves in contact with the International. We offer at the same time a direct discussion between the IV International and the government of Fidel Castro. We are ready to discuss with them, and you must transmit to the Cuban government, by the means you have at your disposal, that the International is ready to travel to discuss with them. They are the ones who must prepare the trip, because we do not have the way to obtain visas.

We send you a report of the enormous development of the International, in the entire world. This development expresses itself in two fundamental aspects. The rise of the revolution, in the capitalist countries, and the Political Revolution in the Workers' States are made on the basis of the Trotskyist programme, objectives, conceptions and form of struggle. There is a struggle to eliminate the material stimulus, to impell the moral stimulus. In China, in Vietnam, in the USSR itself, in Poland, they are discussing on the basis of the Trotskyist programme. Down with all forms of differentiation and privilege! For the moral stimulus, for

the armed revolutionary struggle, for the destruction of capitalism, by only possible way; The Proletarian revolution! for the unification of all the Workers' States, the unconditional support for Vietnam, the crushing of imperialism in Vietnam, the mass Communist International. It is all these perspectives which are in process of being developed within the world revolution, the masses of the capitalist countries and of the Workers' States. This is the Trotskyist programme.

In the entire world and in particular in France; all the tendencies which are struggling to impell the revolution are considered as Trotskyists, even if they only have Trotskyist objectives at this moment. Others are gained by the Trotskyists. It is possibly that in the Workers' States, in particular in the USSR and in China, according to our information, semi-organised Trotskyist groups exist, who are struggling objectively for the Trotskyist programme. Our persistence, our assurance does not come solely from our certainty in the ideas, but from the proof that these ideas are a historical necessity which is in process of being adopted by the masses, by the revolutionary currents and tendencies. The world revolution is fused to our programme. From this comes our tactic of 'Interior Entrism' to impell the communist masses to fight within their Party, to constitute revolutionary groups, and tendencies, and eliminate the capitulatory groups who conciliate with capitalism or with the bureaucracy of the Communist Party, to impell the struggle for the revolutionary programme passing over the heads of their leadership. This can be done and is done already, in France, in Italy in the majority of the capitalist countries.

In Italy our section intervenes in the elections, 2000 people at least attend each meeting. The comrades have been sabotaged, and have only been able to present themselves in two districts; Pescara and Rome. They are small districts in relation to others where the Party has a great tradition and influence. But we think that the Party is going to receive thousands of votes. The presence of thousands of communist militants at our meetings, the approval by the communist militants of the programme, the policy and the objectives of the Party, the stimulus which these militants have given to the Party, the vigour with which they have applauded, bought our publications, confronted their communist leadership, all this encourages the Italian Communist vanguard to carry forward the struggle for power. After the elections, one must expect a great revolutionary struggle in Italy. All these students in Italy are a great reflection of the revolutionary struggles of the Italian masses. Before the students mobilised, there was the strike of 125 thousand workers of FIAT, and of 300 thousand engineering workers, who have made demonstrations of United Front against the leaderships of the Communist Parties, and of the Trade Union. Now, in France equally, the workers occupy the factories, organise strikes against the leadership of the trade unions, organising the united front at the base. This is the policy, the programme, the objectives, and Trotskyist methods of struggle and organisation.

All this process shows a very important elevation. This is why the Trotskyists have not been eliminated in Cuba, nor in any Workers' State, nor in the rest of the world. On the contrary our publications are distributed in the entire world. The IV International publishes the Marxist Review in Spanish, French, English, supplements in Portuguese, Arab, Persian, Greek and German. The Marxist Review in Spanish is published in Uruguay, Ar-

gentine, Bolivia, Mexico, Spain and Peru. The 16 sections of the International, and some ten in formation who already have publications, are publishing the paper in 20 countries, in 12 languages-Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Italian, Greek, Persian, Flemish, Japanese, German, Arab in different dialects-and there are more than 100 regional and fraction papers, and more than 10 papers of revolutionary tendency in united front with communist and socialist militants. In the course of the last year, the International has published a hundred printed bulletins, of which we have sent the list with this letter. The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) -Uruguay-, has an audition on the radio three times a week, and in Bolivia, our comrades make conferences periodically which are re-transmitted over the radio. The International is enjoying a lively and constant progress. This elevation expresses itself by the influence on the objective movement of the masses, who by-pass their leaderships and fight objectively for the programme of the proletarian anti-capitalist revolution, to eliminate privileges, arrogance, bureaucracy, imposing the norms of proletarian democracy and at the same time the necessity of the Mass Communist International which develops in practice. The mass Communist International is already in development in fact, because there is a process of objective unification of the masses of the world to crush imperialism.

In Germany, England, Italy, France, Belgium, in the entire world the masses are unifying themselves in anti-capitalist measures. There are tendencies developing there. They are qualified as Trotskyist and effectively they are Trotskyist, because Trotskyism is already a public possession, its programme, its policy, its objectives are adopted by the world masses who are in process of breaking with the leadership of the Communist Parties. The apparent power of the apparatuses of the CP is breached by the struggles of the masses by the world weight of the revolution, by the concentration of the process of the revolution. The masses of the world are transmitting from one to another the most important effects, the most important triumphs, measures, struggles, the revolutionary methods and objectives. The masses are communication two fundamental points; the elimination of arrogance, of bureaucracy, the imposition of proletarian democracy and the struggle for an anti-capitalist programme. The masses are unified, they triumph over their bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Parties and the Workers' States. It is for this that the Trotskyists are distributed on a world scale and that the IV International is developing.

It is necessary to count on this, Comrades of the Cuban Section, to stimulate the leadership of the Communist Party and the Cuban Government, to make them feel this world pressure and to encourage them to go further, taking into account their relative pre-occupation for the constant menace of Yankee imperialism, the capitalist countries of Latin America and the world, of the bureaucracies of the Workers' States. Apart from this letter we are sending a report on the development of the International.

All this advance of the International has an immense effect on the nationalist currents, on the christian democrats in countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America who are won over and influenced by Trotskyism. We influence in the same way the new tendencies and revolutionary currents who unify themselves with the revolution and detach themselves from the bureaucratic apparatuses. The mass Communist International already exists

in the consciousness of the masses. The Manifesto of the First of May from the International Secretariat, which we have already sent to you, is clear and categorical to define, to demonstrate that the Mass Communist International is already there in the consciousness of the masses and is applied through them. The defence of Vietnam is a centre for the masses, a stimulant and a centre of action, a point of support to smash imperialism, to struggle against bureaucracy, to lead the armed struggle against capitalism, to take hostages, to occupy the factories, and at the same time to struggle for proletarian democracy.

In Spain, the students fight for the united front, with the proletarian programme; they advance in the decision to create the new revolutionary leadership to overthrow capitalism. FUDE, student university organisation, is lead by the Trotskyists, with the Trotskyist programme. World capitalism exhibits great panic towards FUDE. Capitalism in Italy has a terrible fear of the Italian Section of the IVth International which presents itself in the elections. At the meetings of the Party, some hundreds of people participate, and the communist vanguard feels itself encouraged to lead forward in its Party, in the PSIUP, the struggle for the revolutionary programme. The action of the Trotskyists in Latin America is dreaded by capitalism, by the bureaucracies of the Workers' States, by the bureaucracies of the Communist Parties. They understand that it is the IVth International which impulses and stimulates the tendencies in the interior of the Communist Parties, to struggle for the programme of the revolution. It's the same for the action of our section in Cuba. We are no longer isolated, we have a world point of support, Comrades, we are a factor of leadership accepted and recognised by several revolutionary leaderships who concretely expresses this recognition in applying the programme and the Trotskyist objectives.

Capitalism is going to enter into the war but in the worst conditions for it, with an immense pessimism. All of capitalism is pessimistic. The Cuban Government must feel this. Every action of capitalism is pessimistic, defeatist, fearful. Capitalism is more divided than ever, when it ought to completely unified. The bourgeoisie are unified through their class interest and in the preparation for the war, but they are not unified politically although they have need of this to confront the world advance of the revolution. We must insist on these problems Comrades, insist in relation to the Government and be audacious, audacious. Audacity does not mean adventurism nor mean making the Workers' State run risks. But it is necessary to have the same audacity now as when power was taken. This element of audacity in the Cuban section and the Cuban Government is going to aid the tendencies of the other Workers' State to push forward the policy against the bureaucracy, to eliminate the bureaucracy, to re-implant or implant Soviets to destroy what remains of capitalism, and to stimulate the revolutionary basis of the Communist Parties which are large parties, to smash the leaderships conciliatory with capitalism who wish to hinder the revolution and protect as a consequence the existence of capitalism.

The Soviet bureaucracy protects capitalism, Yankee imperialism, indirectly in not giving arms, in not intervening with all its military forces to smash imperialism. But even so, the force of the revolution, is infinitely superior to them all, and progresses irresistibly. The revolution advances, under all its aspects; proletarian, student, peasant, soldier; a

EDITORIAL

FOR THE UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE.....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ed to show the true disposition of the masses and indeed it is a contradictory affair but such a conference was forced to support industrial action in support of the claims of equal pay for women. This in itself shows the gigantic pressure of the masses at this stage, the pressure particularly of the most exploited sectors of the proletariat, acting as a stimulus to the other sectors. Capitalism is incapable of meeting these demands. The interests of capitalism and the interests of the working class are diametrically opposed and no factor now can conciliate them. It is true that in relation to Czechoslovakia, the bureaucracy of all groupings took

OUR PROGRAMME

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

a reactionary position but even here in the closed councils of the bureaucrats, voices were raised who were not prepared to break with the Soviet Trade Unions. Even so it is true the bureaucracy showed its pro capitalist interests and tries to lean on the reactionary aspects of the Soviet bureaucracy's intervention in Czechoslovakia to confuse the vanguard. But the policy of the LP in relation to incomes is rejected. One can hardly point to a more decisive proof of the collapse of imperialism and at the same time the impotence of the trade union bureaucracy.

British imperialism and capitalism is devoid of authority. The Labour Party apparatus is divided and without solution, the Tories are broken. In all the vastness of this world and national process, mass tendencies and currents are going to express themselves through the trade unions

and the base of the Labour Party seeking for a revolutionary programme and in this process the IV International even if numerically small has a decisive role to play, with the policy and the programme which responds to this stage.

In all the strike actions, in all the efforts to establish a general strike, in the crisis of trade union democracy clearly present in the ETU (indeed in all the unions) in the necessity to organise nation-wide struggles of the women workers, in the problems of fighting the new track speeds in the car industry, the force that remains missing is the functioning factory committee. Such is the pressure of the masses that leaders such as Cousins or Scanlon are forced to make appropriate noises of protest and put up with strike action and call for industrial action for women workers in the TUC Conference is imposed, but

the enforcing of the demands of the masses requires the factory committees to be perpetually active, discussing, planning, imposing their demands. This amongst other matters is the great lesson to be drawn from the revolutionary general strike in France. Without the indispensable weapon of the factory committees functioning with full proletarian democracy with the right of immediate recall, it is impossible to advance with the full power of the class and overpower the obstacles of the traditional leaderships. But we can approach this period with the greatest confidence because the masses are assimilating all the time, the experiences of the situation in France and the meaning of the events in Czechoslovakia, even if there are elements among the vanguard genuinely confused by the Dubcek grouping in Czechoslovakia.

The Labour Party apparatus, the Trade Union leaders (their own "vetting" policy was only just passed; itself a defeat), imperialism, capitalism have suffered a heavy defeat at the TU Conference. Capitalism and all the apparatuses have shown that they have no social weight. Indirectly it is a tremendous victory for the masses. Without a mass party that can represent them, without a means of discussion and control, the masses have delivered an almighty blow at imperialism and capitalism.

We reiterate our appeals to the workers vanguard and the student vanguard. Build the factory committees in all industries and committees of all sectors of the exploited population to decide prices, rents, demands for housing. Struggle around the following programme: nationalisations under workers control without compensation, all wages to rise with the cost of living, for a real trade union democracy with the right of immediate recall, equal pay for women, worker, student, teacher, government of colleges and universities, withdrawal of all British troops abroad, liquidation of all Polaris bases etc. To enforce these demands, and to extend the indefinite general strike, we call for factory occupations, and the imposition of workers control. We call upon the student vanguard to cease struggles that remain confined to issues simply of curriculums, and student "representation", and to fuse themselves with the struggles of the workers and wage the political struggle to prepare the overthrow of the whole social order.

Forward to the organisation of the indefinite general strike of all the working population on the basis of the factory committees. Impose factory occupations and workers control. In face of the capitalist policy of wage freeze and its failure, impose the workers policy of a 30% all round wage increase, and all the profits of automation to the workers. For the imposition of proletarian democracy, and out with the "representatives" of the workers who refuse to fight capitalism. For the independent functioning of the class organisms, the factory and workers area committees.

Statement of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T) on the Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International on the military intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia. We base this resolution on three documents of comrade Posadas the first dated 25. 7. 68: "The attempt to return to capitalism in Czechoslovakia, the interbureaucratic contradictions and struggles in the Workers' States, the construction of Socialism and the world development of the Socialist Revolution" and the Bratislava document published in this paper, and the document on the intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia which was adopted as a resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International dated 22. 8. 68. This resolution will be published in the next issue of Red Flag published on 25 September.

The intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia marks a new stage in the development of the political and world revolution, and brings us even nearer to the final settlement of accounts between world capitalism and the Workers States. It brings more into crisis the leaderships of the world Communist Parties most of whom condemned the intervention whilst the masses at the base of these same parties even though there is a confusion feel that the Soviet Union intervened to protect the structure of the Workers State against the tendencies within it who wanted to go back towards capitalism.

We are not in agreement with the intervention of the Red Army; in relation to the political revolution it is a reactionary attitude because it impedes the direct intervention of the masses, and is directed at maintaining the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. The best way to defend the Workers States is for the masses to intervene directly, to form soviets, to kick out the bureaucratic leaderships, to establish proletarian democracy; this is the way to defend the Workers States, and this could have been done with an appeal to the intervention to the Czech workers. But, in relation to the capitalist world the intervention is not counter-revolutionary but to defend the Workers State, to smash those tendencies who want to return to capitalism.

The world and Czechoslovakian masses do not see the intervention as an invasion because it is not against the Workers State. Some sectors of the students and the petit bourgeoisie have demonstrated against it but not the proletariat. The working class of Czechoslovakia are friendly towards the Soviet Army, they say—why are you here, we do not need you, but they are not against the Soviet Army.

We appeal to the Red Army in Czechoslovakia, to give power to the Czechoslovakian working class, to help form militias within the trade unions, to form proletarian democracy, to organise soviets, to kick out the tendency of Dubcek, and give the power to the soviets, and then withdraw.

We call the working class, the students to make meetings, to discuss all this, particularly the documents of Cde. Posadas. We call for the rejection of the United Front of the Labour and T.U. leaders with the Dubcek tendency, and for a united front of the base with the proletariat of Czechoslovakia and all the Workers States to throw out capitalism and the bureaucracy.

7 Sept 68

RWP(T) British Section IV International

Letter to the Cuban Comrades

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

constant progress. New layers of the population intervene and lay siege to world capitalism, smashing it constantly. Capitalism loses bases, forces. You must take account of this comrades, and give the example, publicly to stimulate tendencies, the conscious revolutionary leadership and base, in Cuba, so that they push forward this policy. It is necessary to appeal for the Mass Communist International, for the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front, to appeal to the masses of Latin America to overthrow capitalism, for a workers and peasants government, for the Soviet Socialist United States of Latin America. It is necessary to appeal to the European proletariat, for the Mass Communist International, for the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe, for the unification of the proletariat of Europe with the proletariat of the Workers States, to destroy what remains of capitalism. To develop the revolutionary tendencies, that is your fundamental function Cuban Comrades. We understand the difficulties

of this activity, but we believe that it is that which it is necessary to develop in every way, in taking all the measures of necessary precaution, all the clear and public explanations, in pushing forward the public discussions, open discussions to stimulate the revolutionary bases of Cuba, so that they struggle for the revolutionary policy, to destroy what remains of capitalism.

All the International supports unconditionally our Cuban Section, all the International is at the disposition of our Cuban Section. The development of the International is irresistible, and in a few years, it will be the vital fundamental centre, of the development of the revolutionary tendencies, of the world revolutionary leadership. All the objectives of history tend towards that. You are part of these objectives of history. The world united front, the revolutionary world leadership bases itself already on the experiences which millions and millions of the masses are making, encouraged by the constant advance of the revolution and the constant failure of im-

perialism, which is incapable, powerless to contain the development of the revolution.

Dear Comrades of the Cuban Section:

In the name of the leadership of the IV International, we embrace, we salute fraternally, with all our revolutionary strength the comrades of the Section, the Cuban masses, the Cuban revolution, the masses, the leadership, the revolutionary tendencies of the government and of the Cuban Communist Party and we reiterate our appeal for a world united front to overthrow what remains of capitalism.

Viva the Cuban revolution!

Viva the IV International!

Viva the Cuban Section of the IV International!

15. 5. 1968

J. POSADAS

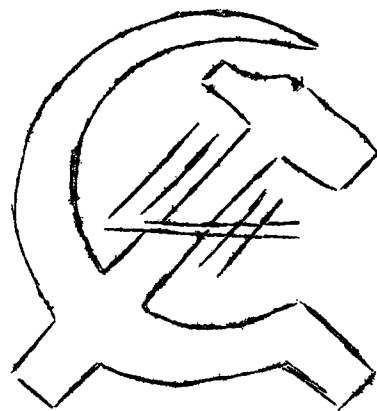
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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

RED
FLAG



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

No.74 Fortnightly

25th September, 1968

Sixpence

Make the National Engineering Strike the
Centre for the Unlimited General Strike
for the Demands of all the Masses

The preparations for the strike of the engineering workers planned for the middle of October, are taking place in an atmosphere of ever increasing militancy and confidence of the working class in this country. The bureaucrats of the engineering unions are still hoping to find some way out, and although their margin of manoeuvre is being constantly narrowed, there is still a possibility that they will find an excuse to call it off. The engineering workers must be prepared for this, must keep up their pressure through their union organisations, on the leadership, while at the same time constructing their own leadership through the factory committees which will be able to carry on the strike if the bureaucrats try to sell out. All the world conditions are favourable for a general strike which will attract all the exploited masses. The experience of the French Revolutionary General Strike, the continuing struggle in the Middle East, the Vietnam war, the defeat which Imperialism has suffered over Czechoslovakia, the tremendous student struggles in Mexico, all these have been assimilated by the workers vanguard which sees that British capitalism is weak, and can offer nothing to the worker masses but perspectives of rationalisation, unemployment, rising prices and rents, decaying houses and cities, overcrowded schools and hospitals, and frozen wages. British Imperialism has no other perspective but the world atomic war against the Workers States and the revolutionary masses, and all its resources are dedicated to this end.

But the worker masses show they are not intimidated by these perspectives. The confidence of the working class shows itself every where, but most of all where it is most concentrated, i.e. in the car industry. Capitalism is going frantic over the rush of strikes in the car and car component industries which are a vital centre of the capitalist economy. The Ford women workers are still banning overtime inspite of threats of sackings, the workers

contd. page 2.

Resolution of the I.S. of the IV International.
THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET ARMY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA J. Posadas
Page 3. 22. 8. 68

of Girling in Monmouthshire and Merseyside, the Lucas toolmakers, have all in the past weeks crippled the efforts of capitalism to increase production. Now a sector of Ford workers who were laid off because of the Girling strike are demanding a guaranteed monthly wage whether they work or are laid off through lack of components caused by strikes in other sectors of the industry, and are banning overtime to back up this demand. This is of fundamental importance and shows the influence of the American car workers who have already won a guaranteed yearly wage. It is a demand which must be fought for in all industries. The depth of the revolutionary process in this country shows itself by the fact that sectors without a weight or influence and traditionally distant if not actually hostile to the class like the security men at Girling are now using working class methods and finding the support of the working class. Capitalism finds itself without anybody to guarantee its security. All of these struggles, as those of the busmen and the technicians of DATA against redundancy show the spirit of the British working class to fight capitalism, a spirit which has not yet found a way to unify itself on a national scale but will be able to find it in the national engineering strike. Already there is a sector of the vanguard which is acting as a leadership even if it does not yet have a conscious programme or a national organisation. This vanguard is exerting a pressure through the Trade Unions, affecting the lower and middle officials of the unions, and making itself felt (even if only partially) in the resolutions against the policy of Wilson at the TUC Conference. It is the pressure of this leadership which makes the bureaucrats of the AEF harden their attitude against the capitalist class, refusing to meet Mrs. Castle for talks on the stoppages in the car industry and recognising as official, the Lucas's toolmakers strike.

It is not only the working class which is organised in the large factories and which therefore has more confidence in its ability to strike, who are showing anti-capitalist militancy. Tenants all over the country are becoming more and more organised in militant activity over the proposed rent increases due to be made on the first of October. The big demonstration in London of 20,000 tenants is very important because all the working class and their families participated in it, from the children to the old age pensioners. And this is an expression of the maturity of the situation when the children and the old people are involved, just as they have been in the Middle East, in Syria and Aden fighting against imperialism and capitalism. And it is the same with the students who are going back to college determined to continue the struggle against arrogance, outmoded syllabuses, petty restrictions, and the student vanguard already sees the need to ally with the working class. The actions of the students of the Hornsey College of Art, protesting about the closure of their college is a limited beginning of a student movement which will have to become consciously more anti-capitalist in order to advance in a whole world climate of student action in Mexico, Brazil etc., and with the experience before them of the role which the students played in the revolutionary General Strike in France in May. The struggle for control over education will continue and we urge the students that only the alliance with the working class fighting for the workers and students government of the university as a point of the programme for the struggle for a workers government, has a perspective of success, the students by themselves will alter nothing. It is only in the Workers State that education can be for the benefit of the whole population and with all the population taking advantage of it, and for this reason to ^{and} achieve a decent educational system it is necessary to overthrow capitalism, /on the way to overthrow it certain reforms can be extracted from capitalism but only by the aggressive struggle of the students in alliance with the working class.

The need for Factory Committees on the anti-Capitalist Programme.

In this world situation of the rising revolution, it is necessary to organise thoroughly for this coming strike of the engineering workers, for although Cousins and Scanlon are under enormous pressure from the rank and file of their respective unions, they and the other union leaders in the Confed. will still try to delay, and limit the strike, and therefore it is necessary to build factory committees independently of the union leaders to organise the strike should these leaders back out. Factory committees in every industry with representatives elected at mass meetings and subject to instant recall if they do not carry out the decisions of the workers taken at mass meetings! Meetings where every worker has the right to intervene, union member or not, women and youths all with the same status. Factory committees organised on

Resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International

THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET ARMY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE CRISIS
OF THE BUREAUCRACIES OF THE WORKERS STATES, AND OF WORLD
CAPITALISM, THE NEED FOR THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE
POLITICAL REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

J. POSADAS

22nd August, 1968

Text presented by Cde. J. Posadas and adopted as a resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International.

The intervention of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia has provoked an explosion in the capitalist system, has impelled the crisis in the Communist Parties and has opened a new phase in the world course of the revolutionary and class struggle. These events, this intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia must be taken as part of the world and revolutionary class struggle. They are not isolated events, but are part of the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the world revolution. Taken as a partial intervention, apart from everything else, as a peculiar thing, it has no historic significance or importance; taken as a part of the final settlement of accounts, - it is part of this preparation of the settlement of accounts - it expresses the limits, the need, and the capacity of the Soviet Workers State and the Workers States of the world, to defend themselves, the limitation, the limited bureaucratic ability with which the Soviet bureaucracy is capable and can defend the Workers States.

What is in discussion is what is the sense, what is the soviet intervention seeking, and what does imperialism want. The intervention of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia forms a part of the bureaucratic and empirical methods of the Soviet bureaucracy to try to defend itself. The intervention now in Czechoslovakia is not the same as the intervention in 1956 when they smashed the revolution of the proletariat in Hungary, which the Hungarian reactionaries through Mindszenty wanted to profit from. In both cases the Soviet bureaucracy tried to defend its bureaucratic interests, but while in Hungary in 1956, the Soviet bureaucracy tried to smash the uprising of the political revolution, in 1968, in Czechoslovakia, it tries to sustain itself, through bureaucratic opportunist and conciliatory methods with a part of the Czechoslovak bureaucracy but it must at the same time, defend itself and oppose the reactionary tendencies who have a relation with, and are joined to capitalism.

These events must not be taken as isolated parts of a struggle between the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and the interests of the Czechoslovak bureaucracy. Both defend caste, sector interests but both have different historic situations, necessities and possibilities. The Soviet bureaucracy in order to sustain itself must defend, sustain and extend the capacity of the Workers State to defend itself. And as part of this, must extend military capacity. The decision of history is military, it is not economic nor electoral. The capitalist world prepares to make a military response faced with the advance of the world revolution and the Workers States. And Czechoslovakia is of fundamental importance for world capitalism. World capitalism has tried and is trying constantly to weaken, undermine dis-unite, and split up the united front of the Workers States. The bureaucracy of the Workers States, also. The policy of the bureaucracy supports this objective of capitalism.

Not having the Mass Communist International, not planning the economy from the socialist point of view, because of the existence of the bureaucracy, the fact that proletarian socialist democracy does not exist, workers control and socialist functioning of the trade unions do not exist, the fact that the economy is developing in the form of the market economy, of self management, of liberalisation of enterprises, of autonomy of enterprises, which eliminates socialist planning, the fact that socialist planning is eliminated deciding things through the interests of profit, this creates inevitably - as a logical

consequence of the existence solely of the bureaucracy - the individual and particular interest of enterprises and individuals. The fact of stimulating the market economy, stimulates the tendency of using the Workers States with individual, not collective interests. And this is the basis for the creation of pro-capitalist tendencies, of individual interests, which exploit the economy of the Workers State, the nationalised property, so as to afterwards by the extension of their dominion over the economy, pass to an interest of private expropriation. And this is the bridge which leads them to the capitalist system.

The capitalist system has encouraged all these possibilities and the policy of the bureaucracy has permitted this encouragement. The existence itself of the bureaucracy has allowed this encouragement, this stimulus of the capitalist system. The existence of the bureaucracy, its policy, its programme and bureaucratic planning have permitted the functioning as a Workers State to retreat constantly and the functioning as a capitalist state to advance much more. The market economy is capitalist, it is not of the Workers State. It does not advance to socialism, it retreats. The autonomy of enterprises is the use by individual interest and for a capitalist material stimulus. It is not socialist moral stimulus, the basis of the development of the advance of the Workers State towards socialism.

The existence of bases, of administrators of factories, is a direct stimulus to private use. The existence of peasants who have their own land and sell the products to the state, who are developing co-operatives, are bases of exploitation, of capitalist interest. They are not socialist co-operatives, but bases of capitalist interest. This is the basis of the relation of stimulus, of incentive, allying itself with the world capitalist market. And moreover, through the logical necessity of this form of economy, it approaches closer to the capitalist system than to socialism. Because socialism means to gradually eliminate all individual dependence, all individual use and to gradually elevate collective socialist functioning, system, and relations. All these eliminate the market economy, the autonomy of enterprises the stimulus of profit, and elevates on the contrary the socialist relation, which is the conscious interest to elevate human relations to the socialist interest. Already the economy of the Workers States is sufficient so that socialist relations, relations of socialist sentiment of socialist consciousness can develop.

The private use has stimulated the interest in each Workers State, of the bureaucracies, of the national interest, the local interest and encourages on one side or the other, in different forms, has stimulated, has impelled in one country or another, the interest of particular use of the economy for themselves, without the interest, taking no account of the socialist interest. And this links it to the world capitalist system. And the market economy is the bond with world capitalism. In this way our teachers defined it, Lenin and Trotsky defined it, this is the link with world capitalism. And Czechoslovakia with Yugoslavia and Rumania are those who have gone furthest in their relations with the capitalist system. In the form of direct link ups with capitalism, of the autonomy of enterprises, of liberalisation of enterprises, of development of material interest, of the elimination of the proletariat and the masses from the management, from the leadership and the participation of the state, with the elimination of the soviets. And on the contrary the functioning through apparatuses which eliminate the participation of the population, stimulates private interest.

For this reason in none of the Workers States are there factory assemblies, factory committees, meetings of independent trade unions, mobilisation, assemblies, meetings of the masses. None. Because the bureaucracy fears to call them. And Czechoslovakia is the Workers States which is closest to the capitalist system, of all the bureaucracies of the Workers States, the closest to the capitalist system. On the other hand in the Soviet Union through the existence of seven years after the revolution of 1917 of a Soviet functioning, relations and structures and developments which are very solid, linked to the functioning and structure of the Workers State, have allowed the development of much greater layers, tendencies, sectors of the proletariat to weigh in society than in the rest of the Workers States including China. The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union depends more on the apparatus of the party and on the masses than on any other leadership of the Workers States. And in its turn the most developed Workers State, with most weight in history with more interest, is dependant on the masses, is subject to the control of the masses, still indirectly, but subject to the control of the masses. Through the his-

toric roots of the Workers State, through its much more profound Soviet structure, extended and rooted in the masses, more than in any other of the Workers States, where the agrarian structure of important sectors, the interest of private sectors are links which bring them close to the capitalist system.

The Czechoslovakian Soviet divergencies of bureaucratic interests, clash and until now they have tried through meetings, discussions, meetings of committees, to conciliate their interests. If they have not been able to conciliate their interests, it is because in one or another country, the interests the political and social development of the bureaucracy differ.

Whilst in Czechoslovakia the weakest in its structure of the Workers States, there develop more tendencies and bases which draw closer to capitalism, in the USSR, the power of the proletariat, the structural development of the first seven years of the Soviet Union which was a true revolution with soviet functioning gave a more solid structure, more dependant on the party, on soviet society. The conciliation which until now the Soviet bureaucracy and the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy could realise has reached its end. And the contradictions cannot be resolved through the medium of agreements or of mutual concessions. Both unite themselves to the interest of world capitalism, this is the interest of the Workers State, the survival and the dependance of the bureaucracy on the Workers State.

But whilst in the USSR the bureaucracy depends much more profoundly on the Workers State, this is subject in every way in spite of the bureaucratic functioning and of its bureaucratic use of the Workers State, is subject to the development of the Workers State. It does not defend or sustain Soviet forms, because it eliminates them, but it depends upon the structure of the Workers State, whilst the progress towards the freeing of the enterprises in the Soviet Union has not reached or affected the structure in an important form, but in Czechoslovakia it has. The bureaucracy of Czechoslovakia has already succeeded in developing sectors and tendencies within Czechoslovakia which have no interest in the functioning as a Workers State. They have developed neither interest, or consciousness

in the functioning as a Workers State. The masses, the proletariat, the poor and middle peasant sectors, the poor intellectuals have not been able to intervene nor to protest nor to weigh because they have not been able to live in an organised form. All the defenders of Czechoslovakia, those who speak of freedom for Czechoslovakia, why did they not defend it yesterday in which time there was neither assembly, meetings, discussions, or independence of the proletariat? Where was liberty before? Neither before or now is there liberty for the masses. There was liberty for the bureaucracy as there is within the Soviet Union but not for the masses.

But while the Soviet Union sees itself obliged to resort to the masses, including having to make small meetings of the party to defend the socialist structure in Czechoslovakia, the bureaucracy resorts to world capitalism, Whilst to defend itself through historic necessity, to defend its bureaucratic interests, the soviet bureaucracy is obliged to arm itself and to prepare on a world scale to meet imperialism, because it depends on the structure of the Workers State and because the Workers State has a solid worker base developed and structured in the first seven years of the Russian revolution, in Czechoslovakia it has not been able to develop such a process. The Soviet bureaucracy helped this process itself with its aid to bureaucratic interest, with bureaucratic relations impeding the intervention of the masses, the formation of soviets, hastened this bureaucratic process which degenerated and allied itself with world capitalism.

It is in Czechoslovakia where there are tendencies which are close to capitalism, which seek to ally themselves with capitalism and to break one of the essential bases not only in economic but military relations. It is in Czechoslovakia where a sector has developed which already was close to allying itself militarily with capitalism through German capitalism.

The decisions are not going to be economic, they are going to be military. It is in Czechoslovakia where there are tendencies which are close to capitalism which seek to ally themselves with capitalism and break one of the essential bases not only in economic but military relations. It is in Czechoslovakia where a sector was close to allying itself militarily with capitalism through German capitalism.

It is not on the planes only of economic competition that imperialism hopes to confront the Workers States and the revolution where it knows that it is losing, it is on the military plane where it has concentrated all its forces. From

there the historic decision on the military plane. It is absurd to pose the whole class of discussion in the Workers States without posing that the decision is going to be military and it is necessary in consequence to maintain at all cost the United Front of the Workers States as much in the economic and political camp as the military. It is the United Front of the Workers States. Imperialism is trying to weaken this front of the Workers States to try to advance on bases which allow it to make nuclear war against the Workers States, trying to separate, to weaken the bases of the Workers States. Czechoslovakia was a bridge for this, it was an economic, political and military bridge.

It is in Czechoslovakia that there were recently demonstrations communicated through the capitalist press of Europe, of currents who were going with placards, saying; "let us recognise Israel". Israel is the agent of Yankee Imperialism, it is the agent of Yankee imperialism, it is the instrument against the Arab revolution. It is in Czechoslovakia that Makno emerged, the writer who came out in direct defence of Israel. Recently the Czechoslovakian intellectuals launched the manifesto of the Two Thousand Words it was read through the radio and published in all the newspapers of Czechoslovakia. It is a text discussed in Czechoslovakia legally, publically in which the document asks for the restitution of private property of every enterprise less than 40 workers and the handing over of the land to the landowners. They would form socialist and catholic parties who would ask directly the right to discuss and argue with the Communist Party for power in Czechoslovakia. There the problem is posed. They are tendencies, which do not discuss to combat the Soviet bureaucracy to build socialism, but they discuss as bureaucrats in order to return to capitalism. This is the discussion which there is in Czechoslovakia. And the present proposal of this tendency was approved by the state apparatus to give later a blow from above and to make a military coup asking for the intervention of world capitalism. This is the problem which it is necessary to see in discussion.

Neither Dubcek nor the other bureaucrats can confront this, they do not have any interest nor were they capable and because they were allies of theirs, they were the bureaucratic wing of this sector, still not interested in the policy of those tendencies who wished to return to capitalism but ^{they} served them. And they were accomplices because all prevented the proletariat discussing, speaking having independent trade unions, so that there can be socialist revolutionary political manifestations.

Thus imperialism is interested in the defence of Czechoslovakia. It does not defend Czechoslovakia in the abstract nor liberty in the abstract, it defends the possibility of putting a wedge into Czechoslovakia to develop a tendency which by a coup d etat may make it possible to destroy the military economic and social front of the Workers States. And what is decisive in history is military advantage. And in history there are two instruments; the capitalist system and the Workers States, the 16 Workers States. Whatever might be the contingencies from here to the launching of the nuclear war whatever the interval, these are the forces which are going to define history, it is necessary to take a historic and class position. Thus it is resolved.

When imperialism sustains and arms the defence of Czechoslovakia, it does not defend either Dubcek or the Communist Party nor communist liberty not the struggle for communism, it defends a base which can perturb, destroy, and can place a wedge, military, political, economic and social for the final settlement of accounts between the world revolution and capitalism, to try to regain for the capitalist system a base, to try to influence the rest of the Communist Parties to demoralise them and demoralise the masses. But capitalism knows that there is no way out in any of these measures, that the masses have felt that they believe in socialism, believe in communism, feel secure and capable. The effect which imper-

ialism seeks is a direct social, military political base to confront the next stages. That is to say that it knows that all is going to be decided in the final settlement of accounts. Imperialism has troops in Germany, not to defend capitalist Germany but against the Workers States. All the troops which NATO has in Germany are to prepare the war against the Workers States.

What the Chinese are doing is absurd cynical, idiotic, to discuss the Czechoslovakian problem without discussing it in this way. The criticisms which the Soviet bureaucracy deserve are the criticisms from the revolutionary camp not the capitalist camp. We criticise the Soviet bureaucracy, its impotence, its incapacity, its historic usurpation. It is responsible for all that has happened but it is not a question now of the Soviet

bureaucracy, it is a question of the Workers States. The defence of Czechoslovakia is the defence of the Czechoslovakia of Dubcek and the team which was in power at the time; it is the defence of a bridge which allows imperialism in a short stage to give or try to make a military coup in Czechoslovakia.

Why do the defenders of Czechoslovakia, like the defenders also of the Soviet bureaucracy not appeal for the trade unions to determine, to make meetings, assemblies discussions in which the workers can speak? Demonstrations in which they speak for the programme which they want; socialism or the liberalisation which Dubcek wants, or which imperialism wants and which the Soviet bureaucracy wants, or the programme of the socialist revolution, that is to say the liquidation of the bureaucracy to form soviets. The workers are going to elect, to form soviets, factory committees. This is what must be discussed.

The Soviet bureaucracy is not and has not been capable of impeding the development of this tendency which wishes to return to capitalism. It has not done so because it in part is responsible and culpable. It has been forced to intervene in a bureaucratic form. It has tried to conciliate until the last moment. This same Dubcek whom they accuse today of being a traitor, yesterday the soviet bureaucracy was giving him an accolade. It sought conciliation to sustain him, and to pass this stage. It sought to gain him for itself. The Soviet bureaucracy did not accuse him before of being an agent, a representative of interests which were far from the interest of communism.

The pro-capitalist tendencies of Czechoslovakia did not present themselves openly because they would not receive support. They supported themselves and tried to support themselves in the Communist Party. And their actual task was to argue over participation in the government and from there to give a military blow to separate, try to create an internal situation to separate Czechoslovakia from the world front of the Workers States, this was the conclusion. And the Soviet bureaucracy, sustaining Dubcek was going to allow this policy. It is the consequence of the existence of the bureaucracy.

If the Soviet bureaucracy represented the revolutionary interests of the Soviet Workers State and of the Workers States, it would make the call for them to mobilise at this very moment. When in 1920 Lenin and Trotsky decided on the invasion of Poland, they invaded Poland to impell the revolution. When they decided to invade Germany, it was also to impell the revolution, but in order to impell the revolution, to give animation, support, and to give military support to the masses, to give the power to the masses. This they said in their programme and policy. The programme was; we want to take power we want to smash capitalism. And that was the way they tried to do it. They could not do it because they did not have the material force. But they did not hesitate in making the Soviet

Army intervene, they did it to impell the revolution. In the same way as neither did the Soviet Workers State hesitate in invading Finland and Poland to cut off and remove the bases of penetration of German imperialism. The Soviet army also entered there and it was legitimate to do so.

It is one thing Stalin betraying the Spanish revolution in 1936, or betraying the Greek revolution in 1945 to defend the alliance with imperialism, and another thing is actually, in that it sees itself forced to contain imperialism and support Vietnam, it is forced to do so because already the existence of the Workers State does not allow it to conciliate and in order to sustain its interest in the Workers State it does not have any other remedy than to defend the Workers State faced with imperialist menaces. And for this it has to link itself to the development, in every way, of the world revolution, even limitedly. It is obliged to do it because, the revolution is being imposed by the masses by the development within the Soviet Union of the world revolution, of the pressure of the masses within the Soviet Union and all the other Workers States which are advancing, as in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, and this forces the bureaucracy to do this. If it had a programme it would have foreseen and taken the initiative and its programme could impell the revolution. And if it identified itself with the socialist revolution it would call the masses of Czechoslovakia now! Call this very minute to the Czechoslovakian masses for public assemblies in all of Czechoslovakia to discuss the socialist programme against the programme of Dubcek, against the programme of the intellectuals, against those who want an alliance with world capitalism.

This is what Lenin and Trotsky did, in this way they beat the capitalist troops who in 1918 invaded the USSR. When the troops of the 'entente', the so-called allies - English, French, Yankees, Italians, Czechoslovakians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, and Japanese - invaded the USSR the Soviet Army lead by Trotsky called to the invading soldiers for them to take the land in their own countries, eliminating and killing the chiefs and officers, and taking the power themselves.

In Czechoslovakia this same task corresponds to the appeal to the masses to make factory assemblies, organise soviets, eliminate all those who are against the development of communism. And the development of communism is above all the direct intervention of the masses, economic planning, nationalisation, the elimination of capitalist power. To replace it by the power of the workers in the factories, industrial committees, committees in the countryside, formation of soviets. This is the corresponding call to make in Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek, neither before nor now, wanted this, nor did those who have put forward the liberty of Czechoslovakia, on the contrary they have posed the freedom of enterprises, which is an opening to capitalism. All those who now support the Czechoslovaks in an abstract way, be it the Chinese, or Imperialism are defending the tendencies which seek the help of and seek to return to the capitalist system. One cannot defend the Czechoslovakians in abstract.

The discussion in Czechoslovakia is not solely between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy. It is presented in this form. It is the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the world revolution which is being prepared. It is indubitable that the Soviet Bureaucracy cannot direct and organise this activity and this struggle, because it does not have the programme, does not have revolutionary socialist objectives, and thus is forced to work in this way. And in its empiricism and its fear of calling to the masses, it makes the army intervene instead of calling to the masses. But in this historic contradiction, the ones who exert a necessary and progressive function are not the Czechoslovak bureaucracy, of Dubcek, but the Soviet army which bureaucratically and limitedly come to the defence of the Workers State against the disintegration of the Workers State, of the front of the Workers States to prepare for the final settlement of accounts. A definite proof of such an attitude is that the entry of the Soviet army did not mean the return of property to the capitalists. No capitalist has been given back his factory. Neither have they given the power to the workers, but the bureaucracy has not given the power to the capitalists. This is indicating the force of the Workers States independently of the bureaucracy.

All those who defend Czechoslovakia and do not position the discussion on this historic plane, are defending Czechoslovakia as a bridge towards capitalism, otherwise, they would not defend it in this way, but would discuss this problem as the world working class has instinctively and consciously taken it. It is not a question of Czechoslovakia in abstract, it is a question of Czechoslovakia as the stage is set today, in this historical moment. Imperialism is preparing for the final settlement of accounts. In capitalist Germany there are the agents of Britain, France and the U.S. There are half a million men with atomic arms, why? They are not to sustain private property in Czechoslovakia but to try to destroy the Workers States. And Czechoslovakia is a piece of this arrangement.

The Soviet bureaucracy feels the danger for it and tries to defend itself not extending the revol-

ution. But it tries to defend the Workers State and prevent that Czechoslovakia passes into the hands of capitalism. They are bureaucratic opportunists, methods of conciliation in the last instance, with the bureaucracy of Czechoslovakia, but it exerts a function, in a bureaucratic and hasty way, necessary to prevent the return to the capitalist system. This is not the measure nor the policy to take. The political measure is to call to the Czechoslovak masses to overthrow the bureaucracy and install Soviets, to take the factories and to call to unify all the Workers States. This is the measure to take.

The world development of the Socialist Revolution, the Revolutionary General Strike in France, the struggles of the masses of the Middle East, of Africa, of Asia of Latin America, the crisis of the Church, the destruction of the apparatus of the church - which being the instrument at the service of the ideas, of the ideology of the capitalist system, all the base of the church is going against the capitalist system destroying one of the supports

of the capitalist system - is the destruction of the capitalist world. Capitalism tries through this crisis to reorganise NATO and justify NATO to maintain the united front; but the advance of the revolution is much more powerful.

The conditions are of an immensely favourable importance for the world development of the revolution, to smash the capitalist tendencies in Czechoslovakia, and the mobilisation of the masses would smash them in seconds. Although in this there are limits which the bureaucracy can support and allow, and they are negotiating, the bureaucracy cannot allow that any Workers State escapes from its hands because it would lose its capacity before the masses, would not justify itself as a leadership. It has to demonstrate that it is capable of sustaining the Workers States. But why does it do this now? Before it betrayed revolutions to imperialism. It is because the masses do not permit now. Already there is an immense maturity and there is a weight of the Workers State which can pass over the heads of the bureaucracy.

This indicates a phase in the ascent of the political revolution in one of the most essential aspects, the crisis of the communist parties, which is immensely deep and which breaks the small basis, is gradually extinguishing the few bases which still remain to the bureaucracy. It is gradually extinguishing them, although not all, because it is going to try to stretch and to prolong peaceful co-existence, but no longer does there exist any possibility for this. When they are obliged to do what they have done in Czechoslovakia it is because already the bases to be able to develop the contradictions between the conciliation between capitalism and the Workers States and the bureaucracy and the contradictions of the bureaucracy itself, are gradually being extinguished. Thus the life of the Communist Parties, interior virulence in the Communist and mass parties is going to be influenced by the political revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy is not capable, nor is interested, nor can, nor wants to do this, because it has no interest in impelling the Socialist Revolution. It takes bureaucratic measures more in agreement with its interests. Capitalism rejects condemnz and launches the capitalist world against the Soviet bureaucracy, not to defend the freedom of the soviets and nationalised property, but to exploit the contradictions of the bureaucracy to try to advance in the disintegration of the Workers States, nothing more. But capitalism shows itself incapable and impotent, has been incapable of intervening. It has the NATO troops and yet it has not intervened. It is frightened of the Workers State, it shows the impotence of the capitalist system to beat the revolution. Capitalism had an opportunity to intervene. It has its United Nations, its NATO, it has its atomic arms, why didn't it intervene? It did not intervene because it felt that it was not a question of Czechoslovakia, it was a question of the final settlement of accounts with the revolution, with the masses of Europe who are going to rise up, and the Workers States who have atomic arms. Because of this Imperialism has not intervened, but they would have done. It intervened in Santo Domingo, and was stopped, it wanted to intervene in Cuba and was stopped, by the Workers States and the Cuban masses and by the reaction of the masses of the world. Imperialism and the capitalist system felt itself impotent to organise massive movements against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. They have tried to put it as an invasion, it is false this. False! Even being a bureaucratic measure it is not an invasion. The Soviet bureaucracy is not going to restore the capitalist system, nor is it going to take possession of the factories for it. It is a bureaucratic opportunist conciliatory method to try to maintain the Workers State and consequently to maintain its own interests. It is false that the essential interest is to prevent Czechoslovakia from developing as an example to the other Workers states to separate themselves. This is false. It is certain that the bureaucracy fears this, but it is not the essential condition. The essential condition is the need to maintain a military, economic and social centre to confront the world capitalist system.

The bureaucracy is not conscious of this, nor did it foresee it, nor does it have any historical idea. It is obliged to work in this hasty and empirical way. It has tried and tries to sustain itself making very great concessions to all the liberal economic tendencies, as it does in the USSR, of self management, of autonomy of enterprises, of the market economy. It tries to give the greatest scope to the Libermans, but it tries to maintain the Workers State. And this shows that no longer is it possible to do it. The contradiction reaches a point in which this tendency which already has posts and responsibilities in the economy wants to take possession for itself and want to exploit it for itself.

Capitalism has not succeeded, in exciting, or attracting, nor organising any important demonstration, even mediocre in importance ; it has not succeeded in attracting anybody. This indicates the advanced level of the communist consciousness of the masses of the masses of the world. The masses of the world have a maturity superior to all the leadership of the communist parties. The leaderships of the communist, socialist and nationalist parties are the essential obstacles to overthrow the capitalist system. Neither have the Latin-American governments given a great welcome, nor made a united front with Imperialism. Each one tries to profit from this situation for themselves.

Imperialism has not been able to intervene, even having the military force, it has not had the social and political capacity to intervene. If capitalism and the bourgeoisies of each country have not profited from Czechoslovakia it is because they feel that they cannot profit. Capitalism has not succeeded in organising a demonstration of 30 people. Because if they called a demonstration and thousands came, this demonstration would begin with Czechoslovakia and finish against them, against capitalism. And the echo which Czechoslovakia has had is because people are looking for a political centre. It is because of this that they do not interfere. And thus there develops a defeatist sentiment within capitalism. All of them are powerless. There is a historic base for their defeatist sentiment which is shown in the attitude of capitalism in the problem of Czechoslovakia. Dean Rusk says quite clearly " we have nothing to do there". Nor can they profit from it to draw advantage for themselves in the negotiations over Vietnam. Capitalism feels that it no longer has the capacity for manoeuvre to profit from this situation, because it sees that it is not a situation in which the bureaucracy confronts the masses of the world. They see that it is a bureaucratic measure to resolve the internal problems of the bureaucracy, but favourable to the Workers State, not against the Workers State.

This is a new phase which is going to develop with tremendous impetus in all the world, even in those countries where the communist parties are not strong, as in Argentina, as in Brazil, or Bolivia, or Mexico. All these events have an immense force on the masses, shakes them. In all the world the masses are discussing these problems. And they are not doubting the Workers States as a superior thing. And in order for capitalism to discuss it has to discuss saying that it defends socialism, or liberal communism. It does not speak in the name of capitalism as a regime superior to the soviet system, but it must admit that communism is accepted by the masses of the world.

It is capitalism which invents, creates and imagines demonstrations in Czechoslovakia. There are capitalist sectors in Czechoslovakia which have an interest in agitating, in presenting an uprising. They are thousands, that is certain which can mobilise, but still they have not been able to achieve mobilisations of the proletariat, of the poor and middle peasants, of the poor and middle intellectuals, of communists, they have not been able to achieve any uprising favourable to those sectors who want to join up with the capitalist world. There is not any popular demonstration, neither within Czechoslovakia, nor in the world, nor are there demonstrations of support for Imperialism against the Soviet army. There is doubt, vacillation, hesitation, there is confusion and there is the desire of the masses of the world who say " but this was not necessary " for explanation. An appeal to the masses would have been enough, the masses felt that this was the case. This is in the crisis of the communist parties.

The behaviour of the world proletariat, indicates its elevated revolutionary class sense. It was not attracted, it did not take up a position against the Soviet Union, nor did it adopt the demand "out with the Soviet Troops", as if they were invaders. It did not see it

as an invasion. It did not understand, but it did not see it as an invasion. It saw immediately that if it had been an invasion the invaders would have taken measures which go against the interests of the development of the Workers State. But it did not see it. Thus the working class has an attitude of observation. It is confused 'what is going on there, why?' And in the world working class the analysis and conclusions about the Soviet intervention are being discussed and deepened. The interior crisis in the Communist Parties is deepening. And capitalism has felt that it cannot manage to find support anywhere. It cannot rely on anybody. If in the USA it organises, for there it can organise a demonstration, it is frightened to do it because it turns against them, as with the demonstration which they held which shouted "Out with the Soviets, but also you get out of Vietnam". And of the two shouts the accent was on "Out of Vietnam". Czechoslovakia was not the centre of preoccupation.

There is a petit bourgeois layer in the world which is maturing in this understanding, and it is logical that there can be a small sector which sees the intervention of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia as an invasion. But it does not see it in a retrograde light, but on the other hand it does see this in relation to Vietnam. Because of this imperialism does not have the capacity, nor can mobilise nor agitate for a mobilisation against the intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, there is going to be a great preoccupation within the Communist Parties. "Why, instead of invading Czechoslovakia, don't we call to the Czechoslovakian Communist Party so that it organises mobilisations and the intervention of the masses?" The masses of the Communist Parties are going to want a political intervention, before a military intervention. They are going to demand it. The Soviet army cannot restrain the political understanding, which there already is in the base of the Communist Parties. Thus one can expect reactions in a short time, and moreover, from the bases which are not in the Communist Parties, in all the world. It is going to help them to mature enormously, and Imperialism is going to be forced to go much further than it wanted to up till now. At the same time it is going to feel its weakness, that it has not been able to profit from this opportunity.

There are two fundamental conclusions, which are the ones which guide this process. The first is that the Soviet bureaucracy, cannot betray any Workers State, and the second is that it cannot trade with the revolution. Various times it has traded with revolution; traded Spain, Greece, it wanted to betray Yugoslavia. Now it cannot, it has to say to Yankee Imperialism, 'get out'. In 1948 it abandoned Yugoslavia hoping that Imperialism would smash it and that it would have to come back and submit. Now no, now it intervenes, because it is no longer only the problem of economic relations, it is the final settlement of accounts, of the revolution with capitalism. Czechoslovakia is a fundamental part of the global forces. The Communist masses and the masses of the world see this. This crisis is going to impell a very great interior life and political discussion and they are going to see that their leaders not only do not explain but that they are accomplices. They are going to say "From where did these people emerge who want to return to capitalism". This is going to be clear and definite, and it is the same in Czechoslovakia.

it is going to be much more important than a Kader, it is going to be against the bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy is going to conciliate with a Svoboda, or some other bureaucrat with whom they can reach an agreement. But the workers movement is not going to permit it, it is going to want to go further, and it is going to form the beginning of Soviets in Czechoslovakia. This is going to have an immense repercussion in all the world, even if this situation decays.

The crisis in the Communist Parties is not because of the defense of communist liberty or the right of soviets. The Communist parties who have condemned the intervention of the Soviet Army, particularly if France and Italy, do not defend the soviets, they defend simply the autonomy and the independence of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia. Independence for what? Autonomy for what? What programme? They do not defend the intervention of the proletariat, the constitution of soviets, factory committees. They do not defend organisations, revolutionary organisms, as the soviets, which give the power to the soviet masses.

These bureaucrats are defending themselves against their own masses of each party so that they bar the way to prevent them having revolutionary power. And the basis of revolutionary power is the right

If when, from the events of Hungary, Kader resulted, here it is

of the masses to discuss everything, to resolve everything to impose everything. Because of this the Czechoslovak masses have not risen up, nor have they made a patriotic choir against the Soviet Union. Because of this they have not been attracted to the propaganda to create patriotic Czechoslovak sentiments. It is a profound expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the Czechoslovak masses. They have failed completely in this. The Soviet bureaucracy is impotent to respond and give an immense stimulus to the revolution now, because its interests were not to impell the revolution, it was to reach an agreement with the Czechoslovak bureaucracy as they wanted to a little time before in the meeting of Bratislava.

They wanted to reach an agreement with these very same bureaucratic sectors, they wanted to conciliate. And this demonstrates, that there is no longer any basis for conciliation. The technocratic sectors in Czechoslovakia, as in the rest of the Workers States, demonstrate that they cannot co-exist with the existence of nationalised property. To have the use of in an individual way needs individual property. The bureaucracy does not have the means to prevent it, because it also is responsible for all this, because the existence of the bureaucracy is guilty of all this.

This is a preparatory episode in the world war, in the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the Workers State. Imperialism is interested in Czechoslovakia as a chess piece in the preparation of the war. Neither imperialism nor the capitalist countries are interested in the 'liberty' of Czechoslovakia. Liberty is an abstraction, and therefore imperialism wants the liberty of the Workers States to count on them as a point of support for the capitalist system for the world war which it is preparing. But at the same time the masses feel that they can do what is necessary and possible in Czechoslovakia, in order to prevent the emergence of, the organisation and the development of capitalist tendencies, that they don't need the intervention of the Soviet army, nor the occupation by the army, but that they can smash the tendencies which want to return to capitalism. Because of this there is the fraternal attitude of the masses towards the Soviet army, the masses who surrounded the tanks and discussed with the soldiers to convince them, not to tell them to go away, as the capitalist press tries to make believe, but to say to them, 'soviet comrades we are capable of smashing imperialism here, give us the power.' This is what the masses are saying. This is the interrogation which the Czechoslovak masses are making. Not the petit bourgeois who appear in the photos of the capitalist dailies, making this interrogation in the factories. If it had been an invasion, the national revolutionary sentiment would have already united the masses. There is none of it, the ones who have come out into the streets have been small groups of thousands of petit bourgeoisie. They are the bosses, the planners, the administrators the bureaucrats, the workers aristocracy, the peasant and catholics who are thousands but who have not attracted the proletariat. If the proletariat has been attracted, the soviet army would have encountered resistance. The Soviet army wanted to fraternise showing itself to be a class army, but it did not want, it was not convenient to it to call to the workers. It wanted to appear as linked to the population and that really it was going to withdraw, but when it was sure that there was no possibility of a coup d'etat. But this is going to alter all the plans of imperialism and its relations within itself, and moreover its relations with the Soviet bureaucracy as well.

The working class in Czechoslovakia surrounded the soviet tanks in order to discuss with the soldiers. The behavior of the working class showed that it felt firm and secure and did not see the Soviet army as invaders. One sector could be confused and still be shaken, it is logical. But many workers say; 'we did not need you to intervene' others say 'come on, discuss and we will chase out those people who want to return to capitalism'. The Czechoslovak workers are, above all, expecting that they be called to mobilise but they do not see the intervention as an invasion. And when the workers and the proletarian vanguard do not see an invasion, it is because already the United World Front, the Mass Communist International is on the march. Already they are raising up organisms, in a conscious form, even if they are still not organically and structurally organised.

This is part of the episode of the final settlement of accounts which demonstrates that the possibility of the bureaucracy to maintain its contradictions in the plane of conciliation has come to an end, and at the same time it shows that it cannot continue much further, because it is not capable of resolving these problems. The intervention of the Soviet Army was not necessary to prevent, defeat and smash the sectors which in Czechoslovakia want to return to capitalism. Before and now it is necessary to call to the masses to form soviets, factory committees, to make public assemblies and demonstrations and meetings, to call for the socialist moral incentive, to call to the soviet masses for great demon-

strations and meetings to throw out all the bureaucratic functioning, to organise popular tribunals, to discuss all the problems of the country in the form of soviets, from the smallest village to the biggest factory. To construct leaderships through these committees, in which the Communist Party intervenes, in this way there is no danger of any bureaucrat, of any capitalist having posts of managers, because it is the power of the masses, which starts from the house, the district, the trade union to the factory and goes to all the country. And there is the possibility of doing this. In this way the first 7 years of the Russian revolution were constituted, which built and unified the Soviet Workers State. Because of this there is the power of the Workers State.

It is necessary to call to the Soviet army so that it gives the power to the masses, so that they make public assemblies, demonstrations, meetings, form soviets, factory committees, in which is discussed a programme of socialist development, of elimination of the bureaucrats of the elimination of salaries of the managers, of the administrators, of the planners, planning the economy through the trade unions and the soviets. The discussion of the development of the leadership of society doing it through the trade unions, the soviets. Calling for the participation of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party there, in these Soviets, as the bolsheviks participated in the period of Lenin and Trotsky. Thus, there is no possibility of the development of any bureaucrat, of any traitor. This is what it is necessary to do now. The Chinese, French, Italian Communist Party do not demand any of this. All these people have developed in a theoretical vacuum, incapable of understanding theoretically, and from the absence of responsibility in studying the historic process of the Russian Revolution, each one of them defends their opportunist national interests, not defending the Internationalist socialist interest. It is necessary to call for the Mass Communist International

The whole process is going to be defined in the final settlement of accounts between world capitalism and the Workers States. Capitalism seeks the opportunity to unleash the atomic war, but it shows its impotence, its not having the ability to intervene now, not having the force to intervene. If it had the historical force and capacity, it would have intervened. There was a magnificent historical opportunity, for all of the capitalist system to intervene, but on the contrary the capitalist system has not intervened, has not been able to link itself, develop agitate the masses because in any situation the masses would demonstrate against the capitalist system. And it has not been able to send troops because the Workers States have the force to prevent it.

We reiterate, the final decision is not going to be economic or social, it is going to be military. It is necessary that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party understand, the final settlement of accounts is going to be in a military form not in an economic or political form. You have to be mad, blind and politically stupid and consequently to favour the class enemy not to see this. Imperialism is preparing for the final military decision, tries to gain historic time. One must be an idiot not to take account of this. The actual attitude of the Soviet Bureaucracy is much closer to historical reality than that of the Chinese leaders. Even working empirically, in a conciliatory and opportunist way, the Soviet intervention is closer to the truth than that of the Chinese, because it tries to brake the advance of the capitalist system. In an empirical bureaucratic conciliatory form it tries to be able to respond to the capitalist system. We repeat, in 1936 the Soviet bureaucracy betrayed Spain, in 1945 it betrayed Greece, now it cannot betray Czechoslovakia. And capitalism is powerless to restore the capitalist system, because it does not have social support in the world and it has not encountered support in any worker or poor petit bourgeois demonstration, absolutely none! It could not do it, thus in no capitalist country were there demonstrations and movements to restore the power of capitalism or to discredit communism, all the masses of the world are convinced of communism and discuss the tasks of communism, not of the Communist Party, but of the need for Communism.

The Mass Communist International is necessary to impell the revolution in the Workers States, to prevent the existence, the continuity and to expell the bureaucrats of the Workers States, and for the economic planning of all the Workers States, based on the common necessity of the Workers States, not on the interests of the biggest against the smallest.

The Soviet bureaucracy tries to use, and does use the Workers States, this is evident, but 1948 was one thing when the Soviet bureaucracy took away everything, and another thing is when it is not possible to do this. It is not that it does not want to, but that it cannot. And it not only cannot, because the development of

the Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian workers States prevent it, but because of the soviet masses also. The control of the soviet masses exists in every way, because it imposes a functioning much more in agreement with the need of the development of the Workers State. The bureaucracy tries to evade, but it has to do it, and because of this there is the support of the Soviet bureaucracy to the countries of the Middle East against Israel. The bureaucracy wants to conciliate, but it does not have any other remedy than to support, because the final settlement of accounts being military forces the Workers State to seek points of world support to sustain itself. You have to be an idiot like the Chinese; not to take account of this historical reality. The reaction of China condemning the Soviet Union, supporting the Czechoslovakians is to try to defend itself and foresee what is going to happen to them; but it is absurd, this is not the way to foresee. It cannot be doubted that if the Soviet bureaucracy could, it would invade China because then it could dominate it, but it does not have the strength, nor the capacity to do it. On the other hand, in order to prevent that the bureaucracy continues to conciliate with imperialism, the best way to call to the revolution, is to call for soviets, to call to overthrow the capitalist system.

Because of this the Soviet bureaucracy which has had an interest in maintaining conciliation with imperialism, with world capitalism and with the bureaucracy of Czechoslovakia, is interested but no longer has the historical possibility of continuing with conciliation, as before. It maintains, on this high plane conciliation with the world capitalist system, because already it is exhausting the possibility of conciliation. The ascent of the world revolution prevents it doing it, the masses are against capitalism and the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Soviet bureaucracy does not do what it wants but what it can. It is forced to defend the Workers State. More and more indubitably it is going to impede the political revolution, but it does not have any other remedy, in order to continue sustaining itself than to make this policy of support - be it in the Middle East, be it in Cuba. Whereas in 1936 it betrayed Spain, this time it could not betray Cuba, even if it wanted to it could not. The Chinese must base themselves on this condition for the world policy of United Front against world capitalism. It is necessary to consider that the bureaucracy is not omnipotent, that its policy of conciliation with world imperialism, continues to be the basis of its policy, but it is not everything which it wants. It is obliged, forced by the world development of the revolution, within the Soviet Union itself. Without doubt the Soviet bureaucracy is going to launch itself furiously against the masses, when these rise up to eliminate the bureaucracy, but all the time it loses historical force and bases. And because of this it is necessary to see its contradictory process, when it is reactionary and when it is forced to make a policy which even seeking conciliation is a policy which strikes at the capitalist system. Like the policy of sending the Soviet fleet to the Middle East, like the support to Egypt and Syria, like the support to Cuba. You have to be an idiot not to see that it is a policy of the bureaucracy, which even being opportunist, trying to conciliate with imperialism, does not have any other remedy than to support the struggle against imperialism. It is not in the interest of the bureaucracy to impell the revolution. It is forced to do it. It is necessary to exploit to the maximum the consequences of this historical situation favourable to the revolution.

It is necessary to call to the Chinese, Cubans, Syrians to the Communist Parties, to the revolutionary leaderships of the Communist tendencies to organise the Mass Communist International. To plan all the Workers States, to plan the world revolution economically, socially, politically and militarily. To plan the United Front against Imperialism, impelling the world revolution, calling for the masses to take power. To plan the development of the economy of the Workers States, in agreement with the common interest. So that the masses of the world see that this economic planning is an impulse to the world revolution. Call for the planning of the economy in all the Workers States economic planning, social and military planning, whose programme must be the overthrow of the capitalist system. It is not important who directs this military command, if the programme is to overthrow the capitalist system, the objective is common to all of them. Call for the formation of soviets in all the Workers States, in Czechoslovakia. To call this very minute in Czechoslovakia for the elimination of the bureaucrats, that the election of the leadership of the enterprises, be through factory committees, and that the salaries of the managers of the enter-

prises be the same as those of the workers. It is necessary to eliminate the paid posts which are greater than the minimum wage which the worker earns. The running of the enterprises must be directed by the workers themselves as the Chinese and the Cubans have demonstrated that it can be done.

The Soviet bureaucracy does not call to the masses to intervene because it fears the intervention of the masses, because the masses will not stop only at opposing the bureaucratic tendency interested in private property, in the return to capitalism but it will go against all forms of bureaucracy, and among it, the Soviet bureaucracy. Because of this it is a question of combining the defense of its bureaucratic interests with the defence of the Workers State preventing that the masses intervene. Because of this they intervene with the army and not with appeals to the masses. But it is for a very limited stage that these measures can go on existing. This indicates the beginning of the end of a stage, of resolving by means of the conciliation of the contradictions of the different sectors of the bureaucracy. The Workers State already expels, feels the need to expel the bureaucracy. The final settlement of accounts with capitalism which is coming is showing that the need of the Workers State to defend itself is incompatible with all forms of bureaucracy. Whereas the Soviet bureaucracy makes the army intervene in defense of the Workers State because it is a way of defending itself. Soon it will enter into contradiction with the revolutionary needs of the extension of the revolution in the Workers State.

Because of this there was published a little time ago in 'Sovietskaya Rossia', organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the question, "why are the Trotskyists developing in the world?" Because already the crisis is implied in this publication, the Soviet bureaucracy sees it coming but is lost theoretically. And it is not possible to respond any more with bureaucratic slaps, no longer can they respond like Stalin did. The world ascent of the revolution, the preparation of the final settlement of accounts the elevation of the masses in all the world, the need for a homogeneous response, obliges the Soviet bureaucracy to publish this, because there are people who say 'Why are the trotskyists develop-

ing in the world?' Not as an interrogation of doubt, but on the contrary as a favourable interrogation. The Workers State is seeking and finding the strength to present itself and find the best way to attract. They are indicating the ascent of the revolution. But this ascent of the revolution is double; in extension and in theoretical depth.

The crisis of Czechoslovakia is going to have a profound influence in the Communist Parties. Various Communist Parties among them that of Chile, of Uruguay, of the United States came out in support of the Soviet Union. And the declaration of the Communist Party of the USA has a lot of importance, because it is in the United States and it comes out supporting the Soviet Union and well too, with arguments saying "It is not an invasion it is not going to give the property back to capitalism". While the Communist Parties of Italy and France condemn the Soviet Union. This crisis is opening up for a whole period and is going to influence in China, Cuba on all sides.

The Soviet bureaucracy reacts now against the right which wants to go back to capitalism, but tomorrow it is going to react against the left. It is going to react in a violent way, because it wants to maintain this 'Status Quo' of alliance and the conciliation of contradictions. It can no longer maintain this and has to defend itself and eliminate the bases which give birth to the bureaucracy and which want to go back to capitalism. What is free enterprise? Autonomy of enterprises and the market economy? The masses are going to ask themselves "And how did these reactionary tendencies emerge in the Workers States?" "How after 20 years did the capitalist tendencies in the Communist Parties emerge?" "Does this mean that it is necessary to transform, reform the Communist Party?" Thus they are going to verify the absence of proletarian democracy, of lack of revolutionary programme and objectives, of the fact of not struggling for revolutionary objectives. It is going to impell the base against its bureaucratic leaderships. Interior entrism in working with an immense force.

We call to the communist base to carry forward the struggle for a revolutionary United Front, passing over their leaderships. It is these leaderships - communist, socialist, nationalist - conciliating with capitalism

which prevents that the masses can carry forward the struggle for power. The crisis within the Communist Parties is going to deepen enormously. The masses within the Communist Parties are going to feel that in order to prevent the development of tendencies which return to capitalism, it is necessary to prevent the bases which permit these developments, which is the bureaucracy, and thus it is necessary to impose soviets, proletarian democracy and continue the socialist revolution on a world scale.

If the Chinese want to oppose this action of the Soviet bureaucracy they have to call to Czechoslovakia. They must call for this programme. Call to form soviets, in which unconditional support for Vietnam, for Cuba, for the masses of the Workers States and the masses of all the Arab states is developed. All those who support Czechoslovakia, speak of the Czechoslovakian people in abstract they are the ones who are against Vietnam, the ones who support Israel. The bureaucracies of Rumania and Czechoslovakia, are those who are closest to the state of Israel, and they are points of support for imperialism. How it is that the Chinese do not understand that what the Czechoslovak and Rumanian bureaucracies are doing is not in defence of the Workers State, but of getting closer to the capitalist system? Israel is an agent of Imperialism, it is the spear head against the revolution in the Middle East.

The Mass Communist International is necessary, the unification of all the Communist Parties of the Workers States with the Communist Parties of the capitalist states of the countries which are developing towards Workers States, for the organisation of a common programme to overthrow the capitalist system, to prepare for the atomic war, to call to the masses to take power.

Call to form soviets; for the elimination of all the bureaucracy, eliminated and substituted for by factory committees, by the Party, by the Soviets, which execute the economic programme. This is the basis and the programme of the Mass Communist International. This is the programme which eliminates the possibilities of the existence and development of the bureaucracy, which has made this crisis possible. This crisis is not solely of Czechoslovakia, it is of all the Capitalist system.

The IV International does not support the Soviet army because it did not believe its intervention was necessary. It is not against it in all cases, as we were not against it in 1938-40 with the invasion of Finland and Poland, to contain the German army. In this case of Czechoslovakia, the intervention of the Soviet army was unnecessary because it could have done it with an appeal to the masses to rise up, to take for themselves in their own hands, the leadership of Czechoslovakia. This is what it should have done. If it was necessary then help with the intervention of the army, but then to give the power to the masses, not to substitute for the masses, the same way the Soviet army did in 1919-1920 and what it tried to do in Germany.

The intervention of the army of one Workers State in another is not condemnable, it is the function which it goes there to do, which determines our attitude. And this intervention, is an attitude of contradiction, between the need to prevent that the Workers State descends and falls into the hands of a capitalist sector and the formal intervention of the army of the Soviet Workers State. What is the most convenient? Taking the intervention of the Soviet army, what it is necessary to condemn is not the Soviet army but those who want to return to capitalism, and to pose that the soviet army helps the masses of Czechoslovakia, to take power, to organise soviets and thus it shows to the masses of the world that it enters into Czechoslovakia to strengthen socialist power. This is the greatest propaganda to the world development of communism.

For this we call to the Soviet army and to the masses of Czechoslovakia; fraternise with the Soviet soldiers and put to them that they help you to eliminate the bureaucracy, to form workers, soldiers and peasants councils; form factory committees, neighbourhood committees, to elaborate a programme of production: of development of society eliminating all the bureaucrats, equalising salaries, equalising the social rights of everyone, from the president of Czechoslovakia to the labourer of any enterprise, posing the elimination of all parties, of all tendencies, of all groups, which do not defend unconditionally the Workers States; posing the revocability of all the leaders.

Because of this it is important to underline what within the bureaucracy, it sees itself obliged to make appeals and declarations which show the power of the Workers State, Malik declared in the full security council of the United Nations; "We will not permit that anyone makes an attempt against any link of the socialist system". And the socialist system is, as much Vietnam, Korea, as Cuba, China, Syria and soon Algeria. These words of the Soviet delegate, were impelled by the historic power of the Workers States, this is not the defence of the bureaucracy, it is in the last instance reflecting the power of the Workers State which obliges it to confront Imperialism; this same Imperialism which no more than one year ago in Glassborough, Kosygin went to conciliate with, about the problem of Israel in order to impede that taking of power by the Arab masses. The bureaucracy itself was obliged to say: "Nobody is going to tread on any socialist state". This is the power of the Workers State, it demonstrates the enormous power of the Workers State and that the masses of the world see this power and see the social weakness and impotence of Imperialism.

It is on this that the perspective of the policy, of the historical obligation faced with the events of Czechoslovakia must be based. The communist masses must demand of the communist leaderships that they give power to the masses of Czechoslovakia, that they make soviets, that they carry out the elimination of the managers, of the administrators, of the bureaucrats, of the difference in wages, and of the hierarchy of power. Impose the revolutionary democratic election of delegates, recallable as in the Russian revolution of 1917, which was the most complete, the most important, the base of all the other revolutions; so that the soviets resolve everything, so that the factory committees resolve everything. Call to the masses to overthrow capitalism; call to form a workers centre in Europe and in the world with the programme of overthrowing capitalism, of overthrowing the capitalist system; call to the peasants to take the land.

The Fourth International calls to the masses of the world, to the Soviet army to develop the struggle to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system in the world. To support Vietnam now, unconditionally. Appealing to all the Workers States to intervene with all the military force of the Workers State in order to smash Yankee Imperialism, to defend Cuba unconditionally, to call to the masses of the Workers States, to the struggle to impel the development of socialist democracy, to develop the struggle against the bureaucracy; for the programme of the smashing of world capitalism, for the Mass Communist International; calling for the organisation of workers militias in all the workers states and all the capitalist states. The elimination of the regular army and its substitution by the workers militias does not diminish in any way the military capacity of the Workers States but it augments its social and military capacity as the Bolshevicks did in 1917.

The episode of Czechoslovakia was a demonstration of the stage of the sharp crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers State which is impotent and incapable to centralise the historic capacity of the Workers State. The divergent interests of the bureaucracy prevents them being centralised. The masses must intervene calling to the Soviet soldiers to fraternise with the population of Czechoslovakia to give the power to the masses of Czechoslovakia, to smash, to eliminate every tendency, group, position or party which is against the soviet system and the soviet development. Only those revolutionary political organisations have the right to exist which unconditionally defend the Workers State and its development, the others do not have a right of existence in a Workers State. It is the progress of history which the masses of Czechoslovakia are defending. And

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. 75

OCTOBER 10th 1968

SIXPENCE

All Trade Union Militants, the Revolutionary Vanguard in the L.P. and the C.P., among the students and tenants, must support the National Engineering strike with demonstrations, strikes and occupations, extending it into a General Strike on the Anti-Capitalist Programme

Throughout the world the struggles of the exploited masses against capitalism and imperialism become daily more and more violent. Vivid examples of this can be seen both in Mexico and Londonderry, and both show to a very high degree the influence on the world masses of the Revolutionary General Strike which took place in France during May. In Mexico, the students by raising their perspectives above those of just a university struggle, have attracted large sectors of the working class to their struggle, and the Mexican bourgeoisie seeing this as the first stage of a new revolution in Mexico have brutally repressed demonstrations of students and workers by shooting indiscriminately. Throughout Mexico the civil war to smash capitalism and the government of Diaz Ordaz and the gangster Trade Union leadership is being prepared. In Londonderry as in Mexico, the acts of terrorism by the police both on demonstrators and on passers by who were obviously not involved in the demonstration have not terrorised the masses but have in fact made them more determined to continue, and more violent demonstrations have since taken place. The fear of the bourgeoisie that these demonstrations would be generalised throughout Ulster has been shown by the fact that the Minister of Home Affairs there, congratulating the police on their actions said that if the police had not acted as they did there would have been rioting throughout N. Ireland! These two examples show the sharpening of the class struggle throughout the world and the advance towards the international civil war. It is in these world conditions together with the struggle in Vietnam, and the probability of a new war against imperialism in the Middle East that the preparations are being made in this country for the strike of the engineering workers.

The very militant spirit of all the engineering workers was reflected last week in the speech of Hugh Scanlon when he said that the proposed strike to begin on the 21st of October would continue until the men won or until they were starved into submission;—this is the working class speaking through Scanlon. In the same week during the Labour Party Conference Scanlon also moved a resolution of conditional support for the Labour Government. These two actions show his dual role as a bureaucrat and demonstrates that although he is being pushed by the base of the unions, and at this moment is responding positively to this pressure, he will be quite prepared to sell out and break up the strike if it seems to be developing outside the limits within which the bureaucracy wants to contain it. He is already weakening the unity of the strike by advising sectors of workers to negotiate with individual employers, thus trying to break-up and fragment the strike, trying to take away the role which it could play of becoming a centre for all the exploited masses of this country.

The resolutions of the Labour Party Conference were important indications of how the leadership which already exists on the factory floor also makes itself felt through the Conferences of the Unions and the Labour Party. The enormous defeat for the Governments policy of Prices and Incomes comes as no surprise, but the passing of the Rhodesia resolution against the wishes of the National Executive and the narrow defeat of the resolution on nationalisation of the monopolies is an indication of how the worker masses of this country manage to express even though only weakly through the bureaucratic apparatuses of these conferences, their hatred of capitalism and private property. The fact that the re-

solution linking condemnation of the Soviet intervention into Czechoslovakia with support to NATO was only narrowly passed, shows how the workers vanguard even while not supporting the Soviet intervention does not allow itself to be attracted by the policies of imperialism against the Workers States.

Already there exists in this country a workers revolutionary vanguard. It is not yet organised organically, nor is it fully conscious of the role which it can play, and the favourability of all the conditions for it, but in the rich spate of 'unofficial' strikes and the general intensification of militant action which has recently occurred, it can be clearly seen. As at Fords, for instance, where workers are working to rule, backing up their claim for a guaranteed monthly wage, whether they work or are laid off due to strikes in other industries, and the overtime ban of the women workers in their fight for equal pay, shows that there is a vanguard which is organising independently of the union bureaucrats who are pleading for a return to normal working. The almost constant strikes at the Girling brake factory, the 'go-Slow' in the trim shop at Austin, the strikes at Lucas and Rover show the great confidence of the working class, particularly at the moment, in the car industry where the proletariat is concentrated and has a great weight in the economy. The class struggle also expresses itself in other sectors as at Hull where the employers are becoming desperate in their efforts to get lorries moved during the strike of transport drivers hiring dogs to protect lorries driven by blacklegs and the employers themselves whilst police are giving escort to lorries leaving Hull by night. And when the drivers demand an increase of £5 a week to make a minimum wage of £16 a week, they are saying to hell with the incomes

policy of capitalism. The fact that a contingent of students joined a demonstration of the transport drivers through Hull shows that the student vanguard in the area sees the need to link its struggle with, and accept the leadership, of the proletariat. The car workers are acting as a leadership to the whole working class and exploited masses, encouraging all the struggles against capitalism, and the persistence of their strikes indicates a much deeper content than simply economic demands. This is the form of the struggle but the content is; out with

capitalism, workers control of industry, workers power. And in the process the organisms of the class are being constructed; still limited, empirical, and without a complete democratic life or anti-capitalist programme; but they are being constructed. The clearest example of this is the meeting held by shop stewards representing 250,000 workers of the GEC-AEI and English Electric combine who are threatened with redundancy following the merger. This committee is going to meet again to plan a concerted action

CONTD. ON PAGE 4

RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. OF THE R.W.P(T) ON MEXICO

Strikes, demonstrations in solidarity with the Mexican students and workers

As the International predicted in the article by Cde. Posadas on the 4. 7. 68 on the Revolutionary General Strike in France, the experience of this strike has travelled to every corner of the world. In the last days we have seen the effects of the revolutionary methods of the French workers and students showing themselves in the actions of the student masses in Mexico. The students have used the methods of the French Revolutionary General Strike, the occupation of the university and have sought and gained the support of the Mexican proletariat. The Worker-Student alliance was expressed during the demonstrations in Mexico City in practical action. To try to smash this alliance, and terrorise the students because they feared they would become a centre of opposition to the regime of Diaz Ordaz, the Mexican bourgeoisie launched its massacre in the Plaza of the Three Cultures. But the Mexican masses cannot be terrorised in this period of history, the encouragement of the world revolution, the stimulus of the heroism of the Vietnamese masses and the Arab masses are greater than all the power of the bourgeoisie.

The struggles in Mexico do not come out of the blue. There is great revolutionary tradition, tradition of the Worker-Student front, and the tradition of the intervention of the IV International, the Trotskyists in the class struggle. In 1965 the students, led by the student fraction of the party played an active part in the bus drivers strike, capturing buses, taking them onto the University campus, and threatening to burn them if the demands of the strikers were not met. As a result of this agitation the bourgeoisie launched a wave a repression against the Trotskyists and three members of the P.O.R.(T) the Mexican Section of the IV International are still in jail awaiting trial, from that time.

We express our solidarity with these Trotskyist comrades, Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez and Theresa Confrata De Fernandez and demand their release, together with the release of all the worker, student and peasant militants held in the jails of the Mexican bourgeoisie. We appeal to the workers vanguard in the LP, CP and Trade Unions and the students to demonstrate, agitate and strike for the release of all the political prisoners in Mexico, and to show their solidarity with the struggles of the Mexican students and masses.

We appeal to the engineering workers to include, the solidarity with the Mexican students and masses and the release of political prisoners in Mexico among the programme of demands for the strike of the 21st October.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MEXICAN MASSES
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE BRITISH AND MEXICAN MASSES
FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
Political Bureau of the RWP(T) British Section IV International

8. 10. 1968

The Czechoslovak-Soviet crisis, the impact on the revolutionaries, and the world development of the (1st Part extracts)

The Czecho-Soviet crisis, the intervention of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia has promoted a complete crisis in the capitalist world, in the Workers States, and in the revolutionary currents. This is a new event in history, the intervention of the troops of one Workers State in another Workers State. The events of this stage of history are very concentrated, the most concentrated and the most centralised of any stage of human history. Whoever is not prepared to understand, whoever is not resolved to understand, is taken by surprise, hurled and impelled to act in agreement with sentiments which were not expressed until this moment and express the weakness or the strength, the weakness of will or the decision to act. In the Communist Parties there is a crisis of three or four tendencies, in the so-called revolutionary currents also, be it in movements in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. Fidel Castro launches a discourse which breaks with his old, false attitude of conservatism in relation to the crisis of the Workers States and intervenes giving critical support to the Soviet intervention, but at the same criticising and demanding that it does the same in the rest of the Workers States, that it eliminates the bureaucratic tendencies and eliminate their causes, thus taking the positions of the IV International and of Posadas.

All the tendencies which were not prepared, all the leaderships of all the groups, all the movements which were not prepared to interpret these events, intervened showing all their weakness. They intervene weakly and hesitantly and are attracted and gained by impressionism, either as a consequence of their opportunism or panic. Only the discipline, submitted to the centralised functioning of the IV International, its rigorous and strict application, has permitted, permits and will permit that the International can intervene in events, without being shaken or left on one side, pushed away, or removed from the real centre, the revolutionary centre, in order to intervene, considering the causes, factors, interests which are in play, and the objectivity and the possibility of agreement with the interests of the world revolution. Thus the IV International interprets, as will be seen in the events of Czechoslovakia.

All those leaders who are not prepared to live, function and respond collectively to the directives of the International, all those who do not have the patience and the honour to respond to the position of the International, of the previous articles, were gained and attracted by positions which are not those of the IV International, which are capitulatory before the Soviet bureaucracy, capitulatory, trailing after, submitted to the interest of the Soviet bureaucracy; directly or indirectly they are serving these interests. The discipline of the International demands its centralised functioning, demands the respect for the position which the International previously held.

This article is a polemic. In the IV International, as in all the other organisms of the world workers and revolutionary movement, as in all the Workers States, these events have had a repercussion, have put into the light and have exposed the weak points in a process of natural selection which every crisis and every great event and veering of history produces, as our teacher Leon Trotsky, expounded and taught us. This is a new crisis where two leaders of the Argentine Section committed the crime, the usurpation, of speaking in the name of the IV International, against its line, against its policy usurping its representation. The force of the IV International is its centralised monolithic movement, which permits it to develop its influence in the world revolution. To break with this is to receive all the pressures of every type, contrary to the pressure of the socialist revolution. Also in the IV International the natural selection of the revolutionary struggle is produced.

This text is to correct a false position put forward by two leaders of the Argentine Section, which they wrote in their own name, adulterating and usurping the name, the position and the objective of the IV International. The Argentine Section has already corrected itself and will correct itself later with another declaration. This is a declaration accepted by the section, which is published to correct the false position of two leaders of the Argentine Section of the IV International.

The resolution on the intervention of the Soviet Army which the comrades H and M published on 22nd August in *Voz Proletaria*, No. 545, in the name of the Argentine Section of the IV International is a violation of the norms of discipline and centralisation of the IV International. It is a document made with a fractional sentiment, opposed to the programme, to the line of the IV International be-

cause this problem of the Soviet Union is a problem of principle, of the programme of the International. The principles are: unconditional defence of the Soviet Union, of the Workers States, applied to the form which demands this application, which is to the Workers State, not to the policy, nor to its measures, be they be social, economic, political or military. These we determine in each case and in agreement with the world observation of the class and revolutionary struggle, this is the policy of the International which follows a logical position in defence of the revolution.

Publishing this document made in the name of the Argentine Section of the IV International, ignoring the previous documents of the International, rejecting the position, not basing oneself on them and not saying they are publishing the position of the International, not even mentioning the texts of the International but being based on their own, all this can only be done with a fractional sentiment, with sentiments outside the centralised functioning of the International. This is a violation of the norms of centralised functioning of the International. And the centralised functioning of the International is the monolithic basis, irreplaceable for progress and for its favourable, progressive revolutionary function in history. When they publish this document without basing themselves on this it is because in their heads there is already the beginning of a separate functioning as another organism, all this is in the document.

We direct ourselves at the Argentinian Section of the IV International and we call it to break, to destroy all those who go against the centralised functioning of the International, against the centralised policy and the centralised objectives of the International. Destroy them! It is preferable to lose anyone who ever he be! Nobody is worth so much that they can make a fraction and break with the policy of the International. Nobody, because if he has value he supports the policy. It is preferable to destroy any beginnings of damage of this nature in the International, which are not errors but are conscious forms of preparation of fractions which go over to the enemy, not fractions favourable to the development of the International, because there is no need of fractions. This is preferable than the consequences which can arise. We direct ourselves at the Partido Obrero (Trotskista), calling the Argentinian Section in the name of the International Secretariat and in the name of all the sections of the IV International which will send documents in this same line.

THE INTERBUREAUCRATIC CZECHOSLOVAK-SOVIET CRISIS, THE PROSTRATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE CAPACITY OF HISTORICAL FORSIGHT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL WHICH PREPARED ITS MONOLITHIC REACTION IN THIS PROCESS.

This is anachronistic activity and discussion. You comrades H and M retreat to the first stages of the organisation of the International when the character, the objectives, the function and perspectives of the Soviet bureaucracy were discussed, as also were the norms of organisation, centralisation and monolithism. The International no longer discusses the interpretation about the abilities and lack of perspectives of the Soviet bureaucracy, about its objective and historically counter revolutionary role and function. Because its function is to usurp the power of the proletariat and prevent that the proletariat takes over revolutionary power in the Soviet Union and in the world.

Within this counter-revolutionary role and function, in order to sustain itself, on occasions, in determined circumstances it becomes obliged to coincide more closely with the Workers State, never in its revolutionary interests but in its existence as a Workers State, which it wants to preserve in order to maintain its privileges. It is a consequence of the existence of the contradictory base of the Soviet bureaucracy.

As in the case of Czechoslovakia now, so the bureaucracy has been forced to act giving arms to Vietnam, forced to act to contain—but not to smash or destroy—imperialism, because the masses of the Workers States, the world proletariat, have shown their preoccupation, their decision to intervene and the bureaucracy was showing itself to be powerless to confront imperialism.

In order to cut short, to impede, to try to contain the organisation of the revolutionary leadership, the bureaucracy presents itself as defending Vietnam and the Czechoslovak Workers State, in order to show before the masses and the vanguard, that it is capable and resolved to defend the Workers State. But it is only defending itself; the bureaucracy works strictly for itself, to resolve the competition with the other bureaucracies, only on the plane of the apparatuses, from 'on high'. Because of this it uses the army, because it is not interested in resorting to the masses. It works in this way in Czechoslovakia and with this action allows capitalism to continue, to give more time to capitalism and the forces and tendencies of the bureaucracy itself which can no longer co-exist with the Workers States. This attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the other Workers States, in an unequal but combined way, tries to prevent that the proletarian world vanguard organises its revolutionary leadership, to develop, consciously and scientifically a revolutionary policy to smash capitalism and develop the world socialist revolution.

The unconditional support of the Work-

ers States, means faced to the attacks, in relation to the antagonistic struggle against the capitalist system and for the development of the socialist revolution. The defence of the Workers States does not imply nor is expressed by the defence or support for the policy, activities and the actions of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, be they economic, political, social or military. In each case we determine our policy in relation to it, the interests of the world socialist revolution, in general and in particular. Because the intentions and needs of the bureaucracy are to support their own privileges while we support and impel the world socialist revolution.

In each case, in each stage, and part of the process, the bureaucracy of the Workers States, in relation to the masses and the needs and possibilities of the world socialist revolution, acts either in a counter-revolutionary or a reactionary way, because its intentions are never to give power to the masses, even when to maintain its privileges, it is obliged to yield before the masses, confronting capitalism or those forces in the Workers States who are inclining themselves to seek links with world capitalism or to establish, or re-establish capitalist norms and relations. Even in this way, the bureaucracy working in a way to defend itself, supports the structure of the Workers State, but always seeking to conciliate with the other sectors of the bureaucracy, among them the technocrats. As in the USSR where they coexist very closely. It is not the bureaucracy which directs the process, it defends itself from the process of history. As much from the irreversible march of world capitalism which seeks the solution of the atomic war to confront the world socialist revolution, as against the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world and of the world socialist revolution. The nature of the bureaucracy cannot change, and in consequence neither has its historically counter-revolutionary role. It has fewer possibilities than before, more interior contradictions and weaker forces, because the world socialist revolution advances more than its possibilities to maintain its privileges, consequently this bureaucracy also prepares to defend itself against the Socialist Revolution, against the revolutionary proletariat. The internal contradictions of the bureaucracy do not modify, nor change, its historical nature, it weakens its strength and its capacity for counter-revolutionary action.

The IV International has already reached this security and dominion of history. Its analyses and conclusions start from this security. It does not feel the need to discuss the Soviet bureaucracy, its intentions and its functions. In each concrete case the IV International takes up concrete positions to use the contradictions of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, of the power of the struggle of the masses, of the revolutionary intentions which the masses demonstrate, in order to demonstrate, in order to determine the concrete or long term positions and objectives.

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ARGENTINE SECTION ABOUT THE RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA PUBLISHED BY COMRADES H & M IN VOZ PROLETARIA
AUGUST 1968

ience and panic of Petit Bourgeois Revolut- IV International and the Socialist Revolution

J. POSADAS 24 Aug. 68

The positions posed by H & M. are anachronistic. They drag back or try to drag the International back to earlier positions, to discussion, analysis and conclusions which lead them to accept that the Soviet bureaucracy can be regenerated and be gained or accomplish a concrete historically revolutionary function. The texts of the International drawn up, discussed, accepted for a whole historic period, by the International are now dispised by these two comrades who in an arrogant petulant attitude, like two conceited petit bourgeois dedicate themselves to confront the International so that they discuss "their document", that of H and M.

In the last year, the International and comrade Posadas, in texts of the International, edited and presented by Posadas and accepted by the International there are ten texts pamphlets, resolutions, among them "The Historical Balance of 50 years of the Soviet Union". The two pamphlets of Czechoslovakia of March and April, and the last articles, and resolutions, all of them with positions, definitions and orientations well defined and definite about the bureaucracy in this stage. And concretely the texts of Posadas adopted by the International Secretariat of the International, of the 25th of July and the 3rd of August which make characterisations and definitions about the crisis of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian bureaucracies. The characterisation as one of INTER-BUREAUCRATIC CRISIS AND INTER-BUREAUCRATIC COMPETITION OF TWO WORKERS STATES: this is a characterisation which defines the crisis in Czechoslovakia not the danger of return to capitalism. The International defines it definitely in the texts of 25th July and of the 3rd August. This characterisation determines our political positions, objectives and tasks. The danger of the return to capitalism, of the possibilities of the capitalist intervention, of the capitalist armies and of war for this concrete fact, are not the existing considerations.

The text of the 25th of July says word for word: "Once the Soviet Army intervenes it is not a question of condemning it but of posing: give the power to the masses, call to form soviets and then

retire. Not defending democracy in abstract, because it is in danger in the Workers States. It is those, the regressionists sectors, whose are the ones who are putting democracy in danger. Because of this our formula is precise and correct; in relation to the capitalist world the intervention of the Soviet Army is not counter-revolutionary, on the contrary, it is a defence of the Workers State but in relation to the possibilities of development of the Political Revolution, it is reactionary not counter-revolutionary. It is reactionary because it prevents that all the conclusions that it is necessary to draw, are drawn. This is the base of our intervention and it is necessary to be very precise because there are stages and phases in history".

These two comrades H and M reject this position of the International, which is based on the traditions and on the acquired, stable capacity of the International. And they base themselves on the contrary on a scholastic text which leads them to submit themselves to capitulate in front of the Soviet bureaucracy. You say: "And although in the Soviet Union the bureaucracy has still not been liquidated, it has had to submit to the will of the vanguard and with bureaucratic methods—it does not know others—it intervenes to liquidate the restorationist attempts". And you see the danger of the return to capitalism, the atomic war now, on the basis of this situation. You invent situations to seek justification to capitulate before the Soviet bureaucracy. But the damage which you do to the International is greater than the false political positions. If the intentions of these comrades were governed by the desire to impel the International in relation to the Soviet Union and such that it was proper and necessary to correct, to replace the marxist method and the marxist characterisation of the International on the Soviet Union and the bureaucracy by that analysis of themselves, they would try to persuade, to convince. They have the texts of the International in front of them, but they leave them on one side and are guided by their own learned writings.

You edit a resolution SURREPTITIOUSLY. And you present it as the

position of the IV International in the Argentine, leaving aside, abandoning the norms of the tradition of the International, usurping the name of the International to present your own capitulationist positions. The tradition of the International, its organic monolithic, centralised functioning, respect and support for the levels already acquired, is the moral condition which determines, guides and leads our acts. These two comrades, looking into the mirror feel themselves to be interpreters of history, abandoning the conception, functioning, policy and objectives of the International. They proceed as bandits, who await the moment to give a blow. These are not the traditions of the International. They are people who look outside the International. They answer to egotism, to their own egotism, not to the tradition and the responsibility of the International.

They want us to discuss "their document". They are not concerned with the fact that they are the ones who must feel, be concerned with the fact, that they have broken with the line of the International and its traditions. This is the procedure of those who within themselves already feel tendencies to separate themselves from the International.

Already there exist documents, resolutions of the International on Czechoslovakia over the inter bureaucratic struggle of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian bureaucrats. The honourable responsible, worthy attitude of a revolutionary is to base himself on the existing documents to speak in the name of the International and not in the name of the section and to be based on the documents of the International. When this is not done in one thing or another, when the revolutionary does not base himself on the documents of the International, does not support himself on them, does not speak in their name and does not publish them, does not show them and wants to make his own document, it is because such a person is animated by a feeling of factional competition. Otherwise if there was superiority or they felt themselves to be defending the International, they would say; this is the case, such and such. Thus we have constructed and we continue to construct. Our struggle with Michel Pablo, ex general secretary of the IV International was conducted on the highest, most worthy revolutionary organising purity. We published all the texts to Pablo, we developed the International, while we were preparing the fight against him with the line, the programme and the objectives of the IV International.

These two comrades—still I have to call them comrades, although what they have done makes them unworthy to be my comrades—have taken measures which support indiscipline, decentralisation, empiricism and adventurism. In front of the documents of the International they come out with their own documents. They present themselves before the working class, before the proletarian vanguard, before the party, competing with the International. They do not say the following: "We extract this from the IV International and we take up such a position". No, no, they appear as if everything they publish is correct. And everything which they publish which is correct is 100% integrally drawn from the texts of the International and they do not mention them. All correct ideas which they pose are those of the International; the conclusions are catastrophic, those of submission to the Soviet bureaucracy. And they are carrying through a deception, they are responsible for one of the greatest deceptions which goes beyond all the benefits which these comrades have made to the International.

All this is annulled simply by what they have done now. It is not an intern-

al discussion, a change of opinion or of word, an internal discussion where impressions are exchanged in a meeting, a discussion. No, no they have gone outside. The urgency of these comrades in going outside, hiding the International surreptitiously, is due to the fact that they already feel themselves animated, violent, against having to accept the discipline, the centralisation of the International because they feel themselves to be kept down, believing that they are personalities or geniuses who are not allowed to develop. These two have had opportunities to be geniuses, they have had a thousand opportunities to be the geniuses which they claim to be, and they have shown that they are not capable of being geniuses, because to be a genius at this stage means to be a disciplined member of the International. What they believe to be the act of geniuses is the product of historical social organisation.

It is necessary to push the struggle to the finish with these people, to the finish whatever the consequences. Whatever! even if there may be a rupture now, it is necessary to push the struggle to a finish. It is necessary to unite the party and to place them against the wall and say to them "you are working like two adventurers". You are two adventurers, you are not our leaders. So. And if you wish to regain our confidence, you have to demonstrate it for two years to regain our confidence. It is a blow given to the International. A blow of people who have crouched waiting for the opportunity to be able to give a blow, otherwise they would not do this.

We have educated the International in the most pure and complete norms of democratic centralism, of centralisation and purity of intentions. We have educated in this way and hence the authority which we have and thus in the middle of immense difficulties of having to continue a millimetre at a time, where it is necessary to demand the greatest sacrifice which is demanded of people for revolutionary action, we have such strength in the world. For this reason it is necessary to have organisational purity, purity of principles, relations, intentions, forms and movement. They have broken with all this. They have broken, broken and come out publicly with a document which determines all the perspective of the International in its own name. This in itself prevents them being leaders of the International. And for what they have done, they have been censured constantly—for violating discipline, for surreptitious actions, for usurping the name of the International. Both have been censured on other occasions.

We appeal to the party to oppose with all dignity and resolution such adventures and to separate itself from them with all revolutionary dignity. Still it is not necessary to push them aside, to separate them from the functioning of the leadership because they are obliged to stay there. They must be separated from every responsibility at this moment. That is to say it is necessary to control them! It is necessary to elevate the confidence to control such individuals. They are making an adventure involving the International.

The proof of the centralisation of the International is that all the sections in their documents which they published the same day the 21, published them based on the texts of the International, saying "such is said in the documents of Posadas of the International and such we support". That is to say the function of the Soviet Army is progressive in front of capitalism, reactionary as a function of the political revolution, and this determines our activity, this is the defence of the Soviet Union. We defend

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

De Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CREFFCE: *Communist Fight*. Clandestine.

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

PERU: *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

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.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

Cuarta Internacional, organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.

Revista Marxista Latino-Americana, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

Rivista Marxista Europea (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059 - 00153 Roma (Ostiense)—Italy.

Revue Marxiste Europeenne (In French), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc'hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, B. Postale 273, Charleroi, Belgium.

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The Czechoslovak-Soviet crisis, the impatience of Petit Bourgeois Revolutionaries

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the Soviet Union and not the reactionary policy of the bureaucracy, the reactionary objectives of the bureaucracy. This is the ABC of the IV International. Here the Workers States, are not in question, nor the question of the defence of the Workers State. Here is involved one of the consequences of the policy of the bureaucracy for at the same time it contains the advance of the tendencies who wish to return to capitalism, created by this same bureaucracy, and impedes the political revolution.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

This is a real blow of people who until a few days ago discussed with members of the leadership of the IV International and then bring out suddenly a document against the International. This shows a malignant perverse intention. Those with a healthy intention, believing that they are right, that they can win the International, discuss. They are the norms of revolutionary principles. They are unable to be leaders of the International, they are bandits, bandits who act contrary to this. The first duty of a comrade who believes that he is right, is to win the International to follow a common line and to appear as a harmonious body. But on the contrary they appear with two lines and still they have the temerity to say "we appeal to convince the international to support us". And they make a document in which the correct parts are integrally those of the International without mentioning the International, but they use them to conceal the capitulationist position in front of the Soviet bureaucracy, for this reason they utilise the position of the International to capitulate before the Soviet bureaucracy.

And you have already begun capitulation, intellectual prostration already intellectual collapse has begun. To arrive there needs very little time. Already we have said to Manuel "you have a foot outside", now you have the body outside, you only need half a foot more; because when you work in this way it is because you feel dissatisfied, oppressed because your adventurism and lack of discipline is not allowed; if this was not the case you would not work in this way. Your first duty is to say; the International says this, in the name of the

International which has published such documents which have such a position, while the Argentine Section says this. Thus the International appears with its position. You cover yourselves with the analysis of the International without say-

THE CRISIS OF TWO LEADING COMRADES OF THE ARGENTINE SECTION AND THE NEED FOR SUBMISSION TO THE DISCIPLINE AND MONOLITHIC CENTRALISATION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

We call to the Argentine Section to rise violently against such adventurers, against such beginnings of dissolution of the section itself. The International is not going to dissolve in the Argentine. If we carried on the struggle against Pablo and we have been capable of organising on a world scale such an International and arrive at influencing the Workers States, it is a stupid thing to believe that they are going to find points of support, that they are going to be right against us. Only egoists can believe this. Egoists who do not see reality, but only see themselves.

When we are already influencing within the Soviet Union, they make such a blow. It is a blow which hides the sinister attitudes of these people, otherwise they would not do it. They would refrain, they would not have gone as far as this. When they go, this far it is because already there is a malignant sentiment, otherwise they would not have done it. When they do not stop, and they do this, they have no idea of the interest of the International, of the collective interest, of scientific capacity, of centralised functioning, they believe in themselves not in the International. "Stupid arrogant petit bourgeois" as Trotsky said

ing that it is the analysis of the International, to bring out conclusions leading to capitulation before the bureaucracy. You take the authority of the International to support your capitulation. We are not going to allow it.

of Schactmann. You have to be a stupid petit bourgeois to do this. These bandits aim a blow and rob. We are the offended and indignant ones, we are slandered. You have slandered the International, when you present yourself in this way trying to show to people that this is the International. You slander and denigrate it. You merit the most complete condemnation. If we do not pose your expulsion it is because we still believe that you can be useful. But we think that when you do this it is because there is a whole accumulation of violation of the norms, of discipline and of centralism, and that you are close to your liquidation. You, who no more than three years ago, in 1963, deserved our condemnation for the underhand publication of documents, to damage the International. And it was no more than three years ago you had the case of Valentin, whom without experience and revolutionary tradition, you named as a member of the political bureau, which was a substitution of the functioning of the International, and it is a personalist functioning, the functioning of a cattle ranch boss. And you come back to repeat this. You are united by your own arrogance.

(To be continued in the next issue)

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All Trade Union Militants, the Revolutionary Vanguard

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

throughout the combine; it is completely unofficial, has no backing from the union leadership and it is not recognised by the employers. This is an important beginning but in order to progress the committee must, and we make an appeal to the workers in it to do this, adopt an anti-capitalist programme of demands which respond to all the problems of the working class; economic, social and political. The days of a purely factory struggle for purely factory demands are over.

It is now quite clear that the British working class is receiving and absorbing the lessons of the class struggle throughout the world, both the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries, and the political revolution and anti-bureaucratic struggle in the Workers States. From the Negro riots in the USA the struggles of the Vietnamese masses against Yankee Imperialism, the fight of the Arab masses in the Middle East against Israel as a base of U.S. Imperialism and the lessons of the Revolutionary General Strike in France have been discussed and acted upon by the working class here. It is in these favourable world conditions that the proposed strike of the engineering workers will take place. It is up to the revolutionary workers vanguard in this country to organise independently of the union leaders, but without breaking from their unions, to ensure that the strike takes place, by organising, now, factory committees in each sector of work, committees elected at mass meetings of all workers, committees which carry out the decisions taken at mass meetings where all workers, union members or not, women and youths all have equal rights, and where everyone can intervene, committees of which every mem-

ber can be instantly recalled if he does not obey the decisions of the mass meetings. These are the organisms which can ensure that the strike takes place, and which can carry on the organisation of it if the union leaders try to either call it off or fragment it. The factory committees must be prepared when the strike takes place to organise the occupation of the factories, making the factories function, marketing the produce, linking up with other factories, other industries, appealing to other sectors of workers to join in the strike, appealing to the local population for all the support they can give. Appealing to the Workers States, in particular the U.S.S.R., China, Cuba, Syria for aid, by buying the products and giving money. At the same time the committees must absorb the lessons of Mexico and Londonderry be prepared for increased police brutality, by forming defence committees in every factory to defend the workers and the factories. With these forms of organisation and a wider programme the strike could lead to the general strike in this country attracting all the exploited masses, and becoming a centre around which not only the workers, but the poor petit bourgeoisie, the tenants, students, school children, and old people can group. The strike must name a programme of a national minimum wage, all wages to rise with the cost of living, no more redundancies, work sharing without loss of pay, equal pay for women and youths, all the profits of automation to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher pay, no more rent increases, tenants committees to decide rents of council and privately owned houses and flats, students to receive the average workers wage to rise with the cost of living, for the nationalisation of

all major industries under workers control and without compensation to the former owners, full support to the struggle of the colonial masses, full support to the Workers States for a European Trade Union centre, for a workers government in Britain.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International appeals to the vanguard of the Labour masses, to the trade unionists, to the Communist Party militants, to the tenants committees, to the students and school children to throw their full weight behind the engineers struggle linking up their own demands with those of the engineers, organising factory committees, tenants committees, students committees, and linking them together on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme forming united fronts with the Labour Party branches, Communist Party branches, Young Socialists and the Y.C.L. and with the R.W.P.(T) the British Section of the IV International. The engineering workers themselves must also make this appeal to the rest of the working class, for their militant support through strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations.

In this way the national engineering strike can be made the centre for the general strike, which can force from the capitalist class significant wage increases, and reductions in hours of work, and most important of all impose workers control throughout all industry thus weakening the power of the bourgeoisie and winning important positions for the working class on the road to the formation of a workers government, and the overthrow of capitalism.

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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



IMPOSE THE INDEFINITE ENGINEERING STRIKE BY THE METHODS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE.

FACTORY OCCUPATIONS, WORKERS CONTROL, WORKERS ASSEMBLIES, TO DISCUSS ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE EXPLOITED MASSES

The most reactionary sectors in the AEF leadership have succeeded in postponing the indefinite general engineering strike until Nov 4 and by then they hope to have cancelled it altogether. The sector which presses forward and is a particular embarrassment to the conciliatory forces is that of the women workers—who make up the most exploited sections of the population. The "negotiators" were conveniently forgetting that they existed. It is necessary once again to point out the lessons of this experience. The trade union bureaucracy with its intense conservatism, its tremendous fear of the social consequences of an indefinite general strike in this country, is even less responsive to the will of the vanguard than the CGT in France. There the CGT was forced to call several—albeit limited—general strikes before the events in May. With the uninterrupted elevation of the world revolution, the sectors of the TU bureaucracy less sensible to the pressures of the masses, intensify their resistance to these pressures, desperately manoeuvring and allying themselves with capitalism to obstruct and brake the unification of the British proletariat. But they can only do this and try to diminish the influence of the most advanced on the less advanced sectors of the class IN THE ABSENCE OF PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY AT THE BASE OF THE UNIONS AND THE LACK OF FACTORY COMMITTEES WITH A CONTINUOUS LIFE OF DISCUSSION AND DECISION.

It is totally absurd that in relation to negotiations of this importance against the background of the constant elevation of the world socialist revolution and the high level of combativity of the British masses, with capitalism decomposing more and more rapidly, that these negotiations are carried out like a meeting of bourgeois diplomats with totally insufficient reporting back to the workers by the TU delegates. The engineering workers should be mobilised all the time with meetings, demonstrations, factory occupations, imposition of workers control so that the reactionary trade union officials and delegates are paralysed and thrown out immediately if they do not obey the wishes of the members. All this talk of union rule books is just another constitutional rigmarole for the benefit of the most conservative and the most reactionary sectors. To hell with the rule books. If officials take a line which does not correspond to the will of the workers expressed IN CONTINUOUSLY FUNCTIONING FACTORY COMMITTEES, then they should be thrown out. And all the trade union executives should be open to immediate recall. None of this rubbish about being elected for so many years irrespective of how they function. If they do not serve the interests of the class immediately, out, out. And all their salaries and expenses should come under the scrutiny of the workers. The delays, the manoeuvres, the closed sessions of these negotiations, the despicable attempts of the bureaucrats to make an agreement at the expense of the women workers poses once again that obstacles of this sort can only be overcome when proletarian democracy is rigorously imposed in the factory committees with mass meetings to decide all the main issues facing the workers movement. In the time remaining, redoubled efforts must be made to impose this strike by appeals to all categories of the population for support, by meetings and demonstrations, by factory occupations and the imposition of workers control and

above all explaining the perspectives of the class struggle in this country and the world on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme as laid out regularly in our paper Red Flag. We appeal for the establishment of mass factory committees now, to discuss the implications of all these delays in the strike and the necessity to impose it.

Despite this limited set back so far in the struggle to impose the indefinite general engineering strike, the tremendous accumulation of anti-capitalist forces in this country is nourished by all the course of the world socialist revolution. The inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to control the process in Czechoslovakia deepens all the time the crises in the world communist parties. The inability to find a suitable puppet leadership to solve the interbureaucratic dispute means inevitably that the masses are going to intervene directly in the near future and all the time within the Workers States revolutionary currents advance, recently for example attacks have been mounted increasingly on the theories lying behind the economic reforms. The exiling of Pavel Litvinoff etc is another distant echo of the crisis stimulated by the entry of the Soviet Army into Czechoslovakia.

Although there are occasional moments of loss of momentum in some areas of the world as in Vietnam, the crises of Imperialism multiply. The Indian government is forced to launch a savage repression against workers and government employees. The tension in the Middle East threatens at any time to burst into a final encounter; in Egypt there have been discussions about a popular militia. The whole of Latin America after the crisis in Mexico, the student demonstrations in Chile and Brazil, the military coup in Peru, is on the way to a series of major explosions. It is the intensification of the world crisis which has prompted the new round of negotiations between Wilson and Rhodesia. There, inevitably the pressures of the African revolution stimulate crises in those organisations

among the Africans who are incapable of initiating armed struggle with a clear anti-capitalist programme. The pressure for such a programme and a revolutionary war against the white racists intensifies. Wilsons efforts to unite with Smith to patch up an agreement are again the puny efforts of those who try to maintain a united front against the world revolution and with all these manoeuvres Wilson comes into conflict with the base of the Labour Party, adding more fuel to the flames that will consume the bureaucracy.

In the new phase of the class struggle which is developing in Great Britain, it is essential to link all the various struggles of the British masses with campaigns of support for democratic rights and the end of partition in Ireland. The intervention of the vanguard in Derry, the persistence of popular demonstrations, despite the absence of the elevated anti-capitalist programme and the call for a united Ireland within the United Socialist States of Europe, are a decisive aid to the British masses to accelerate the overthrow of capitalism in this country. We call for the factory committees to discuss the struggles in Ulster, to demand an end to partition, the end of gerrymandering, the unification of the struggles of the Irish workers in North and South Ireland with those of the British workers around a full anti-capitalist programme.

We appeal to the student vanguard to ally in the firmest possible way with the actions of the proletariat. The resolution to occupy the LSE during the demonstrations of support for the Vietcong on Oct 27, at what was obviously a large meeting should be extended into a permanent occupation accompanied with appeals for support throughout the country. London University can be made a re-

volutionary centre for the whole country but it is necessary to put forward a generalised anti-capitalist programme, directly appealing to the workers, involving the students with all the struggles of the workers in strikes, factory occupations etc.

All the time it is necessary to utilise the experience of the revolutionary general strike in France. In face of the series of factory occupations French capitalism was forced to make large wage concessions to the French workers. Capitalism in face of such a massive working class offensive is powerless. It has to yield. In face of the impotence of capitalism to meet the demands of the masses, its social decomposition, its preparation for the final encounter, shown in the hurried efforts to organise NATO, we appeal for the factory, tenants, student committees to rally support for the anti-capitalist programme, sustained by seizure of the factories. Build the factory committees with the right of immediate recall of delegates, all wages to rise with the cost of living. For an all round thirty per cent increase in wages, nationalisation of all key industries without compensation and under workers control, equal pay for women, all the profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours, for a single European trade union centre on the anti-imperialist programme, withdrawal from all capitalist and imperialist alliances, liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply. For the United Socialist States of Europe. For a workers government.

Build the worker student alliance.

Build the united front of the revolutionary workers vanguard and the IV International.

LIFE OF THE PARTY

Full support to the Public Meetings of the Party

Over the last few months, starting from the time of the French Revolutionary General Strike, the RWPT in united front with the revolutionary tendency 'the United Car Worker' has held a series of lunchtime public meetings outside the Longbridge East works in Birmingham. There has been a good reception to these meetings, and the biggest attendance was about 250 people. The meetings have dealt with the French Revolutionary General Strike, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the students' struggles throughout the world, the national situation and the role of the car workers as a vanguard of the British working class. Also in the last few weeks the party held its first public meeting at Vauxhall, and it is planned to hold them also outside the shipyards in Newcastle.

We appeal to the vanguard in the motor industry at Longbridge and Vauxhall, and in the Tyneside shipyards, to actively support these meetings of the party, to sell and distribute the material of the party, and to make financial contributions so that we can improve the technical apparatus for the meetings.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet crisis, the impatientaries, and the world development of the

(2nd Part extracts)

Valentin is a symbol, he shows ineptitude in construction. We are three years from Valentin, and they repeat the Valentines, because to place Valentin in the political bureau and to support him shows that there is no notion, consciousness of how to construct the party and still it indicates the inclination for preference. If not you would not have placed him there. It was immensely more important to gather other comrades who have adhered to and are solid with the International than Valentin who was a new type who did not know where he was going to stop. You do not place on the political bureau someone who says "yes, yes, I am in agreement", but you place there a tested comrade, who is stable with the International, because judgements by him are going to be those of a person who thinks objectively and who is capable. It is the capacity and formation which means his security. Not any type can be accepted on the political bureau. Why did you accept him? Because he supported M. Instead you should have said "look what we have done, this means that we are subjective, that we resort to lies and obstacles."

You take into account petit bourgeois public opinion, you do not take into account the public opinion of the vanguard, the objective necessity of history which the vanguard expressed, which is the attitude of the Czechoslovakian proletariat which did not put obstacles before the Soviet Army, but neither did it give any support. And the Soviet Army did not make an appeal to the masses not even for a strike in the workers area. And you come here to say that the Soviet Army is exercising the function of defending the political revolution. It is necessary to be an imbecile, conceited and petulant which blinds your vision of history, to act in this way. Trotsky said "we do not defend the policy of the bureaucracy". And policy means any action of the bureaucracy; we do not defend it beforehand. We want to see what is to be done in each concrete moment. In what moment? Because the bureaucracy does not represent the Workers State, in the way that its measures do not represent the interest itself of the Workers States. It represents always—even being necessary—its own interest. For this reason at the same time that it intervenes militarily in Czechoslovakia, it impedes the development of the revolution because it defends itself. When it has to weaken, it is because it is the lesser evil which it can sustain.

It is necessary to be stupid not to see this. They are all texts with which we have organised and for this we exist. Our historic conception already is mature, you break with this. And you want to cover yourselves by using our texts but concealing that they are the texts of the International and publish them as your own with your own lubrication. You do not say anything correct in them, you have not created anything, you have not incorporated anything. They are all the analysis of the International, all the analysis of Posadas. You take them to serve as a means of capitulation. The honourable duty of any member of the International is to do as the Italian, Peruvian, Chilean, Brazilian, French, Greek, Belgian Uruguayan, all the sections of the International have done, who have said "as says Cde Posadas, as says the International, as say the resolutions of the International, this is the position." This is how honourable leaders and militants act. And we appeal to the party to maintain this honourable tradition of the Argentinian Section and to eliminate these false leaders, adventurers who do such actions.

Your action is to think and to feel with perspective and sentiments outside the International. You have invented an objective situation which does not exist, you have invented conditions and historic possibilities for the Soviet bureaucracy of

progressive and revolutionary advance to justify your positions against the International. It is enough to see that while the whole International is concentrated around the International leadership seeking to communicate with it, making it feel that it is working in the secure and resolved line of the International, these two arrogant petit bourgeois maintained hidden from the International leadership their capitulationist positions, when they could have transmitted, communicated, discussed the position immediately, awaiting the orientation of the International. But they have the texts that already are orientating as they orientate the sections of the International all over the world. These two who see themselves as heroes when they look in the mirror despite the texts of the resolutions of the International and draw their own conclusions. This means feelings, inclination towards a fractional tendency in the service of empiricism and conciliation with the tendencies which arise in the Soviet bureaucracy. It is necessary to block this resolutely. Already we have begun very well. The Argentine Section must realise in relation to them, that whatever might be their rectifications in the past, they act in this way because they feel themselves weak before the historic tasks of the International. Whatever might be the immediate causes they are vacillating and weak because they yield to imperialism. Hence they invent the danger of capitalist invasion, the re-establishment of capitalism in Czechoslovakia and they say that the bureaucracy went to defend the interests and historic conquests of the Workers State and of the Czechoslovakian masses. But they yield to impressionism because in their petit bourgeois aspirations, they feel themselves to be controlled without perspective in the monolithic centralisation of the International. This is the historic depth of the causes of the blow which they have given to the International, these people who work as lawyers and publicity men. They are not mistakes, they are adventurist attitudes, with the sentiment of fraction. And whoever in the International has a sentiment of fraction, is already outside the International, his objective feeling is not that of the International, because he is thinking of himself and not for the International. It is not being subjected to the International, because there is nothing there which impels him to break the norms, the harmony of the International which is complete. A small group of the International directs the world. Without harmony, without conscious adhesion this cannot be done. And these comrades in an adventurist form deliver a blow.

It is the result of the petit bourgeois who feels himself to be wounded, grieved because he does not play a more outstanding role. It is completely absurd. You have deceived yourselves. Three days ago you appeared to be adhering and fused unquestionably loyal to the International. And now you make offensive and unworthy declarations as that saying "we are not going to allow any assault on the defence of the Soviet Union". It is simply to be stupid to believe that we are against the defence of the Soviet Union. It is simply a sophism to hide capitulation. It is your argument. How do you believe that this leadership of the International which Posadas leads, in one way or the other changes and breaks with the conception of the defence of the Soviet Union. How, how have you arrived at this; even though you have not written it, but which you have spoken about to the comrades? How have you conceived this? How have you arrived at posing to a leader of the International who goes to discuss with you that "we are not disposed to allow an assault on the defence of the Soviet Union. Where

have you got this from? You work like bandits, not as comrades. You discuss as if it was a discussion between bandits, if not you would not discuss in this way. It is prohibited. Any honorable comrade does not discuss with us in this way, because he does not see anything of an attack against the International. It is you who have to justify the action of violation, of an attack; how can you imagine that we are against the defence of the Soviet Union, when you have accepted all the documents, their continuity until this moment. How can you believe that the policy passes from this at one moment to another, when it is against the defence of the Soviet Union. Where is the document, where is the line which is against the defence of the Soviet Union? On the other hand when you submit to the intervention of the Soviet Army, that is not to defend the Workers State, this is to defend the Soviet bureaucracy as the majority of the leaderships of the communist parties do.

You work like bandits. Your interests are not those of bandits but you work as bandits with respect to the International. In this way it has the same conclusion as that of a common bandit in the International, because you are robbing the International. You are robbing. It is the function of the bandit, it is necessary to eliminate the bandit. Eliminate bandits. It is necessary to have a tribunal in the International and in the next meeting of the International to make a tribunal to judge these comrades for violation of the discipline, the centralism, the policies and the objectives of the International. The International proposes to overthrow the bureaucracy of the Workers States. They, H and M support the bureaucracy. Their document supports it, we propose to overthrow it.

The bureaucracy even in the worst moments where it is obliged to appeal to the masses, thinks of itself, not of the masses, as Trotsky says. Trotsky said it before and says it now. The nature of the bureaucracy does not change. Show how the nature of the bureaucracy has changed!—giving it the intention to want to push forward the defence of the Workers State—show this! In defending the Workers State—as said Leon Trotsky—it defends itself, for this reason it limits

strictly the means so that they do not go beyond its own defence. And now it is preparing a repression against the left, for this reason it does not appeal to the masses nor will it act to give them a signal to take to the streets. It is stupid not to see this and he who looks to himself and not to the International, is stupid.

These are political descriptions which I am using and you must take them as such. You are robbing the International, you are doing things which only enemies of the International would do, people who think already as enemies of the International, beginning with a decentralised functioning, the beginning of a fraction. This is the reason why you are working in this way, otherwise this would not be the case, you would not give a blow to the International. As we have shown in the International when we were with Pablo, we discussed and fought to correct the International, showing that we were right; when we saw that he was not able to be corrected we formed this International. You are beginning to form another International. You have the functioning of a leadership which is apart. You appear in a section which up to the previous day published the text of the International, with a new document in the name of yourselves, not of the International and with positions opposed to the International. You function and feel like a new International. You are playing about in a fairground to see what turns up.

You are not working consciously in a disciplined way, in a mature way, a responsible party way, you are working like irritated petit bourgeois who yield to irritation and in consequence to their individual interest, otherwise you would not work in this way. You cannot do this, such a criminal action does not arise in the head. It is prejudicial to the revolutionary norms, otherwise you would not do it. We have run to the end of the world to convince the comrades. And you have a thousand ways to communicate immediately with us and you have not done so. You know that all this is not the reason that you are defending yourself, but because you have given a blow as you did in 1965 when you brought Valentin onto the political bureau

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ARGENTINE SECTION ABOUT THE RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA PUBLISHED BY COMRADES H & M IN VOZ PROLETARIA
AUGUST 1968

ience and panic of Petit Bourgeois Revolut- IV International and the Socialist Revolution

J. POSADAS 24 Aug. 68

of the Argentine Section and he afterwards fled. It was against Posadas that you brought Valentin onto the Political Bureau seeking a selection of people to confront the International and now you publish this document. Similarly it is the same fractional intention but without the force, without the capacity, without the foresight, without anything. It is irritation which impels you to act in this way. If you had an honourable attitude, the first thing you would say is; we are going to discuss, we are confused. For this reason you need to justify yourself. As you do not have ideas you use all those of the International. There is no idea of yours, you have made no new analysis, there is nothing new which improves. They are already analyses made previously by the International and you support them, utilise them without saying that they are of the International. And you appear with your own editing, with your own capacity for analysis and present yourself before the working class, utilising the capacity of the International to impose measures of capitulation before the Soviet bureaucracy.

ANALYSIS OF THE RESOLUTION BROUGHT OUT BY COMRADES H AND M IN 'VOZ PROLETARIA' IN THE NAME OF THE ARGENTINE SECTION

"And in this process forseen by Trotsky and analised today by J. Posadas, the counter-revolutionary attempts of the Czechoslovak technocracy in objective and concrete alliance with capitalism and world imperialism determined the response of the structure of the Workers State, of the USSR in particular, which cannot permit nor tolerate the restorationist attempts and manouvers of regression to capitalist forms on the part of the technocrats who have developed in the Workers States."

Reply by Posadas.

Trotsky did not forsee this: They are new conditions in history which were not there in the period of Trotsky. This is a new stage. Because; why don't the Soviet bureaucracy do the same thing in the USSR as is going on in Czechoslovakia? This process is more profound in Czechoslovakia. We have analysed that even though this layer of the bureaucrats is the weakest, it can do this in Czechoslovakia through the lack of strength of the Communist Party, the absence of tradition and basis of tradition and historic strength which exists in the USSR. We have already analysed this, and it does not have anything to do with your resolution. It is an invention, an abortion to justify yourselves. When this resolution analyses, it lies, because it has to justify itself. It is playing up to the bureaucracy. This is the conclusion.

It is completely false that the bureaucracy went to fight the technocrats, when in fact they are the same. What the bureaucracy wants to do is to divide the technocrats, not to confront them and throw them out, but to divide them and gain them. As they are doing in the USSR, which shows that they can still conciliate. In the USSR there are technocrats much more developed from a capitalist point of view than in Czechoslovakia, because they have solid economic positions while the Czechoslovak technocrats don't. It is from the USSR that this emerged. The Czechoslovaks have copied from the USSR. The bureaucracy extends itself, the forms of the bureaucracy are extending, this is logical, because it does not have any other way of extending itself. The Czechoslovak bureaucracy copy from the USSR, because the bureaucratic functioning leads to this and the bureaucracy gives it forms. All this which is in the resolution of H and M is absurd.

"Because the expropriation of the proletariat in the USSR and in the Workers States by the bureaucracy, the policy of peaceful co-existence and class collaborat-

We appeal to the Party, as on other occasions to condemn and drown these adventurers, to drown them. To drown them, means to prevent them returning to do these things again, to take responsibility from their hands, to demand a superior functioning and a militancy ten times superior to that now and to take from them almost all the rights which they have. One cannot have confidence in people who act like this, they do not deserve our confidence. It is consciously a deliberate blow which they have given to the International, a blow by a circus performer without any notion of the damage which he has done. They are the blows of the irritated petit bourgeois who stamp about, otherwise they would not do this. It is absurd. We have just finished showing you that you are incapable of constructing cadres, the case of Cde Pa shows it. You have confidence in a comrade who made a document hostile to the IV International, when you allow this, it is because you are preparing a fractional conclusion, which is not a centralised Bolshevik functioning. It is an individualistic functioning.

ion, the abandoning and the aggression against the conquest, and the bolshevik and socialist traditions on the part of the expropriating bureaucracy, made possible, fomented and sustained the existence of this technocratic layer with a capitalist mentality."

This is correct, all this is taken strictly from our pamphlet "The historic balance of 50 years of existence of the Soviet Union..." And does it not make you ashamed, H and M to address us supposing that we were against the defence of the USSR when you based yourselves on this document of ours, the most complete document since the 'Revolution Betrayed' of Leon Trotsky. The most complete, most valuable and most important, where it was posed how we defend the Soviet Union. And if you wrote this, you would have to put; "as was analysed by Cde Posadas in such a pamphlet, such and such a text," which gives the conclusion, the line which is against what you are saying that the Soviet bureaucracy is disposed to defend the Workers State at all cost. This is against Trotsky who said clearly; if the bureaucracy could conciliate and co-exist with capitalism, it would do it at the cost of profound betrayals, as it has done up till now. And if it cannot do it anymore it is because the strength of history prevents it. Because of this they try to restrain and impede, and because of this they send the army and do not make an appeal for the formation of soviets. Because of this they intervene with the army, it is not that it forgets or that the army is necessary, but because it cannot call for the soviets, because they will go against it.

It does not have consciousness, it cannot be conscious and it is not disposed to confront capitalism to defend the Workers State. It is disposed to confront it in order to defend itself, because it is obliged to do it, nothing more. And consequently it limits all the possibilities which there are in Czechoslovakia now, it limits them and as part of this has sent the troops there as much to pressurise, to impede the sectors of the right from raising their head, in order to terrify or warn capitalism that it must not interfere, as against the masses. The Soviet Army is against the two things. What military measures must be supported there? Where is the capitalist invasion? Where is the capitalist mobilisation? Where is the danger? Certainly there are layers of the Communist Party who are escaping. They are escaping now, fleeing, because the Communist Party of Czecho-

slovakia cannot call to the masses. If the Czechoslovak bureaucracy capitulates it is because it has the same interests as the Soviet bureaucracy, bureaucratic interests. Because of this it resolves inter-bureaucratically. And as the bureaucracy cannot resort to the masses as a means of pressure, it resorts to the army, and thus it plays a double function against the right which competes with it, and it makes difficult and impedes the masses from taking power. This is how it has been explained, is explained in all the pamphlets of the International and it is missing in this resolution of H and M. Because there it is seen that it was the Soviet Army. Some days passed the position of the International was verified; that there has been no nuclear war nor has this led to the war at this moment, and that the Soviet bureaucracy has left practically all the members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, has left alone practically all the reforms and economic measures, of management of liberalisation, of autonomy of enterprises, of the market economy, of material stimulus which are capitalist norms. This shows that the Soviet bureaucracy went there simply to conciliate. It was not to defend the Workers State, it was to defend themselves from their rivals, the Czechoslovak bureaucracy, and to defend themselves from the Czechoslovak and Soviet masses. On the other hand you declare that the Soviet Army went to defend the Workers State, to prepare the world war. Don't be idiots. This forms a part of this process in which the bureaucracy is obliged, in every way, to defend the Workers State! because it defends itself, because of this it limits its actions.

"But when this technocratic sector, feeling that the course of the political revolution is going to liquidate it, attempts to defend its privileges restoring capitalist forms or attempts to contain the world ascending course of the communist vanguard, allying itself to world capitalism, the masses of the Workers States, the vanguard of the Workers States does not permit it and imposes itself on the technocratic sectors, and imposes the intervention of the USSR to rout these restorationist attempts."

It is the existence of the bureaucracy which leads to capitalist forms. They are all, including Dubcek, including Breznev, who support the programme of liberalisation, of self management. It is a capitalist reform. Breznev supports the policy of the market economy. This is the interior policy, and outside they go to defend it. Only stupid, conceited petit bourgeois ignore this. Foreign policy is the continuation of the internal policy. In the IV International it is outside all norms to discuss this. And Breznev defends the market economy like the Libermans, the Ota Silks of Czechoslovakia. If Breznev intervenes in Czechoslovakia it is because it competes with him, puts him in danger and because to confront the capitalist system as a competitor they have to be united, depending on the USSR, not as a Communist International. And you attribute to the bureaucracy the historic function of representing the Workers State. Capitulators! This is capitulation! This is intellectual collapse prior to

organic collapse.

The Soviet bureaucracy intervenes because it needs to defend itself from the competition of the other bureaucrats of the other Workers States, but, at the same time, to appear before the masses of the Soviet Union, as being able to resolve this problem, in order to maintain a certain authority and justify its existence before the workers and also before the army. Because of this it intervenes. It does not intervene because it responds to the pressure of the masses. It intervenes to defend itself from the pressure of the masses. Because if it responds to the pressure of the masses, it would push forward the Soviets! You are unworthy to be discussing with us. You are discussing like peddlars. You do not use the norms of the dialectic of Marxism. The bureaucracy intervenes to defend itself from the masses. When we say that it has to defend itself from the pressure of the masses, it does not mean that it obeys or represents this pressure. It means that to contain this pressure it does this so as to show that it is capable of leading. It is absurd. There is someone called Leon Trotsky, who you say you represent, who says, "the role of gendarme of the bureaucracy which needs to be justified". And still this role of gendarme of the bureaucracy has to be justified, and still it is the role of the gendarme. The bureaucracy presents itself defending the Workers State and before the masses of the USSR it has to show "I am capable of defending". It shows that it is not inert, because otherwise it would provoke the uprising to defend the Workers State: In order to contain this pressure, the bureaucracy comes out with this measure of military intervention in Czechoslovakia, to continue defending itself.

"The structure of the Workers States is very superior to the counter-revolutionary interests of the technocrats"

From where did you learn Messrs. H and M that we made a separation of the bureaucrats from the technocrats? The technocrats are a part of the bureaucracy which up to now in the Soviet Union itself are in a common bond together and the technocrats are represented in the government by Kosygin! How did you come to make this separation so as to justify your support for the Soviet bureaucracy? The technocrats is the sector least interested in the party and in the structure of the Workers State. And the pamphlet "50 years of the Soviet Union" explains and teaches all this, that there is an alliance between them. The technocracy is a member of the Communist Party, they are all the same. Ota Sik is an old member of the Communist Party. It is a consequence of the existence of the bureaucracy which to defend itself in the competition has to take these measures...

"And in this way now the Soviet masses have dominated, the Communist vanguard which has imposed the intervention to prevent the capitalist restoration, so this same vanguard is going to be alerted to intervene to throw all the forces of the Workers States into overthrowing what remains of capitalism."

CONTD. ON PAGE 4

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The Czechoslovak-Soviet crisis, the impatience of Petit Bourgeois Revolutionaries

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

We say that you give a capitulatory interpretation. You pose as if the Soviet bureaucracy forced by the Communist vanguard goes to Czechoslovakia to defend the Workers State. We repeat it goes to defend itself from the Communist vanguard. The Communist vanguard showed concern over what was happening in Czechoslovakia. If the bureaucracy did not intervene, the working class would have been animated, and would have encountered the united front in the Soviet Union in order to rise up. The Soviet bure-

aucracy in order to prevent that the masses rise up, did what it did. In the same way that it supports Vietnam to prevent that a worst evil than the defence of Vietnam happens. What is the reason? Because the bureaucracy has tried to conciliate with imperialism, including negotiating over Vietnam, as the Chinese very well denounce and over which Khrushchev fell. Khrushchev intended to negotiate over Vietnam, because of this we said then, when there was the aggression of imperialism against Cuba in 62 and when there was Vietnam; "Khrushchev is falling" and Khrushchev fell. Because the force of the Workers State imposes the defence of Vietnam, it was a strategic logical necessity, but the bureaucracy discourages, chokes and strangles the defence of Vietnam in every possible way, and it does this. It sends lorries, planes etc in order to contain. Not to defend Vietnam, but restraining imperialism from winning but not allowing that Vietnam wins. This is what they are doing in Czechoslovakia. It does not mean that we support what the Soviet bureaucracy is doing in Vietnam, we supported the sending of the Mexican workers militias to Spain, we supported this measure. When Cardenas nationalised the railways and the oil industry we supported these measures, but not the capitalist government of Cardenas, even with all the progressive aspects which it had, because Cardenas obeyed a bourgeois interest. He was obliged to take such progressive measures. The bureaucracy sees itself forced to take measures which interest the revolution, in the same way as, in a certain stage capitalism took measures which went against it, measures which it had to take to defend itself. And we in this case, see nothing more than this measure. And the bureaucracy of the Workers States works in the same way as the capitalist, seeking to make itself permanent. And one of the causes which it has to defend in order to remain, is to accept the pressure of the masses. And one of the bases of this pressure is what role the concern "Capitalism advances and we do nothing" plays, and the bureaucracy has to respond to this. Because of this we make a distinction between Spain and now. In Spain it had to betray Spain to sustain itself; it could conciliate with capitalism. Now it has to go to try to contain the right wing tendencies, because it can no longer conciliate at all, and needs to do what is the least evil for it. But at the same time its aspiration and its interest is not to impell the revolution and from each event it draws the best conclusion it can and the objective is not to impell the Socialist revolution, it takes this measure in Czechoslovakia; it sends the army.

Because of this we see the behaviour of the masses of the world; there has not been a single stoppage of 5 minutes in support of the entry of the troops, while for Santo Domingo there were spontaneous stoppages in all the world, even the fish made stoppages against the Yankee troops. When there was the threat of the intervention of the Yankee army in Cuba,

there were a million demonstrations. And now there is not a single stoppage by one person in Mexico supporting the entry of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia. Is world revolutionary proletarian public opinion of no importance to you? There the world working class is saying how it feels. It is explaining how it feels, that it sees that the Soviet Army goes there in a struggle of competition to contain a sector of the right which is harmful to it, not to the Workers State. And the bureaucracy then has to speak a language with which to attract a world support. It has to speak this language. And this is imposed on it because within the sectors of the bureaucracy there are sectors linked to the masses which impose it, which are the axes which are ascending. The Soviet bureaucracy takes such measures directed at containing, nothing more. It does not demand, does not call, nor impose support to the military measures. On the contrary it is necessary to denounce that they are measures directed at impeding the development of the political revolution. It is necessary to denounce this. Not saying that they are counter-revolutionary, because we do not say this. Not saying get out, nor putting as an objective the throwing out of the Soviet troops, but saying; "You entered not to impell the revolution, you entered to impede the revolution". This is the historic basis of this. Because if it sends troops, there is a mobilisation in the Soviet Union, it incites the political revolution within the USSR, and therefore it comes out to contain, to justify its function. This is what Leon Trotsky said, and this is also what we say now. And this Leon Trotsky, to whom you give flowers, but which you cover up with a black cloth, says "We never give political, social or military confidence to anything the bureaucracy does, because the bureaucracy does not represent the Workers State." The defence of the Workers State is the defence against the capitalist system, against capitalist measures, but even so we do not politically support the bureaucracy; this is what a certain Leon Trotsky says. Even in these circumstances, this is what Leon Trotsky says.

And the most important case which you throw to the devil, in the road of your abandonment of Marxism, is the recent war with Nazism. We supported the defence of the Soviet Union, but not all the military and political measures of the Soviet Union even in this case. And the Trotskyists, the IV International at the moment when you were still wanting to make a bourgeois career, which you still have not abandoned completely by these measures which you have taken at this moment, we did not put as a centre the criticism and struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, but neither did we abandon criticism. And because of this we had a critical attitude of support to the measures and not to the Workers State. We supported the defence of the Workers State unconditionally against the Nazi army and we criticised practically all the measures of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is the IV International. In

more dangerous circumstances than now, and not weakening the Workers State nor abandoning the defence of the Workers State and not liquidating the IV International. And we are here because we took this measure then, otherwise we would have been liquidated and we would have been dissolved behind the Soviet bureaucracy. The unconditional defence of the Workers States is against everything which damages the Workers State. But the Workers State forms part of the World Revolution. Thus in each concrete case one has to see what measure to take. And here is Czechoslovakia. And you, when you show your subtlety and moreover an attitude of insecurity is when you do not say: "We support the military measures of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia". If you were certain you would say "in Czechoslovakia" on the other hand you put a text which hides the banditry which they are doing. This is banditry, a question of banditry, not an abstraction, Czechoslovakia is a Workers State! You are the anti-defensists! You are the capitulators before the Soviet bureaucracy! You are supporters of the Soviet bureaucracy against the interests of the Workers States, which in this case does not represent the necessity and extension of the revolution in Czechoslovakia. You are the ones who capitulate, you are the anti-defensists.

The Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia did not go there to defend the revolution. It went to defend the bureaucracy. It did the same in 1936 with the Spanish Civil War, and also it was to defend itself, but there in order to defend itself it betrayed Greece. In 1956 it capitulated in Vietnam and make the Geneva Agreement. In 1962-63 in order to defend itself it had to allow the uprising in Vietnam, and it also capitulated, because it sought to conciliate and contain Vietnam. It was afterwards that it gave arms. Afterwards it was forced to give arms to sustain and justify its force, and moreover because to defend itself it needed the maintenance of the military world relation of forces. As with Czechoslovakia, but this does not mean that the bureaucracy either impels or is inclined to defend the revolution. It does strictly what is necessary so that measures are not passed which would go further than the defence of itself. And it is the same in Czechoslovakia. No longer can they simply contain the bureaucracy with appeals, as they did up to a few days before, as they conciliated in Bratislava. No longer can they speak in the name of the defence of these interests. They have to speak in the name of and seeking support of the world working class to put pressure on the Czechoslovak bureaucracy. They were seeking what was necessary to find the best means to justify their existence. This is the way it is necessary to analyse. The bureaucracy did not propose nor proposes to call to the working class of the world so that it overthrows the capitalist system. Because of this in our texts it says: "The document of Bratislava shows a conservative sentiment". Thus this document of the IV International said that Bratislava did not make a single appeal to the masses. And you send this document to the devil and bring out a document of your own. There is the guide. You are the ones who are preparing to eliminate defensism, capitulating, already there is a beginning. The appeals which you make, the correct parts are of Posadas, which conceal the conclusions, which we point out, are of capitulation.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Mexican Trotskyists prepare a political accusation of the Bourgeoisie

The imprisoned comrades in Mexico are preparing a political accusation of the bourgeoisie, at their trial. Soon the trial of the Trotskyist comrades still imprisoned in Mexico will take place. The comrades have prepared a document for their defence which is a political accusation against Mexican capitalism. Later the Party will publish the texts of this document which contains a preface by Cde. J. Posadas.

The RWP(T) calls to all the revolutionary vanguard in Britain to develop the campaign for the Trotskyists and all the political prisoners in jail in Mexico.

We repeat our appeals to send resolutions, telegrams to the Mexican government to Judge McGregor, Palace of Justice, Mexico D.F. and to the Mexican Ambassador here, 48 Belgrave Sq., S.W.1.

We also repeat our appeal to demand the liberation of all the Trotskyist militants imprisoned in Guatemala, Brazil, Spain and Cuba.

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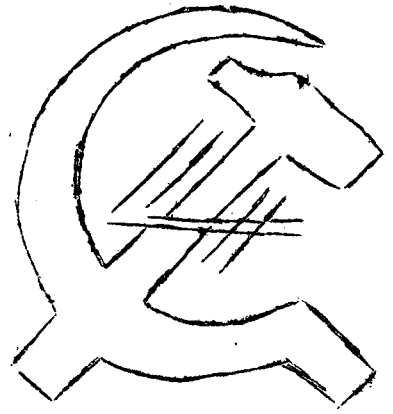
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Without the Party
we are nothing.
With the Party we
are everything.

- Trotsky

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 76 77

10th November 1968

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IMPEL THE INDEFINITE ENGINEERING STRIKE WITH THE ORGANISATION OF FACTORY CITIES. - FACTORY OCCUPATIONS

On a national and international scale the revolution advances towards the final settlement of accounts with capitalism and imperialism. There is a world wide process of polarisation as the masses concentrate themselves in mass actions, demonstrations and movements, attracting to their side the students and poor petit bourgeoisie, while on the other hand imperialism tries to gain what support it can from the wealthy petit bourgeoisie, and the reactionary bourgeois military and feudal leaders of the world. To gain the confidence of the world bourgeoisie as Comrade Posadas has analysed, U.S. Imperialism sent up the last Apollo space craft. Their haste and lack of preparation in doing this showed their desperation before the advance of the revolution and was a despairing attempt to assure the world bourgeoisie that Imperialism is resolved and capable of launching the war to resist and defeat the world

continued page 2.

We salute the appearance of the
LATIN AMERICAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 14
The Organ of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

Contents

DOCUMENTS OF THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

| | |
|---|------------|
| Report of the International Secretariat to the International Executive Committee | J. Posadas |
| Organisational Report | J. Posadas |
| Organisational Reports of Mexico, Guatemala, Cuba and Algeria | J. Posadas |
| Closing Speech | Javier |
| The Revolutionary Moral Purity in the Construction of the Militants and the Leadership of the Revolution | J. Posadas |
| The Children and the Socialist Revolution | J. Posadas |
| The Manifesto of the 1st May 1968 | |
| Editorial on the Revolutionary General Strike in France, the Meeting in Bratislava and other documents of Comrade | J. Posadas |

LONG LIVE THE LATIN AMERICAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 14

LONG LIVE COMRADE POSADAS

contd. from page 1

the world revolution. But the world bourgeoisie gains no confidence from this spacecraft, on the contrary, the lack of security of the space men displayed before the masses of the world lowers further the authority of the U.S. imperialism. Imperialism prepares for the war but with a sentiment of pessimism and defeat. Within the U.S.A. now after the elections in which some 40 per cent of the population have abstained, imperialism tries to unify itself in preparation for the final encounter. Humphreys statement that he will do all he can to help to unite the nation behind Nixon is part of this process. Imperialism has to act clandestinely, preparing the war, but professing its love for peace and going through the parody of the peace talks in Paris. There is no possibility of concessions over Vietnam, there cannot be another 1954 agreement, because the level of the world revolution, the struggle of the world masses will not permit the Soviet bureaucracy, or the conciliatory leaders of the NLF and North Vietnam to betray the revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy is forced, by the Workers State and the objective need to unify the Workers States with the world revolution, to support the revolution; not pushing forward all the social, political and military measures to see that the revolution triumphs, but giving it military aid to prevent the advance of imperialism. Thus we see the invitation of the Soviet marshals to Nasser, that the Egyptian army should join the Warsaw pact together with the armies of Syria and Algeria. This is an advance towards the concrete organic alliance of the Workers States and the World revolution, and marks the beginning of a new stage, which together with the impending clash between the Palestinian guerrillas and King Hussain as a part of the struggle of the Arab masses against Zionism, imperialism and its agents, prepares a new war in the Middle East which will rapidly lead to a clash between the Workers States and imperialism. In Europe the revolution advances constantly; in Spain the two pillars of the Franco regime, the police and the Falange clash in street demonstrations facilitating the intervention of the workers and students to smash fascism, in West Berlin the students clash with the police in the most violent demonstration seen in the city since the war, in Italy the socialist party splits into 5 tendencies and capitalism can no longer maintain the centre left coalition, while in France the students and workers prepare to take up once more the struggle which began in May. All Europe is preparing for the Revolution.

These are the world conditions which constantly feed the social crisis of the British bourgeoisie and encourage the exploited masses. The process towards the general strike continues, sabotaged and impeded by the bureaucracy, but not contained. And because of the delay the process becomes more concentrated with more sectors pushing forward seeking the opportunity to intervene massively against capitalism. The pressure in the factories for the national engineering strike increases, with rejection of the employers offer of £19 a week minimum, rejection of the productivity agreements, and an insistence on the principal of equal pay for women. It is necessary to make sure that the engineering strike takes place in spite of the bureaucrats, by organising factory committees, organising strikes and occupations. At the same time the governments refusal to pay an agreed pay increase of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million building workers threatens to bring another powerful section of the working class into a confrontation with the pro-capitalist policy of the government. When in spite of fragmentation, the building workers (who do not have the advantages of big concentrations in the factories like the engineers) exert such a pressure on their union leaders that these are forced to say that the government will 'have to use the full force of the law', to prevent the increases, it is an indication that the general strike is on the agenda. And the fact that the Labour government takes such a hard line, knowing it will cause an explosion, shows that the bourgeoisie are consciously preparing for a confrontation, knowing that it cannot make concessions to the workers and thus in the interests of the preparation of the war, it tries to lower the standard of living of the masses. This is happening in other sectors; at British Aluminium where the management have locked out workers, and at Rootes in Coventry where they are insisting on new work methods. Inevitably the bourgeoisie will dig their heels in but the workers have the strength to fight back and win. Rootes is the example! Production at Rootes has stopped and 4,000 workers are striking, and preparing for a long struggle. This is a tremendous blow at British capitalism which constantly moans about the dangers of lost exports, but the workers care nothing for capitalism's problems. The workers are intervening to decide who controls within the factory; the workers or the bosses! The persistence of strikes in the car and

contd. on page 12

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE WORKERS STATE. THE NATURE OF THE
BUREAUCRACY AND THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRO-
CAPITALIST TENDENCIES.

CHE. J. POSADAS

7th. Sept. 1968.

This is part of an article by Che. J. Posadas; "The historic function of Trotskyism and the IVth. International, the role of petit bourgeois revolutionaries, the communist behaviour of the world proletarian vanguard, the Czecho-Soviet crisis, the Soviet army and the political and world socialist revolution", of the 7th. of Sept. 1968.

Marxism bases itself on the verification of the experiences, on the concrete historical level. From this it draws the conclusion, the teachings, the ratifications, the corrections, affirmations to advance the concrete application of policy. For this reason Marxism shows constantly, and extends its capacity for action because it verifies constantly all the phenomena over which it intervenes, makes deductions from them, bases itself on the principles so that it can advance to apply and generalise them. The Soviet bureaucracy has no interest in discussing the sources of the creation, existence and development of the pro-capitalist tendencies in Czechoslovakia. It speaks in a menacing way about the danger of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, "socialism is threatened." What threatened it? From where did this tendency arise? Why? How did it arise in origin, how could it develop? If after 20 years of the existence of socialism, as the bureaucrats say, there arises a pro-capitalist tendency, what is the nature, the existence which provoked such an appearance and such a development? It is necessary to eliminate these pro-capitalist tendencies and at the same time, the bases which provide an origin and development of these tendencies, which is the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy has no interest in doing this nor the communist parties. Thus the communist parties do not discuss this problem, they say simply "Beware, there is a threat, there is a danger of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, leave us to deal with it ourselves", and they intervene with the army. If there is the danger of a return to capitalism, in order to contain it, let them appeal to the masses to mobilise, to eliminate all these bureaucratic, pro-capitalist sectors, to eliminate all the bureaucracy from all the positions in the country and the danger would be finished and they would not have the possibility of creating or developing any bureaucracy and as a consequence no danger of tendencies who wish to return to capitalism. This tendency is a small nucleus. If this was a group which had sufficient strength, it would already have taken power. It is a small nucleus which supports itself on the existence of bureaucratic, reactionary, conservative functioning. It is for this reason that the tendency exists and for this reason the risk to, and the fear of the bureaucracy, because it sees that this sector supports itself on the bureaucratic apparatus and develops on this basis. It is the existence of the bureaucracy which generates these tendencies.

Marxism teaches that it is necessary to base the experiences on texts and this is the logical text. It is necessary to appeal to the communist parties outside and within the Workers States for discussions, demonstrations, meetings not to accept the declarations of the leaders that are not proven, established on the truth. This of Czechoslovakia is one of the most unworthy calumnies against the Soviet Workers State. The Workers State in itself does not give rise to any tendency which wishes to return to capitalism, it is the functioning of the Workers State which gives rise to this tendency. The structure of the Workers State, the nationalised property, the monopoly of foreign trade, the planning of the economy does not give rise to the bureaucracy. It is the usurpation of political power which creates the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy denigrates the Workers State as weak, with small historic capacity - just as capitalism presents and develops tendencies which live on the state and fight among themselves to argue over the state - as if the Workers State was responsible for the birth of this pro-capitalist tendency. It is not the Workers State, it is the functioning of the Workers State which is in the hands of the bureaucracy which impedes the factory assemblies, the workers' area assemblies, the trade union meetings, the meetings of the farm workers; there are no Soviets, no popular tribunals which is the direct function of the democracy exercised through all the population, the proletarian democracy against the bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy bases itself on the

structures of the Parliament, on the legal structure which decides, and the capitalists resolve matters taking into account what they can gain among themselves and base themselves on the regime of private property. In the Workers States if the masses must decide, they decide in agreement with the interest of the population. This is what is called socialist democracy.

It is the function of the bureaucracy which utilises nationalised property, the monopoly of foreign trade, the planning of the economy for itself, which gives rise to pro-capitalist tendencies. It results from the rupture of the planned economy, the existence of the freedom of enterprises, the freedom of the market and the market economy which communicates with the capitalist system. Consciousness, desire, the will are determined by the function in society. Capitalist society is guided by material interests which it can dispose of and expropriate. And the Workers State even if it is not guided completely in accord with communist distribution and consciousness has already the possibility of doing it. Each is guided according to its possibility. And there are bureaucrats of the communist party who earn more than ten times the wage of a worker. They have a house, a car, they spend vacations in comfortable places, they travel in planes, they have the best food, they are well off compared with the average worker, it is sufficient to see the statistics. If there were soviets, popular tribunals, factory committees, planning of the economy through the factories, already they would have eliminated the administrators, the managers. In the absence of this the bureaucracy arises.

The functioning of the administrators, of the directors, of the planners, of the managers, of the market economy, the bureaucracy is organised to defend the interests, to draw benefit for themselves in the form of salaries, sinecures, privileges and oppose themselves to everything which is against it. For this reason it is the bureaucracy which does the planning. If the planning was determined by the objective interest of the development of the Workers State, all the population would be consulted. It is not a problem of incapacity of the population to think and to decide. The population showed that it is sufficiently capable of doing everything. It is not a problem of incapacity of the population to think and to decide. The population showed that it is sufficiently capable of doing this. And the proof is that capitalism has been incapable of bending, demoralising, of making the Soviet people uninterested in the defence of the Workers State. In spite of the isolated existence for 20 years of the Soviet Workers State, capitalism has been incapable of demoralising, disillusioning, stopping the Soviet population defending the Workers State. And this immense cultural capacity, the capacity of immense social understanding is available for the understanding and resolution of whatever problem.

The Workers State demands the concern - through its nature, through nationalised property, the monopoly of foreign trade - demands the leadership which can utilise the nationalised property for the benefit of all the population. On the other hand a fundamental part of the bureaucracy has no interest in the Workers State because to develop the interest of the Workers State, nationalised property, is an obstacle for them. Accumulating the interest through their function in society, as director, manager, administrator, nationalised property now is no use to them, because they wish to extend their own role and nationalised property limits this for them. For this reason, they seek a relation with capitalism. On the other hand the military bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the party, no! Because they depend on this form of nationalised property. This is the contradiction between them and the inter-bureaucratic struggle which there is. And the inter-bureaucratic struggle of one Workers State with another is a struggle in which the function of leadership of the Workers State is disputed, concerning the distribution of the privileges of the Workers States. And on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy there is the fear of its existence, its function being weakened through the step towards an alliance with capitalism of the bureaucratic sectors in Czechoslovakia.

Thus the Soviet bureaucracy intervenes to impose itself on the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy. It is the Workers State which forces it to work in this way via the function in the economy, of the bureaucratic sectors of the party and the army. If these sectors of the bureaucracy had the interests of the

planners, the administrators they would be already at their side, they were not able to do so, because the structure of the Workers State impeded them and because the masses had a weight which could prevent them. Thus the bureaucracy try to prevent the inter-bureaucratic struggle leading to the intervention of the masses. It is necessary to eliminate everything that impedes the development of the Workers State. The existence of the Workers State through its nature is revolutionary, it depends on nationalised property and the elimination of private property. This allows planning of production and the monopoly of foreign trade which presents itself as a single body in commerce with the capitalist world and allows in consequence the elimination of the monopoly of foreign trade as in Czechoslovakia, in Yugoslavia, and there is the attempt to do so in the USSR - which allows contact the capitalist world and gives rise as a consequence to interests and links with capitalism.

The ideas, the will, the perspectives are based on the function in society. And all these bureaucratic sectors cannot have any socialist ideas or perspectives or communist feelings. They do not have any interest thus. They feel that they can use the workers state for their own ends. They do not base themselves on the Workers State in order to construct communism but to use it for themselves because they are born and develop in the Workers State and believe that this can be appropriated and utilised for themselves. While the masses base themselves on the Workers States to develop it towards communism. For this reason the fraternal sentiment, sentiment of solidarity of the masses advances always to develop the Workers State so as not to prejudice it. For the bureaucrat this is not the case, this road is of no importance to it, because it defends its own interests. Whether it be the technocrat, the bureaucrat of the party, the trade union bureaucrat, it is the same, they defend themselves although they differ in immediate interests and thus in their immediate function in relation to the capitalist system. The technocrat has more interest in establishing links with capitalism. The trade union bureaucrat no, because they are bound to the party and to the union that depend on the structure of the Workers State. The technocrat no, his capacity his interest is now developed to seek to extend his function in society to draw advantage each time more and more. And to draw more he has to eliminate the obstacle of the Workers State. Not to dispute, not to share with the other bureaucrats the profit which he believes he can have. This is the contest between them, this is the consequence of the technocracy created by the existence of the bureaucracy and the inter-bureaucratic struggle.

To eliminate this, proletarian democracy is necessary, soviets, factory committees, popular tribunals, the full intervention of the masses. This is the way to eliminate the tendencies who wish to return to capitalism and to the bureaucracy. This is the only way to eliminate the bureaucracy. The structure of the Workers State is revolutionary, the functioning is still close to capitalism because this is determined internally through its relations: to each according to his capacity, each one taking to himself according to the power that he has to draw the maximum from the Workers State. And this is not a socialist relation these are still capitalist relations, social relations determined by the individual capacity of each one. Socialism eliminates this. Socialism does not determine individual relations with society in a personal form, there is no individual relation but a complete social relation, each one takes what is necessary. And there are already the conditions to do this. And even if the material conditions of production do not exist, already there exists sufficient consciousness to do this. It is the bureaucracy which prevents such a functioning.

The market economy is not an advance towards socialism but a retreat towards the capitalist system because it develops private interest, private property, individual interests, individual development. And it is logical that there develops also a series of individual tendencies and interests. The party bureaucracy and that of the army want to maintain the market economy, the planning by enterprise - breaking the centralisation of the planning of the economy - and at the same time they want to contain. They break with the necessity to serve the structure of the Workers State which is the planned economy, centralised economy and the monopoly of foreign trade and at the same time they want to maintain submission to the structure of nationalised property. It is absurd, one thing is against the other. And these technocratic, administrative sectors express this interest which breaks with the Workers State. And there is no way for these contradictions to co-exist,

they are contradictions which the bureaucracy can no longer contain.

It is the political function of the bureaucracy which causes all this, not the structure of the Workers State deciding that this may be the road to construct Socialism. Socialism is expressed through social conquests which is the intervention which impels society, which allows, which gives to society, the free intervention without fear, because there is no fear in speaking, in discussing, because there is no contradiction between the interest of society and the social structure. On the contrary there is continuity. But for the bureaucracy, no. It is against the structure. Hence germinate tendencies which go away from the Workers State. Hence there is no proletarian democracy. In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky yes. This was the base with which the Soviet Workers State was constituted, it is the form of constructing socialism. Socialism is not constructed by developing the economy because if - even under nationalised property, monopoly of foreign trade the planning of the economy - soviets do not develop, the economy stagnates. And although it may progress, it stagnates in relation to the perspectives, powers and possibilities and the economy remains backward in the service of those who have power in their hands. A decisive proof is that comparatively the seven first years of the Russian revolution was an advance a million times superior to all the later progress, because they were the first seven years of soviets. And in an incipient form in China and Cuba, this is the case. To the extent that they develop even incipient forms of proletarian democracy, the economic development is immense because society feels itself to be identified with social advance. On the other hand in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia, they are making a stimulus which is not to the benefit of socialist society. For example, the private car when there are not sufficient means of transport. The private car, when there is no electricity in zones of the country, as has just been said in a letter published in Pravda where a president of a Ukraine Kolkhoz said 'Here out of every ten houses only one has electricity and the post comes only every three months'. And there they are making factories to make cars for the bureaucrats. This is not the need of socialism, it is for the bureaucracy. This gives rise to the technocracy, which afterwards as in Czechoslovakia, seeks contact with Capitalism. All the tendencies which want the market economy, liberalisation and the autonomy of enterprises have an interest in seeking contact with capitalism, be it in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, in Poland where they have direct loans from capitalism and links with capitalism.

Socialist society is developed on an economic basis, but when it has reached the level it has reached in the Workers States, what determines the progress towards Socialism is the intervention of society, the ability of society consciously to resolve all the problems. Today this cannot be done. It cannot be done because the bureaucracy has politically expropriated the working class, It is the political leadership of the Workers State which impedes the development of the Workers State. It is not the Workers State which gives rise to such bad consequences. No, it is the bureaucracy. In Czechoslovakia "After 20 years of socialism" as the bureaucrats say, sectors appear who want to link themselves to capitalism. The world proletariat, the masses of the United States see and ask "What socialism is this which develops capitalist tendencies". They are not infiltrators, nor are they guys who were hidden and who came out at this determined moment, nor are they people who capitalism has exported to Czechoslovakia. No, they have emerged, from the existence of the bureaucracy, from the political leadership of the Workers State which it is necessary to liquidate,

The advance of the world revolution is immense. The bureaucracy of the Workers State in consequence, has less field of manoeuvre, less field of justification of its policy. It is obliged, consequently, to confront this reality. It has wanted to seek, as it has actually sought, conciliation with Imperialism, maintaining it at all cost, but it fails; the process of the world revolution prevents it sustaining itself, Because of this the bureaucracy cannot carry on the same as before, and it is forced to meet this world situation. But this world situation expresses itself within the Workers States, in that the masses of the Workers States feel secure, confident and resolute to impel the revolution, because no longer do they feel alone, they see the advance of the world socialist revolution. They are not unified and centralised by a marxist programme, the soviets do not function, but their confidence and security are developing immensely. And it sees, in consequence, that in the Workers State there are tendencies which want to go back to capitalism and the bureaucracy is

impotent to prevent it and at the same time is responsible for these tendencies.

Because of this the bureaucracy sees itself forced to intervene in a contradictory form, but in this stage, in this phase, it sees itself forced to intervene, taking into account public opinion in the Workers States, not only of the world proletariat but particularly the proletariat of the Workers States, which sees and is concerned to intervene, to advance the world socialist revolution. The proletariat feels the effect of the advance of the world revolution, feels confidence and security even without organisms, without soviets, without trade union functioning, without the functioning of revolutionary tendencies, without proletarian democracy, already it has made its pressure felt in a thousand ways, even within the apparatus of the communist party. Because of this the bureaucracy has to feign a socialist preoccupation, which is to defend itself against its rivals and also to sustain its power before the preoccupation and the announcement of the intervention of the proletariat in a short time. Because of this the bureaucracy cannot do as it did before, conciliating with capitalism, as Stalin did in Teheran, and in Yalta, betraying the Greek revolution, calling to Tito to hand over power to the King and also saying to the Chinese that they give power to Chiang Kai Shek, and the Chinese refused. Neither the Chinese revolution nor the Yugoslav revolution accepted, and they defeated capitalism. Today they can no longer do this, there is no longer a field of manoeuvre today because the revolution surrounds capitalism and it does not have any other solution and prepares the nuclear war. And the masses of the world and the bureaucracy also, see that capitalism prepares the atomic war and it has no field of action.

Contd. page 8

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In this process the bureaucracy tries to do what is the least evil for it. The war is coming and it is not consciously prepared to confront the war. It prepares militarily, seeking a military solution, in a manner to confront the dispute which capitalism makes and to impede the masses from taking power. Because of this it defends and takes military measures, to impede the advance of the revolution and at the same time, to contain the affects of the decomposition, of the development towards capitalism of tendencies of the bureaucracy. They are the natural, logical results of the functioning of the bureaucracy. In this process, the bureaucracy, consequently seeks this solution which contains capitalism and contains the revolution. This is what they have done in Czechoslovakia; seeking to contain the revolution. Because of this they intervene militarily, not socially nor politically.

If the bureaucracy really had an interest, in restraining the pro-capitalist tendencies, it would liquidate the bases which give them origin. This is the essence of Marxism, to liquidate the bases which give origin to social phenomena like the technocrat bureaucracy which is close to capitalism; but it does not do it, because it is not interested, because to suppress its basis, is to suppress itself. And itself is the bureaucracy, and it cannot suppress it. It tries to conciliate the defence, with a sector which was already under its control, with the maintenance of its power, because of this it sent the army and did not call to the masses. It had to intervene, because, among other historic reasons, if it had not done it, the Soviet masses would have seen it impotent, incapable to prevent the development of capitalist tendencies, while the masses already feel they have the necessary force to intervene and smash capitalism. And because of this a little time ago, the president of a Kolkhoz in the Ukraine sent a letter to the Central Committee of the CP of the USSR in defence of the right of the intellectuals and artists to speak and to discuss, saying; "We don't have to be frightened, because we can combat and refute everything the intellectuals say if it is bad, but before the world we will show that communism does not fear a discussion." And this Kolkhoz president declares this and condemns the action of the judges who condemn the writers. Not defending the reactionary writers, but the writers who write within the communist camp and saying that; such actions against the right to think, the right to think from the revolutionary point of view " are an indignity for the sentiment, the moral, for communism which damages the communist system of the world." But not the right to think against the Workers State or to reject the Workers State, nor to combat the Workers State.

The Soviet bureaucracy sought to contain the pro-capitalist right. It sought an alliance with Dubcek. It was not the initiative of the Soviet bureaucracy to contain it. It was the initiative of the right which sought to go to the depth. It was the mobilisation of the proletariat, of public opinion, the pressure of the proletariat which forced it to intervene otherwise it would have shown itself impotent to contain the pro-capitalist tendencies, it would not have justified its existence before the masses and it would have forced them to intervene. It would have impelled the masses to intervene. Because of this it intervened and because of this it makes agreements against the right. Already they reached agreements which have not eliminated, have not altered, have not touched any of the economic changes, changes of leadership which are favourable to the development of tendencies which are going towards private property. It has not modified any of the forms of functioning which lead also to the development of bureaucratic tendencies in the direction of capitalism. Because the emergence of the technocracy is a result of the bureaucracy. It forms part of it, it is united to it structurally. It is removed from it because its interests in society are closer to capitalism than the Workers State, which cannot do without the Communist Party because it is the bridge which leads to the taking of power. Because of this the bureaucracy has to negotiate with them, otherwise it would have to negotiate with the proletariat. And the army went there to put pressure on it, not to defend the historical conquests of the Workers State in an abstract sense. The Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the Workers States, did not go there to defend the Workers State in the only legitimate way which is to develop the socialist conquests, give the power to the masses, install soviets, factory committees, workers councils, workers militias, popular tribunals, independent trade unions development with a revolutionary programme; unconditional support of the proletarian revolution and of the proletarian revolutionary struggles of the world, which is what links with, and is the base of, the unification of the masses

of the world. It did not do any of this it went simply to contain the process, to establish new relations. And this is what it has done, No military measure was necessary, nor did it take any military measure. It was a military pressure, it was a step to impress, it was not disposed and it is not disposed to give power to the masses. It was not for nothing that it did not cause the population to intervene/though felt that in order to smash its enemies it was enough to organise the soviets. There was not the danger of immediate war, it was not to contain the capitalist invasion, Capitalism wanted to intervene but it could not, it was frightened because it did not have nor has the social force to invade, but it does not have social political capacity to intervene. This was not the moment that capitalism was going to invade, nor is it in a short stage. And if it intervenes or wants to intervene militarily it has to confront the mobilisations of the masses and it is going to have to confront the Soviet Workers State, and the other Workers States.

It was evident that the Czech proletariat was anxious. It had already launched warnings, it had already launched strikes, had thrown technocrats out of windows, had beaten-up technocrats, thrown out managers, had shown its desire to intervene against the anti-capitalist development. In Brno, before the entry of the Soviet troops, there were various trade union agreements against the managers. Whilst the Soviet army has not made appeals to the unions in this area. This shows that they did not go to defend the historic conquests, they went to defend the structure of the Workers State, strictly there where they can continue to dominate, nothing more, nothing more! They were not there to defend the historic conquests of the Workers State, because the historic conquests signify the power of the masses, which they do not have, They go solely to defend the structure for their own convenience. And their 'Socialistic' language, and their going to defend the Workers State and socialism is in order that the masses of the world will feel and believe that they go to defend socialism and that this is the way of defending it. It is simply for this that they intervened, as they have done before, as they are doing now and as they will do as long as they are in power. Because if the masses intervene and form soviets, workers militias, workers courts, factory committees, independent working of the trade unions, they will judge the right and also the Czech bureaucracy, all of them from Dubcek to Otto Sik but also the Soviet bureaucracy. They will do this in order to try to eliminate the bases which give birth and origin to the bureaucracy and within the bureaucracy to those sectors which through their position in the economy try to return to capitalism.

J. POSADAS. 7th September 1968.

ORDER R E D F L A G

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 XXX

NATIONALISE THE SHIPBUILDING AND SHIP-REPAIRING INDUSTRY

UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

The state of advanced decay of British and world capitalism is clearly shown in the state of the shipbuilding industry. At the end of the post war boom in the late fifties, British shipbuilding went once again into decline so the Labour government stepped in to give the shipbuilding bosses a new lease of life with state funds. Shipbuilding and repair industries are in a number of areas, a basic industry, and like other of the older basic industries, for example coal, steel, and railways, they can no longer survive without State support.

The Geddes Commission on the industry was set up to consider ways and means to increase the exploitation of the shipyard workers in order to compete better in the tightening world market. It was concerned mainly to impel mergers and to break down the defensive lines of demarcation of the craft unions. The obvious necessity to nationalise was sidestepped as socially dangerous and instead another arm of the bureaucracy was created, namely, the Shipping Industries Board to accelerate mergers between shipyards. Doxford's was coaxed into merging with Austin and Pickersgill and Bartram for example.

Apart from the obvious advantage of bigger units of production, the SIB, under Wedgewood-Benn is authorised to give cheap loans to shipbuilders which allows them to offer easy credit to prospective customers. This, along with the monetary advantage given by devaluation has caused a relative and brief boom in shipbuilding, with orders for more than one million tons for the first half of the year. This creates good conditions for the battle over wages and conditions in the new consortiums, especially those of the upper Clyde and Swan Hunter and Tyne. Shipbuilding and repair is an adjunct of the shipping and is therefore particularly sensitive to the state of world trade. (The ship-owners, by the way, are now asking the government to save them from "unfair competition from the Soviet Union - what bankruptcy!") But with the process of rationalisation, other yards could follow the Blyth yards into oblivion. The Soviet bureaucracy are also playing a role it seems of propping up the shipyard bosses by negotiating with the upper Clyde group for a whole series of ships. The Soviet Union does not need the bankrupt British bourgeoisie to build their ships for them. It is a direct manoeuvre for the bureaucracy in an attempt to sustain British capitalism.

The shipyard workers must use every platform and opportunity to demand the nationalisation of the industry without compensation and under workers control, and use the methods of the shipyard workers of Saint Nazaire in the French Revolutionary General Strike.

The union bureaucrats are impelled beyond their intentions by the increasing confidence and militancy of the workers in the Confederation, for example Macgarvey was forced to break off negotiations on a productivity deal when the workers of the AIF imposed the strike decision on Scanlon. Capitalism can no longer raise the living standards of the workers. To increase wages it must increase exploitation and the PIB and the SIB are set up for that end and the methods used are the terms of productivity deals, mobility of labour, rationalisation and automation. Mobility of labour will mean that a shop fitter, for example, can be taken from the shop and told to work as a ship fitter. Notwithstanding all the measures of passive resistance this will bring forth, the bosses consider that it will speed up production and they hope to use it in their scheme of progressive redundancy and in this case, in particular, of the number of finishing tradesmen. This has already been put into operation in a number of yards. In the Tyne ship repair yards the fitters accepted an extra 22/6d. for mobility and one of the conditions is that there will be consultation between management and shop stewards over the placing of men. This means that the struggles which develop in the immediate future will be struggles which advance to workers control. The fitters in Smith's dock however went on strike against the same agreement at the end of June. 'Rationalisation' as it is used in the new consortiums, is a more dramatic weapon for redundancy and can mean mass sackings, as happened earlier this year at Hawthorn Leslies, when the joinery work was centralised at Swans in the newly-formed consortium.

But automation is, in the hands of the bosses, a weapon against the working class because it is used to reduce the work force causing sackings, and it is here that the whole of bourgeois production shows most clearly that it has outlived its historic time limit. An example of this is the closed-circuit shot blasting recently installed at Cammel Lairds dry dock. This method of de-scaling has cut the number of men required from up to 180 down to 14 and has reduced the time needed for a tanker in dry dock by 66 per cent at a saving to the owners of between £2,000 and £5,000 a day. No doubt Sir John will now be tapping the state for another sub in order to automate the dry docks and throw more men out of work. The workers must demand all benefits of automation for the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours. All the attempts by the management to negotiate productivity deals must be met with the demand for a 15/- an hour minimum rate, a 35 hour guaranteed week without strings.

The hardening attitude toward the bosses by McGarvey and other union bureaucrats who in the past have found it possible to conciliate with the bosses indicates the increasing militancy of the shipyard and general engineering workers. The strike of the 350 apprentice fitters shows great confidence and combativity. The apprentices have not got the right to strike, according to their contract, and they must be feeling the support of the whole class as well as support from their families to withstand the united front of the bosses and the union leaders against them. The notable strike at Barrow, a 'who does what' dispute shows an aggressive spirit in keeping with the working class who as a whole are obviously preparing for a major clash with the bourgeoisie, the centre of which is the indefinite strike of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers (Confed.). The workers in the Barrow yards who have constantly disrupted the production of nuclear submarines show their close united front, their objective united front, with the world revolutionary masses. All the conditions are being prepared on a world scale for the final settlement of accounts. At Barrow we see the world in a microcosm - the bourgeoisie arm themselves in preparation for the counter-revolutionary nuclear war while the workers sabotage their efforts and prepare their spirit and organisation for the Revolution.

The union leaders are forced to take more intransigent positions, for example McGarvey, the good, responsible bureaucrat finds himself championing the demand of the Glasgow boilermakers for 15/- an hour. The district secretaries, who until very recently were indulging themselves unashamedly in the orgy of bureaucratic schemes (regional development and productivity) of the government, are more sensitive to the feelings of the rank and file and it is through them that pressure is brought on the top bureaucrats. The workers of the Confed. must build their own shop committees to be elected at mass meetings, with all delegates subject to immediate recall, to carry the strike forward - with occupations - to impose all the demands of the Confed. It is also necessary to seek the support for the workers demands throughout the workers areas and inter-industrial committees must be formed to discuss and impose all the demands of the masses.

NO REDUNDANCY - NO PRODUCTIVITY DEALS !

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

A MINIMUM GUARANTEED WAGE OF 15/- PER HOUR TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING !

EQUAL PAY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN AND YOUTHS !

**WORKERS CONTROL OF ALL INDUSTRIES, NO COMMERCIAL SECRETS,
WORKERS COMMITTEES TO EXAMINE THE ACCOUNTS OF ALL INDUSTRIES !**

**THE FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES ON EACH JOB AND WORKERS COUNCILS
IN EACH LOCALITY ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AND WITH THE RIGHT
OF INSTANT RECALL OF ALL DELEGATES !**

**NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION, AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL,
OF THE SHIPBUILDING, SHIP-REPAIRING, SHIPPING AND ENGINEERING
INDUSTRIES !**

**FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN AS A PART OF THE UNITED
SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE !**

contd. from page 2

car component industries, Girling at Cwmbran and Morgan of Battersea - where the workers have resisted all the threats of sacking by the bosses - particularly show that a sector of the class is trying by its resolution and combativity to impel the rest of the class towards the general strike. And in a short period they are going to succeed.

Within the student movement too the struggle advances towards a unification and towards the adoption of an anti-capitalist programme, even if this has not yet reached this level. The intervention of students from Goldsmiths college in support of the Hornsey students, and Brighton students supporting Guildford, the demonstrations in the universities against conservatives, like Pcowell and Patrick Wall, the sit-ins, and protests against exams and syllabuses by students, show how the students are feeling the influence of the world revolution and at the same time the influence of the struggle of the British masses. At the moment there is a contradiction between the revolutionary methods and the reformist programme but in the next period this will be resolved. In the LSE there is already a vanguard which is looking for the revolutionary programme and which has already surpassed a merely student struggle, as the decision to occupy the LSE for political discussion, the weekend of the Vietnam demonstration indicated. The student vanguard must be conscious that only by linking its struggle with those of the working class, on a programme of anti-capitalist demands which include specific demands for the students, can the student movement have any perspective of success. If it stays as a student movement it will inevitably decline.

In this national situation of progress towards the general strike, capitalism is showing that it has no perspectives of developing and satisfying the needs of the British masses. The latest deflationary measures will hit the car industry. Vauxhall have already cut out the night shift, and later there will inevitably be lay-offs. This economic crisis, the rise in unemployment, will feed the social crisis of British capitalism, because the workers are not prepared to accept unemployment. They can see the contradiction between bad housing, worsening transport, decaying health service etc. with the increasing automation in the factories which could provide leisure and a dignified life for all. But automation under capitalism is to increase profits, not to improve the standard of life of the masses, and the workers see and understand this. Throughout Europe capitalism is concentrating production into larger units, attempting mergers like Fiat and Citroen across national boundaries, not just to rationalise production but to exert a political pressure to unite the bourgeoisie against the European masses. The masses of Europe already objectively unified are on the road to unifying themselves organically. The meeting of trade union leaders from Ford, at Dagenham, Genk in Belgium and from Germany to prevent work being transferred from striking Genk to other Ford factories, is a reaction to the objective necessity for the workers to unite their struggle through the single European trade union centre.

The building workers, the engineers must forge links between each other because together they have an enormous weight in the economy, and they have the weight to attract all the other sectors of the exploited masses. They must form factory committees and site committees elected from mass meetings, must adopt the anti-capitalist programme of demands ranging from a 30 per cent increase in wages, 35 hour week, all profits of automation to the workers, equal pay for women, a guaranteed week - this is extremely important for building workers who get laid-off due to weather etc. - to demands for the nationalisation of the industries under workers control and without compensation, and with a perspective of a Workers government and this programme must be imposed by strike actions, occupations of the factories and building sites, making them function under workers control. Enterprises like British Eagle which close as a result of the capitalist crisis, must be nationalised and run by the workers; this is the solution not contributing wages to the boss to keep it alive.

We appeal to the building workers and the engineers to discuss and adopt the anti-capitalist programme, making an appeal to all the other sectors to support them by striking secondary school pupils, have their for their own demands. All the own demands and are waiting for the class and the exploited masses the opportunity to intervene in general, including the ... to fight for them. Pupils

contd. on page 13

contd. from page 12.

at a school in South London have put forward a programme of out with governors, out with prefects, out with exams, and are organising committees to struggle for this. All the class is preparing to go forward as a class, the proletariat, the students, the pupils, teachers, housewives, tenants, and pensioners; at present they lack a centre of struggle

but they can find it in the strike of the engineers and the building workers if these sectors put forward a programme of demands for all the exploited masses, not just for their own sector, and organise their struggle on the basis of their own committees, and calling for committees of tenants, housewives, students, pupils, pensioners etc. to be organised on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme and linked to the workers committees.

Constantly we appeal for the unification of the struggles of British and Irish workers. The process in Ireland reflects the wholesale decomposition of imperialist authority. In Ulster and in Southern Ireland the masses prepare for revolutionary actions against the existing regime. Although in Ulster the fight against capitalism has only reached the programmatic level of civil rights, no discrimination over housing etc. these express a much deeper content. The Irish workers from both North and South with their tradition of struggle against British Imperialism have shown by the persistence of their struggle in the face of all the repression, that they are preparing to use the methods of Connolly and throw out, not only O'Neil but Lynch, PM of the Republic, as well. Lynch obviously senses and tries to respond to this anti-imperialist feeling by saying that all the trouble in Ireland is caused by partition. It is a manoeuvre by Lynch, to try to gain support but it is a dangerous tactic for Irish capitalism to pose the ending of partition, because in this epoch to end partition raises immediately the revolutionary solution - for a United Socialist Ireland.

The emerging leadership of the workers in the factories, a revolutionary vanguard seeks for the programme to smash capitalism and only the IVth. International has this programme. The influence of Trotskyism grows constantly. Build the factory committee around the anti-capitalist programme. Build the cells of the RWP (T) in every major plant, factory, building site; mine etc. Build the united front of the Labour masses, the communist militants, and the IVth. International.

X-X

contd. from page

ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN, ALL THE PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS, NATIONALISATION OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES AND BANKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES IN ALL INDUSTRIES, FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE, WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL IMPERIALIST WAR ALLIANCES SUCH AS NATO. FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE etc.

This is the best way to support our comrades in Uruguay. The fight to launch the indefinite general engineering strike in Great Britain is identical with the objectives of our comrades and the revolutionary vanguard in Uruguay-the preparation to overthrow capitalism and imperialism.

VIVA THE URUGUAYAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
VIVA THE GROWING INTERVENTION OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST VANGUARD
VIVA POSADAS AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The Political bureau of the British Section of the IV International has sent a telegram to the Uruguayan Government and Embassy demanding the immediate release of the 25 Uruguayan comrades, and all political prisoners in Uruguay and an immediate cessation of repression against the workers movement in Uruguay of which the Trotskyists form a part.

DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
ON THE ARREST OF THE 25 MEMBERS OF THE URUGUAYAN SECTION

We demand the immediate release of the 25 comrades of the Uruguayan Section arrested as part of the attempt by world imperialism, in particular Yankee Imperialism to terrorise the world revolutionary vanguard and obstruct the IV International led by Cde. POSADAS in its task of organising the world revolutionary leadership to overthrow imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

The arrest of our Uruguayan comrades following the arrests of our comrades in Mexico, Spain, Italy and Brazil is an indication of the quaking fear of Imperialism in face of the advance of the world socialist revolution and the tremendous capacity of Cde. POSADAS and the IV International to influence and organise the vanguard of the world masses. The arrests must be seen as part of the preparations of Yankee Imperialism for the nuclear war against the Workers States and the world masses. Imperialism is preparing as was predicted by Cde. POSADAS in his articles on clandestinity in this phase of the world revolution, a campaign of repression against Trotskyism and the revolutionary vanguard. But such a campaign cannot be sustained because as Cde. POSADAS has constantly underlined, fundamentally it is the bourgeoisie who are surrounded and clandestine in this stage of history. Imperialism cannot sustain a serious, profound repression. It can arrest and intimidate but only on a limited scale. When Imperialism has to arrest 25 members of a small section of an International which does not possess the great resources of the traditional party apparatuses it is because it sees only too clearly that the IDEAS of the International far outweigh the limitations of the material resources, that these ideas lead, organise and elevate the revolutionary upsurge of the world masses, bypass the apparatuses and cannot be contained.

The repression launched by Imperialism in which the CIA is indubitably involved is a sign of the impotence and feebleness of Imperialism. Everywhere it decomposes. Now vainly it attacks one of the sections of the International which has acquired a very great authority in the recent period. Uruguayan capitalism has been shaken by several general strikes, the Uruguayan comrades have intervened in the actions of students, the struggles of the bank clerks, the crisis of the Communist Party, intervened in the elections, everywhere encouraging and leading the vanguard. Latin America is constantly shaken by upheavals, the struggles of the Bolivian miners, Brazilian students, Chilean workers. All the regimes tremble. Onganía desperately tries to conciliate with the Trade Union leaderships in the Argentine, Frei has to lean on the Communist Party to survive, the Junta has to nationalise oil in Peru, Diaz Ordaz declares civil war on the Mexican masses. And Trotskyism plays an indispensable role in all these struggles. Latin and Central America is lost of Imperialism and Capitalism, but the centres of world Imperialism strike back in their endeavour to intimidate what cannot be intimidated. Blind and discarded, imperialism will not leave the world without a struggle, hence the arrests of our Uruguayan Comrades.

We appeal to the trade union and workers organisations of the world, particularly those of the Workers States, such as China, Cuba, Syria, and the revolutionary vanguards and currents throughout the world to demand the immediate release of these comrades, sending protests, calling for demonstrations etc.

We appeal to all the workers and students organisations in Great Britain to protest against these arrests. We appeal to intellectuals, artists, scientists, etc. to organise campaigns calling for the release of these comrades. Our Uruguayan section is carrying out the same task as that of the British section of the IV International and the revolutionary vanguard in this country - encouraging and leading the masses to overthrow capitalism imperialism and all forms of bureaucratic repression. We appeal for the maximum number of protests to be sent to the Uruguayan government - Pacheco Areco, President of the Uruguayan Government, Government House Montevideo. And the Embassy, 48 Lennox Gardens, S.W.1.

But we particularly appeal for every possible effort to launch the indefinite Engineering Strike in Great Britain on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, including such demands as

contd. page. 13

LONG LIVE THE TRADITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917 !

WE HAIL THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1918 !

This month we celebrate the memory of the successful revolution of October 1917 in Russia. This revolution led by Lenin and the Bolshevik party lives in the spirit of the world masses and stimulates them constantly in their battle to free themselves from every vestige of capitalism, every bureaucratic repression. The October revolution was the culmination of a whole historic experience of the proletariat including the Paris Commune and the revolution of 1905. On the basis of these experiences, Lenin developed the conception of the centralised Bolshevik party as the indispensable weapon of the working class in the struggle to build socialism and the necessity for the proletariat however small to take the revolutionary leadership in countries even where the peasantry was dominant and the development of capitalism was weak, to leap over historic stages, seize power and advance towards socialism. In doing so Lenin accepted the theory of the permanent revolution developed by Trotsky and the latter accepted Lenin's theory of the necessity for the highly centralised party. The revolution on the basis of nationalised property has led, despite all the plundering and the incompetence of the bureaucracy, formed on the ruins of the Bolshevik party, to an extraordinary development of the Workers State, to the vast augmentation of the proletariat and the development of an astonishing technology, surpassing capitalism. On the basis of the first Workers State, the world revolution has steadily advanced with the creation of another 15 Workers States so that no longer is the Soviet Union surrounded by capitalism but the Workers States and the world revolution surround capitalism. Today the Soviet bureaucracy is thrown on the defensive, its intervention in Czechoslovakia shows its administrative response to the pressure to deal with the counter-revolutionary tendencies developing within Czechoslovakia - the result of its own nature. More than ever the revolution of 1917 is alive in the spirit of the Soviet and world masses. The 14th International led by Posadas, calls for the full restoration of the gains of 1917 in the Soviet Union, soviets, right of revolutionary tendency, independence of the trade unions from the state, and moral as opposed to material incentive. We affirm the objective united front of the Soviet Workers State with the world revolution, and call for the preparation of the preventative war against imperialism; that is the fullest military, economic, and social support for the revolutionary masses all over the world and the appeal for the overthrow of world imperialism - the approach of Lenin and Trotsky for this epoch as elaborated by Posadas.

We also commemorate the 50th anniversary of the German revolution of 1918. This revolution failed in the absence of a Bolshevik party and the divisive role played by the social democratic leaderships. Nevertheless the heroism of this action, the fact that the German workers formed their own councils and militias is an indelible memory for the German and world proletariat. The tremendous revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat will soon express themselves by the direct intervention of the German workers to overthrow capitalism, shortly following the actions of the students which could themselves only arise on the support of the world and German proletariat.

Long Live the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the German Revolution of 1918 !

Long Live the traditions of Bolshevism !

Long Live the Struggles of the Exploited Masses of the World !

Long Live Posadas and the 14th International, the Continuation of Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism in this Epoch !

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. All 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. Age of retirement to be 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training etc.
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. Organisation 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, motor manufactures and road transport services, arms, and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade, nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers, large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union Centre on an anti-imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. directed against the Workers States and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the Workers States and the colonial revolution against imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-X

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. 78.

NOVEMBER 22th 1968

SIXPENCE

Campaign for the release of the 26 Comrades and Friends of the IV International arrested in Uruguay

Link the campaign with the demands of all the exploited masses

RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. OF THE RWP(T) 20. 11. 1968

The arrest of the 26 militants and friends of the IV International in Uruguay, members of the Uruguayan and Argentinian sections, is part of the attempt foreseen by Posadas and the IS of the IV International, on the part of Imperialism to intimidate and repress the conscious leadership of the world socialist revolution and the revolutionary vanguard. These arrests, therefore, were not unexpected and the whole International is not dismayed, on the contrary, it hurls itself into the campaign for the release of these comrades with the same spirit of victory that characterises all of its actions. The arrests are part of the preparations of world imperialism led by American Imperialism for the counter-revolutionary world war against the world socialist revolution. The arrests correspond to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy as well, and to its line of peaceful co-existence, its attempt to restrain the course of the revolutionary actions of the masses. The arrests provide a meeting ground for all the reactionary interests in the world fearful of the advance of the International. They occur when the united front of those forces hostile to the revolution and the IV International is intensified in face of the preparations for the final encounter. It is not by chance that Ma'tan, one of the capitulators, is now in Latin America endeavouring to disturb the functioning of the International and serve the interests of world imperialism.

But these arrests although they indicate that the stages to the final settlement of accounts are rapidly being abbreviated are also a testimony to the weakness of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. These have vast resources, vast material means at their disposal, but in face of the ideas of the IV International, the ideas of Posadas, they are impotent because the ideas of Trotskyism are the organisers of the world socialist revolution, are the necessary ideas of this revolution which bypasses, on an ever increasing scale, the attempts of imperialism and all the apparatuses to control it. And our comrades who are arrested have the same spirit of defiance and the same absolute confidence as the masses of Vietnam who rout the military might of American Imperialism and the Arab masses who defy the base of Yankee Imperialism in Israel.

Trotskyist ideas are present all over the globe. In face of the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia, Fidel Castro spoke on the general lines of the analysis of Posadas, saying that if it was necessary to intervene against the counter-revolutionary elements represented by the Dubcek-Sik tendency, then other Workers States like Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, have the right to expect full military support from the Soviet Union, if they are threatened by Imperialism. Al Fatah, the guerrilla organisation of the Arabs operating in Jordan distinguishes between the Israeli bourgeoisie and the Israeli masses and accepts the presence of the Jewish people in Palestine. Revolutionary workers' militia make their appearance in the Yemen. In the Polish Workers State Gomulka makes a violent denunciation of Trotskyism referring to its programme, because he has to reply with terrorism against the development of the political revolution. In the Soviet Union an article is published in "Sovetskaya Rossiya" discussing the advance of world Trotskyism, and in this instance the bureaucracy has to conceal its Stalinist equation of Trotskyism with the ultra right, and speak as though it were ready

to have a dialogue with Trotskyism. Trotskyism is everywhere in the struggles of the masses, the need for the conscious Trotskyist revolutionary leadership is felt insistently. Thus over the last few years a repression against Trotskyism has steadily mounted as can be seen in Mexico, Guatemala, Spain, Brazil, Italy etc. But we repeat the analysis made by Posadas that in this stage, in reality, it is not the forces of the revolution, the forces of Trotskyism that are driven underground but the forces of imperialism who are clandestine and have to operate stealthily and secretly. The photograph taken of our comrades when arrested showed the spirit of victory, the irrepres-

sible spirit of optimism that dominates our comrades and their absolute conviction in the invincible advance of the world socialist revolution which no nuclear weapons, no terrorism can halt.

Smiling, singing the International with clenched fist held high, the comrades showed their invincible spirit of combat and optimism when taken to jail. They express the spirit of the world masses, the Vietnamese and Arab masses, the workers who are repeatedly clashing with the police in Londonderry, the Scottish miners who were photographed with clenched fists; they express confidence in the world triumph of socialism.

The campaign to liberate the comrades launched by the International under the direct leadership of Cde Posadas is having great effect and influence. Even before the campaign was effectively begun a group of Uruguayan doctors were intervening on behalf of the arrested comrades without the direct stimulus of the section. Protests and petitions have flowed into the Uruguayan government. Colleges of lawyers and defence committees are being rapidly organised. Particular successes have been registered in Italy where groups of deputies from the Italian Communist Party, the PSIUP, the PSU, the Christian Democracy and even the Radical Party have asked questions and applied pressure on the government to arrange in

particular for political asylum for three of the arrested comrades. Pietro Ingrao, one of the main leaders of the Italian Communist Party has sent a telegram to the Uruguayan prime minister demanding the immediate release of the arrested comrades. The weight of the International can be measured by the fact that 'Unita' the daily paper of the Italian C.P. will dedicate space each day to the development of the campaign, "Mondo Nuovo" and "Rinascita" will have articles also. The Catholic periodical "Sette Giorni" will also report on its progress. The intervention of all these forces in Italy is of particular importance because they confirm entirely the analysis made by Posadas in a whole series of articles that a qualitative change has taken place in the relations between the leaderships and the masses in the Workers States of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in particular, and in the mass communist parties. Posadas has defined this as interior entrism, that is a process whereby the masses although not breaking from their organisations ignore the directives of the party and organise on their own programme, and hence the leaderships are no longer capable of imposing themselves on the masses in the way that they have in the past. Thus in the Workers States, for example

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Communique of the International Secretariat of the IV International

J. POSADAS 2. 11. 1968

All the International must give itself the immediate task of organising an intense campaign of defence and support to the struggle of the Comrades in Uruguay. It is necessary to make an aggressive and dynamic campaign demanding that the government gives immediate liberty to all the imprisoned comrades: 26 comrades, 14 of the Partido Obrero (Trotskista) of the Argentine, and 12 of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista), IV International of Uruguay. Capitalism, impotent, incapable, without historic perspectives launches a repression against the International. In this task it finds direct allies in the reformist and counter-revolutionary leaderships, in the leaderships of the communist parties and in the Soviet bureaucracy. It is an alliance directed at eliminating, assassinating the 26 Trotskyist militants, as part of a concrete alliance of peaceful co-existence. Imperialism bases itself on the concrete alliance and in the policy of the communist parties of the world against us, and in the betrayal, treason, or panic of the classical leaderships of the workers and

students movements etc. It is necessary to seek support from below, among the rank and file, going to the factories, offices, universities, and to seeking the support of the peasants. We must not expect in this campaign, which must be aggressive and audacious at the same time, any support in the classical leaderships. If they give it: good we go forward, it will demonstrate a gigantic step in the maturation of these leaders and in their revolutionary honesty, but in this repression there is going to be directly allied together all the forces which historically play a counter-revolutionary role: Imperialism, Capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy and its political agents all those who want the liquidation of the International. Because of this it is necessary and fundamental to base oneself on the support of the masses in this campaign.

The detention, imprisonment, and any attempt at assassination is one more demonstration of the proximity of the final settlement of accounts, it is an elevation of the world relationship of the revolution and of the neces-

sity for the maturation and elevation of the team of the revolutionary vanguard and of the IV International. It is a very profound blow at the International. But the objective to paralyse, to terrorise has failed, already in all the International there is a gigantic campaign for the imprisoned comrades. In Brazil they have put up posters, held lightning meetings and collected hundreds of signatures, in Argentina they have brought out special editions of Vox Proletaria and there is a whole campaign of signatures, of lawyers, and of posters and meetings. In Europe they have made emergency meetings, collected signatures of personalities, intellectuals, etc. In Peru they have put up posters, they have collected hundreds of signatures and held emergency meetings; in all of the International there has been this reaction. In Uruguay, committees of support to the prisoners have been organised, alone and without the intervention of the Party. A council of doctors from the clinical hospital, on their own initiative, have visited the comrades to make sure

Continued on page 2

The world wide development of the IV the imprisoned Comrades

The comrades **HOMERO ROMULO CRISTALLI FRASNELLI, CANDIDA ROSA PREVITERA NEGRITO** and **ALBERTO DI FRANCO** have applied for political asylum in this country. The British Section is waging a vigorous campaign for this as a central issue in the campaign for the release of all the arrested comrades and we appeal to the revolutionary vanguard and all the exploited masses to throw their full weight into this campaign.

Press Communique

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

The Arrest of 26 Militants and Friends of the IV International in Montevideo
Press Communique No. 1. 16th November 1968

On Monday the 28th of October 1968, 26 militants and friends of the IV International were arrested in Montevideo. When they were brought before the judge Dr. Koncke Jedabert he decreed the immediate liberation of all of them, because none of them had committed any crime. Nevertheless in an arbitrary violent action, the government interned all the comrades, holding them incommunicado and preventing them from taking any legal or juridical action.

The indignation provoked in the vanguard and in wide sectors of the masses of Uruguay which has been expressed in resolutions of support and defence of the prisoners, and in telegrams to the government demanding their immediate unconditional liberation, has, together, with the action of the Uruguayan Trotskyist Party, led to an agreement made on the 2nd of November. This agreement was made at a meeting between a government representative, the Chief of Police Col. Aguirre Gestino, Dr. Capazzolo, the Lawyer representing the Chief of Police and Dr. Cogan, the barrister for the imprisoned comrades. In the conversations previous to and after the agreement, the Vice-President of the Republic Dr. Abdala, the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, Lt. Saurez, Senator Vasconcellos, the Archbishop of Montevideo Mgr. Partelli and other legislators and representatives of the government have also taken part.

The agreement established that the jailed comrades had the option of leaving the country and going to a destination of their own choice, and made arrangements with the police to facilitate the implementation of this decision. But up to now the decision to let them leave the country has not been accomplished, and the comrades have been interned in a barracks of the regiment of Colonel Burgos and in the Escuela de Nurses. Following this agreement the government authorised daily visits of Lawyers to the prisoners. The conditions of the agreement of the 2nd November were directly communicated to the imprisoned comrades by Dr. Cogan and Dr. Capazzolo representing the Chief of Police, and in the presence of the Officer of the prison guard. But at the same time the government adopted a resolution, contradicting the legislation already in force, and resolutions concerning the definition of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) Uruguayan Section of the IV International, which say that it is not an illegal organisation.

After this, there were several police attempts to transfer our comrades to the military headquarters which have not succeeded because of the resistance of the comrades and the lack of support for the military authorities. But it is clear that the agreement cannot be sufficiently guaranteed and at any moment the government can break the promise it has made. Fundamentally the agreement made with the government was to prevent the handing over of our comrades to the police of the Onganía government which would make it possible for this government to take criminal and murderous action against the comrades.

The Uruguayan Section of the IV International has denounced before public opinion, the very real danger that the CIA, which is intervening to put pressure on the Uruguayan government, will be able to carry out its sinister and criminal plans. Already the refusal of the Chilean authorities to admit some of the comrades into Chile after having previously agreed to it, shows the influence of the CIA. The communique published on the 3rd November which appears to be official, and which contradicts the line of the agreement, is also part of this plan of the CIA. As far as we know, and statements of the Minister Venacio Flores, Col. Gestino and other authorities confirm this, the agreement allowing the comrades to leave the country and to go where they choose is still in force, but it could be cancelled at any moment.

We appeal to the workers' vanguard, in the Labour Party and the Communist Party, to intellectuals, scientists, writers, to students, to demand that the agreement made be carried out at once and that no harm must come to any of the detained, who must be immediately released.

This communique was sent to the Times, Guardian, Daily Mirror, New Statesman, Tribune, Morning Star, Socialist Leader.

We denounce the conscious suppression by the bourgeois press in this country, of any news of the arrests of the comrades in Uruguay. At the time we go to press neither the Times, Guardian, Daily Mirror, or the Morning Star have published this communique of the facts of the repression of the IV International. There is a con-

spiracy of silence about these arrests as was shown by the fact that when a comrade went to the Uruguayan Embassy to read "El Pais" of Montevideo for October, it was found that the editions for the 28th and 29th (the ones with the news and with pictures of our arrested comrades on front page) were not available.

BRITAIN

The revolutionary tendency in the car industry represented by The United Car Worker has sent a letter to the Uruguayan government condemning the arrest of the comrades, demanding their immediate release, and that the Argentinian comrades should not be deported to Argentina. Also a group of car workers from the Vauxhall works at Luton signed the party petition (the text of which we give below) and this was also sent direct to the Uruguayan government.

At the London School of Economics at a N.U.S. pre-election meeting 104 signatures were collected for the Party petition.

A Party comrade, not a student at the L.S.E., was allowed to speak stressing the urgency and importance of this campaign, and resulting from this students sympathetic to the Party agreed to put resolutions demanding the release of the comrades at the next Socialist Society meeting and the next N.U.S. meeting.

At the next meeting of the Arab Students Union in London, a resolution for the comrades release will be moved.

Although at the moment of going to press there is still not a panel of Lawyers functioning organically, Paul Rose, M.P., Prof. Griffiths, Prof. of English Law at L.S.E., and Mr. Birnberg have all agreed to give legal advice.

PETITION OF THE PARTY CIRCULATED FOR THE COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE
TROTSKYIST PRISONERS IN URUGUAY!

To the Uruguayan Government:

In the name of one of the most elemental rights secured by the masses—the right to discuss ideas freely—we demand the immediate release of all the Argentinian and Uruguayan Trotskyist prisoners arrested arbitrarily on the 28th October last in Montevideo while taking part in a political meeting. Some of them are now in the hands of the army. These arrests are not justifiable under Uruguayan law and against the democratic rights already conquered in the struggle of the Uruguayan people.

This military repression against the Trotskyist comrades is not simply an isolated incident of repression by one national bourgeois government. It is part of a conscious attempt to intimidate and to terrorise the revolutionary vanguard of the world masses by attacking the most conscious element of this vanguard, the conscious revolutionary world party, the IVth. International. Behind the Uruguayan government and military apparatus stands American Imperialism in the form of the CIA.

We hold the Uruguayan Government responsible for the lives and security of the Argentinian comrades and we demand that they should not be deported to Argentina, putting them at the mercy of the Onganía dictatorship, but liberated under the protection of the Uruguayan people and be allowed to choose for themselves where they wish to go.

DOWN WITH THE POLITICAL REPRESSION AND TERRORISM OF THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE WORLD MASSES, THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD OF THE WORLD MASSES AND THE IVth. INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD MASSES WHO ARE NOT INTIMIDATED BUT WHO CONSTANTLY INTENSIFY THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION!

LONG LIVE COMRADE POSADAS AND THE IVth. INTERNATIONAL!

URUGUAY

Committees of support for the prisoners have been formed spontaneously, without the intervention of the comrades of the Uruguayan section.

A group of doctors decided amongst themselves to go to the prison to make sure that the comrades were being well treated.

The engineering factory of Spiller (one of the most important factories in Uruguay) sent following telegram:

"SPILLER WORKERS DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE POLITICAL,

TRADE UNION, AND TROTSKYIST MILITANTS IMPRISONED AND PROTEST AGAINST DEPORTATION"

The daily paper "Marcha" has offered a page to the comrades of the Uruguayan section so they can write about the imprisonment and the development of the campaign.

"El Popular" the Uruguayan Communist Party newspaper has attacked the government for their treatment of the comrades.

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE I.S.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1
that they are unharmed. There is a campaign of a thousand signatures, and of posters. The blow which they have wanted to give us in Uruguay will be an impulse for all the International. We must draw all the conclusions of this blow, but taking into account that it is part of the process of development of the ideas, the thought and the policy of the International in all the world. They have been late in striking.

We salute the activity of all the International, and we call for the public campaign to be maintained and continued more deeply and with greater aggressivity. It is necessary to bring out Communiques in all the world. It is necessary to weigh on the Uruguayan government with all the force which we have. There is a tendency which is trying to carry out the agreement including the judge who was prepared to allow the liberation of our comrades. It is necessary to make activity calling for solidarity, and unite, in this struggle for the liberty of all the prisoners, the struggle for the direct problems of the masses of each country, against the increase in the

cost of living, for the expulsion of Imperialism, for the construction of a class and revolutionary leadership in each country, for the workers party based on the trade unions, for workers and peasants government.

It is necessary to impede at all costs that the Argentine comrades be deported to Argentina, because they will try to assassinate them there, to torture them, to physically eliminate them. It is necessary to direct oneself at all the revolutionary leaderships of the Workers States, to the Chinese, to Fidel Castro, to all the revolutionary leaderships and tendencies, that they support the liberation of our comrades. They, (the Uruguayan government and Imperialism) will try to deport them to Argentina so that they can murder or torture them; we must impede this at all costs. We will immediately bring out an article on these measures and on the shortening of the stages of the world revolution, which this repression against the International signifies.

With immense salutes to everyone.

International's campaign for release of in Uruguay

ITALY

The vigorous campaign of the Italian comrades is meeting with a tremendous response which is a further confirmation of the historical role played by the IV International in the revolutionary struggle of the Italian masses. The crisis of the leaderships of the ICP, PSIUP and ISP is clearly illustrated by their various actions on behalf of our comrades, which they are forced to carry out due to the revolutionary pressure put on them by the rank and file of the parties and in an attempt to maintain their bureaucratic positions. "Unita", the C.P. daily paper gives a column to the progress of the campaign everyday, and "Rinascita", the I.C.P. weekly magazine will carry an article on it. Three times questions have been asked in the Italian parliament about political asylum for some of the comrades there, demanding that their petition be accepted, by representatives of the ICP, PSIUP and ISP. There are about ten lawyers functioning on the Panel of Lawyers for the defense of the comrades including Cascone, Congedo, Guidetti-Serra, Lombardi, Ter-

racini, Basso, and Parri, and together with members of the Italian section they give regular press conferences.

Trade union branches in Italian factories such as the FATME in Rome have passed resolutions of protest and sent them as telegrams to the Uruguayan government. The Student Movement in Rome sent the following telegram from the occupied Magisterio Faculty: "GENERAL ASSEMBLY OCCUPYING MAGISTERIO FACULTY DEMANDS IMMEDIATE LIBERATION MILITANTS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ARRESTED 28th OCTOBER STOP REVOKE DEPORTATION AND HANDING OVER TO ARGENTINIAN GOVERNMENT OF PRISONERS OF SAID NATIONALITY STOP THREATEN IMMEDIATE REPRIAL ON EMBASSY IN ROME."

Ingrao has also sent a telegram of protest, in the name of the ICP members of parliament. Vecchietti, the national secretary of the PSIUP, the Radical Party, Marcello Cini, the nuclear scientist, Gian Maria Volonte, the FGS, ISP, ACLI and the CGIL have all sent telegrams.

"Voce Proletaria", "Voce Contadina" and "Rivoluzione Socialista" revolutionary tendencies in the ICP, the peasantry and the PSIUP respectively, who all work in a united front with the IV International have protested to the Uruguayan Embassy in Rome.

"Siette Giorni", a review with Christain Democratic tendencies is going to publish an article about the comrades, and "Mondo Nuovo" the PSIUP journal has undertaken to do the same.

ARGENTINA

A special edition of "Voz Proletaria" has been brought out; there is a campaign of petitions in progress and meetings have been held about the arrests.

FRANCE

A Committee for the defence of the imprisoned comrades has been formed which Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Schwartz and Aragon have all agreed to join.

The Chilean painter Matta, living in Paris, has sent a telegram to his government denouncing the last minute refusal of asylum there that had previously been granted to three comrades.

UNEF has sent a telegram of protest to the Uruguayan government.

PERU

Lightning meetings have been held; hundreds of signatures have been written on the petitions circulated.

BELGIUM

A Panel of Lawyers for the defence of the comrades is in operation with Lallemand, Somerhausen, Rossen, de Cocq and Laurent on it.

The International Federation for the Rights of Man has sent the following telegram signed by Collette Kahn, the General Secretary: "INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN URGENTLY DEMANDS LIBERATION 28 MILITANTS ARRESTED FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. DEPORTATION OR HANDING OVER TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENT COULD PUT THEIR LIVES IN DANGER AND WOULD BE AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAW".

SPAIN

The Exterior Secretariat of FUDE has sent a note demanding the immediate liberation of the comrades to the Uruguayan Embassy in Rome.

Campaign for the release.....

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

at the same time that Gomulka attacks Trotskyism, he rejects the parliamentary paths of the Western communist parties in order to appear as "revolutionary". The Soviet bureaucracy has to speak of defending socialism against the counter revolutionary forces—again an effort to gain support within the Workers States and the world, by attempting to pose as socialist. In the mass communist parties of the West, a process of disintegration at the top takes place, most clearly seen in the French Communist Party, where there are four different tendencies in the bureaucracy.

The pressure of the communist base is enormous in Italy; there our comrades have powerful centres of support, the ideas of the International and Posadas have great echo. Despite the antagonism of the CP bureaucracy to the ideas of Trotskyism, it is forced to support the campaign for the liberation of our comrades. This shows again that the campaign is not simply a campaign of defence, it forms an integral part of the whole policy and objectives of Trotskyism. The struggle to liberate the Uruguayan comrades must be associated with the basic demands of the masses for an increase in wages, control of the production process, proletarian democracy in the trade unions and factory committees, all the profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living.

We appeal for the greatest possible aid in this campaign which has already had a great world echo. We appeal to all workers organisations, trade unions, factory committees, LP branches, to the CP branches, to the student movement, to the action committees of the student movement to send telegrams demanding the release of the comrades who have been arrested, the implementation of the agreement whereby they were allowed to choose the country to which they were to be sent. SPEED IS ESSENTIAL, to put the maximum pressure on the Uruguayan government. Imperialism represented by its agents in the CIA wants the Argentinian comrades to be handed over to the regime of Ongania so that they can be murdered or tortured, incapacitated for revolutionary action. That is why they were removed, without any reason being advanced, from control of the civil police to that of the army. The sinister intentions are quite clear. There is a great opportunity to develop the campaign. The attitude of the LSE students who welcomed the campaign is an experience which can be generalised all over the country. We particularly appeal to the engineering workers to impose the

unlimited engineering strike, occupying the factories, making them run under workers control, in order to ensure the victory of the struggle for their demands, and linking these with the demand for the IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND THEIR RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR COUNTRY OF POLITICAL ASYLUM. Maximum pressure must be brought on the Home Office to give political asylum to those who wish to come here. Telegrams and petitions must flow to the British and Uruguayan governments on these lines. Protests must be lodged with the Uruguayan Embassy. We appeal to the intellectuals, scientists, artists to establish committees of support for this campaign, raise money for the sending of a lawyer to Montevideo to put pressure on the Uruguayan government. Already there is an Italian lawyer, with credentials from Fanfani who is willing to go.

We appeal to the Labour masses, the revolutionary worker and student vanguard to organise committees of support and to see this campaign as an integral part of the struggle to overthrow capitalism on a world scale. There is no distinction between the interests of the arrested comrades and the struggle of the British masses for all the demands of the anti-capitalist programme. The struggle for a 30 per cent increase in wages, all the profits of automation to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher pay, sliding scale of wages, a guaranteed yearly wage, nationalisation of all key industries under workers control and without compensation. For a workers government.

It is a historical necessity for the acceleration of the overthrow of capitalism, thus lessening the damage done to humanity, that these comrades be freed to go on with their tasks of continuing the Marxist thought, the programme policy and methods of struggle of the IV International which increasingly plays the role of orientating and consciously leading the world revolution.

Viva the campaign for the release of the Uruguayan and Argentinian comrades, and the successes already achieved.

Viva the world revolutionary communist vanguard.

Viva the advance of the world socialist revolution.

Viva the imprisoned Uruguayan and Argentinian comrades and all the revolutionary political prisoners in the world.

Viva the spirit of victory and the revolutionary confidence of the world masses and the revolutionary vanguard.

VIVA CDE POSADAS AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

LETTER OF CDE. POSADAS TO THE EUROPEAN BUREAU

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

forces on how to increase its capacity for action, theoretical, political, organisational. We need much more money, much more; now in this short period. The sections of Europe must edit their publications regularly and each week. It is necessary to return to publish the Latin American marxist review in a regular form every three months. We embrace with all our strength and revolutionary fraternity the comrades of the European Bureau and the sections of Europe, Asia and Africa. It is necessary to advance, concentrating the forces in the centres which decide, without abandoning the general activity. The sections of the IV International of Europe above all, must write better texts directed to the revolutionary vanguard of France, Italy, Belgium, Great Britain (to prepare there for the struggles which are preparing in a short stage), Spain etc. It is necessary to direct texts combining the necessities of the daily struggles with those of organising the tendencies and nuclei of the revolutionary leadership. It is necessary to be based on the struggles of the militants of the Communist Party, in the trade union field to extend their distrust and rejection of their leaderships, to demonstrate through their struggles against the leaderships in the trade union struggles the necessity to extend them to all aspects. It is necessary to improve the texts for each stage, each week, and each day, vivid texts dynamic, objective on each action and situation, foreseeing facts and uniting them to the general political struggles of the masses against their capitulationist leaderships. It is necessary to help the vanguard to unite the struggles so that it prepares its decision to break with its leaders without feeling itself isolated. The general texts are indispensable, but they must be accompanied AND BASED ON THE PERMANENT CONSTANT TEXTS FOR THE NECESSITIES OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES.

We believe that this activity is very well conducted. It is necessary to programme it towards very precise objectives, and to prepare a larger team for this task, even when the activity in some sections is confined or diminished in some sectors. But it is necessary to maintain the activities of the sections at all costs. They are a fundamental part of our world influence. But IT IS NECESSARY TO EDIT THE MARXIST REVIEW IN EUROPE IN ALL LANGUAGES. We are already preparing the

Latin American Review No. 15 and the HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT AND OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL. We will edit it immediately.

During the next week a letter in reply to a non active intellectual and professional comrade will be arriving. We think that it is very good and it is necessary that it is published in all languages. Give it preference because it is useful, very useful for work, influence and the winning of intellectuals and professional people.

In the name of the International Secretariat of this selected meeting, we embrace the comrades of the European Bureau and comrade G. for the very good meeting of the extended European Bureau. It is a very good example which it is necessary to maintain. We will publish the reports and resolutions of the Extended European Bureau. All the sections of the IV International have voted salutations and greetings to the comrades of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat, to Comrade G. and to the very great force and activity of the comrades in the different countries of Asia, Africa and Europe.

In the sections of Latin America a new and very good team of new leaders is developing. The sections are growing very well. The Peruvian Section is making a very great progress. It has edited manifestoes, held meetings of the Central Committee, and made very good appeals, on the military coup and its consequences.

We want to embrace you in the name of all of us. The letters which the Belgian comrades send us are full of confidence and resolution. The same must be the norm for the activity to overcome all problems... There has not been a single comrade who supported H & M, and on the other hand M has made three written acceptances of our criticisms. In the name of all of us we embrace you with all our strength.

J. Posadas

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:
All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

Editorials by J. Posadas

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

Communist morality and fraternity the essential basis of the development of the world Socialist Revolution

J. POSADAS 19. 10. 1968

Our authority, influence and direct weight on the world revolutionary vanguard, particularly on the Workers States is immense. The proofs are the last discourses of Fidel Castro, who takes directly from our texts, and also the con-

OUR PROGRAMME

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

versation by telephone which was made with Cuba and the fraternal relation with us, of people and soldiers linked to the leadership of the Communist Party and the Cuban government. It is urgent with all the force of our concrete and historic security, that we develop at least 20 cadres, it is necessary to develop at least 20 cadres, to develop them in a short period of one year and a few months. It is necessary to elevate consciously to the maximum the communist relations and life in the International. The communist life allows and will allow the means to find all the initiatives, security and harmony to develop, harmonise and elevate our forces and historic capacity. The world process of the advance, extension, dynamism and the socialist course of the world socialist revolution, including the political revolution, extends itself, develops and expands much more than our own organic development. The development of the International is very great but inferior, immensely inferior to the objective, development and the objective necessities of the course of the world socialist revolution. It is necessary to elevate the political life, the political capacity, the theoretical and organisational capacity of all the cadres and sections, to be able to respond to the need that all our cadres and sections be able to respond to the necessities of history. We embrace with all our fraternal and revolutionary strength, the comrades of the European Bureau and the sections of the IV International of Europe, Asia and Africa. It is necessary to elevate more, more and more. The stages are being rapidly shortened.

All the strength of capitalist society is concentrating to give the blow of the nuclear war which be given at any moment. The sending of this space-vehicle with those three characters on board, the semi improvisation which they made to launch them, and the publicity, and propaganda of a commercial type shows that imperialism seeks to strengthen the confidence of the world bourgeoisie, to try to demonstrate that it is as powerful as the Soviets and the world socialist revolution. The electoral campaign in U.S. Imperialism develops with the central objective of the perspective of the war. Vietnam is the centre, but behind and joined to Vietnam is the world nuclear war. The Soviet bureaucracy feels itself surrounded, besieged by the world development of the revolution, but is not able to contain or dominate it. Czechoslovakia marks an already concentrated stage in which the bureaucracy cannot base itself strictly or fundamentally on peaceful co-existence either with capitalism or with the other sectors of the bureaucracy. World capitalism, the bureaucracy of all the Workers States and of the communist parties are besieged by the ascendant course of the world socialist revolution. Now we enter into the stage of struggle, through interior entrism, to the leaderships of the masses within and outside the communist parties. It is necessary to co-ordinate, harmonise, unify the sentiments, resolutions, communist feelings, elevate the political life and communist theory to live in a communist form each day more conscious and elevated. The communist vanguard and the revolutionary masses within and outside the communist parties are seeking how to take power. They observe the attitude, the dynamism, the capacity for action of the Trotskyists in order to follow their example. But without awaiting the example, they work with decided and conscious revolutionary decision. The world is already communist. Vietnam persists and is surrounded by world capitalism. Capitalism shows its weakness and the power of the world socialist revolution. And Fidel Castro with his speech expressed to the world that it is the Trotskyists

who are uniting and going to unite consciously these world forces of the socialist revolution, which have no centre or conscious world leadership.

In Mexico the students work, and will work guided by the resolution and the consciousness to dispute power with capitalism. They express the resolution of the masses of the world, concentrate the world influence of the world socialist revolution. The methods, the forms of struggle are those of dual power. This is the norm of the struggles of all the masses of the world. Important strikes in whatever part of the world assume the characteristics of forms of struggle of dual power. Capitalism cannot yield any more to the normal demands of the masses. And the masses do not accept to remain passive or resigned. Capitalism does not have the forces to smash the masses in the daily and general struggles of the masses, nor can the Soviet bureaucracy contain, subject or divert the desires and resolutions of the struggle of the communist masses. For this reason world capitalism prepares itself in an accelerated way for the nuclear war; the sending of the space vehicle, with the three idiots demonstrated this. The masses of Mexico, the Mexican students with their struggles are the expression of the revolutionary maturity acquired by all layers of the population. The peasants in various states occupy cities and police headquarters responding to the appeals of the students. **THE COLLECTIVE MASSACRE**, which the Mexican government has launched against the masses, after having assassinated more than 40 students in the previous months, has neither intimidated nor frightened or terrorised the students or the population. Students with the support of their families and of all the population are continuing their struggles and continued them immediately.

The leaderships of all the communist and socialist and nationalist parties have been by-passed, will be smashed in the next stage. **IT IS NECESSARY TO PREPARE AND ELEVATE ONESELF FOR THIS STAGE WHICH IS COMING, WHICH IS ALREADY IN PROCESS OF COMING.** It is necessary to increase the efficiency, the conscious discipline, the conscious centralisation, prepared with a full consciousness and decision to concentrate the capacity of action of the International. For this stage it is necessary to elevate the qualities. It is necessary to understand, to feel the communist vanguard and at the same time to work with full dynamism and concentration at the precise moment because thus influence is exercised and the vanguard, the communist vanguard is animated to work, is decided to work, to assume the leadership in its parties and attract the class behind it, particularly in the trade union struggles which is where the vanguard feels itself supported directly by the class. The bureaucracy of the Communist Party has less field of action. But it is necessary to unite without delay or detention the struggles in the trade union field, to attract them, to develop them within the interior of the communist parties. In the Workers States already it can be felt that the world forces of the revolution are organising and impelling, making, helping to make the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard intervene. This situation is expressed more openly in the middle layers of the bureaucracy which forced the top bureaucracy in the inter-bureaucratic disputes, to contain, subject and to camouflage its conciliations with imperialism. But fundamentally it is forced to contain itself in its conciliations with imperialism and to defend or sustain positions which are necessary and favourable to the world socialist revolution. It is necessary to expect soon, open struggles in the heart of the bureau-

cracy of the Workers States and of the communist parties. To defend itself, the bureaucracy has to try to show itself more decided to defend the Workers States, the conquests of the socialist revolution and to try to improve its relations with the masses of the world. But at the same time the leaders and the structures of the communist parties of the world including those of the Workers States are perverted, degenerated, their interests and functioning are far from the interests of the world socialist revolution, the policy, the tactics, programme and objectives of the socialist revolution and of the class and revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world. The bureaucracy of the Workers States and the leaderships of the communist parties cannot escape the pressure of the world socialist revolution. The stages of open struggles, of rebellions in the communist parties to dislodge, eliminate the leaderships of the communist parties and to organise leaderships which answer to the revolutionary interest of the masses of the world, are near. In the consciousness of the masses of the world, of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie, they have already resolved to destroy capitalism.

When in Mexico, the university and secondary and primary students struggle against the Mexican Army and, see fall, assassinated, 200 of their comrades and they do not lament, they continue the struggle drawing upon the experiences to organise better and triumph, when they proceed and work in this way, it is because they are animated by the victorious sentiment of triumph of the masses of the world. It is the communist sentiment which seeks the organisational and political forms to attract the population, to overthrow capitalism. And all this process is developed and bases itself on the slogans, programmes, methods of struggle, Trotskyist objectives and revolutionary centralisation. Human history has never seen, never in human history has there been seen such discipline and disciplined collective concentration in the resolution of struggle and revolutionary objectives. The Trotskyist ideas, the objectives, forms of struggle and Trotskyist revolutionary communist morality are the organic bases which organise the will to struggle of the masses. The Mexican proletariat has already expressed its resolution to intervene in the struggle at the sides of these students, soon it will direct the struggles. The peasants of various states of Mexico continue the slogans of struggle which the students launched and these in their turn are taken from our Mexican Section. In a very important town of Mexico—Topilejo—the students influenced by our Mexican Section have launched the slogan of Popular Government. The peasants of this region invade the police prefecture and the mayors residence and surround the police and the intendente and assume the leadership of the region. Throughout the world there develop struggles in forms of dual power from the most simple to the most complete, as in Mexico.

It is necessary to elevate our internal life, to increase the theoretical life, the political and organisational capacity of our sections and cadres. The crisis of H and M is already surpassed. M accepted all the criticisms although he has not applied them integrally and H takes refuge in himself. We believe that he will go if he continues in this way. The IV International must concentrate all its

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

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9 Trotskyists have been arrested in Spain. Demand their release

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. 79

DECEMBER 10th 1968

SIXPENCE

The class organisms — the factory, tenant, students Cttees on the anti-capitalist programme — must be constructed to unify all the struggles of the exploited masses

When the Revolutionary General Strike broke out in France last May Comrade Posadas analysed that the proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries had begun and that there would be repercussions from the French process throughout Europe. Events are verifying this: the Italian working class has absorbed the experiences of France and cripple Italian and world Capitalism with massive confident blows. The Italian masses have already created some soviet-type organisms. Strikes bring whole regions to a halt as minor factories, university students and schoolchildren go on strike and peasants join the demonstrations in sympathy with factories with a great proletarian weight. This has achieved organic expression in such factories as the Lancia where a factory committee is responsible to a mass assembly that gives the same voting rights to any exploited person who intervenes as it gives to the factory workers themselves. The nation-wide reaction of revolutionary wrath when two Sicilian agriculture workers were assassinated by the police has forced the Italian bourgeoisie to disarm the local police force and make extensive use of plain clothes policemen to protect capitalism. The Italian CP bureaucracy like that of the French CP has to manoeuvre and even use revolutionary phrases, because it cannot control the masses who fight with a revolutionary programme and methods, and in some places in an organic united front with the P.C.R.(T), Italian Section of the International.

De Gaulle is trying to make the working class pay for the French economic crisis and is met with immediate aggressive militancy. He has no possibility of crushing the fundamental conquests of May: many of the committees set up then are still functioning, the masses are confident of their power, whatever the manoeuvres of C.G.T. bureaucracy—and it has put forward the demand for wages to rise automatically with the cost of living without adopting the methods to sustain this. The vanguard has already shown with the Renault strike that it is preparing to intervene massively.

The British working class feels itself part of this process. It is only the lack of centre to unite and concentrate the striking power of its militancy that detains its full expression. The engineering strike could have been this centre and the fact that a last minute bureaucratic manoeuvre has temporarily avoided it does not mean that there is any drop in the combative will and desire of the British masses to be rid of capitalism. 22 men at Girtings have been able to keep up a 4 week strike that has disrupted the whole of the car industry and been a major preoccupation to the bourgeoisie, terrified by the social force that those 22 men represent, able to cripple the functioning of the economic giant that the car industry is. These men could not have held out if they did not feel the solidarity of the whole class behind them and this was not just an inter-union dispute. Objectively this struggle epitomised the readiness of the British working class as a whole to advance towards all aspects of the anti-capitalist programme—workers control, factory committees, independent class action, regardless of the union leadership etc. Proletarian combativity is momentarily restrained for lack of adequately built organisms—factory commit-

tees made responsible to general assemblies and with delegates that are immediately revocable to the base if they do not carry out their mandate. But the process in Great Britain demands such proletarian democracy and the masses are seeking it.

The whole class is saturated with an anti-capitalist feeling that seeks effective expression. It seeks an organic revolutionary centre putting forward the anti-capitalist programme and its application, making appeals for unification in the necessary organisms, factory committees, and tenants committees etc., generalising revolutionary experience at its highest level. More and more sectors of the population are attracted to the proletarian struggle and adopt its methods and ideology which proves the depth of the process. The bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats accuse Trotskyists of being at work in Girtings and Vauxhall. Whether or not there are conscious Trotskyists there, the way the workers

act is Trotskyist in spirit, and this is true of all exploited sectors who are adopting parts of the Trotskyist programme. "The Squatters" who attempt to take over unoccupied capitalist property, the people in Poplar living in a settlement for the homeless who are planning militant action over appalling conditions and the gypsies who refuse to be evicted are all following the Trotskyist slogan to appropriate capitalism to deal with the housing shortage. Council tenants are constantly demonstrating at County Hall and many of them are on rent strike. The committees that they form are of the greatest importance because there the whole of the working class gets the chance to intervene as happens in a soviet. The GLC tenants are officially supported by the Transport and General Workers and Dockers Unions. In N. Ireland defence committees have been set up in the workers areas and the class combativity goes way beyond the control of the petty bourgeois leadership and "civil rights" programme. Capitalism prepares to repress in a process leading to civil war. We appeal to the revolutionary vanguard to adopt the anti-capitalist programme to unite the worker and petit bourgeois and poor masses in the struggle to overthrow capitalism in N. Ireland.

Students continue to show increasing militancy, particularly at Birmingham, Bristol and the L.S.E., though they lack a leadership that understands the process in the working class. The revolutionary student must put himself at the service of the working class not just by joining the picket lines and demonstrating, but by stimulating the building of the organisms that are necessary to the class struggle. Even school children are organising themselves (in S.E. London and Man-

chester) in protest against the rottenness of capitalist education.

Busmen in various areas have refused to collect the increases in fares. It was the families of the Durham school children that together decided the time the children should go to school, taking no notice of the local authority's decision. All this contributes to a Trotskyist process and means that there is in preparation a harmonious anti-capitalist intervention of the whole exploited population when the Revolutionary General Strike is launched in Britain, firmly linked to the process for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

This is what the bourgeoisie fear, and this is why they attack and repress the conscious Trotskyists who understand that the historic necessity to overthrow capitalism is the unification of all the sectors in struggle under a conscious revolutionary leadership. An indication of the extent of the influence and authority of the IV International and comrade Posadas—the present day continuation of the Bolshevik Party and the Marxist line: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—is the world-wide repercussion of the campaign for the release of our 26 comrades arrested in Uruguay. Just as in Italy where the process of 'interior entrism'—when the Communist masses fight with the Trotskyist programme in the I.C.P. independently of the bureaucratic leadership—obliges those bureaucrats to support the campaign, so here the daily struggle of the labour masses has obliged 13 Labour M.P.s to support the campaign. The crisis of the L.P. apparatus develops rapidly, the Union bureaucracy via Nicholas attempts to impose conference as opposed to Government decisions on MP's, and the women union delegates attack the TUC. The LP and the cabinet is in permanent crisis, the Union leaderships are in crisis. As they grow more impotent the masses advance and centralise themselves.

Capitalism knows that it can no longer rely on any social authority to maintain the privileged position of the bourgeois class. The only weapon that is left to it is military, and it brings upon itself an increasingly severe economic crisis by pouring all its resources into the preparation for atomic war to leash against the rising socialist revolution. American imperialism proposes to send its destroyers into the Black Sea. This is a show of strength in an attempt to give confidence to the world bourgeoisie and to stimulate the pro-capitalist bureaucratic tendency in Rumania to dismantle the centralised socialist economic structure of the Work-

Continued on page 2

STATEMENT BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

1st Dec 68

In defence of the 26 Trotskyists

The arrest of 26 militant socialists in Uruguay on October 28th, for the crime of attending a meeting, was an outrageous act by the Government. A judge soon decreed that none of those arrested had committed any crime and that all ought to be released. Nevertheless they remained in detention. On November 2nd the prisoners obtained an agreement that they could go into exile to a place of their own choosing, thereby saving those among them of Argentinian extraction from deportation to the Argentine, where their lives would be in danger. This agreement was not implemented promptly, and the prisoners remained the victims of vindictive Uruguayan Government and police action. These prisoners have the right to live and work in their own countries. If, however, these countries are so dictatorial as not to permit such liberties, the prisoners must at least be released and permitted immediate asylum.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

**Demand political asylum for Homero Cristalli, Candida Cristalli
and Alberto di Franco**

(News of campaign page 4)

The Olympic Games, the negro athletes, the Coup D'etat in Peru and the role of the military. The world progress and extension of the blows and defeats of world Capitalism and Imperialism

(Extracts)

J. Posadas 19th October 1968

All the revolutionary sectors of Syria, of Iraq, of Yemen and the other countries which are going towards Workers States, who feel identified with our positions and policy, are part of the layer which already forms a part of the Mass Communist International. They are the ones who are concentrating the best in thought and transforming it into action. Apparently they are the weakest sector of the revolution, and organisationally it is this way. But collectively they are based on the world revolution and they express the most advanced positions from the point of view of programme, ideas, objectives and decision. They are based on the Workers States. It is important that the revolutionary leaders of these movements say: "What the IV International has to do, is to concentrate its forces in one place, because otherwise it disperses itself." It shows that they have the idea that the process is urgent. "You have to concentrate yourselves" these comrades say, "take power here, and from here you are going to gain a great influence in the world". They are drawing the same conclusion which we already drew before. They are drawing the same conclusion as us, of the necessity to concentrate in one place so as to irradiate our influence from there to the world. No longer is it a question of convincing people that it is necessary to take power, everyone wants power. It is because of this that capitalism does not win over anyone. The actual struggle is between the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the Workers Parties and the world revolution, this is the struggle which there is.

The military of Peru are corroborating this. These military people gave a blow which brings imperialism to a halt and stimulates the masses to advance. And the objective of this Military Junta is to sustain capitalism, but in what a way!

The appreciation which Cde. H. has made in his letter from the Peruvian Section of the IV International of the "noose supporting a hanging man", is very good, and objectively and concretely very right. "The masses work with a historic sense and a very good sense of smell. They support the junta like a noose supports a hanging man". This is not any old phrase. It is the understanding of the state of spirit of the masses. It is not said in a phrase taken from Lenin but as the objective and concrete analysis of history. In Peru, this phrase means; the Peruvian masses are advancing in their political understanding, in their political decision and have seen what is suitable for them. Thus they say to the military junta 'Go forward!' not giving themselves over to the Junta, but saying to it 'Go forward!' Hence from this the fear of "the Junta which feels that such support as the support of the colonels, is that of a noose supporting a hanging man". It is a political appreciation which understands the sentiment of the masses and which is corroborated by the sale of our newspaper. And moreover when they make the sales in front of the police guard crossing, it is because they are turning a blind eye nothing more, because we could sell. This is a very rich stage to be able to advance and progress; Advance, advance and advance.

The telephone conversation, made recently with the comrades of the Cuban Section of the IV International means that the political revolution marches very well, otherwise this telephone conversation would not have been heard, it would not have finished, they would have cut it off in the middle and moreover they

would have cut the throat of our comrade. They did not cut anything. The important thing is the activity which the comrades of the Cuban Section of the IV International are carrying on, they say "we are bringing out a document on all the problems of the world revolution, on the line of the International". The comrades are up to the minute. Which means to say that in one way or another, they receive our documents, and they are full of initiative and they seek to communicate to us that they are on the same line as us. When in Cuba it is permitted that a comrade reads to the Cuban comrades parts of our article in which we analyse the speech of Fidel Castro about the intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia, and it makes such critical observations of the Cuban leadership, it is because it is necessary, they are expecting such judgement, otherwise it would not be possible to talk by telephone, the telephone would have been cut. And when the comrade in Cuba seeks the moment, in every way to say "We agree with everything that you say, this is our line" which means "this is what it going on in Cuba here", it is because the authority of trotskism is immense, much more than appears on the surface, than appears in the communiques, in the observations or the knowledge which we have. Because what we have is what appears, what emerges, what we are in contact with, what we can perceive, but not what IS there in depth, otherwise this does not appear. And in depth it is of such magnitude and has such force that it makes the telephonist maintain contact and not interrupt, no hand comes out and cuts us off, it comes but it is pushed back, this is not a noose supporting a hanging man, but it is because of the need that there is in Cuba, Syria, Yemen, Eritrea, and also Italy. This progress which the revolution demands is the ability to concentrate to progress in one week what before took one, two, three years to progress.

THE OLYMPICS, THE NEGRO ATHLETES, THE PANTOMINE OF THE YANKEE ASTRONAUTS AND THE ASCENT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE AMERICAN AND MEXICAN EXPLOITED MASSES

As we say in the letter we are sending to the European Bureau of the International Secretariat, the space capsule which is going round with the three stupid Yankees, shows that the Yankees are desperate. It does not have any other reason than this, one of whose most important motives, was to say to the world bourgeoisie "We are strong, we are capable, we are decided to launch the atomic war." And moreover the pantomime which they are putting on with the radio discussions, now they are saying that Schirra is getting angry and shouting at the characters below, and it appears that the discussion was violent, is a pantomime that demonstrates that

they do not have any security in what they are doing. And when they make it public, it is in order to demonstrate that they are strong, that they do not fear anything. While the Soviet bureaucracy wishes them success, the Soviet masses say that they should be killed, what interest is it of ours that they return safely; these guys are harmful to humanity, are seeking to damage humanity.

They do not send up this spacecraft with a high percentage of risk that it will be destroyed and lower their influence and authority, if it was not that they were being driven by the inner decomposition that they have to contain. The same parody is now being enacted over

Vietnam. We are going to make peace, we are not going to make peace, we shall suspend the bombing, we shall not suspend it. You must put a stop to it, if you don't stop we shan't stop." It is all a parody that is being directed at the North American electorate. And the North American Negroes take the historical decision to raise the clenched fist at the Olympic Games in order to express their repudiation of North American Capitalism. It is not just the black race. They are the exploited black masses who act in relation to the historical interests of world communism.

The Negroes raise their fists, it is not the fist of the "Black Panther", it is the symbol of the struggle against capitalism, to smash capitalism! And they do it at the moment of playing the American national anthem, the anthem of the massacre of the masses. When the American masses are animated to do this—already five Negro friends were in solidarity with them—to confront the Yankee apparatus of repression, confront the punishment, the condemnation which is going to come, it is because the revolution has more force than this, among it the Mexican revolution. They believed that the Olympics was going to be insensitive to this, they are mad, it is absurd to think this, it is the contrary. When the Negroes are animated to take such actions to confront capitalist public opinion, to confront the condemnation which is going to come from the military apparatus, it is because they feel that the American people are in agreement with them. They are not the result of the Negroes, the Negroes are those who express the revolutionary will of the exploited masses of the world.

The Mexican masses are not put off by the 200 deaths, this is what is expressed in the Negroes' action in the Olympics—there, in the place where the Olympics were taking place which is apparently the least accessible and insensitive to the class and revolutionary struggle, where the athletes live surrounded by the capitalist structure of individual glory, where individualism is exalted to the maximum, exalted to the maximum!—because the condition for taking part in the Olympics is the ability to make oneself shine individually—and it is in the midst of all this that there appear the Negroes with their fists raised high. Long live the Mexican masses! Long live the Negroes of the United States! The clenched fists held high by the Negroes are an expression of the will to take power. There, where individualism should be expressing itself to the maximum, collective concentration in the World Revolution is being expressed. They are expressing the feeling of a whole layer of the populat-

ion. This cannot be but a prolongation of the struggle of the Mexican masses. Once the Olympics are over or before, the Mexican masses are going to take up the struggle again. It is an uninterrupted process! This brief interlude of the Olympics does not in any way bring the struggles of the Mexican masses to an end. The Negro athletes are expressing the continuity of the struggle of the Mexican masses, they are keeping their combative resolution alive. This is going to drive the Mexican masses on to keep it up. It is a prolongation of their centralised struggles, partly held in check, but the attempt of imperialism and capitalism to stimulate individualist sentiments such as competitive sport usually does, has failed. These Negro companions were concerned to say to the world, "We came to use this centre for the struggle for the liberation of the masses in the United States." This is what the Negroes were saying, even if their medium was not these words. It is one of the most beautiful and moving expressions of the will of the masses of the world to triumph.

This relationship, conclusion, sentiment, this fraternal Communist life must be elevated making it possible to find all the necessary strength to go on. No-one must feel himself made small by difficulties that are going to be bigger and bigger, for our progress is inferior to that which necessity requires. The IV International progresses, the proof of the fact is the news that we are receiving, but its influence, authority, and capacity for action progress more than its means of action. It is necessary to elevate all the means of action that the IV International has, which is not a question of solving the question of money, but a question of better and better cadres. Money is a very important vehicle for all the activity: that's for sure, and we need a great deal more, but we need cadres more than that, better cadres, more developed, more capable and more resolute cadres, to shorten the distance in the same way as the masses of the world shorten the distance with their action. This means that one has to progress in one day what it took years to advance before.

The action of the Negro athletes is moving; it shows an immense security in the middle of the Olympics, where one of the biggest prizes in the world is given to one person! The concern of these Negro companions is not centred on the prize, it is to communicate to the world that "We are against Yankee imperialism!" This moved the masses all over the world, and their sagacity in awaiting the opportune moment did as well. For when the prizes are given, this

CONT. ON PAGE 3

EDITORIAL

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

ers State. It is also a testing of the bureaucracy of the W.S., especially the Soviet bureaucracy, which in order to defend its own privileged position in the Workers States has to defend the Workers States. An atomic clash is not far off as the world bourgeoisie gets more desperate, but it will occur in conditions which are less and less favourable to it. The masses are not intimidated by the threat and their struggle is more, and more organised. It is necessary to accelerate the conscious organisation of the empirical struggle to overthrow what remains of capitalism on a national and international scale and thus minimise the destruction to humanity caused by the

capitalist repression of the socialist revolution.

The whole of the British working class is expressing tremendous confidence in its revolutionary strength. We appeal for a united front of the IV International with all revolutionary tendencies on the anti-capitalist programme. Build the factory and tenants committees, on the programme of all profits of automation to the masses, minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, nationalisation of industry without compensation and under workers control, right of immediate recall of TU and factory committee delegates, worker/student/teacher government of education, for a workers' government, for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

The Olympic Games.....

CONT. FROM PAGE 2

world of glorifying spectacle, with the pedestal and everything, all of which are symbols of individualism, is at its height. And the Negroes lifted their clenched fists high and said, "We are against imperialism"—to hell with it!—this is not just a symbolic act, it is an act of war, a declaration of war and combat. The behaviour of the Negro athletes in the Olympics shows that they went there in search of the means of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist class combat.

The attitude of the athletes from the Workers States and the appeals made, starting with the Cubans, were lamentable and to be condemned. The Cubans associated themselves with a parody which goes against the Mexican masses and the masses of the world. The first duty of the Workers State is to take any situation in which it finds itself, as a medium, a centre for the revolutionary class struggle. The correct attitude would have been to refuse to take part in the Olympics and to condemn Mexican capitalism for the assassination of 200 people in order to show solidarity with the Mexican masses. This would have had

a tremendous echo and repercussion throughout the world. It would have been an enormous stimulus to the revolutionary class struggle. All the theatricals that these athletes are taking part in, in the Olympics are simply in order to entertain people, it can't be for anything else. This has no value, no importance for progress, culture or the necessities of humanity, this is simply taking part in an ancient Roman circus act to entertain the people of bourgeois circles. And the Workers States must refuse to take part as we said in a previous article! And if they must intervene there, then do so in order to parade banners saying, "We are with the Mexican masses, long live the Mexican masses!" Appeal to them to keep up the struggle, this is what should be done! When they intervene as athletes it is not just an intervention made as sportsmen but as entertainers of the masses, entertaining in the service of the bourgeoisie.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY, THE MILITARY COUP IN PERU, AND THE ACTIVITY AND ROLE OF THE PERUVIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

When the bourgeoisie has to make use of the army, knowing that this is a blow against its electoral social authority, this is because the decisive movements are concentrating. The high finance circles are the ones that make the decisions and they are having to get their support from the army, doing away with parliament. The very fact of the army intervention in the University means that parliament is being done away with, for if they had confidence in parliament they would be using it to pass laws—emergency laws—or to apply resolutions, but the people won't accept these laws or resolutions applied in such a way. So the bourgeoisie stimulates the army to intervene as the decisive factor, as an instrument that decides, as the leadership of society.

When this occurs as has occurred before in other countries such as the Argentine, Brazil and now in Peru, when the army intervenes replacing the normal functions of political parties and parliament, when it has to substitute for parliament and the bourgeoisie party, intervening to save capitalism, it is because capitalism hasn't the social and political strength left to sustain itself. But at the same time as sustaining capitalism the army corrodes itself for it exercises a function for which it is not organised and which isn't its concrete historical function, and moreover, it hasn't the preparation for this. When it intervenes thus, its functions are inevitably decomposed, it disintegrates internally and a part of the army receives influences which are hostile to the function which it is made to play, that is to say which are against capitalism. This is always inevitable. On the other hand in the capitalist countries the army intervenes with much more security, because it does not have, as in the so-called "semi colonial" countries, wings still linked to the development of capitalism. In the capitalist countries, Germany, France etc. the army intervenes directly, it is reactionary. On the other hand in the "semi-colonial" countries such as in Latin America, the army feels the possibility of economic development and wings of the bourgeoisie nourish such a possibility, in that they appeal to the internal market and the nationalist tendencies which see effectively that there are possibilities for the internal development of commerce and the internal market. But this internal market is not of a capitalist nature. Every measure orientated towards developing the internal market inevitably supports itself in measures which go against the capitalist system, because in 1968 to nationalise properties, to expropriate imperialism as in Peru goes against the capitalism system, nourishes directly anti-capitalist measures. Although they "regulate" the coup and swear like the Peruvian military group has done "No, this is an exception, it is not a principle, it was necessary", people immediately come out who say "Now we are going to expropriate Cerro de Pasco". They have sought to regulate the react-

ion of people but this is a people with a very good notion of history which does not respect arrangements.

Part of the army which intervenes and which sees that capitalism is decomposing, does not now have confidence in the capitalist system.

This relates to what we posed in the article about general Candido Lopez of the Argentine, where we say that it is not possible to take general Lopez as a mere soldier who wishes to save capitalism. The comrades are mistaken. We say, Lopez is an expression of the disappointment in the capitalist system. He is a person who comes directly from the high command of the capitalist system, who was a political instructor of people who are going to be officers and chiefs of the army, one of the educators of the types who are going to defend the capitalist system. And when measures have to be taken against this, it is because they see it and feel disappointed.

In the crisis of capitalism a part of the army is driven to feelings of being deceived, of pessimism. They see that capitalism cannot sustain itself; they see that it has no strength and they see that they are exercising an historic function for which they are not prepared. This is the difference from the developed capitalist countries in that the armies are still well structured within the system, have more security and more military and economic preparation of a social origin, more dependence on capitalism. In these "semi-colonial" countries a part of the army is more accessible to being won over by the forces of the revolution. For this reason we wrote the article on the function of the military in the atomic war. In these countries it is very possible to win over a part of the army. Normally in all parts of the world, there is always a part of the army that can be won to the revolution, when the revolution advances. But this is possible in these semi-colonial countries more than in other parts of the world. For this reason, almost all the nationalist coups in these countries have been made by the army. But not because the army is an exception. It is the force of the revolution which impels it, and as the masses do not have a channel by which to express themselves, pressure is expressed in the army because a part of the army has no aristocratic or bourgeois origin. And then as the petit bourgeoisie of bourgeois origin get radicalised, part of the army gets radicalised because it does not see a solution in the capitalist system. It sees, in a disordered and empirical form, the progress of the Workers States, among them China and Cuba.

The existence of Cuba alone, as we have said an infinity of times in the texts, is a constant stimulus to the progress of the revolution, because it shows how a small country in less than ten years, emerging from the condition of one of the most backward countries in the world, has achieved economic progress which has eliminated a quantity of debts

which has eliminated hunger, unemployment and misery everywhere. It is a country where they have eliminated illiteracy, where hunger does not exist. The army sees this and feels it. And the soldier who is a career soldier because he chose a profession, can be influenced. And in Latin America there are a very great number of these. This explains the coups, which are not merely coups of the Christian Democratic wing, which seeks to develop the internal market. They are the rope which sustains the hanging man. The forces of the revolution win and influence and undoubtedly have an influence on the army. In the same way the bourgeoisie has lost a very great number of intellectuals. In the army the number of officers which can be won over is less, because the profession imposes a mental rigidity on them, which makes them submit to the organisational forces, organised by capitalism, to schematisation, discipline, to the sclerosis which capitalist discipline means, deprivation of will and the capacity for individual action. But when in spite of this, the fact that military coups occur so constantly, means the revolution is more powerful than the automatisation of capitalism, the mechanisation which it makes of the mind and the will. The revolution can do more than this schematisation. And thus just as the revolution wins over intellectuals, physicists, capitalist, technicians, it also wins over the military.

The situation in Peru is an unquestionable fact. The military in Peru are not won over to communism nor to the socialist revolution. But they have been impelled to take measures which affect the whole structure of the capitalist system of Latin America, not only of Peru; it is a stimulus to all the petit bourgeois radicalised tendencies to take this road, above all it is a stimulus that shows that a non-parliamentary solution is necessary, a solution of force. It is a blow against the conservative role of circus entertainers, which the Communist Party leaderships and the parliamentary communists play. Without abandoning the parliamentary function in so far as it can be utilised, it is necessary to utilise it, to impel the struggle for progress, to impel the struggle to expropriate capitalism. There are a thousand forms of doing so, not simply by concentrating, carrying out and detaining the struggle in parliament.

It is necessary to make use of parliament to achieve what the military have done in Peru, which can be done. Why cannot it be done? Who says that it cannot be done?

The action of the military of Peru is an expression of the will to struggle of the Peruvian masses. The military did not invent this. Before this there were the 115,000 votes of Malpica in Lima; three consecutive resolutions in the last three Congresses of the trade unions of Cerro de Pasco, which resolved upon the expropriation without compensation of capitalism, and agreements with all the Workers States, proposed by the Trotskyists. In the 5th Convention they approved the resolution for the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America. In the elections in Tumbes, the Trotskyists in a united front with the peasant trade unions proposed the same resolutions. There were demonstrations of 30,000 a few months ago in Lima in support of the Cuban revolution. That is to say the military do not carry through the coup because they decided among themselves in discussions, but they obeyed this influence. This means to say that this can be done in many places, in Brazil, in Argentine and Uruguay. There is a sector of the army which can be won over and influenced. If this sector of the army does not advance more, it is because particularly the Communist Party "impedes it and wishes to involve it in the parliamentary function of giving parliament the "democratic power". Capitalism uses its instruments to sustain itself, not to allow the masses to struggle. For this reason the solution the masses seek is not parliament but in the army. Because before parliament said "you are not going any further, return to the faculties and the schools, do not throw

any more stones but study, fulfill your functions" and nobody paid any attention to parliament.

The attitude of the Communist Party in Peru is fantastic. They produced a leaflet saying "death to fascism". "Down with fascism". "Down with the gorilla government of the Military Junta". And the attitude of the population was phenomenal, say the comrades of the Peruvian Section in a letter, sensing that this did not go against them. Nobody cared a damn for Belaunde. "Belaunde die", said the people. People saw that the coup was not against them because it did not see any movement or declaration against the workers movement. The first thing that they would have done, if they were a gorilla government was to give blows against communism.

One of the soldiers of this Junta who some time ago was in communist China reported that he was impressed by the fact that in ten years of communism they had done what the capitalist regime had not done in a thousand years and that no one dreamed of overthrowing the communist regime because even the stones are communist. And he says there is a very evident progress in the economy, there is no hunger, no misery, no expression of destitution, and of poverty, and there is a sensation of a well fed people, solid with the regime. And from there, he drew the conclusion that it was necessary to trade with China.

It is not acceptable to the leadership of the Communist Party, that the movements of the masses go beyond their possibilities of control. The masses progress, advance, show their will to struggle, in a form superior to the possibility of the communists to contain and control it. For this reason the CP has no interest in recognising that the military coup is a nationalist coup and one from the left because this would show to their rank and file that they have been bypassed. For this reason they have to diminish the importance of this coup and minimise it and the communist leaders conceal the importance of the fact that this military junta trades with the Workers States and that this is a blow against the Yankees. And they do this, instead of seeing that these are inter-bourgeois struggles, and that it is necessary to support such measures in an independent form, in class forms with their own objectives of the anti-capitalist struggle making use of the process like the Trotskyists do. This shows that the policy of the CP leaders is less anti-capitalist than these measures, because theirs is a policy of conciliation with capitalism and is parliamentary, and they show their attitude in condemning the military coup; they say, "We are for an alliance with the capitalist system". The communist base detects and feels instinctively, sees clearly that the military are expropriating imperialism, they recognise commercial and financial relations with the Workers States. And financial ones, that is not just commercial ones, which means that there is already a degree of confidence and of structure, of a certain solidity linked with the Workers States. There are credits, subsidies, the opening of locales, finance arrangements, delegations, to get credits and confidence in the Workers States. There is already a very advanced step in the diplomatic recognition. And this has to be saluted as a blow at the Yankees, as we saluted it in Cuba immediately after Fidel Castro took power. This military junta took two measures which are against the capitalist system, practically an expropriation without compensation. Leaving 200 millions of the debt unpaid. The military junta says thus, "we are going to pay the debt on the never never". Secondly the Junta took no measure against the trade unions nor against communism. But they say to the Yankees, "We resolve what we do, if we have elections, or if we are going to pay or not, this is not a thing of your concern, we resolve this." The communist leaderships who have the opportunity of saying that this is a blow against the Yankees, conceal it, minimise it, and pose that this coup was made by the IMF, as was said by "El Popular" according to the news sent us from Uruguay in a letter and we believe that this is so. They try to show that the Junta is gorilla, the same as Ongania whom they also say is a gorilla.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Long live the successes of the world wide campaign of the IV International for the release of the Trotskyists

LONG LIVE THE FIRST SUCCESSES OF THE CAMPAIGN—THE PROVISIONAL RELEASE OF SOME OF THE CAMRADES. DEMAND THAT POLITICAL ASYLUM BE GRANTED TO HOMERO CRISTALLI, CANDIDA CRISTALLI AND ALBERTO DI FRANCO, IN THIS COUNTRY. INTENSIFY THE CAMPAIGN TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE COMRADES STILL IMPRISONED, AND FOR THE GUARANTEED FREE-

DOM OF THE OTHER COMRADES.

The World wide campaign that has been launched aggressively against the attempt of imperialism and capitalism to strike a repressive blow against the IV International has forced them to give way: comrades Homero Cristalli, Candida

Cristalli and Alberto di Franco have obtained the right to leave Uruguay and go into political asylum; the Argentinian comrades have returned to the Argentine accompanied by lawyers; the Uruguayan comrades have been released. But there remains one comrade who is still imprisoned. The Argentinians have no guarantee that they will remain free and have already been imprisoned for 24 hours on arrival in their country. **The campaign must be intensified to secure the liberty of the comrade still imprisoned and the full guaranteed freedom of those who**

have been released. Political asylum must be secured for the three comrades who have asked for it in this country. The bourgeoisie hopes that the campaign will die down so that it can strike again. But the campaign has provoked a tremendous response in all the sectors that feel the influence and the authority of the IV International and are guided and orientated by its programme and policy. On this basis the intensity of the campaign will be redoubled until all the comrades are liberated unconditionally.

We salute with revolutionary joy these

first victories of the campaign. Long Live the revolutionary fervour of all those who have defended our comrades and protested vigorously at their arrest. Imperialism has proved hopelessly weak in the face of such an avalanche of revolutionary opposition. Long Live the IV International. Long Live cde. Posadas who has centralised the whole of the International in this campaign. Onward until all the imprisoned comrades are free—including those in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil and Spain.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

The progress of the campaign in Britain

For full details see Information Bulletin No. 2

SUPPORT FOR THE CAMPAIGN FROM WORKERS, STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

Students at the Slade School of Art, Nottingham School of Art, Rutherford College of Technology (Newcastle) and Newcastle University signed the Party petition.

The campaign was discussed at No. 5 branch N.U.V.B. Vauxhall, Luton, meeting without any intervention on the part of the Party.

A worker at Austin collected signatures for the Party petition in his neighbourhood. Workers in Newcastle upon Tyne also signed it.

27 signatures were collected at the Euston Road Fire Station where the firemen are demonstrating against their work conditions.

"New Left Review", Vanessa Redgrave, Kenneth Tynan, Stan Orme M.P., Stan Newens M.P., Canon Collins, "Amnesty International" and J.B. Priestley all sent telegrams of protest to the Uruguayan Government.

A resolution of support came from Luton Young Socialists & Luton C.L.P.

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE 'GUARDIAN'

On 3rd December the "Guardian" published a column on the campaign comparing the counter-revolutionary attitude of Gollan of the CP to the campaign, with the position of support which the Italian CP bureaucrats have been forced to adopt in an attempt to hold in check the revolutionary solidarity with the IV International shown by their rank and file. Gollan received full information of the campaign. In a feeble attempt to appear revolutionary the "Morning Star" published a short article on the 4th of December about a letter by the British CP to the Uruguayan President protesting at the repression of the students and workers in Uruguay and deliberately leaving out any mention of the repression of the Trotskyists.

Great success for the campaign

Support from the mine workers

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for your letter of 28th November.

On behalf of the Scottish Area of the N.U.M., I have written to the Uruguayan Embassy in support of the Argentinian comrades and also to the Home Secretary

demanding the release of the Argentinian comrades and asking for political asylum for them in Britain.

We have also advised Paul Rose, M.P. that we have done so.

Lawrence Daly
General Secretary

FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN

We make £500 our aim to be collected as soon as possible. We appeal to all those who have supported the campaign to make a financial contribution so that it can be kept up. This is essential for the safety of the comrades. Every contribution will be acknowledged. We thank all those comrades and sympathisers who have already sent contributions.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

This is not what leadership of the CP does, and it denies this policy. On the contrary its policy is one of alliance with capitalism using parliament. Thus the CP makes no declaration which shows understanding of the process which Peru is living through. The Peruvian masses are beyond the Communist Party, they have celebrated spontaneously without involving themselves with the government. And the masses of the APRA have been won over by the army measures and have supported them spontaneously and feel that it is a blow not against them but against imperialism. And the communist masses feel these measures, understand them and for this reason support them. Hence the immense echo of our Peruvian Section has, hence the success and the immense support which they have. We reiterate, it was the Trotskyists in Peru who succeeded in two congresses of the workers union of Cerro de Pasco in having resolutions of expropriation without compensation approved, and not now but four years ago in the 5th and 6th Conventions of Cerro de Pasco and in the unions of Tumbes they secured approval for the measure of expropriation without compensation and under workers control of La Brea and Parinas, and the recognition

of all the Workers States, commercial relations with all the Workers States. It was only the Trotskyists who proposed this. And saw that it could be done. If the army does this, it is because it is the way the forces of capitalism find to save the capitalist system. But not all the forces which intervene thus are animated directly by security and confidence in capitalism. When the army takes such measures now, it is not guided by confidence in the structure of the capitalist system. There are forces which have propelled and determined such measures which do not believe much in the capitalist system, are insecure and take measures which are related to, and based on the Workers States, not on the capitalist system. For this reason there is the expropriation without compensation which is not a capitalist measure; trade with the Workers States which is not a capitalist measure. They are going to give compensation for Brea and Parinas, but with the debt which the Yankees owe, the IPC. There are the declarations in the daily papers which the comrades of Peru sent and the declaration which the military junta made immediately after the coup showed that there was a Nasserist left tendency. It indicated and indicates at the same time an interior struggle which still has not been resolved. There is an im-

passee. But such an impasse is overcome with measures which do not favour the right but the left. These measures which they are taking are of the centre left. This shows that it is necessary to expect superior measures. Thus there is the recent step of the Military Junta in giving support to the textile workers' on strike. It is undoubted that it seeks popular support but in this way. Pacheco Areco seeks popular support in Uruguay demanding laws to freeze incomes and against the unions in parliament. And these bureaucratic leaders of the Communist Party say, "We struggle in parliament", and they want to entertain the masses with parliament. The Military Junta in Peru shows how the problems are resolved.

J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

RED FLAG



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

No. 80

27th. December 1968

6d

THE SPIRIT OF DUAL POWER OF THE MASSES DEMANDS THE
PROGRAMME AND ORGANISMS - FACTORY COMMITTEES, TENANTS
COMMITTEES TO CARRY FORWARD THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE!

Despite the attempts by the North Vietnamese leadership and the leadership of the NLF in South Vietnam to conciliate with American imperialism in the Paris talks, the struggle of the Vietnamese masses continues without pause against American imperialism (the massing of revolutionary troops near Saigon is reported and also the use of the Vietcong of new rockets of superior power). The Vietnamese masses continue to struggle with an enormous spirit of confidence and victory which is based on the constant elevation of the whole world revolution and against this the military power of imperialism can do nothing. The struggle in Vietnam and the world struggle of the exploited masses receives its echo in the United States itself. The violence of the demonstrations by school children in New York against an extra 45 minutes a day study which the authorities attempted to impose on them expressed not simply an opposition to more study but an opposition to imperialism, a determination which is shared by the world masses, to finish with capitalism and imperialism.

In India a weak, tottering capitalism is shaken by the determined struggle of the masses, an expression of which was the violent clashes between communist workers in the Tanjore district of Madras and blacklegs brought in by the landowners to harvest the rice crop. Another expression of this has been the organisation of the Naxals-named after the Naxalbari district in India which saw occupations of the land earlier in the year-who basing themselves on these occupations have been making violent attacks on police posts. The Naxals are attracted by the authority of the Chinese workers state and it is criminal that the Chinese leadership, in these circumstances fails to make a call to the Indian masses-and the world masses-to take power, to form factory committees, to occupy factories, to occupy the land, to form soviets.

In the same way the soviet bureaucracy attempts to conciliate with imperialism by holding secret meetings with Israel while imperialism is frantically rearming its base in Israel with Phantom fighters. And while the Israeli bourgeoisie continue attacks on Arab countries with an attack on Beirut airport, in the Lebanon, an attack which follows others on Jordan and Egypt, the Arab revolution continues to elevate itself. This can be seen with the development of workers militias in South Yemen and the constant guerilla activity by El Fatah and the other Palestinian revolutionary organisations. The individualist terrorism shown in the attack on the El Al airliner in Athens would not arise if there were a conscious organic mass communist international, to direct the actions of the world masses.

In the face of the constant advance of the world revolution imperialism prepares for war, it has no other reply to the demands of the exploited masses of the world. The arrest of the Trotskyists in Uruguay, Mexico and now Spain is part of this preparation for war. In arresting the Trotskyist militants imperialism attempts to deprive the masses of the most conscious layer of their revolutionary vanguard, attempts to deprive them of the conscious world revolutionary party, which is the 14th International, and which has an irreplaceable role to play in the struggle for socialism. In this attempt imperialism failed because the strength of the 14th International, and the world masses in defence of these comrades arrested in Uruguay, has already forced the Uruguayan government to release all of them except one. The release of our comrade shows that the world masses recognise the role of the 14th International, and Posadas, and that the force of the world revolution on the government of Uruguay is greater than that of American Imperialism.

Imperialism has lost any authority it may have had before the masses of the world and, despite the attempts of the Soviet bureaucracy to give it some appearance of authority, the flight around the moon has in no way impressed the masses of the world. Although, with the help of the Soviet bureaucracy it may help to impress some petit bourgeois, national bourgeois, and pro-capitalist elements in the workers states. In this way the Soviet bureaucracy attempts to conciliate with American Imperialism but, as Comrade Posadas has analysed, the margin for conciliation becomes narrower and the Soviet bureaucracy is forced to defend the revolution and the workers states. This is shown by their actions in Czechoslovakia, in sending their fleet into the mediterranean and in supplying arms to revolutionary forces like the Viet Cong. It acts in a bureaucratic way certainly, in order to defend their own bureaucratic power and privilege but more, and more are forced, by the world revolutionary struggle of the exploited masses, to confront imperialism. The masses of the United States simply saw the flight as a boring nuisance which interfered with television broadcasts of football matches. The same attitude is revealed in this country where one man interviewed on BBC radio simply said that it was all a load of rubbish. It is the struggle for Socialism in Vietnam, India, France, Spain, Italy and the rest of the world which has authority in front of the masses.

In Italy the workers continue to struggle in an elevated way with factory occupations, with continual regional strikes, general strikes, with demonstrations and recently with the blocking by the whole population of one town, of a major railway junction in protest against the possible demolition of their only hospital. In France, the workers and students basing themselves on the gains of the revolutionary general strike of May and June, have continued the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The strike and demonstration by workers of Renault supported by students, expressed the determination which exists in France to finish with capitalism. The fact that the General Secretary of the French communist party is forced to talk not about "democratic" elections-as he did in June-but about the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the result of the "interior entrism" of the masses at the base of the communist party. It is the same process which forces the soviet bureaucracy to take anti imperialist measures and the same process which is impelling the Italian communist party. In Spain where ten of our comrades are imprisoned the workers, peasants and students deepen the struggle against capitalism, against the Franco regime and the repression of Royalist sectors by Franco is a sign of the enormous weakness of the regime and of the whole of European capitalism.

Nowhere has the weakness of capitalism been more evident than in Northern Ireland where O'Neill is forced to attack his own right wing in sacking Craig and where the forces which support capitalism-Paisley and co - have shown themselves to be weak and without confidence. It was only the intervention of the police which prevented the masses of Northern Ireland from smashing these reactionary elements during recent conflicts. Certainly the masses of Northern Ireland lack a conscious leadership with a programme but basing themselves on the world revolutionary process and on their own revolutionary traditions they carry forward and will in the next period, sweep aside the present conciliatory and petit bourgeois leadership of the civil rights movement.

The masses of Northern Ireland do not struggle in isolation but base

Editorial. Contd. from page 2.

their confidence on the struggle of the world masses and the masses of the rest of the British Isles. All the masses of Britain have engaged in the anti-capitalist struggle in the last months. The industrial struggle has continued with complete security which was best expressed by the 22 workers of Girling who resisted for weeks all the pressure of the capitalist system applied to force them back to work. The mass of workers disregard the pleas of capitalism to work harder and take an extra days holiday at Christmas. In the same way as last New Years day, chaos reigned on Friday the 28th of December in the capitalist system of production. Docks were at a standstill, buses did not run (in Sheffield for example 150 buses were off the road) and 7660 shoe shop assistants also took an extra day. Earlier, nurses demonstrated in the House of Commons following the militant action of the women at Fords on demands for equal pay. The students continue to elevate their struggle with the occupation of the London School of Economics which in form --they proposed to use the L.S.E as a centre for political discussion--was at a higher level than the previous occupations of Hornsey or Guildford. The students still lack a revolutionary leadership with a programme of demands and the Revolutionary Socialist Students federation has not provided this but despite this, sectors of students seek the united front with the workers and the programme of the socialist revolution. The response to the various publications of the IVth International (and the documents of Cde. Posadas) Red Flag, Students Red Flag etc. is an expression of this search. The enormous demonstration against the Imperialist aggression in Vietnam during October, in which workers and students participated was an objective expression of the united front of students and workers.

To a certain extent the organic formation of a workers and students united front is detained by the lack at this stage, of an obvious centre for the struggle of the workers. The cancelling of the national engineering strike by the bureaucrats has robbed the working class of a centre for the anti-capitalist struggle--and this is true to a lesser extent true of the actions of the leadership of the building workers union --but this can only detain the process for a short period and another struggle will very quickly provide a centre for the impulsion of the general strike. It is the magnificent struggle of the industrial workers and the world process on which other sectors base their confidence and we see an example of this in the formation of a national organisation of of secondary school children who are demanding pupil and teachers councils to run all schools, and who are demanding the end of the authoritarian control of headteachers. A report, prepared by a working party from the London branch of the Association of Assistant Masters mentions disturbances in lessons, incorrect dress, careless work, lateness, truancy and damage to school equipment and books. The actions of the school children the report tells us, sometimes amounts to open defiance of the teachers authority. What this report does actually show is that capitalism does not have any authority, even before the school children. But it is the tenants struggle-- which in London is making links with the organised workers in the docks and the motor industry which shows a fundamental elevation in the revolutionary struggle, even if these links are not yet concrete organic links. To develop this process towards soviets at a later stage, it is necessary to organise, immediately, committees of tenants and workers in every town with a programme which includes such demands as the expropriation of all unoccupied luxury flats and houses, royal palaces etc. All rents to be controlled by committees of tenants and workers, and the nationalisation of the construction and building supply industry under workers control and without compensation.

There exists in all the actions of the masses in this country, a spirit of dual power. The workers decide what holidays they will have, the students occupy universities--the LSE, Bristol and Birmingham for example --parents decide what time their children should go to school. Workers struggle to impose their control over the process of production in Rootes, Fords, Girling, on the docks, and in public transport and many other sectors. The occupation of luxury properties is yet another example of this and the fact that the Young Communist League demonstrate at Buckingham Palace demanding its expropriation --a demand which is trotskyist, a point of the programme of the IV International--is an indication that the process of interior entrism exists within the Communist Party of this country. The constant clash between the sector of the Labour Party most linked with capitalism, and the sector of the trade unions more under the pressure of the workers --this was expressed in the election of the secretary of the Labour Party and the insistence by the National Executive Committee that Labour M Ps should implement conference policy--is

the result of this process of interior entrism by the masses at the base of the Labour Party.

The support for the campaign for the release of the trotskyists arrested in Spain, Uruguay, and Mexico results from the recognition, by the exploited masses of the world and this country, of the unique role of the IV International in fighting for the programme of the socialist revolution, for workers control, for expropriation of capitalist property without compensation, for the expulsion of Imperialism, for a workers government etc and by impelling the formation of the organisms to carry forward the struggle for that programme--the factory committees, tenants committees, area committees etc-- and for the development of revolutionary tendencies which in United Front with the IV International will provide the actual leadership in the struggle.

At this stage--1969 will see without doubt, the final stage of what remains of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale--it is necessary for the masses--the workers, students, tenants, secondary school pupils, nurses, technicians etc.--to elevate the struggle by adopting the programme of the Socialist Revolution, and the organic forms to carry this struggle forward--factory committees, committees of the workers areas, tenants committees--by building the revolutionary tendencies in United Front with the conscious world revolutionary party, the IV International and by joining the IV International.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

27-12-68

FREEDOM FOR THE TROTSKYISTS IMPRISONED IN SPAIN

INTENSIFY THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE TROTSKYISTS

IMPRISONED IN SPAIN, MEXICO, URUGUAY, AND CUBA.

In a desperate attempt to stem the constantly rising tide of the world revolution, imperialism and capitalism is forced to resort to repression against the most conscious elements of the vanguard of the world revolutionary masses. Thus the Franco regime has launched a campaign of repression against the POR(T) the Spanish section of the IV International with the arrest of six comrades and a sympathiser, and the sentencing of three comrades arrested earlier. The arrested comrades are Thoms Ora Martinez, (mson), Agustin Figueras Castillo, (lawyer), Blasa Campos, Berlanga (engineering worker), Maria Cinta Gonzalvo Franco (clerk), Maria Luisa Perulero Corona (engineering worker), Carmen Padilla Burgos (Chemical worker), the sympathiser was Exedito Segura Diaz. The comrades sentenced were Dionisio Gomen Sainz (engineering worker) who was sentenced to 7 years, Rafael Marquez Caballero (student and leader of FUDE) sentenced to 3 years and Francisco Velasquez Lopez (bakery worker) sentenced to 18 months. This is a total of ten comrades now imprisoned in Spain.

The repression of our comrades in Spain has in no way impeded the revolutionary spirit, optimism and activity of the Spanish Trotskyists. They have reacted in the same dynamic and aggressive manner as did the comrades in Uruguay faced with the same repression. Despite the loss of duplicating machinery, stolen by the police, they have continued to publish the Party organ Lucha Obrera, Comuna (the organ of the Trotskyist fraction in FUDE) and all the other publications of the Spanish section. These publications continue to be sold to the workers, students and other sectors of the exploited masses in Spain, in an open and fearless manner by the comrades and they continue to be sold in the factories and universities. Lucha Obrera and Comuna, for example, have been sold at factory gates in Barcelona and in Madrid the comrades appeared publicly shouting "Lucha Obrera" and "this is our revolutionary reply to the repression", they were immediately surrounded by workers who made favourable comments and all the papers were sold in two minutes. The revolutionary militancy and spirit of our comrades in Spain which is based on the programme and line of the IV International and the documents of Cde. Posadas, and the revolutionary struggle of the exploited masses of the world, receives an enormous echo in all Spain. The address for letters, resolutions and telegrams demanding the release of the comrades is:- The Spanish Embassy, 24 Belgrave Sq. London. S.W.1. demanding also the release of all I.U. & political prisoners.

We call on all workers, students, intellectuals, members of the labour and communist parties and trade unions to send resolutions, letters and telegrams demanding the release of the imprisoned comrades to the Spanish Embassy.

THE INTELLECTUALS AND PROFESSIONALS, THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL

(Extracts)

J. POSADAS. 10.10.1968

Reply By Comrade Posadas To The Letter From An Intellectual
Comrade, A Non Active Militant of The Party With 29 Questions
About The Principal Problems Of The Structure And Functioning
Of The Workers State And Of The Organs, Programme And
Organisation Of The Bases Of The Socialist Revolution.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The British Section of the IV International sends a warm revolutionary salute to Cde. Posadas for the document "The Intellectuals and Professionals, the Development of the Socialist Revolution and the IV International." This document which develops very clearly and didactically all the programme for the organisation of the Workers State and the construction of socialism, demonstrates very clearly once again the role of Cde. Posadas as the continuator of Marxism in this epoch. This document will go down in history as one of the classics of marxism. In the Answers to the questions of the intellectual, Cde. Posadas answered all the questions on the functioning of the organisms of the workers movement for the advance to the overthrowing of capitalism, and on the functioning of the organisms of the workers state for its construction of socialism. The relationship of the soviets and the Party, the relationship between one soviet and another, and between soviets and the factory committees, the difference between the trade unions and the soviets, and the difference between communes and soviets are all explained, with scientific precision never before attempted by marxist writers.

In this issue of the paper we are only able to publish extracts of the document, but we have taken the decision to publish this article as soon as possible, complete in the form of a bulletin and to circulate it to all the readers of Red Flag. It will be extremely valuable to gain to a position of sympathy and militancy a whole sector of students, intellectuals, technicians who while they feel the decomposition of imperialism and capitalism and the soviet bureaucracy, they still lack the confidence in the world proletariat and in the future which this proletariat will construct.

LONG LIVE THE CREATIVE CAPACITY OF CDE.POSADAS IN PRODUCING THIS HISTORIC DOCUMENT.

7. WHAT IS REQUIRED FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF SOVIETS TO FORM A WORKERS STATE

It is not the assembly of Soviets which determines the Workers State. The base of the soviet state is the economic structure, the form of property. It is not possible to make a Workers State without taking this step - statification. There can be soviets circumstantially as there were in China, but if these do not develop, then they perish. Soviets can be organised and still it is necessary to sustain them in the struggle of the masses who form local soviets to be a point of support to advance in the revolution for the taking of power. But the form as the soviet can exist and maintain itself by transforming the regime of property, expropriating, nationalising the economy, imposing the monopoly of foreign trade. This is the form through which the soviet can exist. An assembly of soviets can exist, and still there may be no workers state as there was in Shanghai, in Canton in 1927. If these soviets do not develop as power and nationalise property they perish.

In various countries soviets have been formed as for example in Cuba. Trotsky refers to them after they overthrew the dictatorship of Machado, in 1932. The Daily paper "Granma" of Cuba published in December 1966, the history of the Soviet of Mabay and of other soviets which were organised in Cuba.

There was also an incipient soviet in 1925 in Cordova in the Argentine. There was also in Chile a beginning of the soviet in 1919. There was also soviets in 1919 with Bela Kun (Hungary). Also in 1922 there were soviets in Vietnam. In various parts of the world, there was the formation of soviets. But as they did not succeed in developing towards power they died. On the other hand if they had continued developing as soviets, they would have taken power. To exist and maintain itself, the soviet has to extend itself to take power. It can organise itself without still having national power in its hands but so that the soviet can survive, it must prolong itself, extend itself to take power, if not, it perishes. On the other hand, so that proletarian power can exist, subsist and develop, the Socialist Revolution needs the soviet in every way.

If there is not a soviet form, there is a retreat which then allows the appearance, the development, the forms of power which are not those which a workers state needs but are opposed to the construction of socialism. And also in this stage, after the nuclear war it is necessary to foresee that there can be immediately groups, tendencies that take power, but who do not take power to construct socialism because they have no idea, do not have any understanding.

For this reason all these experiences of soviets are very important to transmit immediately and for after the nuclear war.

8. HOW DOES A WORKERS STATE FUNCTION WITHOUT A BUREAUCRACY

In the soviet form. In order for the Workers State to function without a bureaucracy, the soviet functions, then there is not bureaucracy; there are functionaries who exercise the simple administrative function, who do not have power. In the workers state in so far as the stage towards socialism is not an accentuated one, the necessity for a centralised administration and the function of administrator will exist. The function of administrator does not mean a function of power but the bureaucratic function of annotating, of passing measures, of communicating, of pushing forward, arranging. With the existence of soviets, this function does not give any power, any political decision but is simply an application subject to what the soviet resolves. Whilst when the soviet does not function, these functions the administrators attribute to themselves as power and they take power in their hands because they have the state levers, because administration is the force which centralises, co-ordinates the functioning of the whole country. Then, police, the apparatus of the party serve as a support for the bureaucratic apparatus and use the country, do not serve the country. In order that the bureaucracy does not exist, it is necessary to have the functioning of soviets. As Trotsky said in the discussion with the bureaucracy: "the bureaucracy arises not from an historic necessity but from a retreat of the revolution, which is not an historic necessity". "Evidently Stalinism (the dictatorship of the bureaucracy) has arisen from Bolshevism but it did not arise in a logical manner but dialectically:

not as its revolutionary affirmation but as its Thermidorian negation. Which is not the same thing". (L. Trotsky; Bolshevism and Stalinism").

The historic conditions existed which allowed the bureaucracy to appear in the Soviet Union, the world retreat of the revolution, weakness of the Bolshevik party after the war, after the revolution, retreat and disaster for 70 per cent of the little economy which there was in the Soviet Union, the elimination of the principle leaders and cadres of the revolution, these allowed the establishment of the base for the birth the development of the bureaucracy which afterwards developed into the counter revolution. These are the conditions which allow the bureaucracy to exist. In order to prevent the development of bureaucracy, it is sufficient to have simply the functioning of the soviets. The application of the soviets requires historic conditions. The soviets were not able to last more than seven years in the Soviet Union but they were sufficient to show their strength, their historic capacity in the construction, the development of socialist society. The soviet was destroyed but not the Workers State. The fundamentals remained. If the Bolshevik Party and the Soviets had been the cause of the bureaucracy, the Workers State would have disappeared. But in fact the soviets and the Bolshevik Party disappeared, the bureaucracy remained but the Workers State remained also. The bureaucracy was not able to destroy the workers state, which showed that the seven years in which the Bolshevik Party and the soviets were able to exist were sufficient to give the structure which allowed the workers state to sustain and influence the world revolution. And the structure in the consciousness

of the masses, is not only the successes achieved in the nationalisation of property, monopoly of foreign trade, planning of the economy etc. but the consciousness that they were transmitting the experience of the conquests to the world. And there is no organism which transmits this. The masses are transmitting their experiences and making such conquests irrefutable. And this influenced the world proletariat vanguard and the population of the Soviet Union and prevented a retreat of the revolution.

9. WHEN IS A STATE A WORKERS STATE?

A Workers State exists when the principle sectors of the economy are nationalised or even without the principle sectors of the economy being nationalised, revolutionary power has been taken. In the single instance power is taken, revolutionary power, a workers state is already beginning. In order to have the bases in which it can support itself, property is nationalised. It is when the principal sectors of the economy are nationalised and when the state functions in the name of the nationalised property, then a workers state exists. Although its leadership may not propose to advance in the revolution, it is a workers state. Although it does not represent consciously, nationalised property and does not make it function as a Workers State, does not plan for socialism or does not plan at all, it is a workers state because the relations of property are favourable, necessary for socialism and not for the return or the development of capitalism; this is independent of the leadership which exists, ^{but} every leadership which depends upon or supports itself on nationalised property or develops nationalised property and sustains it, and then tries to go back only lasts a short time.

This is the case of Algeria and other countries. As regards Syria, we believe that it is Workers State because the principal sectors of the economy are nationalised, although its leadership may not be a marxist revolutionary leadership, and now it is advancing towards revolutionary marxism. And Algeria is closer to a workers state than to a capitalist one. For this reason we have said in texts, in letters, which are the guide of the sections of the IV International, in the resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International, in our texts: the masses of Algeria behave themselves as if it was their Workers State and function as in a Workers State. And when they function so, it is because they feel that it is already in their hands, that the elimination of capitalism is near and they feel themselves capable of achieving the elimination of capitalism in Algeria,

in Mali also. And in a short stage more in Egypt, and in Iraq, they are going to eliminate capitalism. Iraq resolved to call itself: Popular Democratic Republic and its programme and economic action is the "construction of Socialism". We salute with great joy this great step of the revolution in Iraq going towards socialism.

Contd. page 10.

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OUR PROGRAMME

- 8 -

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

contd from page 9

where the workers are confronting a dehumanising policy, causing misery, unemployment and the loss of fundamental conquests, as in the case of the sugar-mills, the docks, the refineries which are continuing.

BENITO V. ROMANO

Regional Delegate.

The campaign in this country is continuing, and all the latest news is in the bulletin No. 3, except for the following latest items.

Nottingham College of Art

30 students signed the petition asking for political asylum for the three leading comrades in this country.

The "Malta News" published part of the letter of E M Spiteri representative of the Anti-Imperialist front of Malta, which was sent to the Uruguayan government demanding the release of the 26 trotskysts and friends.

Cde. Spiteri has agreed to write to the Spanish government and the text of his letter will be published in the next issue.

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN UNTIL ALL THE TROTSKYISTS ARE FREE:

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

- ALGERIA:** Revolution Socialiste, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
- ARGENTINA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
- BELGIUM:** La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).
De Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.
- BOLIVIA:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.
- BRAZIL:** Frente Operaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.
- CHILE:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.
- CUBA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq. Zuleta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.
- ITALY:** Lotta Operaia, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.
- FRANCE:** Lutte Communiste, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Rochongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.
- CREFCE:** Communist Fight. Clandestine.
- MEXICO:** Voz Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Addo 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.
- PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:**
- Cuarta Internacional,** organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International Lu's Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R. (T). Mexican Section of the IV International.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O. (T). Argentina.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R. (T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.
- Revista Marxista Europea** (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059-00153 Roma (Ostiense) Italy.
- Revue Marxiste Europeenne** (In French), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc'Hongar, 63 rue Victor Huso, 92 Courbevoie, France.
- Clairine Polet,** B. Postale 273, Charleroi, Belgium.
- European Marxist Review** (In English) organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2, England.

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In launching the campaign for our comrades in Spain we continue to campaign for the release of our comrades in Uruguay, Mexico and Cuba. The information bulletin No.3. which is distributed with this paper contains all the details of the prisoners in Mexico, Uruguay and Cuba.

We renew our appeal for defence committees to be set up, in factories, universities and schools, for the collection of signatures and money, and the organisation of demonstrations, for the defense of our comrades.

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

ITALY

FROM THE NEWSPAPER "PAESE SERA" 21st NOVEMBER 1968.

Medici Confirm Political Asylum Granted to 3 People of Italian Origin From Uruguay.

"The Minister of External Relations, Senator Medici, confirmed directly to Senator Parri that our Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay has conceded political asylum to the three Argentinian citizens of Italian origin who had asked for it from our diplomatic authorities. Those granted asylum were the couple Homero Cristalli and Candida Rosa Previtera and also Alberto di Franco. These, joined with 23 other people, participated in a seminary organised by the Trotskyist movement. They were arrested by the Uruguayan police and were going to be handed over to the Argentinian authorities who had demanded their extradition. As a consequence of this, the three risked years imprisonment for the simple fact of being militants in the Trotskyist movement."

ARGENTINA

TUCUMAN: PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE C.G.T.

San Miguel de Tucuman,
12th November 1968.

"The Tucuman Regional C.G.T., before the new demonstration which the repressive machines of the regime have just made in this case through the intermediary of the State Information Secretary (SIDE) and which has shown itself in the fact that the Dr. of the Fiorito Hospital Dr. Moises Polak, has been dismissed from his responsibilities through the application of law 17.401 under the pretext that he carried out communist activities, makes an appeal to the workers and to the people to make declarations repudiating this new attempt against the liberty of thought and which has as its objectives to facilitate the submission of the people to anti-national interests. This fact which has its demonstrations in our province with the attempts to apply the above mentioned law to Brothers Mercado, Muraki, Rossini, Blumenfeld who as a result of carrying out tasks to find support for the striking petrol workers, the authorities try to condemn to prison for, at least a year, which if they succeed will be a disastrous precedent in the struggle for the demands of the people.

All these attitudes are not isolated or contained within our province or our country, but are repeated throughout Latin America, as in the case of Uruguay, where violating the laws of this state, which theoretically does not repress political activity, 12 Argentinian citizens are on the point of being put at the disposition of the repressive apparatus of the regime, which is the representative of Yankee imperialism penetration of our country. We repudiate this all these actions which are in line with the attempts to submit the people, in all aspects, especially in the social field where the

WHAT DOES DUAL POWER CONSIST OF ?

It is the organisation of the activities of the masses, which carry out functions which correspond to capitalist authority. They are functions which go from the simplest to the most complicated and elevated. Dual power when it is national, is the preface to the taking of power. But before being set up and being organised in a national way, by means of overall decisions, throughout society, it is exerted in a primary way, be it a factory, in a definite place, be it through whatever activity of society, in which the population substitutes itself for capitalist power and it carries out the functions which correspond to the capitalist regime, or does what it wants against the capitalist system. It is not necessarily dual power when the population does what capitalism is incapable of doing. For example, the inhabitants of a district who make a road, thus substituting the function of capitalist government, this is not dual power. But certainly it is a beginning, which shows that the population must do what capitalism is not capable of doing. But when it is in the form of dual power, immediately it prepares the conditions to elevate this functioning afterwards. And it is raised when the population carries out functions which makes capitalist authority feel surpassed, while in making a street, capitalist authority is not surpassed, but in a certain way and in some aspects, it is convenient to capitalism because things are done, expenditure is made, and capitalism does not pay. On the other hand it is dual power when political and social functions are exercised which replace the capitalist system. For example, in a factory the boss resolves that 8 hours are worked and the workers decide to work six. They resolve to make a strike, to occupy the factory and to take the boss hostage. This is a beginning of dual power, because it exercises functions of authority which substitute for capitalist authority. And when they hold demonstrations and meetings stopping transport and making it function for them or when they take hostages and exchange hostages for strikers, or exchange hostages for concessions and conquests which they force from capitalism, they are all simple examples of dual power. And they gradually prepare the decision of the masses, making them feel that they can substitute for capitalism. And even without still having substituted for it, without having defeated it, they can exercise functions which dispute with capitalism the social decisions of the country, be it by means of the economy, of politics, of production, in whatever form. For example the Revolutionary General Strike in France, was dual power with capitalism. The true power was in the hand of the masses of France, not in those of capitalism. It was neither the authority, nor the force of capitalism which had control of the functioning of the French State, but it was the masses with their Revolutionary General Strike. It was the masses who decided the functioning of the country. This is dual power !

From there to the taking of power was a hairs breadth if the leadership of the Communist party had decided to take power. We have just read a manifesto of soldiers, corporals, and sergeants of France, who declared that they were disposed to give the power to the workers and peasants, if they asked for it. And they had a list of all the officers they were going to liquidate, and they were going to give their arms, to pass their arms over to the workers and peasants, take the barracks and give them to the workers and peasants. The force of the Revolutionary General Strike already imposed, already extended dual power into the barracks because it was not capitalism which gave the orders.

It is the same in the factory which is stopped and occupied - with or without hostages - it is not capitalism which is in command, but the masses. It is the same with an important general strike, there is dual power, it is the masses who decide the functioning of the country, not capitalism. They are simple forms of dual power which are gradually preparing the decision of the masses for more elevated forms of dual power. And the form in which it is expressed always, before the overthrow of capitalism, is the dispute of power in the form of dual power, where the government decides such and such actions of work, of functioning, of going to war, or stopping it or continuing it, and the masses decide, no ! And with their demonstrations, meetings and taking possession of the key posts of the running of society, they resolve that they are not going to do as capitalism says but as the masses say. And from there to disputing, to resolving the taking of power, only a

step remains. These are the different forms of dual power.

13.

IN WHAT FORM IS DUAL POWER PRESENTED IN THE BOURGEOIS STATES
AND IN WHAT FORM IN THE WORKERS STATES ?

It presents itself in different ways, in the bourgeois states as in 1917 in Russia, in which the bolsheviks decided to finish the war while the capitalist regime wanted to continue it. The bolsheviks mobilised the masses saying ; "we do not want war" and they argued against the decision gaining authority over the soldiers, by means of mobilisations, first overthrowing the Tsar and then afterwards Kerensky. In order to do this, they argued in this way; who should decide on the fundamental problems of the war. The bolsheviks said that they did not want war and mobilised the masses - the workers and the peasants - influencing the soldiers and these decided to withdraw from the front. While the capitalist state decided they should continue to fight at the front. In this dual power the bolsheviks won.

In the workers state there is no dual power in the form which it exists in the capitalist state. It is not a dispute over property but a dispute over the leadership of the country. Even if it is a form of dual power, it does not have the same characteristic as in the capitalist state because it does not overthrow the regime of property, the property relations, but maintains them. What must be smashed, is the bourgeois distribution. It begins through a form of dual power, but it is resolved by means of the political revolution, it is against the bureaucratic leadership. Because of this it is the political revolution and not the social revolution, because it maintains the same property relations and eliminates the political leadership which is the bureaucracy, and which usurps the power of the masses. This form of dual power in the Workers States, is the progress of the masses, in which the masses decide the functioning of soviets, of proletarian democracy, of the programme of the revolution. The struggle for this programme is what marks dual power. While in the capitalist regime it is a struggle for the leadership of society, through the decision of voters, of the resolution for the use of society, in the Soviet Union, is the struggle to restore power to the proletariat, which is the struggle for proletarian democracy, for the functioning of soviets, the independence of trade unions, democratic elections and instant recall of delegates and the unconditional support of the Workers State to the world revolution. This is what differentiates dual power in the Workers States and the capitalist states.

14.

WHERE IS THERE DUAL POWER AT THE PRESENT TIME.

There is a series of countries in which there is dual power, in an unequal and combined form; in Indonesia, in Algeria, in Irak, in Mali, in Burma, in Egypt, in Tanzania, Congo Brazzaville and other countries. They are countries in which dual power consists in the fact that they have quite a pronounced base, but unequal and combined, of nationalised form of property, which are ^{not} capitalist, capitalism has been expropriated. It is dual power with the capitalist system, - which is regulated by laws, by its leadership, by tendency, by capitalist interest - of a basis of property which is not capitalist, is a very advanced dual power which will permit in a short time the taking of power in a much more simple way. Because part of the population is already gained, is already developed, in the consciousness of the superiority of such forms of production of property, over capitalism. And as the social bases of capitalism are inferior, because of this in practically all these countries capitalism is maintained with military regimes as in Burma, as in Indonesia. On the other hand in other countries where they are not military regimes but civil regimes - even though supported by the military - they are not distant from the interests of revolutionary progress as in Egypt, in Irak, Algeria, Mali, Congo Brazzaville, Tanzania, these are very close to Workers States because the basis of the economy is going towards the Workers States. It is a dual power with respect to world capitalism and the capitalist forms which remain in the country. It is the most elevated form of dual power, because they are forms of development of the revolution, being based on the existence of all the Workers States.

In the rest of the capitalist countries, there is a basis of dual power, but much less pronounced than in those countries which we have just mentioned. For example in Bolivia, as the nationalisation of the mines exists and existed before in as pronounced a form as the existence of the Bolivian Workers Centre (C.O.B.) during 12 years with its workers militia.

15.

DUAL POWER BEING AN UNSTABLE AND TRANSITORY SITUATION, WHICH CAN LAST SOME DAYS OR SOME YEARS, WHICH CAN BE LOCAL, REGIONAL, OR ENCOMPASS A WHOLE STATE; WHERE CAN EACH ONE OF THESE POSSIBILITIES END UP ?

It depends, they can end up in a progression towards the total destruction of capitalism or they can retreat. They can retreat on a local scale, but not on a world scale. As opposed to 25 years ago, now there are 16 workers states and 14 developing towards workers states and which have a great importance; Algeria, Mali, Congo Brazzaville, Irak, Egypt, and in a little more distant form, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Tanzania, South Yemen, Sudan, Guinea, Ghana. As there is such a weight of Workers States, and of countries close to Workers States it is more difficult - in some places where dual power or an advance of dual power has existed - that they go back to their point of departure. Capitalism does not have any force to go back to the point of departure, in these place where a great part of the property has been nationalised, as in Burma or in Indonesia, which in spite of the counter-revolution, has not been able to de-nationalise completely. The other example is Algeria where the coup D'etat was given under the influence of the national bourgeois sectors in combination with the centrist socialist tendency of Boumedienne, And, as we wrote then, in September 1965 - we recommend to the comrades they they read this article about Algeria (1) - we showed that it was not a counter-revolutionary blow to return to capitalism, but a blow to contain the development of the revolution. It was an alliance of socialist sectors, with sectors linked to the national bourgeoisie but also with sectors who were interested in the development of the economy outside imperialism. We posed that the national bourgeois tendency would have no success but the socialist tendency would. And in fact it was like this.

(1) "The development of the Arab revolution and the process of revolutionary crisis in Algeria. J. Posadas 25 - 9 - 65.

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SUPPLEMENT

FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE
OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE
ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS
GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The French Proletariat as the Leadership
of the Masses of France Shows the Way to
Smash Capitalism and the Leading
Bureaucracies of the Communist Parties
and the Workers States.

Documents of Comrade J. Posadas
in the name of the
International Secretariat
directed to the masses of the world
16th and 22nd of May 1968.



FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM
AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS
GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The French Proletariat as the Leadership of the Masses
of France Shows the Way to Smash Capitalism and the
Leading Bureaucracies of the Communist Parties and
the Workers States

J. POSADAS. 16th & 22nd May 1968

The students are putting forward in France demands which are revolutionary. Without a programme, without precise objectives they are defending intermediary slogans and making sporadic actions without continuity. They can make an anti-capitalist programme but they cannot succeed in doing this themselves because capitalism is not going to give them the arms so that it gets killed. Capitalism is going to give them a series of concessions which in part is necessary because the curriculum is old and rotten. This demonstrates how revolutionary action is going on the path of eliminating, before taking power, ^{ana}chronistic parts and obtaining reforms which are necessary to the progress of the revolution. The students are struggling for reforms but revolutionary reforms which are relatively small things. We approve of this 'cultural revolution' but we do not approve of this as the only objective. On the other hand the students do have this as an objective. But on the road, they realise that this is very limited and so they go to the workers. They go there because they do not know what to do. And now they are asking. "What do we do now?"

They understand that they have to go to the workers because the workers have programmes and objectives and can take power. The students spontaneously are realising this. The students are accepted by the workers but not by the leaderships who want to bar the road and to eliminate the students who are impelling the struggle to eliminate the bureaucratic leadership. The central tendency of this movement is that it is tending to eliminate, to pass over, to overthrow the bureaucratic conservative leaderships, who are agents of capitalism. This is the conclusion of this movement. It is a reaction which shows the necessity and already the possibility to smash these leaderships. It is, as we have called it, interior entrism, and there are the conditions for it.

The success of the general strike in France alters and is going to tend to dislocate immediately the class relations in Europe and disintegrate capitalism. France serves as the bridge between world capitalism and the Workers States. De Gaulle played the role of a spear-head and now all this escapes him. The general strike dislocates the whole balance of capitalism and alters it completely. And the general strike of the French proletariat and the electoral success of the proletariat in Italy is going to stimulate the struggle of the rest of the proletariat in Europe and in the Workers States.

In this situation the bureaucracy is forced, and it has no other remedy, but to lean more to the left with anti-capitalist measures even though only in form. In this situation the bureaucracy is obliged to do this, it is unable to speak this time of peaceful co-existence it has to speak in the name of socialist perspectives.

The strike is not a product of student mobilisations, the student mobilisations were a means which allowed a centralisation. Before the students strike there were three general strikes in France - we have already analysed this. The workers have occupied factories, they have made strikes and demonstrations as in Caen in which the whole population took part, above all the youth who fought with the police. The young people came out and attracted the rest of the population. It is not that the proletariat, the more mature proletariat is withdrawn from the

from the struggle but it saw the communist party and did not dare to throw itself forward, but on the other hand the young people are resolving to go forward. This is the importance of the student movement which was an impulse which centralised the process.

Before these struggles there were immense mobilisations in which the proletariat sought to centralise themselves, sought to advance. In one year there have been three general strikes in France, three general strikes which paralysed practically all France. For this reason we said in a previous stage "the French proletariat is awaiting the opportunity to be able to throw itself forward, it is waiting for a centre." But the most important of all this is to see what are the conditions to break with the bureaucratic leaderships. It is important to see that these leaderships are an obstacle. In this process now, the fall of the bureaucracy is really beginning. This cannot be a long period and the most important task now is the organisation of the leadership to centralise the will of combat of the masses. For this reason the C.G.T. (Communist T.U.) has said to the bourgeoisie "we are against subversion." But at the same time they are obliged to speak of socialist measures, Mendes France the character proposed as a candidate for the prime minister proposes socialist measures. That is to say they want to repeat the measures of 1945/46 after the war: the nationalisations which they made then. It is a blow at the structure of capitalism. France is a key sector in the capitalist world structure not for its economic importance but for its political weight, because it appears as a communications centre still capable, still possible for capitalism to contain the process. And now this is broken. Because whatever be the solution they might pose, this government cannot continue.

The proletariat is going to come out again, it is going to. The consequences are going to be immediate in France, Italy, Belgium, England and Germany, throughout Europe. This has broken all the arrangements of world capitalism. It is a new phase of this stage. It is going to weigh, it is going to intervene in the crisis of the Workers States, for example in China where they had not taken into account the European proletariat and in Cuba also it is going to stimulate the revolutionary tendencies. And in all the rest of the Workers States, the proletariat is going to feel itself encouraged to intervene.

The most important conclusion, which goes against capitalism and the bureaucracy is that it is going to stimulate the struggle for the destruction of every power of oppression, to eliminate the bureaucracy. Because the unifying centre of the whole proletariat has been the struggle against arrogance, the bureaucracy, the differentiations, the capitalist stimulus, the material stimulus, and the struggle to impose socialist measures. The students have begun with this and now it is extended. It is going to extend itself more in the trade union field in the discussion around the programme, around the objectives, which is already beginning.

And, this strike in France is not an event particular to France but it is supported on the triumph of the Italian proletariat, and in its turn it is going to support the Italian proletariat. These are the two centres, two decisive centres for the whole of Europe and for the German proletariat which wants to intervene. Its desire to intervene was expressed in the echo which the demonstrations of Dutschke had. It will not be long before they intervene.

This has broken the whole equilibrium which capitalism has developed

with the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It has broken yet again and is going to show itself immediately in relation to the discussions with Vietnam. Thus as Reagan, the Governor of California was obliged to say "let them discuss while we take the offensive." It is because they already feel that they are losing ground, losing ground constantly. Thus they come out to make concessions. The discussions over Vietnam are taking place in a process and in a field in which the revolution is elevating itself. This is going to impell all the revolutionary measures. It is going to impell the whole world, in Latin America also.

THE LEADING ROLE IN SOCIETY OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE MIDDLE COMMUNIST CADRES, PARLIAMENT, AND THE FRAGILITY AND THE LACK OF INITIATIVE OF FRENCH CAPITALISM.

One of the most important conclusions of this general strike, of these revolutionary mobilisations of the French masses directly lead by the proletariat, is to demonstrate once more the leading role of the working class, through the programme, objectives and leadership. The working class through its role in the economy attracts other sectors. The student sectors even being the most resolved cannot attract and still do not have a programme. The proletariat even without a programme still has programmatic objectives which are a

substitute movement for the programme. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party do not give a revolutionary anti-capitalist programme to take power, they utilise these mobilisations to put forward reformist measures. But the objective of the proletariat is expropriation, workers control, nationalisation, planning This is a programme! Even without having this and without having a leadership its social role obliges the proletariat to struggle for this. But not the student sectors. Its function is not decisive in society. The student sectors have a peripheral, preparatory function. Hence the student sectors in twelve days of mobilisation did not attract the population. The proletariat in three days attracted the whole of France. And this also shows how much more profound the process is. The Communist Party changed its tactic, the Communist party was against, was opposed to the mobilisation and tried to take no interest in it but when it saw the depth of this process then it had to throw itself into the struggle. But those who felt the depth was not the bureaucratic leadership it was not Rochet or Duclos none of them. It was the middle cadres who transmitted this pressure to the party and because of this it was very rapid and it was not the leadership which felt and saw this process, because they are not linked to the base. It was the middle cadres who advanced, it is the middle cadres who are going to try to push the process forward. It is they who communicated to the party the revolutionary sentiment which existed in the base and obliged the Communist party to change. And now the Communist party wishes to profit politically from the process to contain the middle cadres of the Communist party who wish to go towards a Communist policy. And for this reason the leadership is forced to speak of socialist measures. And for this Mendes France has to try and contain the process. In reality he comes out to contain the process not to lead it. This process is ripe for the process leading to the taking of power now.

The action of the French masses is to take power, they have worked with the consciousness of the revolutionary struggle, of the civil war, of taking power. This is the spirit with which they have worked, they have occupied factories, they have led the process and soviets have to exist and are functioning in empirical forms, in very general forms but they have to have soviets. The sentiment of the masses is this. They have resolved to free themselves from the leadership, from the programme from the capitalist leadership, from capitalist measures and to replace them by themselves. For this reason De Gaulle has no initiative, no initiative whatsoever. Normally he sends the police and the troops. Why doesn't he send them now? And when the police do not want to intervene as they have just declared, it is because they feel it is the revolution. They feel that they are confronting again the taking of power and for this reason the police retreat. De Gaulle does not have the initiative he is there because the Communist party does not appeal for his overthrow, nothing more. He does not sustain himself either by his nose or by parliamentary support. Parliament has shown itself absolutely idiotic and useless. It is the Communist leaderships who are now seeking to transfer these struggles into parliament, to deprive the masses of action and initiative. These actions were integrally the initiative of the masses, they were not the initiative of the Communist and Socialist parties, nor of any parliamentary group, nor of the C.G.T. It was the initiative of the masses! And on the other hand it has been through the CGT, it has not been the initiative of the CGT but it was done through the CGT because the middle cadres through the CGT impelled the mobilisation and the Communist party had to follow this.

The leadership of the Socialist as much as the Communist party have used the situation but they have not made any appeals and they have not organised, on the contrary. They have tried to canalise the whole process now to try to give it a parliamentary character, to take from it the revolutionary sense. But for the masses, already the revolutionary United Front exists. This is the revolutionary United Front of the masses. They have worked with the sentiment of the United Front in the factories. There has been neither dispute nor argument, there has been a complete United Front. Whilst among the students there have been seven, eight or ten tendencies they do not know how to work, they do not have a programme in common but they have very general, anti-capitalist anti-Gaullist actions. In the workers movement there have been no divisions, all have tended to take the factories and have placed themselves in agreement with this. Hence soviets are going to arise in the factories. Because to take factories, and in spite of three or four workers centres, and yet everyone being in agreement, this is soviets, already it is the road of this new stage. The communist leaderships have not had any initiative, it has been the youth which has had the initiative but in its turn the youth counted with the support, the authority and the authorisation of the whole of the old French proletariat, otherwise, they would not have done this and neither would the students. If the students had not the support, a popular base of

sympathy, if they did not feel a social medium of approval, the students would not have been encouraged to come out like this. And when there arises such deep mobilisation which draws after it, the directors of the theatre such as the Odeon, the directors of the national theatres, the directors of the faculties and of the cinema and great scientists, the directors of the Sorbonne up to the directors of the big theatres, when they are attracted it is because all the bases of the bourgeois society are moved by the revolution and they are showing the fragility of De Gaulle and French capitalism. The Communists want to make it appear as though it were the problem of De Gaulle - No! No! It is French capitalism which is sustained and supported through De Gaulle. When in only ten days everything is so easily gathered together and everything succumbs, it is because already there is the consciousness in the masses of all this. Otherwise, such a thing would not happen. The will is already there and this will was expressed in three general strikes from last year until now of the proletariat and among other things the 500 votes which the Trotskyists got in St. Denis. No critic or analyst or any newspaper writer, or reporter, or political leader is capable of understanding the significance of the 500 Trotskyist votes in St. Denis. The 500 votes in St. Denis means that there is a vanguard emerging in the most concentrated heart of the Communist party which supports the Trotskyists who want the power. This is the conclusion which we came to, at the same time the general strike in France completely goes against the leadership, and shows the will of the proletariat to take power.

It is not a direct echo or a circumstantial echo due to the influence of Vietnam, of China, or Korea. No! No! Vietnam, China and Korea impelled what already existed in the French proletariat since the war. Since the war! Hence the French bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie is shaken by the greatest stoppage in 30 years because the strike of 1936 which stopped the whole of France was very similar to this when the proletariat wanted to take power. When in 1938 they impelled the government of Blum, they wanted to take power and now once again the proletariat is impelled towards the taking of power. Hence it works as if it had power and hence there is the stoppage in the factories. They make resolutions, they take hostages, they take over the factories, the universities, everything. They resolve to work as a university. This means that this is not just a trade union demonstration, it is not just an economic trade union demand, they are looking to take power socially. Meanwhile the communist leadership, the socialist leadership and now this democratic front, want to give a trade union indication or interpretation in order to diminish the range and to give a parliamentary solution, replacing the government. What the masses are attacking, what the masses want to overthrow is French capitalism, not only De Gaulle but French capitalism. Meanwhile the Communist and Socialist leaderships want to conciliate with De Gaulle in order to make a left wing government. A government to the left of the bourgeois government, but not a revolutionary government. But at the same time the middle cadres of the Communist party who feel the world revolution and are bringing pressure to bear on their party have obliged

the Communist party now to change to elevate its tactics and elevate its demands and already they are posing socialist measures. The same with Mendes France when he has to say. "It is necessary to take socialist measures, this cannot be denied". It is because he sees the revolution. From the worker in the factory right back to the street cleaner this can be seen, everyone wants to overthrow capitalism.

What has united the sentiment of the masses is the common will of all the masses to overthrow capitalism from a long time back, tens of years. If it were a spontaneous and circumstantial thing there would not be such unanimity, such perfect synchronisation in the measures. From one place to another in France at the same time they are doing the same thing. They are taking over the factories, they are taking hostages, they are resolving the production they are taking resolutions to act as a leadership as in Caen. The same thing was done in other factories, the same thing was done in the south of Italy, in Sicily. The masses named authorities, designated authorities and resolved to solve the problems of the floods and of the earthquakes and of unemployment; to attend to people, to give them food, something to eat, houses, to work as a leadership in society.

These events will impell the whole of the proletariat in all Europe. The bourgeoisie is hoping for conciliation with the communist and socialist parties. This indecision of De Gaulle, his lack of initiative this paralisation is because he cannot take repressive measures. He is awaiting the negotiations. There are meetings with the Socialist and Communist leaders in order to find a way out but he does not have the initiative. The logical way out for them would be to send in the army and the police against the masses.

Why don't they do so? France is occupied. It is not only the factories that are occupied, it is the whole of the capitalist regime which is occupied. Why don't they throw it out? It is a crime on the part of the Communist leadership, to make a withdrawal, it is necessary to go forward from this point to take power. Hence the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties are saying "We are against subversive war" and they say this to capitalism, "We are not for a subversive or insurrectional strike!" This is directed to capitalism not to the masses. It is directed to capitalism in order to give it security and confidence. If they put forward the slogan of the Workers and Peasants government now, a programme of nationalisations to break the whole of the capitalist structure, the French capitalist regime would last only ten minutes. Half the army is on the side of the revolution, the attitude of the police is a proof of it. The police don't want to repress, on the contrary in full mobilisation the police take advantage of the situation in order to say "We want higher salaries." They are feeling the revolution. They are feeling the authority of the proletariat not the authority of the French capitalist state. The authority of the proletariat because they find their support in it in order to put forward demands. On the other hand if they felt the authority of capitalism they would have repressed the masses. On the other hand when they feel the proletariat, they say "I also want to have a rise and now." Because of this French capitalism is paralysed, it is a demonstration like the siege of Khe Sanh when Yankee imperialism was besieged. This is the siege of French capitalism, French capitalism is besieged by the masses, and the Communist Leadership is resorting to capitalism in order to save it the Communist leadership not the communist base.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACTION OF THE STUDENTS AND THEIR SOCIAL POSITION;
THE UNITY FUNCTIONING AND CENTRALISATION OF THE PROLETARIAT,
AND THE IRREPLACEABLE ROLE OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The rebellion of the students is a product of the world revolution, and expresses the fact that they reject, they rebel against being an object in the hands of capitalism, which serves to deceive people to pervert, to maintain the wealth of capitalism. They feel themselves to be simple objects of capitalism, for their profession they do not study science but simply they are studying the manner of maintaining the capitalist system. They are simply cogs in a machine, they feel that they have no role in existence, they perform no progressive function, and they feel that they are simply going against the rights of the population particularly because they feel that they are performing a role of deceiving the masses.

The students rise in order to reject study syllabuses, teachers, the structure of capitalist education. They are impelled by the socialist revolution they seek to bring to the university the socialist revolution but they feel, and the struggle makes them understand that it is not only a problem of the university but that in order to follow up the objectives of science, of culture they must overthrow the capitalist system. Therefore they go to the workers. Their experience even though empirical leads them to look objectively for a United Front with the proletariat and to follow the proletariat because they feel that the leadership of society and the objective bases for the united front are the programme, the objectives the policy and the methods of struggle of the IV International. And the objectives and the resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International confirm once again that Trotskyism, that the IV International is a public good.

These groups who are arising in the name of Trotskyism but who don't represent the programmatic and organisational and historical objectives of the IV International defined in the VIII World Congress of the IV International cannot give the organisational continuity uniting the movement because they lack the programme to do it. On the other hand they reflect the revolutionary will of the masses hence the echo which they have had amongst the masses, because they call for the overthrow of the existing power. But the problem is to organise the masses. To organise the whole of the university and student movement with the programme of the revolution uniting it and submitting it to the programme of the united front with the proletariat, calling for and including in it the programme of the proletarian revolution which is the most elevated form and the most effective way of helping the proletarian vanguard and the proletariat to overthrow and eliminate the bureaucracy of the workers parties, the Communist and Socialist parties, and of the C.G.T. This is only possible with the programme

of the proletarian revolution recognising the leading role of the proletariat and submitting oneself to it even if occasionally the initiative has been on the part of the students. What counts, what is historically valuable is not the initiative which can be the product of circumstances, but the historical function of the classes. And the student population cannot be a leadership of the revolution but it can be a stimulating and detonating factor as it is being in France and throughout the world, because of the concrete and historical circumstances in which the world process of the revolution is occurring. The student population feels that in order to reach its aim, its end of eliminating capitalist education it must overthrow the capitalist system and that the leadership and the social decisive weight within this struggle is the proletariat.

The Trotskyist groups are those which have initiated this student movement and as a part of these groups it is the French Section of the IV International. Small groups of about 100 people but they are student mobilisations attracting popular sympathy, reception and support of the masses. These are the small groups of about 100 students who call themselves Trotskyist even though not militants of the IV International, they call themselves and work in the name of Trotsky with the policy and the objectives - even though not precise ones - and with Trotskyist methods, without the programme and without the discipline of our organisation. They are expressions of the revolutionary maturity and the world authority of Trotskyism.

One of the most imperious necessities of this stage is that the apparatuses should be conquered and already they are being conquered; all the apparatuses are thus. The capitalist system supports itself in the last instance on the apparatuses of the Communist Party and the bureaucracy of the Workers States. Capitalism for itself does not have the power of sustaining itself. It is the relationship of peaceful co-existence with the bureaucracy of the Workers States and with the Communist Parties which prevents the revolution. It is basing itself on these forces, on this conciliation, on this alliance, that imperialism sustains itself and lives.

This general strike in France against the leaderships of the Communist Party is indicating that the apparatuses can be conquered and that the masses of France and Spain and Europe and of the Workers States are going to see that it is possible rapidly to overcome them. The proletariat in Italy voted showing the same finality that the general strike in France shows, it has the same sense. They are all class mobilisations of the proletariat which have the same anti-capitalist direction; they want to overthrow the capitalist system. In all this process of elevation Trotskyism is developed, in method and policy and the objectives and the programme of Trotskyism. In order to develop this process towards the taking of power it is necessary to have a conscious leadership. The role of the Trotskyists cannot be substituted.

It is necessary to await in the coming stage a united front between what is left of capitalism and the bureaucratic leaderships of the Communist Parties and the bureaucracy of the Workers States against Trotskyism. A direct alliance which is going to fulfil the same role which was fulfilled when they assassinated Trotsky. Because they are going to see that if a small student movement in France determines such mobilisations, that it was a match which started the fire, the role of the Trotskyists is going to be of an infinitely greater importance because it is the Trotskyists who have the consciousness, the capacity, and the preparation of its cadres with the programme and objectives, and the aim of taking power. Hence it is necessary to expect a wave of repression coming after this mobilisation from the leadership of the Communist Party against Trotskyism

and against all revolutionary tendencies even if they are not Trotskyist but who struggle and aspire and believe that they aspire for the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

When these groups have the success of succeeding in gaining such emphasis it is because they have a reception from the population because they express general feelings of the population, the feeling of the proletarian vanguard, and the revolutionary rank and file of France which is rising against the conservative and conciliatory policy, against the passivity of the leaderships. But at the same time it shows that the students were the detonators of a mature situation which was ready to accept them and they were impelled by the state of general sympathy, and they could act in a certain independent way in which they are organised and function, whilst the proletariat is subjected and centralised. And the proletariat hasn't the possibility in the way that the students have

in coming out at any moment, students can do this.

The proletariat is subject to centralisation and it feels the necessity of centralised collective mobilisation in order to bring pressure to bear to weigh and decide. Its social placing and economic placing, its function in society imposes on it such a functioning. It is not an obstacle, but it is the form in which the workers movement has developed. It delays more than the student population while the student population can come out at any moment but it doesn't attract the population. Because the mechanism which moves the student doesn't fulfil, is not subject to the constant struggle for daily demands and permanent demands for salaries, for work conditions which the proletariat is subject to. Hence it can exercise this function which is apparently independent. Independent of the daily demands but not independent in the last instance of the global solution, the harmonious solution of the crisis of the capitalist system, which is the overthrow of the capitalist system. Hence the action of the students which is immense in its meaning and importance doesn't succeed in being the political direction centre of the masses. Because of this it doesn't have a programme or precise objectives. They are empirical in their objectives. There isn't an objective because it cannot have one. On the other hand the proletariat is subject and struggles constantly for daily demands and feels the necessity of its unification, centralisation and of a centralised movement. And it is united in the trade unions and in the workers organisations because they are the ones which unify the exploited masses. It is through them that it acquires its confidence its security and there it works as a class. Therefore it cannot be decentralised and it understands the importance and the decisive weight of its centralisation and functioning, and hence the proletariat delays more in coming out. But when it comes out it is collective. It delays because its functioning is this way not because it delays more but because this is its way of functioning, which is the manner in which it is organised socially and it acquires such functioning in order to attract the rest of the population. The proletariat was later in coming out because it delays more than the students in order to put itself in contact, in mobilisations and in relationship with the movement. While the students can stop at any moment because their function in the economy is very

simple. By stopping i.e. by having student strikes it doesn't have to leave the workshop, the work, and it doesn't have to feed the family, it doesn't have the responsibility of the proletariat. While the proletariat feels that on it depends the maintenance of its family and it feels that the economy depends on it. Hence it is necessary for the proletariat to reflect, and this is not rapid. The student doesn't have to do this, he stops and he has a family which gives him food which sustains him and he doesn't determine anything in the production, he doesn't form part of the productive apparatus, whereas the proletariat does. But at the same time the proletariat needs time for inter-influence. Time which means a question of hours in this stage.

The greatest objective of the students is to transform the University not to paralyse the capitalist system. The capitalists can even be temporarily useful to them. On the other hand capitalist society cannot be of use to the factories and production. Thus the students can exercise such an independent function but not the proletariat which lives closed up in its organisations. Thus the proletariat feels this way and moreover in addition to the trade unions it has the party and the masses are united through the party and through the trade unions they attract and centralise the rest of the exploited population.

Thus the proletariat cannot work in an independent way in the way that the students did. On the other hand it works in an independent way from its leadership and it has shown and it has launched infinitely superior struggles to those of the students, to all the world mobilisations of the students to attract the population. The French proletariat has occupied factories, has taken hostages, has started strikes against the leaderships, has started general strikes against the leaderships but has not managed to become the directing centre for lack, at the same time as the mobilisations of the proletariat, of the organisation that directs them. These are the failures, it is a deficit, it is an attitude which shows the mistaken policy of the Chinese. If the Chinese had understood in time, if they had felt the necessity of the proletarian revolution in France, if they had felt the role of the proletariat they would have already helped the proletariat to this solution, adopting the programme of the Trotskyist policy.

The events in France show that the conditions are mature, already there is a feeling in common in all of the exploited masses and they are ready to

overthrow the capitalist system. First the strike in two days was communicated throughout France. While the students were much slower. The proletariat had previously made tremendous movements, strikes, general stoppages, it occupied France, it paralysed France, while the students had not made any mobilisations. Recently now in this stage the students have mobilised. It began after all the mobilisations of the proletariat on a world scale. And this student mobilisation is important because it was made by Trotskyist groups, which even in an empirical form maintained the name the policy and the objectives of the Trotskyists; which are, class struggle, overthrow of capitalism, occupation of factories, occupations of schools and universities, workers control and workers militia. All are Trotskyist methods even without belonging to the IV International, they work with this method, with this policy and the objectives of the Trotskyists.

Thus the IV International is a public good, its policy is adopted by the masses when they mobilise searching to push forward the struggle against capitalism and also pushing forward the struggle against the bureaucracy and the conciliatory leaderships, direct or indirect agents of capitalism, conciliators with capitalism, or passive and conservative leaderships who are afraid to impel the revolution as now the French Communist Party acts which subjects the masses. And instead of giving a solution to the revolution, as conditions are already prepared for the overthrow of the capitalist system, they divert it towards parliament seeking conciliation with capitalism and with capitalist sectors. Thus they divert the solution of this revolutionary situation in the direction of a parliamentary solution, while for the proletariat the solution is the revolutionary one. But at the same time it feels the immense pressure from the Communist rank and file which wants a revolutionary solution and which obliges the leadership of the Communist parties to use a language more linked to the masses. Hence they don't propose only a solution of "democratic conquests" but they propose "democratic conquests which open the road to socialism". It is a reply which tries to contain the revolutionary pressure of the masses of the Communist party; but at the same time it has to differentiate itself from the Soviet bureaucracy which hasn't any interest in the fall of De Gaulle while the French Communist Party in order to maintain the support of its masses has to struggle for the overthrow of, the downfall of De Gaulle. It is obliged to propose the downfall of De Gaulle while the Soviet Bureaucracy wants to maintain De Gaulle, because it is the basis of its alliance to profit from inter imperialist competition, between French imperialism and Yankee imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy is bringing pressure to bear on the Communist Party to prevent the development of the movement of the present general strike towards revolution. The Communist Party has an interest in keeping De Gaulle there but in the face of the immense pressure of the masses it doesn't have any way out except to try to strike a blow and to obtain an advantage without a revolutionary downfall of De Gaulle.

The role of the Trotskyists and of our French section and of the groups which call themselves Trotskyist which in one way or another are still arising and have Trotskyist slogans, has an immense importance in this movement, they are groups which without being Trotskyist still make appeals for Trotskyism. This means that the mobilisations which have occurred have occurred with these slogans of the Trotskyists: Occupations of the factories, Proletarian Democracy, Trade Union Democracy, Expropriation by Force, The Students, Peasants, Workers Alliance, Out with the Regime of Oppression and Fear. This is Trotskyism, For a Workers and Peasants government, Death to Capitalism. Hence this has an immense echo. French capitalism underlines, this is Trotskyism, Trotskyism, Trotskyism. When Trotskyism is a small nucleus one sees there, the concentrated and centralised process which permits an important minority as the Trotskyists are, to have such an influence. Hence the Communist Party came rapidly out to take the movement into its own hands and to separate it from the students, when the students with their weight couldn't decide. And why is there such preoccupation on the part of the Communist Party? Because the students were agitating for anti-capitalist slogans which were those which the workers wanted. And in order to prevent that these slogans and this action of the students, should stimulate the formation of currents of groups and of leaderships in the workers movements which struggle to overthrow capitalism, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party attacked the students. It is not simply an attack, or an argument with the students. When the leadership of the Communist Party attacks the students as being adventurers, and as being idealists it attempts to minimise the fact that the French proletariat has understood profoundly the significance of the student action. If it was an adventurist movement of "hippies" as the Communist Party says or idealist why did it have such an echo in the proletariat. No adventurist movement has such a

class echo, it is in the class that the proof was to be found, it is this which put into question the French capitalist system.

THE SOCIAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM,

THE STRUGGLE AND THE PROGRAMME OF THE PROLETARIAT,

THE ECHO OF THE CHINESE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN THE WORLD,

AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES AND IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS.

The action of the students expressed the feeling which already existed amongst the masses, expressed this feeling which already existed. The students due to their historical conditions were able to do this. They are more independent than the proletariat from the organisational point of view, they don't depend on the daily struggle, on the centralisation of their strength but the proletariat does. The proletariat has to struggle daily for its salary demands, its work demands, and in disputes with the management, and it feels that the trade union is the instrument and that its unification is there. Hence it tends to work in a centralised way, tending not to separate itself from the class and it feels the necessity for a struggle against capitalism. On the other hand the student population has not got such a social tie up, it has more independence for working, even being in the Communist Party, because it is not subject to the organisation in the way that the proletariat is. It is not an advantage for the student because even if in historical conditions like the ones that exist now, the student was able to take the initiative, it was necessary that there should be a struggle of the proletariat for it to have any echo. But the French students made such a demonstration after strikes, and strikes, and strikes, stoppages, and stoppages, occupations of factories made by the French proletariat and by the European proletariat. It is not the initiative of the French student population but it is an action before that of the proletariat, but at the same time it is supported in the previous struggles of the French proletariat including the last General Strike and those of the European proletariat.

Hence it is necessary to consider that this action of the students is not independent of the proletariat but that it is an echo of the immense force of the action of the French proletariat. But at the same time the action of the French proletariat like that of the Italian and European proletariat is indicating the immense force of the revolution, because it is supported in Vietnam, it is supported in Cuba, in Korea, in the retreat of capitalism, and at the same time it is a reaction which tends to impel measures of anti-capitalist struggle. It is not a partial or circumstantial action this general strike in France. No! It is the reply which the French proletariat sometime ago wanted to make. The proof of this is in the previous elections, in the triumph of the Trotskyists, in the development of the Trotskyists in Italy. The Italian proletariat like the French proletariat made the same decision and in its turn the French proletariat does it in the form of a general strike. But the Italian proletariat did it before with the strike of Turin, with the strike of the engineers. A million engineering workers and 125,000 workers in Fiat stopped the whole of Italy, against the leadership of the Communist Party and they imposed their triumph. The students of Italy occupied universities and hit fascists on the head, they hit the feudal regime and the university structure on the head and they do it against the leadership of the Communist Party. They vote massively for the Communist party. The same thing in France, it is a class feeling, it is the decision to take power. This was before the strike of the students in France and before the strike of students in Germany. This is the action of the proletariat which gave the confidence. Otherwise the students by themselves would not have such decision. But even thus in these conditions of this stage in history, the student population which is an echo of the social crisis of capitalism and the struggle of the proletariat, which is an expression not a representation of the revolutionary process which exists, still doesn't find a leadership. Hence the dispersion of the student movement which doesn't find its centralisation.

When the students first started to mobilise it was the trotskyists, it was Posadas who wrote about it from four years back. Since 1964 it was Posadas who started writing, four years ago, about the importance and the meaning of the mobilisations of the students throughout the world. And at the same time the Trotskyists were the only people - with the articles of Posadas who orientated the comprehension that the students were indicating what was the will of the

proletariat to take power, and that they were already prepared to do it at any moment. And moreover another phenomenon was that the siege of imperialism in Vietnam was going to produce great pressures, great mobilisations within the Communist Party against the bureaucratic leaderships in order to eliminate the bureaucratic leaderships. For it is one of the impediments, one of the most important impediments in the way of overthrowing the capitalist system and these mobilisations of the students and the French proletariat are demonstrating this. These mobilisations have been made against the will, against the apparatus and against the sabotage of the leaderships of the Communist Party who have had to yield. And the Communist Party has tended to yield and has yielded to the left, not to the right. They have not called now for peaceful co-existence as in their policy. Thus they are not demanding peaceful co-existence but measures which tend to go along the road to socialism. That means that they are going against their own programme which they had up to yesterday. Against this policy which they put forward previously up until now. This is going to mean within the movement an elevation of the revolutionary tendencies.

Vietnam was possible through the action of the proletariat in Europe which kept imperialism manacled by its struggles. Without the action of the European proletariat, capitalism would have had freedom of action to be able to smash the masses of Vietnam, China, and also Cuba. The Chinese were incapable of understanding this conclusion and now it is evident.

Vietnam showed that it was a centre which expressed the mature conditions on a world scale to overthrow what is left of capitalism and what is the principal basis of these conditions; the will of the masses to overthrow capitalism and it showed the most necessary and indispensable measures to break, to destroy, to crush the bureaucratic leaderships which prevented the masses within the Communist Parties and Socialist Parties, within the nationalist parties and movements from taking the road of the struggle for power and unifying the masses to struggle for power. The General Strike in France poses all these questions. The "Cultural Revolution" appeared to have no importance, everyone laughed at what the Trotskyists said. When Comrade Posadas came out with his article with Vivas, with a tremendous revolutionary feeling in the name of the IV International to greet the "Cultural Revolution" we saw all its profundity and its limitations. But we saw that it was an expression of the will of the youth to overthrow all the privileged people and we saw that it was an expression of a world process. It was to be seen in China but it was an expression of a world process, otherwise the Chinese youth wouldn't have had such decision. A short time afterwards it was to be seen throughout the world. Throughout the world! And we said in this article, we remind comrades of this article, which we wrote in October of 1966 - that the world wide reception was going to be very rapid of this "Cultural Revolution" throughout the world. In spite of the fact that the forms in which it appeared were not comprehensible because they were cutting hair and putting on dunces caps and they were coming out against Beethoven. But we explained why they did this. The masses were saying to Beethoven "Stand on one side old man, I'm sorry but for the time being they are using you, tomorrow we are going to put you back in your place" and they will put him back. In Germany the students put up the Red Flag for Beethoven they took him as one of them they said that it was a historical interpretation which Beethoven had. On the other hand they left other idiots on one side, as the idiot De Gaulle, and they gave him an asses head which is well fitted. We said that this action of the Chinese youth which had such a tremendous echo throughout the world was because the Chinese were expressing the will of the exploited masses of the world to suppress all privilege, all social privilege, all differentiation and that they were expressing the will to finish with all this. It was in the Workers States where such actions were taking place finishing with the differentiation and privileges, but they were expressing the will of the masses of the world. This happened two years ago. In two years there has been ^{seen} the echo which it has. China abandons this struggle but the masses of the world took it up again. It is a concentrated centralised process today.

On the other hand in France no longer have they taken it up as in China, but concretely; down with the capitalist system! And the Chinese leadership itself which ignored the French proletariat and made jokes about it and went over the top of it, speaking of the war that it was necessary to carry out in the country side. There one finds the theoretical conclusions. The Chinese said that the struggle in the countryside was going to go to the city. The French proletariat and the Italian proletariat demonstrated that in the countryside there is revolution but it is the city which decides and where it begins as well. Not always,

for example in France it began in the cities, the struggle can begin in the countryside, but if the city which is the centre doesn't take it up, then it remains stopped in the countryside. The peasant programme cannot lead to any victory of an anti-capitalist kind because it doesn't have an anti-capitalist programme and the proletariat has. Hence the revolution can begin in the countryside or in revolutionary demonstrations but if it doesn't draw near to the city and if it is not taken up, even remaining in the countryside, if a revolutionary programme of the proletariat is not adopted it remains as a peasant movement and then it does not triumph. It can start off in the countryside, develop in the countryside, but if it does not admit and adopt and assimilate the programme of the proletarian revolution, which is the programme of the proletariat, this is the death as a peasant movement. It is not essential to go to the city to triumph, in the countryside it can triumph basing itself on the peasants, but with the proletarian programme. On the other hand in France, it is the proletariat which is carrying this out, is leading the struggle and the anti-capitalist offensive forward.

This offensive in France is part of the world anti-capitalist offensive of the masses. It is part of the world permanent revolution. Capitalism is desperately searching for the support of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and the Mitterrands in order to get through this stage. They are going to give it strength, but the French proletariat is not going to. They are already opening up conditions for the most important task of this stage. THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY WITHIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Hence INTERIOR ENTRISM. They are the middle cadres of the Communist Party who have been obliging the leaderships to make a change. They are the middle cadres linked to the proletariat in the factories and to the young rank and file of the proletariat and to the adult rank and file as well. These mobilisations indicate the devetailing, the fusion between the new and the old vanguard. And this fusion has already taken place. It is ready now. And the middle cadres of the Communist Party are those who have done this, they are the cadres who have carried out the function of supporting and making a bridge. They were not doing this consciously. Those who have allowed this role to be played are the middle cadres. Because in the coming stage the vanguard is going to tend to impel directly within the Communist party in order to eliminate the conservative policy, leaders and bureaucrats in the Communist and Socialist parties, the nationalist parties and throughout the world.

THE 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' IN CHINA, THE WORLD UNITY OF THE REVOLUTION,
THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE OF THE FRENCH MASSES
IN THE WORKERS STATES AND IN THE WORLD

All the world influence of the elections in Italy shows that there are the same conditions there. The Italian proletariat is going to feel itself strengthened. Before the elections the Italian proletariat showed its unity and centralisation and its vigorous anti-capitalist resolution. It conquered in the engineering strikes against the leaderships of the Communist party. They went forward with the strike of Fiat after 18 years of not having any strikes, and triumphed. The elections in Italy were not made in a passive stage, but in a stage of complete mobilisation and accompanied by peasant mobilisations in the South of Italy. The struggle in France is a wave in the whole of Europe. In Spain France will fall in a short time and in all this process in Europe the Trotskyists are in the front rank. In all the movements, the Trotskyists in one way or another intervene and, few in number but having security and resolution and their policy programme and objectives are taken up by the masses. The occupations of the factories and democratic trade union elections, workers control, delegates under instant recall, which the French proletariat is imposing, all these slogans are Trotskyist slogans, slogans for which the Trotskyists fight. They are neither Socialist nor Communist, nor from old Trotskyism. All the attitude of these old trotskyists which was to laugh at the 'cultural revolution' in China, and this is what they were doing in France. The action of the students is a direct expression of the 'Cultural Revolution' and they are directly calling this their cultural revolution and in a certain stage as we have said in other articles it has a historical justification. The complete socialist revolution was not made at once there is a series of measures which they are gradually doing partially. Hence we have said that one must not make fun of the name cultural revolution, what it is necessary to do is make fun of the leaders and the militants who don't understand the deep sense of such mobilisations. In China they have not had a bolshevik revolution, they had a socialist revolution but an incomplete one. It is necessary to complete it. The bolsheviks did not have the

necessity to have a "cultural revolution". Now they have the necessity of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union because the bureaucracy reintroduced capitalist and bureaucratic concepts and conceptions which now it is necessary to liquidate.

But this is not through a cultural revolution. A cultural revolution is not going to be successful for this task in France. It is through the means of the proletarian revolution. Hence the French students begin with the cultural revolution and they find that the cultural revolution does not lead to any anti-capitalist solution and that the capitalist power is being maintained, the force, the capitalist force is being maintained and the capitalist structure is being maintained. Hence it is important to understand that in order to eliminate the university structure so as to permit the advance of science and socialism, of science without capitalist limitations, science which socialism allows to develop without limitations, it is insufficient to have a cultural movement a cultural revolution. It is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. They see this! Hence it is necessary to understand the direction of the cultural revolution in order to understand the will, the intention of the masses and the distant objectives they can get to. In the cultural revolution the masses of China are struggling against the bureaucracy, against the strength which oppresses and represses, against social differentiation, against material stimulus. Hence they are struggling. And the accent of the 'cultural revolution' in China, we qualify it as a force which comes to liberate the world oppressed and repressed forces of the revolution. And this is the thing which is occurring in France. The oppressed and repressed forces of the revolution in France find a point of support in the Chinese cultural revolution. And it began as a "Cultural Revolution" and the proletariat took it up immediately, they gave it the meaning and the precise conclusion of overthrowing the capitalist system! This is what the French proletariat wants! It is a lie what the French Communist Party leadership is saying that they don't want to overthrow the capitalist system and that it is not a subversive strike. For the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties it is not subversive that is to say it is not anti-capitalist. For the masses it is anti-capitalist and the struggle is going to come into the C.P. The leadership of the Communist Party is searching for a way to stop, to put a brake on and to divert the masses. The masses want to push forward, and are going to influence all Europe.

From now on the following slogans are necessary. THE SOCIALIST SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE - WORKER AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE - DOWN WITH FRENCH CAPITALISM - FOR A WORKER AND PEASANT GOVERNMENT IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE - THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL PRIVATE PROPERTY IN FRANCE, A MONOPOLY OF FOREIGN TRADE - PLANNING OF PRODUCTION.

The immediate reaction in China in which emerged a resolution in support, in commemoration of the Paris Commune in which there were vivas for the Paris Commune shows that the revolutionary tendencies are seeking points of world support. It is possible to see that the revolution is world wide, the effects are world wide and the points of support are world wide. The general strike in France is taken as a base of support as an impulse for all the revolutionary tendencies and for all the struggles in the Workers States whether in Cuba, China, Eastern Europe throughout the world. And when the general strike in France is taken as a reference and a point of support, it is because there exists the will, the desire to do so, and there is a centre to do it even though the Trotskyists have not the organic weight to do this, but certainly they have the organic capacity to orientate and to organise. It is most important to expect that in the Workers States beginning with China, the mobilisations will be reanimated organising soviets, forms of soviets. Such conclusions will not be immediate but the general strike in France is going to lead to this. Although the leadership of the Communist Party of the Socialist Party and of the C.G.T. in France manoeuvre to contain the achievements of these triumphs in various ways, these effects are going to make themselves felt, immediately and afterwards. The proletariat has shown itself as the leader of French society and it is going to make its weight felt and to show that it can conquer the apparatuses and that it is determined to do so.

This crisis, this general strike is a crisis of capitalism, and of the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party because this strike is not going to strengthen these leaderships. On the contrary the masses can see that the leaderships of the Communist Party took the helm to impede the advance towards the revolution. They see that it made no directives and organised nothing. And this is going to stimulate the proletarian vanguard, the militants, the middle cadres to advance to struggle against them, to demand of this leader-

ship a revolutionary policy. It is going to stimulate the proletariat to impose a series of demands which French capitalism cannot sustain, and which they can only gain by smashing capitalism. It is an immense crisis and it is going to have a repercussion

throughout all the Communist Parties, encouraging the struggles of the Communist vanguard against the conservative conciliatory leadership, the leaderships conciliatory with capitalism.

This is a general revolutionary strike because the workers are not struggling, did not come out and struggle for any specific demands, they came out in struggle, unifying themselves with the desire to overthrow capitalism. It is civil war. Still without armed insurrection but it is civil war. This general strike is a civil war, the masses intervene as in civil war, still without arms but this is their intention. They have not brought out appeals for any programme, any objective, any demand. They came out, they demonstrated without any prior preparation, but already within them there was the sentiment to come out, for this reason they are making civil war, arms will come afterwards, the arms will come attracted by these mobilisations.

The leadership of the Communist Party the Socialist Party and the C.G.T. are exerting a pressure to give the movement a trade union character, that is give it certain limited demands and to manipulate it into the parliamentary road, but even though they succeed in getting through this stage, in the masses the experience will remain alive and basing themselves on this they feel that they are able to proceed, they can overcome the bureaucratic leaderships they can overthrow capitalism and are supported by the world course of the revolution. One of the immediate consequences of this is going to be the stimulus to the revolutionary tendencies of the F.L.N. of Vietnam not to make any concessions in the discussions and to go on with the revolutionary war, to overthrow the Yankees. One of the consequences is going to be a stimulus to all the other tendencies in the world, in the Workers States, in the rest of Europe throughout the world.

De Gaulle seeks to pass through this stage, seeks to soften the measures of repression because he hasn't got any strength. He seeks to pass through this stage relying on the policy of conciliation of the Communist Party and of the transference to parliament of the discussion around the general strike, seeking to head off the mobilisations in the street but to be able to control and to dominate the process in parliament. He counts upon the policy of peaceful co-existence of the bureaucracy of the Communist Party with its parliamentary policy of not taking the revolution which is in the streets, to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

De Gaulle seeks to pass through this stage so as to afterwards try to organise a repression, a reactionary blow and to impose a dictatorship. This is the objective of De Gaulle, he has no perspective. The mobilisation of the masses has a force which escapes the possibility of being able to contain it. The masses are drawing upon the experience of this stage, that it is possible to pass beyond the leaderships without breaking the class centralisation and they are going to do this in the next stage.

The Italian proletariat and the French proletariat working with the same sentiment, with the same intention are seeking the same objective. In the elections the Italian proletariat concentrated itself around the Communist Party and the P.S.I.U.P. it sought to impel the class and revolutionary struggle, and the French proletariat with this general strike is seeking to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the sentiment which has been organised for some time in the proletariat and has shown itself in dozens, hundreds of strikes, in mobilisations, and struggles, and they gradually concentrated their decision to produce this general strike, which they are making now.

THE PROFUSION OF GROUPS AND TENDENCIES, THE RELATION BETWEEN THE OLD AND YOUNG WORKERS VANGUARD AND THE NEED FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE C.G.T.

The mobilisations, the declarations, the strikes, the demonstrations and occupations of the factories were spontaneous. There was no preparation, neither assemblies, nor previous meetings and it was all decided in two days. In two days the centres attracted the rest and when in a unanimous form 10 million workers enter into strike, it is because there is already in the sentiment of the masses the readiness for this activity, which means readiness to make such a strike, to occupy factories and to work as the leadership of society in France. They feel

themselves masters and they work as though on the road to take power. There can be no return to the conditions of the previous period. It is the leaderships of the C.G.T. of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party which prevents the masses working, which breaks up their mobilisations. The leaderships of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, of the C.G.T. do not take the mobilisations, the expressions of revolutionary action of the masses, to impel them, but to contain them and to divert them. This time the masses were able to defend themselves from their leaderships spontaneously, centralising themselves in the world course of the revolution. The students have been a most important bridge in the mobilisation, it is they who placed themselves in contact, impelled the process, detonated the process so that the masses could unify themselves. The students did not do this, undoubtedly with this understanding or with this decision. But they were stimulated by their own crisis, to attract the rest. To attract

all of French society, in which were included directors of the National Bank, it is because in the roots of French society there is the demand for the transformation of the whole system. If not there would not be such mobilisations so spontaneous and so unanimous. The profusion of groups and tendencies, the decision of the groups coming out as a leadership indicates the possibility that exists for the overthrow of capitalism, and to find a popular and national support from the whole population. For this reason these groups have decided to emerge. There is an old tradition in France for many years that the youth of the Communist Party has been in conflict with the leadership, has rejected the leadership, has gone forward demanding a class policy. They all show in a continuous form the existence of groups and tendencies, bases and revolutionary tendencies which express or intend to express themselves so that the leadership should adopt this policy. This process as it developed gave no possibility to unify with the proletariat. The proletariat was not able to feel, to seek, to find the road to be able to unify itself and be able to break with the leadership or pass beyond the leadership. In a partial form it did this in important strikes. In this way they did go beyond, outside the leadership but not in a national form, attracting the whole population as they are doing now. That is to say as a leadership of the revolution. The profusion of groups and tendencies, anarchists, socialists, trotskysts, communists, liberals of every type which have appeared among the students are characterised by a single inclination, all are against the capitalist system, against the control of the government, against the decrees of the government, and for the transformation of the university. This shows that the animation of these groups has an essential centre to overthrow the capitalist regime. If there appeared so many groups and tendencies it is through the absence of a centre, through the fact that the communist party was not a centre of the revolution. It was and is a centre for the masses but not of the revolution. For this reason now this national movement is made against capitalism and against the leaderships of the French Communist Party. It means that capitalism cannot win, it cannot contain or divert, the necessity, and tendency towards the necessity to organise the overthrow of capitalism, otherwise it would have incorporated these groups into the system, gained their adhesion and their political and social support. A series of strike and mobilisations have prepared this general strike. The proletariat has felt security, confidence, has communicated amongst itself, has unified the old vanguard with the young vanguard and has launched itself forward with the general strike. The young vanguard have been the essential factor of stimulus which has animated the general strike, which prepared the way for the general strike. The young vanguard has not acted in this way against the old vanguard but is animated and stimulated by the sympathy of the old vanguard. The old vanguard, the old communist vanguard has not felt itself animated to take the role of spontaneous leadership, to take the initiative, but it did not oppose, nor combat, nor support the leadership against the young vanguard which - in individual form, in the trade unions - has sought to impel the revolutionary tendency making general strikes. For a whole period of years there has been a resistance by the French masses against partial strikes, A series of partial strikes in the factories has failed. Capitalism and the leaderships of the communist parties interpreted this as a retreat and a collapse in the combative will of the masses, when in reality it was a warning from the masses that they were rejecting partial strikes because they are insufficient and useless and the masses were maintaining their decision for general strikes. For this reason the leadership of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, and of capitalism were taken by surprise by this strike because they did not believe in such a unanimity, that such a decisive spontaneity could emerge in two days. They believed, they took as an indication, or an orientation, the various resistences and rejections of partial strikes. It is the same attitude of the masses when there is an abstention in the election. The revolutionary masses abstain in the elections when they wish to warn, or to exert a pressure on the leadership of the Communist Party, or of the Socialist Party, or

on the whole of the class, to say that they are against the leadership of the party but they are not against revolutionary struggle. For this reason at the same time in Italy as there is the strike at Turin, of Fiat, and the engineering workers against the leaderships of the Italian Communist Party, these were true risings against the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, mobilisations against it - at the same time in the elections the masses were voting for the Italian Communist Party. Whilst Longo was obliged to make illusions favourable, or sympathetic to Trotsky to maintain relations with the Communist masses - he was indicating that he felt that the communist masses were going away from him and he was expecting an electoral catastrophe - but the Italian masses centralised themselves around the Italian Communist Party and the P.S.I.U.P. This indicates that the rejection of the Communist Party in the factory and trade union movement, the liberation from their leadership, of the communist militants, the internal crisis of the Italian Communist Party, the tearing up of party cards, does not indicate a retreat in the will of the class, but a protest against the leadership of the communist party, against its conciliatory policy, its conservative policy, following a policy of peaceful co-existence with capitalism. But when the masses feel that they can weigh and decide, they concentrate themselves in the elections around the Italian Communist Party and the P.S.I.U.P. For this reason it is necessary to take the measure of the reaction of the masses against the leadership of the French Communist Party as a much more profound index than that which their own actions demonstrate. At the moment they are not able to direct themselves nationally, but they have to do it partially, on a regional basis. It is necessary to help them find a national leadership. In the strike itself, in the process itself, it is necessary to assist them to make local meetings as a basis of leaderships, to elect regional leaderships and from there to elect the true leadership of the C.G.T. The leadership of the C.G.T. was against the strike, it opposed it, it sabotaged it and it does not represent the movement. The masses must organise factory meetings, meetings in the workers areas and in the regions to give a new leadership to the C.G.T. basing themselves on the anti-capitalist programme to destroy the capitalist regime, and on this basis it will be an immense stimulus to the workers of the Communist Party, to impel, to push forward the struggle within it for the revolutionary leadership in the Communist Party, or for a parallel movement which eliminates the leadership of the Communist Party.

The old vanguard feels itself animated and for this reason it has never at any time supported the bureaucracy of the communist party and the C.G.T. against the young workers who made strikes, mobilisations, protests and who have rejected strikes led by the C.G.T. which were ineffective strikes, complete farces. When they have to make general strikes the C.G.T. decides on strikes of 20 minutes. The vanguard resists making these strikes which it sees are valueless and which decompose the unification and the decision to combat because it is necessary to be united. The old Communist vanguard, the old factory revolutionary vanguard have never supported the bureaucracy against the young vanguard who resist this, and now they are unifying themselves, they can unify themselves rapidly because always they have preserved the links, the sentiments and the class decision. The initiative of the young communist vanguard serves as a bridge, as a rapid incentive to unify the whole class which demonstrates that the old vanguard has not withdrawn, has not lost its will to struggle but that it was awaiting events and the young vanguard was the one which supported, attracted, and organised, and centralised the whole revolutionary vanguard of the whole working class of France.

THE TRIP OF De GAULLE TO RUMANIA, THE REVOLUTIONARY MOBILISATION OF THE FRENCH MASSES AND THE ACTION, THE PROGRAMME, THE POLICY AND THE METHODS OF STRUGGLE OF THE IVth. INTERNATIONAL.

De Gaulle went in the name of French capitalism to attempt to stimulate the regressive forces of the bureaucracy in Rumania and as an indirect way of preparing for a journey to Czekoslovakia, and there occurred an internal crisis in French capitalism and neither the leadership of the Communist Party, nor French capitalism expected, or understood what was happening. Not one of them felt or understood the masses, as all great events, great historical events, capitalism and the bureaucracy of the workers parties are taken by surprise because they don't feel the sentiment of the masses. Therefore we qualify, we said that this mobilisation within the communist party was made by the middle cadres who were reflecting the will of the base, and who carry this to the party and that these middle cadres who are living through, preparing themselves in the daily struggle of the masses in the factories,

in the trade unions, in strikes, in the districts. They are preparing themselves. De Gaulle went to save capitalism by going to Rumania, he attempted to save capitalism by going to Rumania and he finds that he has his own crisis within France. This means the whole of the machinery put together in a sui generis way by capitalism in order to attract the bureaucracy of the workers states is falling to pieces. It is all falling to pieces and De Gaulle is an essential bridge for this. And it is going to stimulate revolutionary tendencies in Viet Nam who are going to say " what discussions ? Death to Imperialism ". Therefore the Chinese have just repeated the slogan, they have just repeated to the Vietnamese that " the solution is not in discussion but in the overthrowing of Imperialism in Vietnam, with force and with arms." It is important, it is indicating that there is a wing which sees in the most realistic way, the most objective way, the process and now it is stimulated by the general strike in France. This is going to elevate revolutionary tendencies in Cuba, in China, in Viet Nam, in Korea and in all the other Workers States. It is going to elevate the understanding and confidence, it is going to elevate the decision so that the proletariat intervenes, and so that the proletariat intervenes in the Workers States.

The action of the Trotskyists in the whole of this process is of enormous importance. The Trotskyists are the only people who have agitated for this programme. Hence the Trotskyists in spite of their numerical weakness have intervened in the elections in Belgium and have come out in the only place where they stood with 600 votes, double the votes which they gained three years ago. They have intervened in the elections in Italy, still we do not know what the result is out we suppose that it has to be a great quantity of votes, even though they only intervened in Pescara and Rome because they were not allowed to present themselves in other regions, because of the sabotage of the leadership of the SP and capitalism, in united front against the Trotskyists. For the first time they intervene and the reception which they receive has been immense. The

Trotskyists in Spain are pillars in the struggle against Franco. The world press talks about F. DE which is led by the Trotskyist and the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) and the workers commissions which the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party has organised as the two pillars in the struggle against Franco. In Germany the students rose with the portrait of Trotsky and the world press noted it as a tendency in the students struggle for the programme and the 14th. International is incorporated in this. This they have said recently and it shows that the whole of the objective course of history is going towards Trotskyism. The programme, the policy and the methods which are Trotskyist, a World United Front of the masses, a general strike in France which is in a World United Front, the elections in Italy which is the World United Front of the exploited masses which is going to express itself shortly in anti-capitalist measures. The Communist

leaderships are searching now for parliamentary means, for a parliamentary solution in order to put everything off course, into parliamentary channels. The masses are not going to allow this and there is already in operation the task of organising the tendency and the revolutionary leadership which is within the communist parties. The masses have seen that it is possible to break with and eliminate and crush the leadership without endangering their centralisation and without the danger that capitalism will win. In France the masses see that De Gaulle is defeated, they see their own potential and they see the middle cadres who are going to feel encouraged now to go over the heads of all the bureaucracy. This is an intermediate process, the dynamism of this process is still not visible. The coming stages will make it so because there is still not a tendency which works in a public way but what is evident is that all the tendencies with revolutionary intentions have been united in the will to overthrow privilege. Of all these tendencies the Trotskyists, are those who are consciously expressing this while the rest are dispersing, the pro-chinese, the opportunist trotskyists and the intermediate trotskyists. All these are just circumstantial and they are disappearing. On the other hand the Trotskyist tendencies which are our sections in Europe, the sections of the 14th. International have been carrying forward all this from before. They have the policy of understanding the cultural revolution, of struggling for the cultural revolution and they are the ones who have importance. Hence their policy and their programme is taken up by the leaderships, by the groups and by tendencies which have revolutionary intentions. The elimination of all privilege, democratic elections, revocability of mandate, occupation of factories, workers control, expropriation of factories functioning under workers control, expropriation of capitalism, nationalisation of production. They have the confidence that there is no possibility of the return to capitalism in any Workers State.

The cultural revolution in China is the expression of revolutionary tendencies which want to encourage the proletarian revolution. Lacking theoretical consciousness, theoretical and programmatic consciousness the revolution adopts this form. But it indicates their revolutionary will. We defend this intransigently against the jokes made by these idiots who call themselves trotskysts, who made fun of us saying that we idolised the Chinese. Here they have the conclusion. When the masses of the world took this struggle for their own struggles it is because they feel the profundity of the cultural revolution, and they give it the interpretation it should be given. Not the form in which the cultural revolution was expressed but the intention of the cultural revolution which eliminated privilege. The Chinese leadership wanted to check the process, the masses didn't. Hence in France it was taken up again and it was a centre which mobilised and allowed for the mobilisation of the proletariat. If the cultural revolution in China had been diplomatic manoeuvre, or a manoeuvre between bureaucratic sectors it would not have had such an echo or such importance, it would not communicate, it would not transcend. When it transcends and the masses adopt it, it is because they see that it goes against privilege. The leadership in China contained and diverted the struggle - without wishing to suppress it - but that did not limit the masses of the world who saw the revolutionary sense that it had. Hence in France there has been a centre, an organising centre for the general strike which is the beginning of the civil war! The new stage of the civil war already begun.

And the next stage is the organisation of the activity to eliminate the bureaucratic tendency, the capitulatory, the conservative tendencies of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is now obliged to pose programmes, points of view with socialist perspectives, not of peaceful co-existence. They have no other remedy but to do this. The weakness of French capitalism and the bureaucracy is immense. In full discussion of Viet Nam where they chose Paris as a centre to do this because French capitalism and also the communists, soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Party believe that it is a suitable centre because the Communist Party controls the apparatus of the CGT and CP in France. They felt themselves all powerful but the masses sent this apparatus to the devil. They passed over it completely! The apparatus believed themselves to be all powerful but the masses made them see that they were not all powerful, that they themselves, the masses, could win and that they were going to win. And this apparatus is the greatest obstacle to the struggle in this stage, and now the masses of France are going to impel and influence Italy, Germany, Belgium and England rapidly, impel the fight against the leaderships of the parties, to oblige them to take up a revolutionary policy and afterwards to pass over them. We are entering a new phase and the understanding of this phase is fundamental. This is a new phase of the revolution in Europe in which the proletariat has entered upon the scene. It has entered and it is going to stimulate the proletariat of all the Workers States immediately, it is going to stimulate the struggle within the Communist Party and the tendencies which want to go back to capitalism in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. It is not the manoeuvres of the bureaucracy which contain these tendencies but the force of the proletariat. Neither capitalism nor the bureaucracy has any notion of history, it is shown in the fact that while Breznev and Kosygin go to discuss with Czechoslovakia in order to contain them, the masses advance saying "look this is how to do it" and they paralyse France and they transmit the feeling to the Czechoslovak proletariat who want to rise up against these bureaucrats. The bureaucracy of the Workers States cannot feel the action of the proletariat because its interests are not coincident with the proletariat. Because of this they do not see, nor do they feel. On the other hand we do feel and we do see. We saw this process four years ago when we posed that the French proletariat is accumulating, concentrating, at each stage it makes a general strike, a complete one. At each stage it has paralysed France. It shows constantly its will to triumph and in England we have reiterated that the abstention of the proletariat in the recent municipal elections has the same sense as the vote of the proletariat in Italy. In Italy it sees that it can impel the Communist Party, in England no, because of this it abstained. Not giving its vote to the class enemy but showing its protest

The bureaucracy is incapable of understanding this process, it cannot feel it because it does not have a socialist interest, it does not have the socialist sentiment of the masses, it is far from these. The bureaucracy does not have any capacity for seeing because its social interests are not the interests of the necessity of history and it doesn't represent the masses. Because of this the bureaucracy in France was incapable of seeing the strike which was under their noses. They saw the strike of the students as a distant process without any importance and they had to come out later on, when they understood that they had the general strike in front of them. It was the same with De Gaulle. De Gaulle believed that he could count on the apparatuses with the monolithic structure of the CGT, the Communist Party and the Socialist party who were in an indirect alliance with him to contain the revolution.

but the eruption of the masses broke this alliance and forced the communists to confront De Gaulle. The masses forced them to do it, the communists and De Gaulle were incapable of understanding. De Gaulle left for Rumania and had to come running back dominated by his fear. The masses of France worked in relation to, and in favour of, the Rumanian masses and they rejected it all. It was not De Gaulle who came back it was the masses of France who forced him to come back! It is a concentrated and centralised process which has always existed but which has not manifested itself in so concentrated and profound forms as now but it has always existed. Because of this Imperialism had to go from Algeria, it had to go from Viet Nam because the masses threw it out.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE, FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION MARKS A NEW PHASE OF THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION.

The central slogan which we must realise now is the expropriation of French capitalism, for a general insurrectional strike which signifies taking of factories, not to open the factories that are in the hands of the proletariat but to make them function, to plan the economy, to call to take other factories and plan production. Equalising the demands of the agricultural proletariat to those of the industrial proletariat, to attract the small peasants to the revolution, by eliminating the debts which they have towards the State, and giving them the help of the state in material techniques, interest free loans, calling them to make socialist co-operatives and to expropriate the big landowners, the medium and big properties which exist in France. Calling for a Proletarian United Front in Europe on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, starting from minimum immediate demands, towards the programme for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the construction of socialism. The single centre is necessary, the United Proletarian Front. Every increase of productivity must be an increase in the conditions, an improvement in the conditions of life of the proletariat.

Planning the university, planning education, planning the courses, planning study in relation to the revolutionaries, the students, the professors, the revolutionary artists and with the proletariat. Plan all this now. Not going back on the conquests but maintaining them and making a revolutionary struggle, and in the factories planning of production, nationalisation and planning of nationalised production. The nationalisation of the banks, the expropriation of all banks, calling to the army and the police to incorporate themselves and to respond by submitting themselves and obeying the resolutions of the factories, of the Workers Councils. The organisation of Workers Councils in every factory, in each industry, and in each industry to form councils and bank workers councils in order to form the structure of power. In each industry to form councils up to the central Soviet, form workers councils, peasant councils, soldiers councils and bank workers councils in order to form the structure of power. From there to go forward to the expropriation of capitalism. Capitalism is paralysed it has not a single initiative, not one! In the first few days it felt strong and launched decrees, closed the university, out with everyone, for example. On the fourth day it wanted to conciliate, it felt that it had no force, it said "good close the universities", they were going to weaken the student groups. But the pressure which came was immense, it did not weaken at all and the strike continued. It saw that this typhoon which in 15 days had ruined France and which is leading to the downfall of French capitalism in a short delay, is indicating that this spirit is in all of Europe. And the actual task is the organisation of the struggle, the discussions, the experiences of the masses to show that it is necessary to liquidate the conciliatory tendencies which still protect capitalism in France. And impell the Communist Party to fight for a workers and peasants government. It is undoubted that French Imperialism is going to oppose this but also Yankee Imperialism is opposing the process in Viet Nam but it has to go and have these discussions in Paris. Imperialism tries to impede and it also tries to impede in Viet Nam yet it has to yield, it has to give in. This signifies that it is going to wage war in the worse conditions for itself. It also signifies that the masses in the United States are going to receive this influence. The General Strike in France has an echo all over the world as nothing in history had, because of the conditions of world concentration. The masses of the world are going to see that they can fight against the apparatus of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the trade union bureaucrats to impose a revolutionary policy. They are going to be able to oppose and impose themselves to capitalism and to make a united front to overthrow the capitalist system. The general strike in France as the

elections in Italy and the events of the same stage shows that the masses are already unified, unified in the sentiment, the will to overthrow the capitalist system. Whether they be in the Communist or Socialist party, or in the left Christian Democrats. The masses are demonstrating that they are unified in the will to overthrow capitalism. The general strike in France as we have said already has an immense effect on the masses of the world, it is going to impel the revolution on a world scale. Whatever be the period which it needs for its importance, or its transcendence it is going to signify an immense impulse to the world revolution, the political revolution in the workers states and to the containing of those regressive tendencies that want to return to capitalism in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumanania. And at the same time, it means the uprising of the proletariat in the Workers States to eliminate the bureaucracy. This is the general strike in France, a stage on the march, a phase in the ascent of the world revolution. We salute the French proletariat ! Long Live the French proletariat ! Long Live the proletarian revolution ! Long Live the French section of the 1Vth. International which is at the head of the events. Our small French section, small in numbers - long live them! But it is resolved that it must intervene with great decision and must launch itself now in this task of great discussion, of organisation, to maintain these conquests not to abandon any factory, to remain in all the factories planning production among all of them, imposing now the advance of these conquests towards further conquests. To resist abandonment of any factory, maintaining all the conquests, giving work to all the workers, the elimination of all unemployment, work 36 hours for the pay of 48. Maintain the conquests that have already been made, increase them while constructing the forms of the workers and peasants government. Without taking power immediately, the workers have to work as if they already had power, Our section must develop its activity in this form, which is the form which the events in France are going to require in the next period.

French capitalism is disconcerted. After De Gaulle came back he did not say anything, he did not know what to say. He did not have any initiative, the initiative which he had and which he had recourse to, is repression. This signifies civil war and he knows that he will lose it, because of this he does not have recourse to open repression. Our section must impel, to the maximum possible, the open and public fight of the masses not to go back but to make public meetings discussing the necessity of the Workers and Peasants Government in France while maintaining the conquests and increasing them. This is the task which it is necessary to do now, call for the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe; for a general strike in Europe for the support of the struggle, the strike in France. Calling to the masses over the heads of their leaderships to make a general stoppage in support of the masses of France against French capitalism, for the Workers and Peasants Government. This is the measure it is necessary to make now and to fight with the perspective in a short stage of the destruction and overthrowing of French capitalism. This is a new stage, the uncontrollable advance of the revolution in Europe, it is a new phase in the world proletarian revolution and in this phase, the phase of the proletarian revolution in all Europe, it is necessary to call the proletariat of the Workers States to unify themselves in a single trade union centre. In a single centre for the programme of down with capitalism,

down with the soviet bureaucracy. To call for Soviets in all the Workers States. It is necessary to call to maintain the conquests which have been made, to function as the power, while discussing, absorbing the experience, drawing the conclusions of this stage, which signify that the masses are unified in a United Front. It is necessary to make organs of united front, soviets, in which the Trotskyist minority and the communist proletarian vanguard can influence the rest of the masses. It is necessary to hold meetings. The leadership of the communist party, of the CGP, the Socialist leadership are trying to impede the unification of the masses, because of this they are trying to paralyse and stop this movement giving it a parliamentary solution. It is necessary to give forms to this power, the masses are trying to give forms to it in the factories, in the trade unions but it has to give more general forms to this power starting with making commissions of leadership of the factory, planning the United Front to form Soviets, but also forms of power, military forces which can maintain the power. Because of this it is necessary to call for workers militias, in each district, in each region. The organisation of workers militias, call to the soldiers, to the officers, to support such militias which are the only ones which will tend to develop the immense forces which are not developed in France. So that French society which at the moment is contained by the capitalist system, is blocked, and enclosed by capitalist interests which impede the real development of France to the benefit of the masses, decides. It is necessary to call for workers militias, to call as in Syria for workers militias which are the source of military power, and of production and social leadership at the same time. To unite with this appeal to the young officers

and soldiers, the sergeants and corporals of the French army to rebel against Imperialism and to pass over to the revolution. The French army is fragile, it is weak, it is decomposed and is beaten by defeats and retreats before the revolutionary masses of Algeria, of Indo China, of Africa. And the French army cannot have confidence in capitalism, De Gaulle has tried to make all his policy in the last stage directed at maintaining a perspective in the structure and in the capitalist future of France, and within this framework maintaining the structure of the army. Because of this a little time ago in France they discussed the actual elimination of the army and its substitution by a professional army, because they feared, and still fear, that the soldiers and the young officers are going to go to the other side. Because of this the actual army has not intervened. It is not the same crisis as Algeria as the bourgeois commentators and the bureaucracy say. It is nothing to do with that. In Algeria it was an inter-bourgeois fight in which the leadership of the C.P. supported De Gaulle against the other sector which wanted to maintain Algeria under the O.A.S. Here it is not a question of this. It is a question of the social revolution, of the civil war. It is not the same historic circumstances, it is not the question of a group united to save democracy, united against a blow by a reactionary fascist sector as the leadership of the C.P. tries to present it, who come out in defence of capitalist democracy against another sector of the French bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to make a congress of delegates of all the organisations in France, which are true soviets, to decide about the programme, the policy and the leadership of the revolution in France. Being based on revolutionary democratic forms which permit them to influence each other and feel themselves secure, and masters of the situation. Thus eliminating the bureaucracy, the delegates, or leaders imposed by the bureaucracy, by the leaders of the CGT, of the French Communist Party and of the Socialist party. And on the contrary to propose delegates who emerge from the workers areas, from the factories, from the places of work, to elect a new leadership so that this makes a congress, in a few days, in two days, to do this, to decide the leadership of the revolution in France. In this sense the intervention of all the revolutionary leadership so that they can intervene with proportional representation and with full revolutionary democratic rights to discuss, and to resolve. At the same time there must be the right of instant recall of all representatives. The programme is the programme of the proletarian revolution, the programme of nationalisations, of the planning of production, of elimination of the bureaucracy, workers control, factory committees. There is not any chaos, there will not be any chaos but on the contrary this programme maintains the development of production and the economy in France and in the rest of all Europe, in the most efficient way.

Capitalism is completely disconcerted it is going to accelerate the preparations for the atomic war, the concentration in gradually smaller groups to respond to the atomic war and it is going to accelerate the radicalisation in the United States of the tendencies - those of the Pentagon - who are preparing themselves for the fact that there is no other solution but the war and it is only a short time away. But at the same time the conditions are worse for them, the proletariat has entered into the war and will enter into the war with the security of victory. Capitalism will launch the war as a response to the revolution, the masses of the United States will feel this. This is not a war for liberty, nor for independence, nor for any of the lies which Imperialism says, but it is simply to defend itself from the world revolution. And the masses of the United States are seeing the French masses eliminate leaderships, and syllabuses of study, programmes of study of the backward, feudal anachronistic professors. The masses of the United States will immediately respond to this. In the United States there is going to be an elevation of the process of the defence of Vietnam, in a programmatic form. And the process of internal crisis in the trade union field between Reuther, between the union of the Automobile Workers and the rest of the AFL-CIO is going to deepen. And it is going to have to acquire a programmatic character. Still not in all of the United States because of the lack of a previous leadership but it is going to be stimulated by these struggles. Capitalism is going to respond with the preparation for the war, in the worst conditions for itself, because the front which they were making with De Gaulle to try to gain time has been destroyed. The bureaucrats themselves of Rumania, of Czechoslovakia are going to feel that they cannot expect anything from capitalism, they see that the agent which was sent to stimulate them now has been rejected. He has to go to them looking for refuge, for support.

It is undoubted that French Imperialism is preparing to reply with counter revolution, with a coup, with a military dictatorship. The solution in a short stage in France is the complete proletarian revolution to complete the proletarian revolution in an organic form, or a military dictatorship. This is not the stage for a

military dictatorship of Imperialism. Our sections must intervene, stimulating discussion, complete discussions of the experience showing that the United Front of the masses which objectively is already working in practise is more powerful than all the apparatuses which are collapsing, which in fact the student movement and the general strike have smashed. If the apparatuses are still on their legs, that is the Communist Party leadership and the C.G.T. bureaucracy, conciliatory to capitalism, it is because it is simply the first blow. There will be other blows in a much more dynamic and ordered manner.

It is on this perspective of action that our comrades must develop, appealing for the continuation of this process begun by the proletarian revolution in France, completing this, imposing a Workers and Peasants government, appealing for Workers and Peasants governments and for the Socialist United States of Europe. Appealing to the proletariat of the Workers States to intervene to overthrow the bureaucracy and to support the Worker and Peasant governments for the anti-capitalist struggle throughout Europe, for the organisation of militias to prepare for the nuclear war, appealing to the masses of China and Cuba to intervene massively in support of the French proletariat in demonstrations, meetings, mass meetings, supporting and giving unconditional support to the French proletariat against capitalism. Appealing for the world revolution. Proceeding with this an agitation throughout Latin America, Asia and Africa on the line of the struggle to overthrow, to smash what remains of Feudalism, Imperialism and Capitalism. Appealing for Worker and Peasant governments, for the Workers Party based on the trade unions, to the struggle for the Worker and Peasants Government.

16 - 5 - 68 J. Posadas

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(The following text is the continuation of the document of Cde. Posadas on France. It is dated the 22nd May. 1968)

THE STAGE OF THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION HAS BROKEN OUT IN FRANCE

This process in France is a situation which has not got any way out, either for capitalism or for the bureaucracy. It hasn't got any possibility of stabilising itself. But the solution is the revolution. In France it is the social revolution which is already developing, it lacks the insurrectional form but already the revolution is there. In the mentality of people in their aspiration, in the desire of the people is revolution and the masses work against all power. The fury of the student action comes because they feel sure; it is not an attitude of desperation. That is a lie. It is because they feel secure. The persistence of the students is because they feel secure, and because they are against all power in education, and in the syllabuses and in the university, the capitalist university structure, they are against this. Now they don't have the confidence nor do they believe in capitalism, it doesn't have any authority over them. More and more they feel secure and they feel that the proletariat is accompanying them. It is because of this that they are able to go on; they feel surrounded by a climate of national sympathy. On the other hand if it was not so, they wouldn't be able to persist, their families would be bringing pressure to bear to make them stop because they don't work, because the majority of them depend on the family or live with very little and have very few resources. Their persistence is because they feel that their struggle has an enormous importance, thus they are important actions because they mean that they are the mouthpiece of a general state of feeling which hasn't got any means of expressing itself. Thus the students are the detonator.

Rapidly the general strike won throughout France. Now the proletariat tries to take into its hands, in spite of the obstacles which have been put in their way, the leadership of the revolt, giving it a social form, a conscious revolutionary form and going towards the destruction of the capitalist system. This is the sense of the mobilisation of the proletariat, not trade union demands but to overthrow the capitalist system.

Thus it is necessary to make the masses of the world see that this is the process developing in France. It is not a movement which ends here but it is a movement which has transcendence, a much greater importance than trade union demands; it wants to overthrow the capitalist system. Imperialism cannot give in to what the masses are asking for; employment, lowering of the working hours, a rise in salaries. Everything is dislocated, the whole of the European capitalist system, everything because France is one of its pillars. It is a problem for them which is not economic, it is the dislocation of the capitalist system which is social. The relative social stability of Europe depended on a certain economic stability which it had. The action of the French masses breaks with this unstable equilibrium, and destroys all the capitalist stability in Europe and it is going to be a process a chain reaction which is going to force capitalism, European capitalism to confront great new strikes. For example the masses of England who are already in the process of contending for a rise in salary are going to acquire tremendous force. A short time ago the English capitalists wanted to check the struggles in England, encouraging and organising a small action of a 'groups of employees' who were "offering" to work more without pay - Backing Britain - this has already passed into history, it lasted one day and then it was finished. This is how to throw one drop of oil into the sea and afterwards to go to look for it. This is a stupid thing a completely stupid thing. And on the other hand the British proletariat was

not in the least bit interested and now with the events in France the English proletariat is going to take up the same road immediately, is going to feel influenced, to go forward and eliminate and take the offensive against the leadership who are preventing the progress. The first measure they are going to take is to eliminate their leadership.

And the tasks which are imposed now be they in France or in England be they in the whole of Europe are those of eliminating the leaderships which are opposed to the advance of the struggles against capitalism. This is the most important conclusion. In France the revolution is already there. Be it today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, but the period of the proletarian revolution is already in France. Everyone is there, workers, peasants, students, the army, the police which refused to repress the proletariat because they feel themselves small, are going to be absorbed they are going to be attracted by the proletariat and they feel afraid. Also because they feel that there isn't any authority left in the capitalist system. The police protest because the government of De Gaulle is against democratic liberties and the workers are asking for democratic liberties. And when the police come out and criticise the capitalist system, and the leadership of the capitalist government on which they depend, and not that of the masses, they do so because they feel that there is no authority in the capitalist system. The capitalist system has lost control throughout Europe. It has already been bypassed. If it can still contain the movement this is provisional, totally momentary; the elections in Italy, and the actions of the masses in France show that the proletarian base is expressing a common sentiment of the population; that is the decision to overthrow everything which prevents progress against the capitalist system. It is this perspective which is going to reach the world. This is not an immediate perspective, but a short one, which is going to show itself, particularly in the Communist Parties, in the communist masses in the political sectors - above all the Nationalist, Communist, Castroist, pro-Chinese all the Communist tendencies. It is necessary to be linked to them and to discuss this perspective. To make them feel that the Communist base is going to discuss France, after China and Cuba, and that it is going to impel the communist parties which are not in the same conditions as in France and it is going to impel them to eliminate the leaderships, which are opposed to the anti-capitalist struggle and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. This is the fundamental conclusion of all this for outside France and for France itself; the conclusion is to overthrow the capitalist system. Still there are not direct expressions of groups of organised tendencies. But already there are organised groups which are the students. The function of the students has an immense importance. The persistence of the students indicates that they represent a conscious aspiration of the revolutionary French vanguard. They are feeling what the proletariat wants. This is why in spite of the sabotage of the leadership, groups of workers link up with the students on their own account. The leadership of the C.G.T. and the Communist Party has to split to maintain their control of the workers movement, while the workers on their side seek contact with the students as a stimulus to their own struggle against the bureaucracy of the Communist and Socialist Parties. This is the living expression that there is in all the French exploited population a desire to struggle.

Parliament does not have any importance in this stage. Neither parliament nor the elections are an index of the revolution. In the elections a great quantity of people vote who don't have anything to do with production with the capacity of production, with decisions with necessities. They are types who vote but no more. While the country takes notice of and judges those who decide; and

those who decide are in the apparatuses of production, the social apparatuses of the leadership. It is the masses. And the masses are those who have stopped work. It is because of this that France is paralysed. On the other hand if those who voted for De Gaulle stopped, nothing would happen, absolutely nothing. They can stop as the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie normally do stop and nothing happens. On the other hand the proletarian masses stop and France is paralysed. Neither the elections nor parliament represent either the will or the capacity for leadership or the capacity for action. It is the same in Italy 10 million votes for the Communist Party and for the P.S.I.U.P - the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity - plus 2 million more socialist votes for the Socialist Party, the party of Nenni because in every way these votes are not for capitalism. Italy is a Vietnam! The Communists see themselves obliged to say "parliament does not reflect the national will", but they do not say it in a revolutionary sense. They simply signal that people can't vote as they want to, that the seats are not in proportion to their number of votes. This is why they say "parliament does not reflect the national will". They do not see it from a revolutionary point of view - that is to say that the parliament does not reflect the revolutionary will of the exploited masses, but they only take into account the fact that they haven't the number of deputies and senators which they should have. On the other hand the sense which it is necessary to give to the mobilisation in France is different.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE

INTERIOR ENTRISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN ALL OF EUROPE

The attitude of the French masses is expressing that they are seeking to destroy the capitalist regime, that they are unified with this will otherwise the students would not have been able to work as they have done, before and now. After the resolution of parliament to reject the motion of censure of De Gaulle, the C.G.T. and with it the Communist Party accepted the dialogue with the government. The masses attacked the dialogue, and the leadership of the Communist Party saw itself forced to modify its tactics, to claim that parliament did not represent the national will. When a day before it was seeking in parliament to see how it could resolve and block, or divert there the revolutionary movement of the masses. They tried to give a parliamentary trade union solution. The masses rejected this. It was important for them to be in the street to put pressure to overthrow De Gaulle, and to overthrow De Gaulle means to overthrow the capitalist system; they showed that they are the ones who have the initiative. Neither the Communist Party nor the C.G.T. have it, they are trying to contain it. Because of this the vehemence of the students.

The students persist because they are an expression of the national will of the exploited masses which is directed by the proletariat, stimulated and unified by the proletariat. Still the proletariat does not lead politically because it does not have the leadership, but certainly it does lead socially. Because of this they have stimulated the peasants. Out of 15 million manual workers there are practically 12 million on strike this is paralysing the country, the masses have paralysed the country, no parliament is more powerful than this. This is the parliament in the streets. Parliament is a swindle, not because there is not sufficient Communist deputies but because it doesn't represent the popular will. While parliament discusses a motion of censure on De Gaulle the masses are in the streets and are paralysing the country. The people have already voted, have already decided, pronounced, against the capitalist system, coming out into the streets. The leadership of the Communist Party is serving to contain the masses and to sustain the capitalist system because the revolution is there.

And now is the moment to take the factories, to make them function, to make workers militias, to make workers militias now. Call upon the police to submit themselves to the masses, take control of the factories and begin there to plan production. This is power. This is the revolution which can be only a little cruel. The grade of the insurrection will be minimal, already they have the power in their hands, never has there been a situation so easy to take the power. All the country is occupied, capitalism does not have the initiative.

The evolution of the situation of the general strike is favourable to the revolution, favourable to the masses. The Communist and Socialist Parties in the government have made a parliamentary discussion to contain, eliminate and smash the will of the masses, to divert it from a street action from an insurrectionary action to divert it into parliament. The masses don't take parliament into account. Parliament is not the way, because of this the Communist Party has been forced to modify its tactic. Probably it will change it anew, it can be that when this article appears it is possible that the Communist Party will have changed its tactic because the events have a very great dynamism, the situation elevates itself hour by hour. But the masses have shown by their action that they have not taken parliament into account at all. They don't expect anything more from it, they come out into the streets and feel secure and confident in themselves.

The new leadership of the revolution is already on the march. When the masses reject the leadership of the Communist Party, the leadership of the C.G.T. they pose the solution of a General Strike and reject the parliamentary resolution, it is because they feel sure that they are imposing their social resolution. This is what counts, votes don't have any importance. As we said previously the votes do not reflect the social forces which determine the development of the country. And the forces which determine are those which dominate and intervene in the economic apparatus of the country.

The action of the students and the importance of the students is that they are expressing the profound will of the population, the decision of the population, against all systems of exploitation. One cannot take the students as simple adventurers. It is certain that they cannot have either programme, or a social leadership, but they are reflecting the anti-capitalist will, whatever be the political tendencies. The revolution is uniting them. The diversities in the tendencies in the students is the result of the lack of a revolutionary centre which organises them and guides them. The students have broken with the Communist Party have divided, have developed on the road, profuse tendencies, but they are all anti-capitalist tendencies. They have developed because the Communist Party and the Socialist Party have been incapable of organising them, incapable of giving them a revolutionary centre, and the Trotskyists are a small group. But the underlying thing of this process is that all these organisations are orientating and are developing with a Trotskyist programme, policy and objectives. Not the policy, nor the objective, nor the programme nor the methods of struggle of the Communist Party nor of the Socialist Party nor of the trade unions directed by the Communist and Socialist Parties. They are Trotskyist methods of struggle which are; down with all the oppressive and repressive power; the workers, the peasants, the students to decide, the programme of study, the professors and the objectives. Be it in the factory, be it in production, be it in planning, be it in the schools, they decide. The struggle is a revolutionary struggle. Not dialogues, not polemics, not discussions, nothing. Impose by force, the democratic organisation, and this is to discuss openly, giving the right for revolutionary discussion. The objective is to overthrow the capitalist system, impose a workers and peasants government on the basis of workers control, factory committees, soviets. This is the revolutionary

programme, this is the Trotskyist programme. And all this is against the Communist Party. Neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party nor the trade union leaderships were prepared for this process, they didn't foresee it, or feel it. But the Trotskyists did. In the Manifesto of the 1st May, of the International Secretariat, in the VIII World Congress of the IV International of the past year they foresaw this process, the process of concentration and centralisation of the revolution. This was foreseen and the events of France have expressed it.

All these groups which call themselves Trotskyist, who use the name Trotskyist, have something in common with Trotskyism which are the methods of struggle, the rejection of arrogance of the bureaucracy, of conciliation of conservatism and they want to fight by revolutionary methods. This is Trotskyism. But Trotskyism is not solely this. It is also the organisation the programme for the Proletarian State, the disciplined life of the Party which permits us to organise soviets. All these groups which call themselves Trotskyist, which organise themselves and develop a Trotskyist activity, must evolve towards a disciplined life, towards the Trotskyist programme of the revolution. They must not base themselves solely on Trotskyist methods, but they must develop the organisation of the Workers State in France. This is what it is necessary to discuss now within all these groups which call themselves Trotskyist, all these revolutionary groups, even those who call themselves anarchist. It is impossible that anarchist groups exist with a mentality of the past century, no longer are there any more anarchists. Basically they are fighting with Marxist revolutionary methods which is Trotskyism in this epoch. Marxism in this epoch is Trotskyism.

All these groups which manifest an anti-capitalist will to struggle are gained already objectively for the revolution. Because of this the students have so much of an echo, because all the tendencies are unified in a common will? out with the capitalist system. They come out unified in this common will and the masses are unified with the students to the same common will, out with the capitalist system. The masses are above their leaderships. While none of these leaderships have foreseen this process, have not felt it, they have been carried past, the masses prepared themselves for these events. The regime of De Gaulle, the police of De Gaulle, the political leadership of De Gaulle the government of De Gaulle, the Communist Party, the C.G.T. have been surprised by this process. They didn't expect it and they didn't feel it, they are incapable of understanding and acting, while the masses were prepared for the process and they prepared in the form of stoppages,

strikes, meetings, demonstrations "wild cat" strikes, (as they call them, because they are spontaneous in form) the masses prepared their will. The struggle of Vietnam, of China, of Cuba of Korea, the struggle of the masses of Syria and of the Middle East have been the unifying centre of this will of the masses.

The students were the detonator of this situation. It is the same in all of Europe, all of Europe is this way. It won't remain in France it is going to carry on in a wave in all of Europe. It is necessary to be disposed in order to orientate in this process. All of Europe is in a revolutionary process which has the same characteristics as France in a greater or lesser degree, Italy, England France, Belgium, Germany all these are in the same situation. Because of this the electoral triumph of the Trotskyists is important, the 600 votes of the Trotskyists in Charleroi in Belgium, in a single locality doubling the votes in relation to the previous election and at the same time the loss of the votes of all the conciliatory groups of the ex Trotskyists of the pro-Chinese and the Communists. This success has enormous importance. It is the same for the immense triumph for our Italian section; the concentration of the masses who have accompanied our electoral campaign in Italy indicated the concentration of the will of the masses to impel their leadership to take power. The English masses are waiting to intervene. The English masses are not this groups of dockers, this group who are against the negroes, for racial discrimination. These dockers were aristocratic groups. The aristocrats of the aristocrats among the proletariat who have the same position as the conservative M.P. who proposes measures against the negroes. The English proletariat is opposing itself to the Labour Party against the laws which which they have made against the increase in wages, is against the laws which restrict and repress the trade union rights, they are the masses who have voted to impel the class struggle, to fight against capitalism in England. The struggle in France, the triumph of the proletarian masses in Italy, are going to impel the proletariat in England in a short stage to struggle for the revolutionary leadership. The interior entrism is public. The masses are going to struggle to eliminate the leaderships and on the way they will resolve to eliminate all the leader-

ships who are opposed to the struggle for power.

The task is posed in these conditions of history for a new revolutionary leadership, for the revolutionary leadership in Europe; it is posed in these conditions. It is not a long process but it is a short and dynamic process in which there is an interior process of immense virulence. It is not of any importance to know if the elimination of the leadership comes afterwards or if it is necessary to create new parties or organisms because the historic intervals are not necessary. The delay will be very brief.

IT IS NECESSARY TO PUT INTO DISCUSSION, THE WHOLE PROGRAMME OF EXPROPRIATION OF CAPITALISM,

AND TO ORGANISE THE 'DE FACTO' WORKERS POWER WHICH ALREADY EXISTS.

This is the perspective which the General Strike in France opens up. But the General Strike is the form which the proletarian revolution in France takes in this stage of history. It is in this form which the revolution is realised, the United Front of the exploited masses of France: workers, peasants, students, professionals, the lower part of the army, all are unified. French capitalism doesn't have anything in its hands. Because of this the recent crisis of the leaders of the C.G.T. and of the Communist Party who accuse the Communist Party of containing the revolutionary wave, subjecting it, deviating it to mere trade union demands. This is significant because it is indicating that there are sectors who are already feeling the rebellion and they are going to rise up against the leadership of the Communist Party.

The attitude of these leaders (Borjonet) is correct in their denunciation but incorrect in their renunciation. They should have stayed where they were, they shouldn't have renounced the Communist Party or the C.G.T.. They should fight within and demand that they adopt revolutionary positions, not only denouncing them but struggling so that they put themselves at the head of the movement. It is an index of the immense pressure of the will of the masses to take power. It is necessary to call demonstrations, meetings, denouncing the leaderships who do not lead the struggle to the taking of power, to the fall of De Gaulle. It is necessary to appeal, to propose a programme rapidly of occupation of factories, of the functioning of the factories, the workers areas to form small soviets, commissions and workers control for the control of the factories. This is what the students propose, this is the proletarian programme, the programme of the Trotskyists. To organise now for power, to organise commissions of workers in the factories, in the trade unions, in the workers areas to pose the problem of production, the planning of production under workers control. It is necessary to call for the organisation of militias of workers, peasants, students who maintain production at the same time as the militias.

It is necessary to discuss all the problems of syllabus, a socialist programme of the revolution. The students must discuss particularly the best way, the most complete way, the right way, the only way which responds to the needs of scientific, cultural progress of humanity; this is the destruction of the capitalist system. The students demand all this. It is necessary to incorporate in consequence, all the forms of teaching which serve human knowledge to develop society. For this reason smash the capitalist system! The programme of study, the programmes of science, of art will be made immediately after, but now the essential programme of the students is to overthrow the capitalist system. This is what the students show; that the university is not satisfactory it cannot respond to the social necessities of the students. They feel that their role in society is not that of being simply a technician, a professor but of being useful to society. To be useful to society it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system because all the rest means to remain enclosed in the dominion of the capitalist system.

For this reason it is fundamental to incorporate in the activities which must be developed in France, together with workers militias, workers control, commissions formed of diverse groups to push forward a plan for the development of society, commissions of workers, students, peasants, housewives, soldiers, professional people, submitted to the proletarian programme. And the proletariat must put forward in these commissions the programme of overthrowing the capitalist system, planning production under workers control, eliminating every form of oppressive and repressive power over the masses, proletarian democracy, revocability of delegates, to discuss fully in the workers areas the workers zones, the trade unions.

It is necessary to discuss the manner of developing the power. Assemblies, permanent meetings. Appealing to the peasants to incorporate themselves on the basis of the expropriation of great agrarian properties which are a consortia, which are eliminating the small peasant, and to transform these into state farms and agrarian units. It is necessary to make a socialist co-operative of the small peasants with the help of the state apparatus to advance in the programme of socialist production, at the same time as planning production.

This is the programme to develop immediately. At the same time there must be a full discussion throughout France with appeals to the proletariat, to the peasants, to students to the professional workers, the soldiers to incorporate themselves in the revolution, to support the revolution with the organisation of power in the form of soviets, committees of the workers areas so that they can decide.

The discussion about who are the leaders must be based on this programme. It is necessary to push forward the discussion in the trade unions, in the Communist and Socialist parties to overthrow the capitalist system, nationalisation of all property, middle and large property planning of production workers control, factory committees, soviets in the workers areas, in all the places of work where power is going to be determined on the basis of the smallest workers area, the smallest factory to the greatest. And it is here that the form of power is going to be determined. It is necessary to do this now independently of the immediate conclusions or immediate events which occur even if capitalism succeeds through the Communist and Socialist parties and with the help of the Soviet bureaucracy to contain the revolutionary wave. The masses have seen that it is possible to overthrow capitalist power to pass beyond the leaderships to plan the taking of power to be able to unify and they are unified in a anti-capitalist United Front. Already the masses have felt in France that they can do this. And this experience in France is going to be repeated in a short stage throughout Europe, such struggles are going to develop throughout Europe. The Communist Party has been impotent to contain this revolutionary wave of the masses.

If De Gaulle has to make some very important concessions, it is necessary to be based on them to make the revolution advance. Not to be stopped by the concessions which De Gaulle has to make, but to start from them in order to go forward.

It is possible that the bureaucracy will succeed in manœuvring, and siezing hold of some concessions which capitalism has made in order to discuss with them and contain the movement. It is necessary to take the concessions to show that one can go forward starting from them and showing that capitalism can give nothing.

This general strike, this revolutionary mobilisation cannot be maintained for a great number of days. If the movement lasts for a long time, it will decompose, for the army and the police are attracted by the force, by the unanimity, the security of the workers movement: but if the movement does not go forward, towards concrete actions or functioning as a leadership, without waiting for much more time, the army and the police are going to draw away, as also are a part of the student and peasant movement, and the more backward sectors of the proletariat, who are going to try to go back to work or to arrange things on their own account, because they do not see a revolutionary solution. A revolutionary solution is necessary in a short time. In a few days it is necessary to give a revolutionary solution. And each day, new conquests must be made, For example; to make the factories function. Even now, to make the factories function, sell or distribute the products, so that the boss pays. Popular tribunals must be made in each district to make justice function. In each district, the district police must be elected: as we proposed for the Cubans in 1959 and as they applied, committees from the blocks of houses to assure the vigilance, and to form district committees to be able to take decisions, above all against the counter revolutionaries.

It is necessary to make the power function, showing to the army, to the sectors most remote from the proletariat, that the proletariat has the power to organise and that it is advancing in this organisation, even if the question of power is still not resolved. But in advancing in this way, the taking and the later functioning of power is facilitated.

As the Communist Party hasn't got the authority to break the strike, it is going to try to make these mobilisations become dispersed, lose themselves in order to conciliate afterwards. De Gaulle is waiting to launch himself forward and try to make a reactionary coup d'etat. He cannot do it now; French capitalism understands that it cannot any longer conciliate with the Communist Party because the masses have already by passed the Communist Party. Within French imperialism, there must exist the intention to make a reactionary coup, a military coup, a dictatorship, to try to contain the masses and to launch the atomic war.

The masses by demonstrating around the Bastille wanted to show that they seek a symbolic centre showing their will to overthrow the capitalist system. For this reason they went to the Bastille. The action of the students shows that they do not act in an independent form from this state of sentiment of the masses of France, on the contrary, they express it. They have been able to express this sentiment. The proletariat before in an infinite number of strikes, demonstrations, meetings, demonstrated this spirit. For this reason the proletariat opposed the leaderships who called for small strikes and stoppages without any importance, they are opposed to the strikes and stoppages for half an hour, and one hour, strikes without importance. But the proletariat wanted the general strike to overthrow the capitalist system. It showed that it was awaiting such an opportunity because at the same time that it rejected this action of the conservative and conciliatory leaders, by refusing to make strikes of one hour or half an hour, strikes of fifteen minutes, the masses were preparing for this action, occupying factories, making strikes, demonstrations over Vietnam. The support of the masses have had an immense echo in Vietnam. The action of the masses in France signifies an influence, a direct weight in support of the Vietnamese revolution, and a direct support to the North American masses who are seeking that in the middle of the peace talks over Vietnam there is a general strike which goes towards the taking of power. It has an immense influence over the North American masses and also over the Vietnamese leadership which came to conciliate and is obliged to be harder, more transigent, to adopt a class position, a position more representative of the revolutionary will of the Vietnamese masses.

ON THE BASIS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE

MAKE AN APPEAL FOR THE SOVIET SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

But particularly the influence reaches Vietnam, within the revolutionary tendency of Vietnam who are retaking the offensive against Yankee imperialism, not to have better positions to negotiate on, but to chase out, expel imperialism militarily, as the Vietnamese masses have shown already the possibility of doing. They can do it, they can smash imperialism. This General Strike in France is a help of enormous importance, it is a direct support of solidarity, a social political military support to the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, to the struggle of the masses of the world.

This struggle of the French masses shows capitalism in all its weakness and incapacity. For this reason world capitalism is dumb, has nowhere to turn to, and Yankee imperialism has not used the opportunity to liquidate De Gaulle, on the contrary it has a panic fear at the time when politically it is convenient for the liquidation of such a rival. British imperialism has an excellent opportunity to liquidate one of its principle opponents in relation to the Common Market nevertheless it feels to be in defence of De Gaulle because it feels that the fall of French capitalism is a wave throughout Europe. In every way the British masses are seeking the defeat of French capitalism and are thinking how to do this also in England.

The Spanish students and proletariat are reanimating themselves in their struggles, as a consequence, as a direct influence of the General Revolutionary strike in France. This is the path which the masses chose, it is not the path which the Communist leadership wishes to take. In consequence the Spanish proletariat is animating its struggles and the struggles are reanimating throughout Europe, and the result is going to be an enormous step forward to the fall of Franco and the constitution of a revolutionary leadership in Spain to overthrow Franco.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the United Socialist States of Europe, for an appeal for a European Workers Centre, for the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist European United Front, for the formation throughout all Europe, of committees, currents, tendencies in each factory, factory committees, workers area committees, trade union committees, a United Front based on the programme to overthrow capitalism, discussing in a democratic form with democratic elections and revocability of delegates. This must be the basis on which the programme to overthrow capitalism finds support. A programme of the elimination, of the destruction of the capitalist system, of all the bureaucracy, of all those who are opposed to the pressure of the revolutionary will of the masses to overthrow the capitalist system. Peasants, workers, soldiers, students, police they can all be gained for the revolution, these are the central slogans which must be put forward now on the basis of the general strike in France, for all of Europe.

The Italian masses who have just demonstrated an immense centralisation, an immense revolutionary favour in support of the workers parties, the parties which they consider most closely linked to the class, the Communist Party and the PSIUP, are indicating also that in Italy there is a new general strike and a new Vietnam being prepared. Our sections in Europe must expect, in consequence, the development of revolutionary tendencies, and base themselves on these conditions for their activity.

The comrades of the Italian section must consider that all the sectors which have stood around the tribune of the Party at the public meetings, whether or not they vote for us, are going to seek the support of the party and to feel stimulated by this support, for their fight inside the Communist Party, to push forward a revolutionary policy, because they see in France a confirmation of all the policy and the perspective for which the Party has made appeals. And they themselves are going to feel encouraged, and see the precise forms of this united front.

Capitalism does not have the strength to contain the debacle which is now going on in France. The defeat of De Gaulle is a defeat for world capitalism. When world capitalism is centralised, seeking a solution to Vietnam, to try to make the situation more flexible, the French masses give a tremendous blow to French capitalism and to the Soviet bureaucracy. It is a blow to both. The masses of Syria began such a blow in the new phase, defeating Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. The exploited masses of France directed by the proletariat are taking in to their hands consciously - for it is not an unconscious empirical attitude - they are taking into their hands the leadership of the revolution and they are influencing the whole European proletariat and they are disintegrating imperialism.

The Vietnamese delegation discussing with imperialism have to base themselves on this situation. To denounce Imperialism and appeal to the masses to throw out imperialism. In the discussion itself the Vietnamese delegates must accuse Yankee imperialism and appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow imperialism. It is a formidable support which the exploited masses of France are giving to the Vietnamese masses, to the Chinese masses, to the Cuban masses. It is necessary that Castro, that the government of Castro, the Cuban Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party, the Korean Communist Party, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the Communist Parties of the Workers States make an appeal to the masses of the world in support of the General Revolutionary strike. of the French masses,

the Trotskyists in France, the independent tendencies who seek the anti-capitalist solution, must make appeals to the masses of the Workers States in support of the General Strike in France for the overthrow of what remains of capitalism in Europe. It is the moment to do this, the conditions are immensely favourable. Capitalism is dislocated, is disorganised, it is impotent, it does not understand, it does not find the means to oppose the process. It doesn't have the strength, it cannot mobilise, neither in Spain or in Germany, places where capitalism has a dictatorial power. It is incapable of impeding demonstrations in support of the French masses. It is impotent. The whole of Europe is mobilising in support of the General Strike in France. This indicates the will, common to all the masses of Europe, and capitalism does not find, does not dispose of the strength nor finds the means to subject the masses throughout Europe to it. On the contrary it has no political or social strength. Thus as

And the French masses, the trade unions, the revolutionary tendencies, European imperialism is paralysed, so all European capitalism is paralysed. At the

same time that the French masses give a terrible blow to world capitalism, the masses in Italy give a similar blow and also, the Belgium masses do, and it is the same throughout Europe.

The demonstrations of Dutsche and the students in Germany indicate the same process as in France, more distorted, slower because the workers movement in Germany is more submitted to the dictatorship of the bourgeois leadership of the Socialist Party but it has the same significance. The students are an echo, a representative of the German masses but don't have their own strength to sustain themselves before all the pressures and repression of German capitalism. It is necessary to expect great movements in Germany also. It is the perspective on which must be based all the revolutionary struggles in France and the rest of Europe. It is necessary to make appeals now for the revolutionary strike throughout Europe to overthrow what remains of capitalism in the rest of Europe. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the Workers States of the Communist Parties to intervene, demanding soviets, mobilisations, discussions, for a general strike, stoppages, meetings in the U.S.S.R. Czechoslovakia, in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Korea in all the Workers States; mobilisations, demonstrations, in support of the French proletariat against French capitalism. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America for mobilisations demonstrations meetings, in order to support at the same time the French masses, and the struggle in their own countries to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal for the United Front.

The struggle of the French proletariat shows that there is no apparatus which can conquer the enormous force which is signified by the United Front of the masses. All the apparatuses can be overpowered. Neither French imperialism nor the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party nor the leadership of the C.G.T. in France expected such a mobilisation, the apparatuses are insensible and impotent they are insensible because they cannot understand and because what is happening goes against them. They are impotent because they do not have the means to impede the mobilisations. It is not their stage, the stage of the apparatuses, it is the stage of the action of the masses. This is the road which the masses of the world are opening up to dispose of all the apparatuses and they are going to do all this in the next stages.

The events in France have a particularly great importance and significance, because France appeared as one of the most stable and solid countries of the financial, economic, social system of imperialism. It is an indication of what is going to happen in Germany and England which appear politically and socially solid. The masses are organising at the base, in their homes, in the factories, the offices, the workshops, and the trade unions and they receive, they accumulate, they live politically the world influences of the revolution and prepare to make a dialectical leap. It is the same dialectical leap which the International has taken in this stage. De Gaulle and the Soviet bureaucracy believed that the apparatuses were all powerful, and they continued to have confidence in their own apparatuses, they have been incapable and powerless to see and contain.

The masses have seen that they are defeating all the apparatuses, and that they are more powerful than all the apparatuses of the world. This is going to also influence the intermediary bureaucratic tendencies of the Workers State, the middle cadres of the bureaucracy to try to carry on a policy more independent of peaceful co-existence and this is going to reduce, disintegrate the internal forces of the bureaucracy and facilitate the development of the political revolution in all the Workers States. Such is the other conclusion for the later activity of the International and of the masses. In particular in China and Cuba, this fight is going to exercise an immense influence on the tendencies which are going to seek the programme of the permanent socialist revolution.

The incorporation in the struggle of sectors remote from the political and social activity of the Party in France, means an already total decomposition of capitalism and the encouragement which the world revolution gives to all sectors of French society. Footballers, ballerinas, employees without any social or economic importance, professors, theatre people, the Folies Bergeres, sweepers at the Senate. The most remote sectors from the social revolutionary activity have participated and are participating, which means to say that the world influence of the revolution and the lack of authority of the capitalist system reaches even the most backward layers of society; and this demonstrates the immense forces of the revolution.

It is on these perspectives that it is necessary to be based in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. But one characteristic of this movement of the revolutionary general strike of the French masses and the mobilisations of the masses of Europe as in Italy have been the Trotskyist slogans. In one way or another the slogans which centralised and mobilise the masses and make their revolutionary struggle advance, are Trotskyist. This means; armed struggle against established power to overthrow the capitalist system, proletarian United Front, factory committees, workers control, democratic elections and immediate recall of elected representatives, expropriation without compensation of the greater and middle industries, and private property, nationalisation and planning of the economy, World Wide United Front, Mass Communist International, unconditional defence of Vietnam, out with Imperialism from Vietnam, not 'peace' in Vietnam, out with Imperialism from Vietnam. These are all Trotskyist slogans, they are the objectives of Trotskyism.

Trotskyism is shown to have been a public possession in Europe. It is on this perspective that our sections and our comrades throughout the world must base their activities. The process in France indicates the concentration of an immense global force, which is going to liberate itself, which is going to extend itself throughout the world; the influence of the revolutionary positions of Trotskyism, throughout the world, which is the concentration of Marxism of the epoch. All this process was foreseen by the VII World Congress of the IV International realised in April 1967. This shows the perspectives on which this Revolutionary General Strike in France allows us to base ourselves.

The Soviet bureaucracy through the French Communist Party tries to contain this process. But it is irreversible. The Communist Party tries to lead this process, and to find a parliamentary solution which does not exist. De Gaulle emerged triumphant in a parliamentary election, but the masses have gone out into the streets. there is the situation, there is the solution of this situation where the masses seek to find a revolutionary conclusion. It is on this perspective that it is necessary to be based. At the immediate moment the Communist Party is going to try to contain the process but it is forced to yield. For this reason it criticises parliament. It is forced to yield in order to still be able to contain the process, but no longer can it do as before; for fifteen days it has tried to contain and it is being dragged along. T The crisis in the government of De Gaulle increases, and De Gaulle accuses his ministers now because he sees that the control of the country is going out of their hands.

When the police declare that they will not come out to repress strikes it is because they feel that the capitalist state has no authority. And when De Gaulle has not mobilised the army it is because he feels insecurity in the army. The top cadres of the army the top officers are the defenders of imperialism, but the soldiers, the sergeants, corporals, above all the soldiers the young soldiers who are people who have come out from the factories, are going to desert. For this reason

the French government hesitates in sending the troops against the masses. Already it has an historic experience, when in 1917 when the French fleet in the Black Sea was directed by revolutionaries and it turned around and in place of attacking the Russian revolution it gave support to the Russian revolution. French imperialism already has this example and it has also been thrown out of Indo China and Algeria. It feels that its army is a demoralised army. The reactionary layer has no authority, capacity, no social dominion over the soldiers. The soldiers under the influence of Vietnam and of the masses of France. For this reason he still hesitates to go to use the army. All this means a historic time gained for the revolution.

It is necessary to intervene in this process objectively impelling the revolution. We do not seek to grow, by groups, by units, but by impelling the revolution objectively, which is the way of developing the International, and our united front and our fusion with the world revolution, globally and massively.

The civil war has already begun, not in a bloody, armed, ^{way} not under the form of the immediate insurrection, but it is already the civil war: the masses have taken the factories, the countryside the places of work, as their own property. It is the civil war. The masses are prepared to defend this conquest of civil war. They are not putting on pressure just to obtain demands, but with the spirit of civil war with the will to expropriate capitalism. Even the customs officers have abandoned the frontiers: they feel that the authority of capitalism is dissolving. They do

not feel that capitalism dominates them, on the contrary it is the authority of the masses which weighs on them.

It is necessary to foresee reactionary reaction on the part of the army to impose a military coup. In this case, it is necessary to make a reply immediately, by the occupation of all the factories, by calling the soldiers to rebel, and to join up directly with the insurrectional strike. One must foresee that French capitalism can still have recourse to a military coup d'etat. They are desperate measures; but it is necessary to take into account that capitalism is going to employ them if the Communist and Socialist Parties do not succeed in containing the masses.

The communists are trying to draw advantage ^{by} conciliating, maintaining still a dialogue with De Gaulle. The masses have rejected this they are closing the road to the solution of peaceful negotiations. For this reason the Communist Party is obliged to modify its tactics and in form to make itself go left, although it continues to pursue its same objectives. For this reason it speaks now of the necessity for a government which takes measures for socialism. When in fact they have the solution for socialism in their hands. By yielding formally they are expressing that basically the masses already want socialism.

The Communist Party tries to prevent the masses from raising their consciousness, to prevent the masses from stabilising the security which they have developed by occupying the factories, and to prevent continuation of this form of civil war. The masses on the contrary continue, strengthen their security, are eliminating capitalism concretely, by bypassing military power, judicial power, the government and imposing their own power. It is this which the Communist Party tries to contain. But in the Communist Party itself, there are struggles, expressing that some sectors are in process of feeling, even partially, the influence of the revolution. It is necessary to intervene in the crisis basing oneself on the daily activity; demonstrations, meetings etc.

It is on these perspectives that the revolutionary tendencies must base themselves in the Communist, Socialist parties, in the C.G.T. to gain all these Trotskyist groups, dispersed Trotskyist groups, who have come out without a precise objective and who are now coordinating themselves. There is no order, there is no programme, there is no conscious direction. The struggle itself is giving the leadership, the order and the conscious programme. The order means the measures and the tactics of struggle, the programme, and the objectives to obtain. There are still no objectives, there is still no common programme between the workers, the students, the professional people and the peasants because the Communist leaderships of the C.G.T. the Socialist leaders of the apparatuses give no programme. The masses in the struggle are seeking this programme, they are imposing this programme and they oppose it when they occupy factories, lands, offices, occupy the university, throw out the teachers and speak of socialist education, and put up the Red Flag and sing the 'Internationale' ^{is} the centre which unifies them. For this reason everywhere in France from the smallest places to the very largest places the common symbol which unites them is the Red Flag and the Internationale. It is the centre which is uniting all the masses because it is a symbol of their common will.

This common will of the masses already means a programme; the Red Flag and the "Internationale" give the line, the objective and the programme. The Red Flag, the Internationale means: overthrow capitalism! Long Live socialism. It is necessary to develop the programme immediately. It is necessary to help the masses to find the forms of organisation, in the workers areas, the trade unions, factories, through the medium of factory committees in which all the tendencies are represented, to discuss completely all the measures to take, electing the leadership as in the soviets. It is there where Trotskyism is going to develop with immense force because Trotskyism is the Marxism of this epoch. It is necessary to propose the programme which reflects represents and which responds to the conscious necessity of the masses. The masses want power, the masses want power! These are the revolutionary conditions in France.

It is in these revolutionary conditions in France that it is necessary to intervene. Whatever might be the manoeuvres which the Communist Party can do, already the dislocation and the destruction of the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist and Socialist party of the C.G.T. and of the destruction of the bourgeois apparatus begin. The masses already have learnt this task in a

unanimous and centralised way. It is a question of time. And even though they succeed in containing the mobilisations, diverting them, and in part pacifying them, the masses are going to feel themselves to be triumphant. It is De Gaulle who yields, not the masses. It is De Gaulle who says "good we are going to have a discussion" it is not the masses who say we are going to discuss. De Gaulle with the power of the army, of the police, and all his reactionary laws has to have a dialogue, announcing that the basis of the dialogue is his resignation. And the masses feel that they have the power for this they don't want to discuss they want to impose and they want to impose the measures which tend to eliminate the capitalist system.

IT IS NECESSARY TO INTERVENE AUDACIOUSLY AND DYNAMICALLY TO IMPEL THE REVOLUTION IN THE ENTIRE WORLD BASED ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE IN FRANCE.

France announces a new phase in the world socialist revolution. On this perspective it is necessary to base oneself. Syria showed it last year, the Syrian masses and Egypt, particularly the Syrian masses who when in a small country, in conditions of capitalist siege, in spite of the difficulties and the conditions of economic poverty of the country were sufficient in their revolutionary will to make militias and they defeated Israel, prevented Israel from destroying Syria and Egypt. The Syrian masses demonstrated that the revolution was in a new stage and they defeated the imperialist army and the intentions, and the objectives of the Israeli imperialists, even though they were militarily defeated they defeated its objectives. And all the military action must get to its objective, and if it doesn't succeed in doing this it constitutes a defeat. Imperialism has not succeeded through Israel. And also the Soviet bureaucracy has been defeated; the Syrian masses with the militias have rejected the conciliation that the bureaucracy wanted to make. This is an example of a new stage in history.

Since then in less than a year the revolution has gone an immense way. The masses of Korea expropriated a ship from imperialism! They expropriated it! They took it away! Imperialism which had the capacity to defeat German imperialism by means of the atomic bomb was impotent to fire a single shot against North Korea. Not a single shot. Not because it didn't have the strength but because the strength of the world revolution prevented it and amongst this the action of the masses in France. There one can see all the feebleness, all the timidity of the conciliatory leadership and the timid leaderships which do not base themselves on a marxist conception; the Chinese and the Cubans despise the European proletariat including the French proletariat, and they take no account of it in their plans. The 14th. International was the only organisation that took the actions of the European Proletariat and the French proletariat into account for the development of its revolutionary activity and revolutionary perspectives. In all our documents we have constantly stated as a fundamental basis to establish perspectives, that the actions of the European proletariat prevents capitalism from finding a harmony within itself, prevented and prevents the harmony and structure of capitalism so that it can throw itself with all its forces against the Workers States. And it was the French Proletariat,

amongst others, the Italian proletariat and the masses of Germany which prevented capitalism from being able to take advantage from the retreat towards capitalism which was occurring in Czechoslovakia. The action of the Soviet bureaucracy to contain the retreat has been important, but the soviet bureaucracy has been able to intervene because the European proletariat has prevented capitalism being able to concentrate in order to gain advantage in Czechoslovakia. The proof of this is that world capitalism finds it necessary to base itself on sending De Gaulle to Rumania as a bridge towards Czechoslovakia, giving encouragement to sectors of the bureaucracy which wants to return to capitalism and it was De Gaulle who had to come back, desperate to France, because in France the masses were throwing him out. The masses of France demonstrated that they are not a support for capitalism but that they can stop the capitalist tendencies in Czechoslovakia. This has always existed.

Neither the Chinese nor the Cubans have ever been capable of understanding this, because they haven't got a Marxist conception of the process of history and the historically irreplaceable role of the world proletariat due not only to its role in the economy but due to the consciousness that it has already acquired. The French proletariat did not give up in front of its leaderships, it has not been submitted to its bureaucratic apparatus. It is searching for the moment in which history will permit it to base itself on the historical conditions and to make a leap forward.

This is what the Spanish proletariat is doing as well. There is only a short time to go. It is necessary to base oneself on the whole of the process of the world revolution, and to see that this crisis in France is going to have very great consequences, ^{like in 1936 a new Popular Front. The conditions for} and it is not going to reproduce a new Popular Front are not present, nor for fascism. These are stupid and miserable slogans of the Soviet Bureaucracy and the Communist Party putting people on their guard against the possible rebirth of fascism in Germany which is done simply in order to divert the attention of the masses. Simply for this, in order to divert the attention of the masses. The Soviet Bureaucracy which fears it has to confront a warlike wing in Germany. But such sectors and wings exist in the whole of the capitalist system because they haven't got any other perspective.

On the other hand it is important to see the movement of Dutchke, the mobilisations of the students, and the stimulus which it is finding, and the influence which it is going to have in the proletariat. This is what must be seen in this stage of history; the perspective of all the groups and reactionary tendencies is finished where it starts, right at the beginning.

There isn't any reactionary perspective possible, **capitalism has no possibility.** The only force with which capitalism can count in reality is the conciliatory policy of peaceful co-existence, of conservatism in the leadership of the trade unions, in the Workers Centres and in the Communist and Socialist parties. It is not atomic arms which decide. Capitalism has atomic arms and why doesn't it invade Korea; what prevents it? The thing that prevents it is the world revolution and within this, China. It is not atomic arms which are going to decide, it is the will of the masses which is going to crush atomic arms. They are going to be used, they are going to have tremendous and horrible effects on humanity but they are not going to detain the course of humanity.

It is on these present prerspectives which the French proletariat showed that it is necessary to develop all the actions of the masses in Europe. All the action and the perspectives. The crisis in the Communist Parties will be increased and stimulated. The class tendencies, the vanguard in the communist parties, the masses without a party who intervene in all the elections, are going to try to intervene in a more complete, direct and constant fashion. The masses could only intervene before, occasionally, or in the elections. In France and Spain now they are demonstrating that they intervene all the time. The leadership of the Communist Parties want to push the masses to one side but the masses intervene daily. If they cannot do so in an organic way they do it in the form of groups and tendencies, of conversations, of discussions following events. The result is the spontaneous but unanimous action of the masses in France. The masses have lived every day with the desire and will to intervene. They have not stayed outside the process. In the crisis of the Communist Parties after Czechoslovakia the crisis of the bureaucracy after the crisis of China, after the crisis of the communist party in Cuba, after the condemnation of the conservative tendencies in Cuba and China, the masses of France saw the means and the form to destroy the conservative and conciliatory leaderships of peaceful co-existence, all the leaderships of the Communist Party. It is going to be a tremendous impulse to the development of the crises in the communist parties towards the construction of revolutionary tendencies.

The general strike in France is a centre which shows the will of the masses and the concentration in a higher stage than that of China, of the conditions to overthrow what is left of the regimes of repression and oppression and of all the conservative regimes and of peaceful coexistence. The concentrated and centralised process of the world revolution arouses the masses of the world to stimulate each other and to help each other. It is not the leaderships of the Communist Party, nor the Chinese, nor the Cubans, nor of the Italian Communist Party which is impelling the masses. It is they on their own account who are encouraging each other. There is not a conscious leadership. That is why Trotskyism, which has small strength and has numerically small sections has an immense political authority. In the struggles of the masses of the world they are taking the Trotskyist programme, it is the concentrated and centralised process which permits such a thing to happen. Thus the policy, programme and objectives of the 14th. International is a possession of humanity. Why? Because the conditions are there to do this.

In the concentration of the process one must expect in the next stage a world advance. But the stages are becoming shorter. There is going to be an energetic

world advance, a dynamic world advance in the revolutionary tendencies, which are going to attempt to by-pass the conciliatory, conservative, and capitulatory, and terrorist, and repressive leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade union centres. It is necessary to develop this perspective and to base oneself on this perspective, to be daring in order to push forward throughout the world such actions, in order to impel the revolution, basing oneself on the revolutionary general strike in France, even if the Communist Party succeeds in conciliating with French capitalism and in getting through this stage. And they will conciliate but the masses are going to by-pass it in a very short time. The masses are united in the will to overthrow the capitalist system, this is the perspective.

Imperialism tries to search for conciliation in order to try to get through this stage, it searches for conciliation with the Soviet bureaucracy. It tries to conciliate in order to get through this stage. The masses are going to overthrow all of them they prevent all these people coming to an agreement, prevent them from centralising themselves. The struggles of the masses are the essential things which promote everything, it is the essential cause of the crisis of the capitalist system, of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the Communist Parties. It is the revolutionary will of the masses! This is what has weight and decides in this stage of history and the masses are working in a more and more conscious way.

The leaderships of Cuba, China and the other Workers States of Vietnam and Korea must make an appeal now for a Mass Communist International to overthrow what is left of the capitalist system, to overthrow Yankee imperialism and to throw it out of Vietnam - Let all these discussions go to hell! On the platform of the discussions in Paris, the Vietnamese delegates must accuse Yankee Imperialism in order to direct itself at the North American masses; but not simply accusations of an ironical kind. It must appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow what is left of the world capitalist system. Not to discuss who started it but they must accuse Imperialism for it is Imperialism that provoked the war because it does not have any other solution to sustain itself, showing at the same time what the Vietnamese masses are and appealing to the masses of the world to overthrow the capitalist system. To appeal to the North American masses and to say to them; overthrow the capitalist system. Appeal

to them - the yankees will not like it but what does it matter if they do not like it - the North American masses will like it and it is the Vietnamese who must direct this.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE
ANNOUNCES A NEW STAGE OF HISTORY.

CHINA, CUBA, KOREA, VIETNAM, SYRIA, MUST
APPEAL FOR THE OVERTHROW OF WHAT REMAINS
OF WORLD CAPITALISM.

It is necessary to be based on the General Strike in France in order to take such a decision. It is necessary to appeal to the Chinese leadership to intervene now, that it should intervene and at the same time support the general strike in France as it is doing with demonstrations, which are very important, and at the same time making an appeal, a concrete appeal NOW FOR A WORLD UNITED FRONT IN SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE: Demonstrations, meetings, factory occupations, taking of the land, of offices, of schools, of the universities throughout the world in support of the revolutionary General Strike in France and for the destruction of all the apparatuses of backward, feudal education which is a selection to favour the capitalist system. All the system of education within the capitalist system is a selection in order to prevent progress. The crisis of the university system and the capitalist education is due essentially to the fact that they have no more resources at their disposal, either ability, or interest. They are not interested any more in education, what they are interested in is education for atomic arms to show how to destroy the masses, to destroy populations, to defend what is left of the capitalist system, nothing more. This is the reason for the crisis of the educational system of capitalism, because it has no further interest and no means, nor capacity. This is the reason for the unanimity of the movement throughout the entire world. But the movement of the students from the University, the secondary and even the primary schools, is due to the influence of the world revolution which is superior to the decadence; to the impotence and the incapacity of the capitalist system and to the incapacity of

the workers leaders, because the students instead of feeling themselves, discouraged and destroyed, weak and isolated, feel themselves united with the world revolution. This is the reason for their struggle. This is the Mass Communist International.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses of France to adopt resolutions of support to the masses of Vietnam and for the expulsion of Imperialism. It is necessary to appeal to the North Vietnamese leadership to discuss and accuse American imperialism and to invite the masses of the world and in particular the North American masses to take power. So that in each demonstration, there is a resolution of support to Vietnam. It is necessary to appeal for a general strike in all of Europe to support the revolutionary general strike in France and to form control commissions, factory, district committees, small soviets, to support the general strike.

The masses of the world are united with this same anti-capitalist feeling. The Chinese, Korean, Cuba, Vietnamese leaderships and the leaderships of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary tendencies in the Communist Parties must call for a world anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist United Front this minute: to destroy what is left of the capitalist system, to organise workers committees, soviets: to organise socialist and proletarian democracy, to organise the democratic elections with delegates who are subject to instant recall on the basis of the programme which eliminates what is left of the capitalist system, the Soviet Bureaucracy and the conservative and capitulatory leaderships and peaceful co-existence.

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE IS THE ESSENTIAL BEGINNING OF A NEW STAGE IN HISTORY. The revolutionary general strike of the French masses is showing that there are the conditions ready for the crushing of what is left of world capitalism, and the atomic war which capitalism is going to launch to try to sustain itself, will be very short because it is not going to be able to make use of all its instruments, of all its capacity of destruction because before it can, it will be conquered by the masses. It is the inevitable stage through which it is necessary to pass, to go through, Capitalism is preparing itself for the atomic war! The general strike in France demands this preparation and whatever the discussions within the United States, the revolutionary general strike of the French masses is going to centralise the reactionary tendencies within North America in order to seek a solution in nuclear war. It might^{be} now, it might tomorrow, or after the elections but it is going to be accelerated. Capitalism is going to see that it hasn't got any points of support to continue, to sustain itself, and that conciliating with the Soviet Bureaucracy and the Communist Parties is less and less possible. Time is running out because the masses of the world are breaking the system up. This is the reason why we make an appeal to the leaderships of the Communist Parties and the Workers States of Cuba and China particularly, to the Syrian Workers State, an appeal for a WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT - FOR THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL BASED ON THE PROGRAMME OF DEATH TO WORLD CAPITALISM - THE INAUGURATION OF SOVIETS, OF WORKERS STATES, THE UNIFICATION THROUGH PLANNING OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES IN THE WORLD WHICH IS THE WAY TO PREPARE FOR THE ATOMIC WAR AVOIDING THE GREATEST EVIL FOR HUMANITY AND SO AS TO PASS FROM THE ATOMIC WAR TO THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM!

These are the conclusions which can be extracted from the General Strike in France. Whatever the immediate episodes might be, capitalism has not the advantage to take up the initiative again and to go back to previous stages. The stage of the European revolution has been initiated with irresistible force. All revolutionaries must base themselves on these perspectives, particularly the Workers States which must intervene, uniting themselves, calling for unification between European proletariat and the proletariat of the Workers States, Single Trade Union Centre with the anti-capitalist programme to destroy capitalism, to nationalise property, plan production, install soviets and unify the whole of Europe in the form of the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe, the Soviet Socialist United States of the world world. This is the conclusion which arises from the General Strike in France.

Comrade J. Posadas.

22nd May, 1968.