

*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

# UNIFY THE WORKERS' FIGHT

## *Form Factory Committees Now*

Throughout the entire world, conditions are maturing for the establishment of workers' and peasants' power. In Western Europe, the masses are beginning to struggle, not merely for economic demands, but for power. The workers in Italy, France, Belgium, Germany and Spain over the last couple of years, have come into conflict not only with the capitalists but with their own reformist leaderships in the trade unions and the Communist and Socialist parties; the capitalists' last line of defence is beginning to crumble.

The difference between the struggle in this country and the rest of Western Europe is only one of degree. The results of the recent by-elections have shown the extent of the anti-capitalist feeling among the working class, who did not vote Labour because of any illusions in the leadership, but to express their class solidarity and their opposition to capitalism. Significantly the biggest swing to Labour occurred at Luton, the constituency of the Vauxhall car workers; and at Openshaw, Manchester, a Communist standing for the first time, polled over a thousand votes. Although, of course, a number of middle-class people vote for the CP, the Openshaw figures must include a large number of workers who are voting Communist as a protest against the Labour Party policy and leadership. The other significant point about the by-election results was the abstention of large numbers of the Tory middle-class. With the increasing social weakness of capitalism (shown clearly in the assassination of Kennedy) many of the middle-class are losing their faith in the ruling class. The CND movement was an example of this lack of faith; but the middle-class is unable to struggle effectively alone, and impressed by power it will look to the working class for leadership, if the working class shows itself capable of conducting a resolute anti-capitalist struggle.

### IMMIGRATION ACT BETRAYAL

No-one expects a resolute anti-capitalist struggle to be carried out by the Trade Union or Labour Party leaders, these people have been incorporated into and are principal points of support of the capitalist state. When Home and Wilson recently had private talks about security, they were talking about the security of British capitalism in the face of the mounting world revolution and the proletarian revolution here at home. The Labour leaders have just allowed the renewal of the immigration act; not one of them mentioned that it was a piece of legislation designed to split the working class along racialist lines. Both Labour and Tory leaders talk glibly about marvellous schemes for education and housing, knowing full well that the rate of growth of the economy is quite inadequate to provide the funds for these schemes. In common with the rest of Western Europe, Britain's economy fluctuates between upswings, where inflation soon becomes a burning issue with workers determined to maintain their standard of living, and downswings which mean an increase in the

number of unemployed. The economic base for reformism is getting narrower and narrower. Knowing this the Labour leaders do not want to take power; impotent in the face of a system they do not want to damage let alone destroy, they know that the next time they take power, their true allegiance to capitalism will become obvious. This is why we say they must take power, for the last time, to demonstrate their treachery and impotence, and to shatter any remaining illusions in them.

Many workers, of course, view with scepticism and distrust the bureaucracies of the trade unions and the Labour party. As an example of this, the London busmen's overtime ban continued in spite of the displeasure expressed by Frank Cousins, the General Secretary of the TGWU. Commenting on this displeasure, a member of the busmen's negotiating committee said, "This is a demonstration that the Union lives in a different world to its members." Today there are few workers who are unaware of this difference.

### FUTILITY OF CONCESSIONS

Faced with a militant mood on the part of the workers, the employers are forced to make quick concessions to avoid the social consequences of a long strike. The rapid capitulation of the management at the London Transport railway works at Acton, after 1600 men had been out for only one day in a dispute involving the employment of a non-union man, was a good example of this. In spite of its 'kicking a hole' in the Government's incomes policy, Beeching has been allowed to give the railwaymen a 6% increase, the London busmen received between 3.7% and 6%, and the engineers 5%. Industries that can afford to pay wage increases, do so, despite any advice from the Government, and the Government itself is prepared to see its own incomes policy shattered rather than face a showdown with the workers at this time. To the capitalists, a showdown now would be a disaster. The railwaymen have only accepted Beeching's 6% as an interim settlement, and will soon be claiming more, the miners are claiming 6% to 8% increase, and in many sections of industry the struggles for the 40 hour week, and against redundancy caused by automation, go on.

The capitalist class is trapped, and all it can do is to hope that the Trade Union bosses will get it out of the mess. It cannot afford economically to

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## WHY THE PENTAGON KILLED KENNEDY

By J. POSADAS

The development of the objective process after the assassination reveals two fundamental aspects — the enormous weakness of world capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy. At first sight it can seem contradictory that the existence of the Soviet bureaucracy depends on that of capitalism. But from this fact stems the enormous shock and tremendous anguish caused by the assassination of Kennedy to world capitalism and to the bureaucracy. On the surface, all the economic and financial plans of the bourgeoisie appear strong, well based. Their investment projects seem well established to meet the future with confidence.

The assassination of Kennedy has profoundly shaken all the world capitalist system. It not only shook the world stock exchanges but the whole capitalist system. It put a question mark not only over the consequences of this event developing within the workers' states, but within capitalism itself. The rapid arrival in Washington of all the presidents of the world was not simply with the object of attending the funeral but the attempt to reaffirm the pursuit of peaceful co-existence with Khrushchev. They wanted to put pressure on the Pentagon, on Johnson by trying to present at least in appearance a solid front to contain as far as possible the plans of the Pentagon.

### FIGHT BETWEEN BANDITS

When capitalism sees itself obliged to take such measures, this demonstrates that it entrusts its existence, not to its own capacity and force, but to the plans of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is these people that allow it to exist. World capitalism was present at the funeral of Kennedy. In reality it was not simply a question of mourners but a world counter revolutionary "council" to consider the future of capitalism. The question was not that of organising the counter revolution — that task is decided and undertaken — but of profiting from all the advantages to the maximum extent offered by the policy of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is the standard by which we must measure the strength of capitalism and not at the level of its economic perspectives. The rapid recovery of the various stock exchanges can make it appear that capitalism has recovered confidence in itself. This is purely on the surface. Capitalism cannot be judged on the level of economic advance but on the degree in which it exhibits social and political confidence in itself. The united front of capitalism exists against the colonial revolution, against the proletarian revolution, against the workers' states. Thus to be incapable of a single-minded harmonious policy in face of the world socialist revolution indicates a total lack of confidence, of historical perspective for capitalism.

If the Soviet bureaucracy cannot gain any advantages from this event, it is from fear that they may rebound against them. To profit from these

events would mean to enfeeble the authority of world capitalism and in consequence to increase the action of the masses. Hence the reason for the silence of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The assassination of Kennedy is the result of a struggle between bandits. One faction has liquidated a member of the opposite faction.

Within the heart of Yankee imperialism there are two tendencies. One tendency centres on what is called the Pentagon and is wrongly called "right wing" (there is no left or right for capitalism but simply different positions in relation to the same policy) and the "Kennedy" tendency. The Pentagon tendency realises that every day that permits the prolongation of the existence of the workers' states goes against the interests of capitalism and it is consequently against this prolongation. In a certain sense it is correct because the sectors which it defends are those most closely bound to the financial and military apparatus of preparation for war.

### THE PENTAGON LINE

At this stage capitalism if it is to function in the same way as before, is geared to a very great centralisation of the apparatus, of the circles which control the state. The North American economy cannot function without the constant flow of financial aid and military expenditure directed to the preparation of nuclear war. What determines today the smooth functioning of the economy of the US is not the production of wheat or automobiles or some other industry but the industry for nuclear war. Now this industry is in the hands of a very limited group, twenty families. This group understands very well that the only way to try to safeguard its own existence is to launch the nuclear war. To uphold its interests it defends what is called the hard line of imperialism. That is to say not to yield in relation to Cuba or Germany and to develop a policy of pressure and of blackmail to the limit of war against the workers' states. The policy of "brinkmanship" which Dulles outlined, is theirs. This policy has not great differences from that of Kennedy. He also was prepared to go to the

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# An Open Letter to the Comrades of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity

Comrades:

The crisis in the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), reflecting the crisis in the International Communist movement and the inability of the CPGB to respond to the revolutionary tasks in Great Britain, has culminated with the appearance of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity.

This committee has posed the necessity for constructing a Marxist Party in this country on the basis of Leninist principles on the Leninist conception of the state and the revolution, betrayed by the official leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The CPGB is a social democratic party which cannot be gained from within say the Committee; it must be destroyed from without. A new leadership is necessary which must construct the Marxist party in this country and there is no hope of winning over the present reformist leadership of the CPGB, an appendage of the LP which in its turn is an appendage of the bourgeois state.

## THE 25 POINTS

The Trotskyists support these conclusions. But the degeneration of the CPGB did not begin yesterday. It is part of the long process of the degeneration of the international communist movement begun in the epoch of Stalin and continued in that of Khrushchev. The loyal followers of Stalin are today the most loyal followers of Khrushchev — Togliatti, Thorez, Gollan, Ibarruri, Dange, Prestes, Codovila, Blas Roca. This is the team and the international leadership which Stalin constructed and which Khrushchev has inherited.

The leadership which escaped the control of Stalin and which through a tremendous and victorious war of national and social liberation led the revolution to triumph in Peoples' China, is the leadership which today opposes the policy of capitulation and conciliation of Khrushchev and his allies.

The Trotskyists support the revolutionary conclusions of the 25 points of the CPC. From the outset, we have given unconditional support to the struggle of the CPC against the Khrushchev revisionists and for the revolutionary reorganisation of the international communist movement. In Latin America it is the IVth International which has made special editions of the principal documents of the Chinese comrades and has contributed fully to their diffusion.

This is not to say that we are in agreement with everything maintained by the Chinese comrades, but with the revolutionary conclusions which follow from the 25 points and from the documents denouncing Togliatti, Thorez, the Indian CP and the CP of the United States.

But the Chinese CP does not analyse nor explain to the masses its own past policy and defends Stalin in an opportunist form, when the programme of the 25 points is objectively directed against the same principles and policy of Stalin.

It is not strange that in spite of the revolutionary content of their programme, the Chinese comrades have not obtained a great echo in the existing communist parties nor have they been enabled to organise until now strong tendencies outside them.

It is not enough to denounce Khrushchevism and reiterate the principles of Lenin.

The task of organising the new leadership of the revolution which objectively is in a tremendously dynamic process, cannot be followed through to a conclusion by accompanying revolutionary positions with opportunist reservations and actions.

Above all it is necessary to expose the social roots of Khrushchevism: the privileged bureaucracy which controls power in the Soviet workers' state.

The committee correctly states that it is necessary to construct the Marxist party in this country. But this task cannot be considered simply on the national plain. This is a world task whose central axis today lies in the Sino-Soviet dispute and through the discussion of the 25 points.

At this moment the world is enveloped in a vertiginous revolutionary process which embraces all countries and continents. The position of the Chinese comrades represents objectively the necessity of the workers' states to intervene in this process as the instrument of the world revolution with an international Leninist revolutionary policy.

Similarly the struggle for this policy is a part of the world revolutionary process; it is a part of the process of political revolution in the workers' states, where the proletariat and the masses struggle to recover for themselves the leadership of their own states, to re-establish a Leninist leadership, in the first place in the Soviet State. The struggle of the CPC is in part a reply to this necessity.

## PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

It is also a reply to the necessity of a programmatic alliance between the colonial revolution and the workers' states and between these and the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries. The Khrushchev leadership in its negotiations with imperialism has betrayed all these principles in the name of peaceful co-existence, and has not only abandoned the tasks of the revolution but plays a pre-eminently counter-revolutionary role, opposing the revolution everywhere in the name of co-existence.

This abject and miserable role has been exposed in the most graphic manner possible on the deaths of two leaders of imperialism this year: Pope John XXIII and Kennedy. In both cases, the Soviet bureaucracy and its servants weep and wail with the bourgeoisie, united to them in common fear of the revolution which will deprive the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy of their privileges.

## INVECTIVE IS NOT A PROGRAMME

But it is not sufficient to inveigh against this infamous degeneration, it is necessary at the same time to propose a Marxist analysis of its causes and to develop a revolutionary programme to carry forward the proletarian tasks abandoned and combated by these corrupted leaderships.

Such a programme must establish clearly the fundamental problem of this stage of history: the war and the revolution. The Trotskyists say that the nuclear war is the answer which imperialism is preparing against the revolution throughout the world. Imperialism has no other defence. We do not want war. But imperialism is preparing it and possesses the means to launch it and we must prepare ourselves to meet it. In the war it will not be humanity which is destroyed, but capitalism. We reject the defeatist and paralysing perspective of the Soviet bureaucracy. In spite of the enormous destruction which imperialism will cause,

humanity will construct socialism. For this task we must prepare ourselves. We support the conclusion of the comrades of the Chinese CP on this question which is the same as that supported by the IVth International for many years.

## WAR AND REVOLUTION

The Committee adopts an opportunist and totally erroneous attitude when it utilises against the Trotskyists the same argument which Khrushchev used against the CPC: that we seek war. The problem is not posed in this way. It is imperialism which wants war and we prepare to meet it and crush it with the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses everywhere, supporting the mobilisation with all the resources of the workers' states. In this process imperialism will react with war and will be liquidated. Consequently it is essential to strike first by launching the preventative war leading to the pre-emptive strike, to smash the attack which imperialism is preparing. The workers' states must do this. This is rigorous Marxist logic. Everything which the Committee says on this problem evades the necessities which reality poses inexorably.

It is necessary to prepare the masses, the widest possible sections of the proletariat, to prepare the party for the seizure of power. This party cannot be prepared if it is paralysed by fear of war or by the theory of co-existence, because with the development of the historical process, the struggle for power will pass inevitably through the experience of world nuclear war.

But the central problem is to confront the nuclear blackmail. The British Road to Socialism is the conclusion from accepting nuclear blackmail. Gollan and Khrushchev know that revolution in Great Britain would mean nuclear intervention of imperialism. This position has been crudely expressed by Togliatti who has said that revolution in Italy means war, that the war is the end of humanity and that in consequence it is not possible to make the revolution but a peaceful transition must be awaited. The Italian CP has the support to take power in 24 hours with a revolutionary Marxist policy. But the acceptance of nuclear blackmail means abandoning all possibility of revolutionary policy. The leadership of the Italian CP, like the British CP, does no more than continue an old tradition of capitulations and betrayals.

## "WE WANT POWER"

But in this epoch it is not possible to betray with impunity. In Italy as in France and Belgium and in other countries, the programme of the 25 points is a point of regroupment for tendencies who face the necessity for a revolutionary policy to take power.

All these tendencies are developing at the moment when the masses are seeking to struggle for power. The wave of strikes which has extended over the whole of Italy with revolutionary implications for more than three years; the strikes of the French proletariat; the struggles of the Belgian proletariat — among which was the great general strike of 1960/61 betrayed by the Belgian Socialist Party and its so-called "left wing"; the heroic strikes of the Spanish proletariat; the strike of the German metal workers, where in spite of the utter insignificance of the CP and of the capitulationist policy of the social democracy, the workers demonstrated with the red flag in various centres, as did the French miners while the CP raised only the flag of the bourgeoisie; all these events show clearly the sentiment and the wish of the masses: WE WANT POWER. Having no other ways to express themselves, betrayed by their leaderships, betrayed by the snivelling leaderships of the workers' states who should be the centre of the revolution, the masses find nevertheless the means to express their state of mind: WE WANT POWER.

This is the situation in which is posed the problem of constructing new revolutionary communist parties. The English proletariat is not outside this European course, just as it is not isolated from the immense drive towards socialism of the colonial and semi-colonial countries or the struggles of the masses of the workers' states.

The powerful tendency towards the LP in the most recent by-elections, the greater attention directed towards the CP among some sectors of the workers in spite of its reformist and miserable policy, the constant strikes and mobilisations among the workers; the fact that the workers are consciously preparing to vote the Labour Party into power, in spite of the timorous policy of its rotten leaders, the social crisis of the bourgeoisie whose authority before the masses has been broken; the inability of British imperialism to re-establish a rate of growth even parallel to that of the ECM, in spite of the collaboration of the leaders of the LP and the TU: all these factors combine with the world and European revolution to impel the British proletariat to look to the next stage, not for a reform of capitalism but to take power into its own hands. In this situation, to meet these tasks, it is necessary to construct the new leadership, the revolutionary Marxist party in this country.

The Home government is a transitional government. It will do what it can to keep the Tories in power but its essential object is to prepare the transfer of the government to the LP. Whilst the leader of imperialism has been killed and a cabaret owner has been involved in the proceedings at an early stage, the premier of British imperialism had been assassinated politically a short time previously by Miss Keeler. The social crisis of imperialism appears now in all its crudity.

Home is attempting to establish the environment for when the LP becomes the government. He does this with the collaboration of the LP at every moment. The whole discussion on the bomb and nuclear weapons is part of this preparation. Home has established it as a fact beyond any discussion that for any government the strength of British imperialism necessitates the bomb as much as the queen. The LP accepts both.

## THE LABOUR PARTY

The LP and its leaders in this are doing no more than fulfil their function as props of British capitalism with which they are intimately united and integrated. But as the LP must respond in one way or another to the pressure of the worker base and understands the necessity of not cutting its links with this base, the policy of the LP on nuclear armament appears superficially less explicit, more indefinite. In reality the LP leadership accepts totally the policy of the bourgeoisie.

The capitalist class do not need the bomb fundamentally or simply to fight against the Soviet Union. Nor of course for the "peace conference." Nuclear armament whatever its cost is the life and death question for the bourgeoisie in Great Britain not only as an economic necessity but above all for its social function.

From the economic point of view, production for war sustains the functioning of capitalism during peace. This production cannot be converted into peaceful uses by capitalism. It is ridiculous and treacherous for the Community Party to seek to convince the capitalist class of the advantages that they will receive by selling aircraft to China and to the USSR instead of producing for war. The capitalist class cannot afford to trade on such a scale with China and the USSR, since that would lead to its death as a class in a very short time.

From the social point of view, the possession of nuclear arms is a decisive support for what remains of the authority of British imperialism in front of the masses. If the British government gave up the bomb, the

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# OPEN LETTER

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masses of the countries where imperialism still maintained its investments would see more clearly its crisis and accelerate its expulsion. But above all the British proletariat would be enormously stimulated in its struggle for power and the social crisis of imperialism would enter paroxysm. The British and world capitalist class today has no other policy or perspective of unification and cohesion as a class than the preparation of nuclear war.

**British nuclear armament is destined in particular to maintain the control and authority of imperialism over the proletariat and the masses of this country. Every capitalism has the armament adequate to the technique which has evolved. If not it collapses. The existence of British capitalism is completely united to the possession of nuclear arms and the conservatives and the labour leaders know this perfectly. Thus both defend with different manners of presentation appropriate to their different social bases, this nuclear armament.**

Neither CND nor any pacifist movement has the least perspective, no more than the policy of peaceful co-existence. To finish with nuclear arms means to smash capitalism. To struggle against nuclear arms means to seize power. Nuclear arms in this case are meant to be a deterrent not against the USSR but against the socialist revolution. Thus American imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy use the blackmail of the nuclear war.

To break with this blackmail, it is necessary to organise the policy of the proletariat for the taking of power, before the war and during it. Nuclear arms change in no way the necessity for the taking of power by the proletariat. With this perspective, Home is preparing the way for the Labour Party, not because he wishes to, but because he sees that the Labour Party will be put into office by the workers. Home is giving guarantees to his class establishing the structure in which the Labour Party will operate. And the LP accept this. Thus the Stock Exchange did not register any change with the Labour victory in Dundee. The bourgeoisie is prepared for this perspective.

But the Labour Party is preoccupied with its own arrival in power. It is obliged to accept this but does not relish it. The pressure of the working class and of the masses will be enormous with a labour victory. The Labour Party will be faced with this enormous pressure when it defends capitalism.

## ROLE OF "TRIBUNE"

Now it is organising all its system of defence against the masses by accepting the wage freeze, NIC and NED and "planning" for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and of capitalist investments—as in the plan for Scotland—where they are attempting to create zones of modern investment subsidised by the national budget in areas isolated from the traditional centres of proletarian struggle.

All these plans are not enough. But the Labour Party is also preparing its own Left to avoid being by-passed, to try to contain and absorb revolutionary tendencies. In this respect periodicals such as Tribune will play a role. It is not by chance that Tribune is increasing the number of its pages. It is preparing to meet these new problems as a restraint and a diversion. When this is particularly necessary it is because the pressure and the perspectives of new struggles of the proletariat are increasing.

It is in this situation that the task of organising the revolutionary party is posed. The CP, as the Committee to Defeat Revisionism says, is an appendage of the LP—but in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy.

However around the CP and much more around the LP are many militant revolutionaries from the working class, sources from which to form the revolutionary Marxist party. The task is to organise them around a revolutionary programme and around existing organisations in which will be expressed in the next stages all the militancy of the workers, as it has been expressed already in local elections and in recent strikes.

In the recent actions and those being prepared, the working class has shown its resolution to unify and centralise its struggle. Only the manoeuvres and the pro-capitalist policy of the trade union leadership have acted as a brake. But through the shop-stewards committees, the unofficial committees, has been expressed many times this tendency towards unification and centralisation. Hence the rapid and strong reaction of the trade union bosses against such united and independent action.

At present all the sectors have indicated struggles around claims such as, increase in wages, struggle against unemployment and dismissals, defence of trade union organisation within factories; equal salary for women; 40 hour week.

The recent AEU success in obtaining 5% increase in wages shows that it would be possible to obtain much more and impose other demands (40 hours), if it were not for the sabotage of the TU functionaries. The latter really point out to the employers that concessions are advisable to prevent a far worse explosion. 5% was soon conceded in face of the overtime ban.

But the increase obtained by the workers of the engineering industry opens the way for new claims. All the main sectors—shipbuilding, transport, metal workers, etc.—have common demands.

They have established the conditions for a united and general struggle of the whole proletariat, unifying the claims on salaries, unemployment, holidays, hours of work.

**It is necessary to resolve upon and organise the General Strike on a common platform of demands supported with the whole power of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has neither the means nor the force to resist this offensive.**

The task of organising the General Strike is objectively on the agenda. But neither the Labour Party nor the bureaucracy of the TUC have the least interest in it, they will struggle against it with all their energy.

However, when the workers vote so massively for the LP this is because it is much more disposed to unite massively in the General Strike, around its class demands.

This programme must be imposed on the trade union leadership, it must be imposed now independently of its brakes and obstacles, it must be discussed and approved in factories and workshops.

**The existence and the organisation of the shop stewards committees is the most direct weapon in the hands of the workers by which to lead the struggle. It is necessary to extend to the whole of industry the general slogan of the formation of shop steward committees throughout all enterprises.**

It is necessary to discuss and to have approved in every enterprise, in general meetings, a programme of struggle for the shop steward committees, for the wage demands and conditions of work, for workers' control and nationalisation.

It is necessary to extend the programme of struggle, to organise meetings of shop stewards from different enterprises to prepare the general strike, to organise solidarity with strikes in every enterprise, to organise above all solidarity against every repression, whether from the side of the employers or the trade union bureaucracy.

## THE SHOP STEWARDS

**It is necessary to organise a national movement of shop stewards committees and to prepare a National Congress of Shop Stewards Committees to discuss all the problems of the working class and its programme of struggle.**

In every section of the factory, in every enterprise, it is necessary to discuss this perspective and organise it, seeking contacts and support in the other enterprises and sections.

In the struggle to increase wages, to control conditions of work, the struggle against unemployment, a fundamental point is workers' control. In conditions of conveyor belt work, workers' control must be established immediately by the shop steward committees over the times and rhythm of work.

**But at the same time workers control over the whole process of production and over the whole process of automation is necessary. All the benefits of automation must go to raise the standard of life of the proletariat. This is only possible by workers' control of the**

**whole process of production. Equally to combat unemployment it is necessary to find other work to prevent the use of the unemployed by the capitalists to weaken union organisation and lower salaries.**

Workers' control of production by shop stewards committees is a fundamental point of the programme of the proletariat.

All these problems confront directly today the working class. It is in meeting such problems that the struggle for power will be organised, the struggle for the revolutionary party, for the taking of power and the construction of socialism.

It is necessary to break with the policy of isolating the unions from political problems. The trade union leaders use this policy to abolish all perspective, to confine the most combative sectors, the most militant workers and shop stewards simply to union problems which have no real solution apart from the political struggle of the proletariat.

It is necessary to bind union militants but above all the shop stewards and the committees with the political tasks of the class.

The congress of shop stewards and shop stewards committees must discuss not only a programme of immediate demands but the programme of the working class for the whole country: workers' control, nationalisation without compensation of all large and medium sized enterprises, monopoly of foreign trade with workers' control, liquidation of NATO and of all imperialist pacts. It must demand trade with the USSR, China and the workers' states. It must propose the immediate breaking of the blockade against Cuba, the sending of ships and goods to Cuba assisted by the workers' movement, and the seizure of installations and ships of every enterprise which accepts the blockade against Cuba and which refuses to sell articles which Cuba needs.

## WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

**In this perspective is posed and will be posed the task of establishing a workers' government in this country, to carry this programme through to its conclusion. With this perspective the Marxist revolutionary party must be organised.**

Neither the LP nor the CP have any interest in these tasks. They are against any such perspectives, they will do everything to combat them. But the workers will put the LP into power because they seek within it a centre of unification to realise in general the perspective contained in these tasks, the perspective of workers' power in Britain. Its struggle in this direction will grow, stimulated by new victories, by the development of the colonial and world revolution, by the development of the Sino-Soviet dispute and the political revolution, through the instability and the tremendous crisis of world imperialism. In the midst of this instability and crisis and of the powerful drive of the British working class, it is necessary to construct the party.

The RWP(T), BSFI, calls upon the worker and revolutionary militants in the LP, to the communist militants, the comrades of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, to discuss this programme and these tasks, to discuss and organise the common task of constructing the party of the socialist revolution in this country, to discuss the 25 points of the Chinese comrades and the necessity for a new mass communist international, to unite in the common revolutionary tasks within a united front boldly carrying forward the revolutionary programme.

The crisis opened in the CP with the positions adopted by the committee is only a part and an indirect reflection of this general situation which advances in a revolutionary direction. It is necessary to fuse with the masses on the basis of the organised programme as outlined above.

This task cannot be realised in confusion or by deceit. The latter is the basis on which the LP is organised in the working class on the one hand as the servant of capitalism and in the CP on the other as the servant of the Soviet bureaucracy. Every tendency which departs from a basis in deception or self-deception has no reason to exist outside these parties and has no future. The task is to struggle against the propagators of deceit, not to utilise their methods of calumny and deceit.

## OUR PROGRAMME

- 1) A 40-hour week in all industries, in preparation for a 35-hour week.
- 2) Three weeks' paid holiday in all industries, leading to four week's paid holiday.
- 3) An all-round immediate 20 per cent. increase in wages. Establishment of a Basic Minimum Wage, to rise with the cost of living.
- 4) Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
- 5) The profits of automation to go to the workers.
- 6) Pensions to equal the average wage. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60.
- 7) Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of Defence Committees to protect tenants against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organization of Tenants' Committees which should have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
- 8) Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers' control, leading to nationalization under workers' control. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work-time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
- 9) Nationalization of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor vehicles and road transport services, arms and the building and building materials industries. Nationalized industries to be placed under workers' control.
- 10) Workers' control of all industry.
- 11) Stop feather-bedding 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 organize direct marketing of produce and cut out profiteering middle-men.
- 12) Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
- 13) Formation of Factory Committees on each job and Workers' Councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 14) A United Front of all workers' organizations on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 15) For a single European trade union centre on an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme.
- 16) State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalization of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
- 17) Struggle against imperialism and defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strike, boycott and sabotage, and the dispatch of arms to colonial workers.
- 18) Withdrawal from all imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO, directed against the workers' states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers' states and the colonial revolution against imperialism.
- 19) For the United Socialist States of Europe as a part of a world front of socialist states.
- 20) For a Workers' Government.

Our party criticises severely the calumnies and falsifications against Trotskyism which from prejudice or other reasons the comrades of the Committee have repeated in some of their interventions. At the same time, we call upon all these comrades, all the militants of the CP and the LP, to all the revolutionary worker militants to discuss this programme and organise a united front to push forward the task of the British revolution and the tasks of the world revolution.

To the worker and revolutionary militants of the LP, the CP, of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, the electoral victories of the Labour Party, the crisis of the CP, and the immediate tasks of the British revolution demand:

The preparation and organisation of the general strike, to impose the demands of the proletariat!

The defence, strengthening, and extension of the Shop Steward Committees.

A National Congress of Shop Stewards and Shop Stewards Committees to discuss and resolve the programme of struggle of the proletariat in the next stage.

The construction of the Revolutionary Marxist Party.

# The New Stage in the Sino-Soviet Struggle

The Sino-Soviet struggle is continuing on its course, as we predicted, but one which is full of contradictions.

The Chinese leadership expected that, as soon as their positions were proclaimed, as soon as the struggle was opened publicly against Khrushchev, communist leaderships would appear from all parties to support them. They believed they would be able to provide a new world centre, in place of Moscow. There is a crisis in the development and advance of the Chinese in their struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy.

This crisis is shown in the new documents defending Stalin, in the attacks on Trotsky, in their absurd theorising on Yugoslavia, and also in their territorial claims in Siberia, in the incidents and political demonstrations staged by Chinese travellers at Naushki and Irkutsk, and in their as yet confused appeals to the Soviet masses.

In spite of the enormous contradiction between the struggle engaged in by the Chinese and their documents in defence of Stalin, against Trotskyism, any turning back has been completely rejected. These documents are the expression of the contradictions in which they find themselves, of their opportunism and of their bewilderment in the face of the consequences of their struggle. But while they would like to set a limit to the struggle, they need at the same time to carry forward this struggle and they show that they cannot go back.

The offensive and insulting language against Khrushchev, against Tito, reflects in a distorted way the colossal pressure exercised by the combined forms of the revolution on the Chinese leadership, and, in particular, the forces of the Political Revolution which are developing in China.

The leadership would like to give expression to these pressures in terms of the radicalisation of their language, because they hesitate before the necessity to advance politically, but they cannot avoid doing this.

The defence of Stalin is a new move directed at finding allies in some sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy against Khrushchev. This manoeuvre has been brought forward since after the strengthening of the alliance between Khrushchev and Tito has awakened new reservations and bureaucratic opposition within the USSR.

By attacking Trotskyism, the Chinese want to distinguish their positions from ours, especially in the face of a stronger revolutionary tendency which is developing within China itself, while they themselves work towards the anti-Khrushchev wing of the Soviet bureaucracy, by showing that the basis exists for agreement. There is an enormous contradiction between the road that the Chinese have taken, the direction of the struggle they have begun, the nature of the pressures to which they are subjected, and their political and ideological preparation, their origin and their bureaucratic formation in the Stalinist epoch. There is an enormous contradiction between the pressure of the masses and the action of the apparatus of the Chinese. It is this contradiction which has caused the Chinese to resist advance, and the drawing of conclusions, and to act in an opportunist manner, to cling to everything that could allow them or force them to believe that they can carry on the struggle without taking it to its conclusion. The fact that, since Grippa in Belgium, Grabois and Amazonas in Brazil and a few others, communist leaderships have stopped coming forward to take up positions favouring their line, disconcerts them and increases their opportunism.

Khrushchev is conscious of the contradictions and weaknesses of the Chinese, and takes advantage of them. For Khrushchev and the Soviet bureaucracy, there is no possible reconciliation with the objective revolutionary struggle the Chinese are carrying forward. Against this, as against revolution in all its forms, are directed the alliances of Khrushchev with Tito, Kennedy, etc. The organisation of the forces of counter-revolution on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy does not come about because of the political break with Peking. Khrushchev knows perfectly well that he is caught up in a struggle to the death,

and he will not hesitate to use every means at his disposal.

For the Soviet bureaucracy there is no doubt that the continuation of the Chinese struggle will prolong itself in the mobilisation of the masses in the USSR itself against its positions. The Chinese struggle attacks directly the base of bureaucratic privileges. Because of this, Khrushchev does not hesitate to ally himself with anyone, even with Kennedy. But at the same time the bureaucracy is conscious of its weakness, and of the impossibility of carrying forward its line to its ultimate conclusions. Khrushchev has recently been forced to give up his plan to send a Soviet Trades Union delegation to fraternise with Franco's unions in Spain. This would have caused a clash with the Soviet workers, and Khrushchev had to give in. The alliance with imperialism is a very fragile one. For imperialism, the only meaning of this alliance is that it allows it to isolate and attack Cuba, and Khrushchev cannot go as far as this. Hence the fact that Khrushchev, assailed from all sides, also needs to manoeuvre and to put pressure on the Chinese leaders, and does not want to remove the remaining grounds for an eventual reconciliation.

After his visit to Moscow, Corvalan's positions with regard to the Chinese became more flexible. Instead of insisting on calling the Chinese pro-Trotskyists, the Soviet press distinguishes between the leaders in Peking and their political positions. A Moscow review recently published an article in which it established differences between Mao Tse-Tung "who, in 1957, and the Conference of Communist Parties, sought terms which would preserve the unity of the communist movement," and Liu Shao Chi "who at the same time was writing articles in Peking directed at poisoning Sino-Soviet relations." Khrushchev's extreme weakness in all of this is based on the fact that he could only achieve reconciliation on the basis of the political capitulation of the Chinese, which is not possible.

If the Chinese have passed to the stage of making territorial claims in Siberia, if they have promoted a series of incidents, it is because in some way they must respond to the immense pressure which is coming from inside China, above all, and which can find no channels through which to express itself, either inside the country, because of the absence of Soviets and the lack of political life within the communes, or towards the USSR, without appeals to the Soviet masses with a programme of political revolution. These incidents have an effect on the Soviet masses, even if it is a confused one, which gives impetus to and stimulates the political revolution.

The Chinese pressure on the Siberian frontier is an empirical way of transmitting to the USSR the pressures of the revolution, which within the USSR, independently of the will of the Chinese, takes the form of pressures for the political revolution. The tasks of the political revolution must also be completed in China, and they will have to be achieved in the development of this struggle and of the crisis which is pervading the leadership of the CPC. But, in the confrontation of forces between the Chinese and the Soviet bureaucracy, the Chinese are the involuntary vehicles of the Political Revolution in the USSR.

Because of this, a sharpening hostility, and even an armed clash cannot be avoided in the frontier incidents. Imperialism would like to see the two Workers' States at war with each other. But in this case it would not indeed be a clash between two Workers' States, each one struggling for its own interests, but of a tortuous and distorted manifestation of the advance of the anti-bureaucratic political revolution, in which the Soviet masses would tend rapidly to rise against the bureaucracy and to overthrow it in alliance with the Chinese.

In the communiqués from Moscow on the Irkutsk incidents we can read between the lines the sympathy of the Soviet people towards the Chinese.

Khrushchev has not gained, nor in reality did he seek in any way, the support of the masses for his struggle against the Chinese. Neither in the Soviet Union, nor in any country did the communist parties refer even once to the positions taken by the

Trades unions, mass meetings or any mass organisations against the Chinese or against the positions that the Chinese are defending.

Khrushchev and the communist parties are moving, in their search for support, towards the bourgeoisie, towards imperialism, towards Tito, but not towards the masses, because they know that the masses are against them.

Cuba has still not signed the Moscow Treaty. Even if they do finally sign it, this already represents a defeat for Khrushchev. He thought he had won on his own, that he had definitely won over Fidel Castro, because he supported him, because he supported the line of peaceful co-existence against the Chinese, but he did not obtain the Cuban government's signature on the treaty; Guevara even made a public declaration affirming Cuba's neutrality between Peking and Moscow. This is another defeat for Khrushchev. Where the revolution makes itself felt, even in a distorted way, Khrushchev is impotent.

Doubtless he continues to put pressure on Fidel Castro and on the Cuban government to sign the treaty and to declare themselves against the Chinese, but he needs to do it clandestinely, concealing it from the mass movements.

Even in Cuba there is an enormous crisis. This crisis is no longer between the old Stalinists of the ex-PSP and the team leading the revolution. Blas Roca and Co. have nothing more to do with this. The crisis exists now inside the central ruling group which has directed the revolution, and which is splitting into one sector which does not want to halt, and which in consequence tends to ally with the Chinese, and another sector which, fearing the consequences of a revolutionary line, surrenders before the difficulty of constructing the workers' state, and seeks to stabilise itself through an alliance with Khrushchev.

**There is nothing that Khrushchev can do to direct himself towards the Cuban masses in this situation—but the Chinese will be able to. If they do not, it is because of their opportunism and because in reality they do not know what line to propose.**

To direct themselves towards the Cuban masses, the Chinese will have to define in the following way a revolutionary line, and to draw a series of conclusions, which for the moment they are unwilling to do. Against the Khrushchev line, against peaceful co-existence, there is no alternative to the extension of the revolution to the rest of Latin America, the recognition of the inevitability of war, and the line of preventative war, with appeals to the masses of all countries to organise and seize power. Against the "division of labour within the socialist camp," used by Khrushchev to submit the other workers' states to the political control and the economic pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is impossible to recommend for Cuba isolation and autarchic economy, as the Chinese theorise; what is needed is a direct call by the Cuban masses (as well as by the Chinese masses) to the Soviet masses to remove the bureaucracy from political power and to proceed to the international planning of the economy of the workers' states, on a democratic basis, under the direction of Soviets and Workers' Councils, in accord with their common interests, and considering this as a transitory stage, until the world war. Against Khrushchev's pressure in favour of the development of a bureaucratic caste in Cuba, and for the construction of a unified Party of the Socialist Revolution on the basis of the conciliation between the revolutionary group and the rest of the ex-Popular Socialist Party (Stalinist), it is necessary to counterpose the form of soviet organisation of the workers' state, the free functioning of revolutionary parties, mass control of the bureaucracy and the struggle for the Mass Revolutionary Party based on the Trades Unions.

The Chinese hesitate to draw these conclusions, which are those of Trotskyism, and therefore they are obliged to manoeuvre against the apparatuses, like Khrushchev, even though they have all the support and sympathy of the Cuban masses. The same thing is happening in Yugoslavia. The Chinese attack and make wild denunciations

of Tito, they say absurd things, even talking of fascism in Yugoslavia, presenting the situation as if the restoration of capitalism had already been effected, defining their government as the dictatorship of the "national-bureaucratic bourgeoisie," but they fail to make a single appeal to the masses of Yugoslavia. They denounce the degeneration of the CP, but they do not call for the construction of a revolutionary communist party. They do not show the way to defend the socialist gains which have been made in Yugoslavia, which has not ceased to be a workers' state, they do not give a programme for the proletariat. It is useless to denounce in indignant tirades all the time, without any relation to reality, the opportunism, the rightism of Tito, his political counter-revolutionary alliances inside and outside Yugoslavia, unless you show the masses the way to rise against all this, how to struggle for political power, how to make the political revolution.

The Chinese cannot show the way for the political revolution in Yugoslavia—or in the USSR—while they continue to resist the political revolution in China. It is because of this that they cannot gain the support of the masses of the workers' states. The same thing is happening with the colonial revolution. In India, the Chinese continue their manoeuvres with a group of bureaucratic opponents of Dange, and among them with those responsible for the CP disaster in Kerala province. And as a result of this they can neither make any call to the masses, or formulate any programme. In Indonesia, the alliance of the Chinese with the beaucrat Aidit causes Peking to conceal the Indonesian Communist Party's opportunism, which can do nothing but follow the bonapartist rule of the bourgeois Sukarno.

In this way it is impossible to organise the revolutionary tendency within the mass movements. The influence and the sympathy which the Chinese are awakening in the masses are enormous. But they cannot organise this tendency, because their line is not directed at giving the masses a way in which to intervene.

**The basis for the influence of the Chinese is the heart of the revolutionary movements of the masses, much more than in the communist parties, which are generally isolated organisations, standing against revolutionary struggles. Except in a few exceptional cases (Italy, France, Chile), the pro-Chinese tendencies are manifested principally outside the communist parties. In the case of the mass communist parties, these tendencies rooted deep inside the workers' movements show themselves outside the organic functioning of the parties, which are vitiated and bureaucratized and do not permit a political life to revolutionary tendencies.**

The point at which the Chinese struggle involves more vigorous decision is among the most militant workers of the masses. These are the conclusions for a new centralised revolutionary international communist movement. These conclusions are precisely the ones that the Chinese are resisting. In this, there is no correspondence between the strength of the political influence of the Chinese struggle, and its organisation. On the other hand, groups of intellectuals and petty-bourgeois tend to form relatively easily around the present Chinese positions; although these groups realise the general direction of the movement of history, they do not identify themselves with the mass movements, they maintain their illusions about the strength of the apparatus, they have the same mistrust as the Chinese towards the mass movements, and they arm themselves with the same contradictions as the Chinese to resist Trotskyism, which is the systematic, organised and militant expression of the revolutionary needs of the masses.

These petty-bourgeois pro-Chinese groups, intellectuals, students proliferate in almost every country, without finding an echo among the masses. They are generally incapable of uniting and of constructing parties, they hesitate to draw conclusions necessary for their own countries from the Chinese struggle, they resist and oppose.

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## Sino-Soviet Dispute

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Trotskyism, they live in a crisis from birth, they divide and disperse easily.

Among them there are a few elements who want to advance and try to do so by struggling against the limits of their leaderships and of the Chinese line. To do this, instead of imitating the Chinese in respect of their concrete positions, they must follow the example of the militancy of the Chinese, of their aggressiveness and impetus in the confrontations with the Soviet bureaucracy, and draw independent political conclusions, surmounting their anti-Trotskyist prejudices, inherited from Stalinism. It is impossible for them to advance while they fight Trotskyism. None of the groups which differentiate themselves from the Trotskyists have developed; their attention is diverted from the revolutionary struggle and from the mass movements. When the Chinese attack it is because they are afraid of further advance, because every time they take a step forward, as when they criticised Thorez or Togliatti or the Indian Communist Party or the CPUSA, or the 25 points, not only do they not attack us, but they take our positions.

The Chinese rely on the gigantic movement of the masses of the Chinese permanent revolution, and their own zig-zags exhaust them. For the pro-Chinese groups, isolated from the masses, with their petty-bourgeois composition, anti-Trotskyism leads to dissolution, liquidation and political death. To advance it is necessary to be identified with the masses. To gather and organise the true influence of the Chinese struggle, it is necessary to carry forward the movement towards the taking of power in every country, the transitional programme for mobilising and organising the masses, carrying the struggle into the trades unions, into the factories, into the student and peasant movements, against all opportunist and bureaucratic tendencies. It is necessary to call for the formation of new mass revolutionary parties related to the particular conditions of political development in each country, and to appeal for the new Mass Revolutionary Communist International. This is the road of co-operation and fusion with Trotskyism, and it is the only road which will allow advance.

In every case, the most important phenomenon with its origin in the Chinese struggle, has been the enormous impetus given to the political development of the masses — and generally the pro-Chinese groups in the communist parties are in no condition to give the programmatic and organisational political key to this development.

Moreover, inside the mass communist parties, as in Italy, France and Chile, the groups which develop out of the ideological and intellectual discussion are isolated from the great pro-Chinese communist tendency among the workers, which cannot show itself in an organised way within the parties. It is necessary to organise bolshevik cells rooted in the working class with a bold fighting and militant attitude, to bind together and attract a real base (of workers), winning it for a political life. These groups must struggle aggressively against the bureaucracy of the party, not only inside the party, but also in the unions, on the fronts of the mass struggle. Thus they must combat the illusions of reforming the communist parties at the same time without giving up the fight inside them, and call for the formation of new parties, as Lenin did on the degeneration of the socialist parties of the Third International.

In the countries where the communist parties are of minor importance, we must not underestimate the importance of the communist pro-Chinese tendencies, especially when they are militant in their struggle against bureaucracy, when they publish fighting and militant papers, that take an interest in the real problems of the mass movement. But the fundamental way to organise the influence of the Chinese struggle outside these groups and the communist parties, is within the real mass movements, just as they are, in the workers' unions, in the peasants' unions, within the mass parties.

This organisation is not realised in the programme, the line or the example of the contradictions of the Chinese, without the identification of the concrete needs of the

masses with the struggle against Soviet bureaucracy, with the alliance of the workers' states and the colonial revolution, with the necessity for a world revolutionary strategy, with the necessity of fighting the line of peaceful co-existence and of constructing a new world centre for the revolutionary movement, but not in the sense of Stalin and Khrushchev, rather in the sense of the Communist International of the time of Lenin and Trotsky.

These positions are not clear but implicit in the struggle of the Chinese. In spite of their contradictions and their opportunism, the Chinese are advancing towards it. I.e., advancing towards our programme.

Ours must be the principal role in the organisation of the influence of the Chinese struggle, a role which we must undertake immediately, even against the opposition of the Chinese.

The taking of positions by the mass organisations on the Sino-Soviet struggle, discussion and political life of the masses in their unions, in the assemblies, the active intervention of the masses in the struggle, the organisation of the political experience of the Sino-Soviet struggle within the mass movement, these are tasks which depend on us. No one, in the world workers' movement is prepared to do it, except the Trotskyists. In this gigantic influence within the mass movements lies the world importance of the struggle of the Chinese. It is not in the objective bureaucratic limits which still create confusion in the Chinese positions, but in the reorganisation of the international Bolshevik movement, which embraces the masses of the whole world, in the task of destroying capitalism, realising the political revolution and facing the world war, that the significance of the Sino-Soviet dispute is realised.

### World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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). Manuel Fernandez, 160 rue Potagere, Brussels.

**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.

## Kennedy killing

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limit. The difference lies in the fact that Kennedy's tendency wished to profit from the policy of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy. Even so the policy of Kennedy over Cuba, over Viet-Nam, over Latin-America was a policy of going "to the edge," a policy of courting nuclear war.

But at this stage of history, there is no precise limit to which one can point and say after this, the war. The war can break out without the world being at the "edge of the abyss" because this war will not be the result of the struggle of two competing capitalist sectors but the fruit of the struggle between world capitalism and the workers states and the world revolution. Also the change in strategic relations within the capitalist military apparatus can be decisive. The factor which allows a little imperialist group, the Pentagon to decide today the launching of war, the invasion of Cuba, is the fact that upon them depends the economy. If the British, French, Yankee imperialists paralyse the programme of military preparation or for example reduce it by 15% this would lead to a crisis which would disintegrate capitalism. Such a thing is impossible. The motor of the capitalist economy is the preparation of war. It is only necessary to look at the budgets, the utilisation of the national resources of the capitalist nations. The war economy is not only the preparation of nuclear war but the totality of wars which imperialism conducts in the colonial countries.

One of the most important forms of the decomposition of capitalism is its own internal disintegration. Capitalism conducts an aggressive intense competition. But from the historical and world point of view there is only one way of meeting the advance of the revolution: to launch the world nuclear war. When and how we cannot say. The whole apparatus of imperialism is ready at any moment to launch the war. Today a long military preparation is not necessary, unlike the case with previous wars. Nuclear war does not require this preparation. Moreover capitalism has no interest in forewarning its peoples that it is going to war. In the former inter-imperialist wars, each capitalist nation needed to prepare the masses of its country, to obtain a solidarity against the other capitalist countries. Each had need of preparing the smashing of the workers' movement, of gaining over the workers' leaderships. A psychological social preparation was necessary for the masses to accept war. Today this is no longer possible, for an appeal to the masses to prepare for war would hurl the masses against capitalism. In fact it is the world revolution which is advancing and not the AUTHORITY OF CAPITALISM.

All this is reflected in the assassination of Kennedy. The Pentagon, organiser of the assassination, is the expression of this consciousness. It is afraid that Kennedy's policy may weaken capitalism. But on the other hand, it

understands that there is a way of using the bureaucracy's offer of peaceful co-existence. If the Pentagon tendency took power it would in no way mean the abandoning of the policy of peaceful co-existence. Without doubt there are military personnel who do not know what to do and who are prepared to press the button. But the Pentagon tendency is neither blind nor stupid. It would accept co-existence, but on another basis, a co-existence not excluding the possibility of more direct intervention in Viet Nam and in Latin America. It would try to act in such a way as to measure the reaction of the workers' states and the masses. Therein lies the difference between the Pentagon and Kennedy.

In his last speech, Kennedy drew the attention of the whole of American and world capitalism to an essential problem: "We cannot actually wage war because we have the whole world against us." This does not mean a renunciation of war, for what decides war is not the plans of capitalism, but the world revolution which is advancing and which will bring about the reaction of capitalism, by war. That is why peaceful co-existence allows imperialism a historical delay, which it is trying to use in order to obtain better conditions for launching the war. But in reality this is a state of inertia which shows the decomposition of capitalism. One of the conditions to the development of capitalism in the period of its rise was its dynamism, its dynamic reactions. The acceptance of peaceful co-existence, even if it represents a very great advantage for it, does not gain any advantage for it from the point of view of its historical survival. True, it arms itself with more and more atomic weapons and consequently increases, in spite of its constant loss of political and social authority, its capacity for atomic destruction. But for capitalism, it will in no way be possible to disarm the world revolution, but only to cause more damage to humanity. And this fact, both essential and vital, is ignored as much by the Chinese as by Khrushchev. The so-called Pentagon tendency is not antagonistic to that of the White House. There is no antagonism between them but there are contradictions. The Pentagon is extremely perceptive and it observes the process of the advance of the revolution in the world. Its interests do not allow it any concessions to a long term policy of peaceful co-existence. In effect, the preparation of atomic war, to which it is dedicated, requires two conditions. First, the material basis and, in second social place, a team which lives for that preparation alone, which decides the orientations of the economy and which feels itself ready to intervene at any moment whatever, having the power of decision. One cannot talk of the social weight of the economy without drawing the social conclusions. These sections take into account that all the process of the revolution is going directly against them and that proportionately as the revolution advances, they are going to find themselves in a less favourable position for confronting it. The struggle that they are conducting against the Kennedy tendency is not against Kennedy's policy — to profit from Khrushchev's treachery, but is a result of their fear of the consequences of such a policy.

Capitalism is expressed not only in a global way but through different fractions. One of them represents and reflects the centralised interest of capitalism and this fraction today is the Pentagon. Also, when the latter does not take a decisive measure it shows its hesitations, its doubts and its fear that war means the disappearance of capitalism. If this were not the case, it would already have started the war, for there is an indestructible logic in the internal social relations of capitalism. But also, capitalism is a contradictory regime which cannot decide as it wants and at any time, according

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## Kennedy killing

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to the global or partial interests of capitalism, because its own contradictions imply internal struggles.

From the historical point of view, world capitalism has no doubt that it must be armed in order to launch the war in the attempt to crush the Workers' States. There is no discussion among the capitalist sectors on this point.

Their contradictions are enormous, nevertheless. De Gaulle has just designed a commission for trade with China. Capitalism is now discussing the length of time for repayment of loans by the USSR.

There are three positions. The US, Italy, France and Belgium are agreed on a delay of five years. Germany seven years and England, no fixed limit. It is apparently absurd. While they are in the act of preparing the war against the workers' states, they are looking for ways of developing trade with the workers' states! That means that capitalism, in order to survive, is obliged to trade with the workers' states. It is contrary to the logical and dialectic perspectives of capitalism.

From the point of view of its historical interests, capitalism should not trade with the workers' states but should have the strength not to do it. It still has immense fields of investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as in the capitalist countries themselves. (The French papers have just published the reports on living conditions, showing that 50% of the population have no running water. But it is not only so in France. In a work published recently in the US, "The Other America," it is shown that 25% of the population earn a wage equal to less than half of what is considered the necessary minimum. In Latin America, the annual average income per head of the inhabitants is only a tenth of that of the US). Capitalism has a large field for investments but there are contradictions which hinder them and oblige them to trade with the workers' states.

That does not mean that we approve of the attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is not that we are against trade between capitalist and socialist countries. But these exchanges must take place after economic planning between the Workers' States and not at the expense of the organisation of the revolutionary struggle of the masses or of the struggle to defeat capitalism or of the direct support of the Workers' States in this struggle. And the bureaucracy sacrifices the revolution and the interests of economic planning in the socialist countries. That is why capitalism is encouraged to carry out such a policy with the Soviet bureaucracy and the Workers' States.

But even in these conditions, this will not mean a reinforcement of the social and political authority of capitalism. In every way, the situation will go against it. For the masses will not confine their activity within the framework of commercial agreements with capitalist countries. They will pursue their anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle. The Kennedy tendency, entirely a tendency of North American and world capitalism, is trying to gain the maximum benefit from this situation, but after receiving social and business guarantees from the Soviet bureaucracy that it will not encourage or support any proletarian revolution, and that it will not take any measures which can lead the Communist parties to put capitalism into jeopardy. Inexorable reality shows itself.

The Workers' States can no longer, nor will they be able in future to remain indifferent to the process of the revolution. The proof of this is in the Cuba situation of last year. The Kennedy tendency is the majority tendency of world capitalism for the accept-

ance of the policy of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy, in order to attempt to prolong to the maximum the existence of capitalism, in the hope of weakening the Workers' States, in the hope of a struggle between the Workers' States, whilst it arms itself in the hope of overcoming the present situation and develop a capacity for reaction, so as to strike the first blow when the time comes and destroy the Workers' States.

But capitalism has accepted co-existence and has raised the degree of agreement with the Soviet bureaucracy on the line of peaceful co-existence, after the appearance in public of the Sino-Soviet dispute. From November or December last year, the attempts of the bureaucracy to entrench peaceful co-existence with imperialism have increased and have found an echo, not only in one capitalist section or another, but in the immense majority of world capitalism. That means that capitalism has worked not solely on the basis of the word of Khrushchev and of the Soviet bureaucracy, but according to the facts.

One incontestable fact is that of Cuba. Imperialism mobilised for the invasion of Cuba and if it did not invade, it is because the Cuban people showed that they were willing to defend themselves. And the defense of the Cuban people, even if it had been crushed by the great military superiority of Yankee imperialism, would have had enormous revolutionary consequence and influence, and above all in the US.

The other factor is that the Soviet people, the workers' state, showed its resolve to prevent the invasion of Cuba. There are hundreds of examples: the military reaction, the reaction in the ships, Khrushchev's letter. It has been said that there was a letter from Khrushchev, asking the Yanks not to invade Cuba. The Americans gave out the story that it was an appeal from Khrushchev to Kennedy and that Kennedy, who is a good man, accepted, understanding that war was imminent. We believe one thing—that Khrushchev's letter to Kennedy has not been published, nor will it be published, because it stated that war would be terrible, but above all that it would mean the destruction of Yankee imperialism as much as the Soviet bureaucracy.

But Khrushchev's letter must have been clear and decisive in affirming, "If you attack Cuba, I will not be able to control either the army or the Soviet people, and moreover, it will be the end of you and of me." If Yankee imperialism had sensed in Khrushchev's letter the possibility of gaining the advantage or taking the initiative, it would have launched the war immediately. It is not humanitarian scruples which prevent it, but a concrete, social fear of disappearing.

Imperialism, the Kennedy tendency, tries to profit from the conservative interests of the Soviet bureaucracy to prolong its own existence to the maximum.

The so-called Pentagon section is aware of this situation and feels that the very time delay means a direct loss for its economic, social and ideological interests. That is the reason for the offensive that it has just carried out. Kennedy's assassination does not mark the beginning of this offensive but only a stage in it. The coup in Honduras, in the Dominican Republic, the support to Lacorda and the intervention in South Viet-Nam are other aspects of this offensive by the Pentagon. The struggle between them is sharply defined. In South Viet-Nam, two factions oppose each other. The one which wants to use atomic arms, opposed to the Kennedy faction which wants to carry on conventional warfare, envisaging even the possibility of an agreement. These internal struggles in S. Viet-Nam are part of the struggle between the Pentagon and the White House.

These internal struggles show neither decision nor authority, but weakness, decomposition and disorganization. The Pentagon has tried to develop a world situation which might be favourable for it to impose its policy on the USA. But this is not decided only in the USA.

On the American population falls all the world pressure of the revolution, all the consequences of the capitalist league of peaceful co-existence. That finds a great echo in the North American masses and one which goes against the interests of the Pentagon. The apparently anti-racialist policy of Kennedy has nothing to do with a really anti-racialist policy. Kennedy, like the Pentagon, despises Negroes. Johnson is one of the most disgusting Texan racialists. He comes from an oligarchic Texan family. But the defence of the economic interests of the Kennedy tendency is compatible with a so-called anti-racialist policy. More precisely there are no anti-racialist policies, but only some measures adopted which are very feeble concessions to the strata of the upper middle class Negroes.

Kennedy has been assassinated by the Pentagon. That is a warning to the sections of the White House to limit the policy of co-existence with a view to profiting from all the concessions that the Soviet bureaucracy sees itself obliged to make, but without making any concession in return. Such a policy is impossible.

When American capitalism must resolve its problems as gangsters do—and they are gangsters—that indicates that its state of mind, consciousness and decision is in a critical degree of exasperation. Such an action is not impulsively planned. Kennedy was the President of the US. When, in the US, one resorts to such an assassination in 1963, it is because the Pentagon has reached the conclusion that it will be impossible to carry out its policy by normal, democratic means. This state of exasperation is not only the result of direct relations with the Soviet bureaucracy, but of the world position of imperialism which is constantly retreating.

The Pentagon wants to profit fully from the Sino-Soviet conflict. But, at the same time it realises it can gain nothing fundamentally, for this conflict does not result in the reinforcement of the social and political authority of imperialism.

From the military point of view, there is no difference between the Pentagon and Kennedy. The differences are of a social and political nature. Throughout the whole of the last period the Pentagon realised the great retreats of imperialism in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. These retreats exercised a great influence on the Pentagon. It would have liked to intervene and it is intervening, but it feels that its interventions have very little effect. In the preceding era, Foster Dulles was still able to organize counter-revolutions and do what he wanted. Now there are no longer the military teams, the fascist, racialist groups, etc., which can decide events. American imperialism finds itself unable to organize in its own country a fascist movement and regime capable of opposing the advance of world revolution. World imperialism finds itself impotent to centralize the whole of capitalism under a single command and to oppose the advance of world revolution. On the other hand, the fascist groups in North America have no social force. Hitler and Mussolini in their time had succeeded in organizing great social movements, great currents in the petty-bourgeoisie by offering them the perspective of Germany's world development. We must understand why American imperialism finds itself incapable of doing such a thing. It must oppose, without social basis, the world revolution. It cannot find a social base because the North American masses are experiencing the world revolution. There have been numerous ways of organizing currents of support, by brandishing danger, the Communist threat, Cuba, etc. It has tried to do this but has failed.

The liquidation of Kennedy is the expression of the despair created by all these failures of the Pentagon. But, nevertheless, the Pentagon did not organize this assassination in order that American policy should remain the same as before. Whilst the exasperation and

despair have an individual character, they do not bring about social consequences. But when they come about through the contradictions of capitalism, now expressed in the assassination of the President of the US, this shows that a wing of American capitalism is determined to go as far as declaring atomic war at any moment, profiting from any conjuncture for atomic war.

The difference between the Pentagon and the Kennedy wing is that the latter tries, while preparing for war, to make gains from the Soviet bureaucracy and to take advantage of the concessions it is about to make, with a view to prolonging the present situation. That is not to say that this wing has decided to accept nothing but this situation. It too, is ready to launch the war at any moment. Cuba has already shown this. But, to the extent that imperialism is obliged to choose between these two tendencies in accordance with its interests as a world ruling class, this wing signifies not so much security in its present triumph as a fear of advancing.

The crime of the Soviet bureaucracy consists not only in its policy of peaceful co-existence, but equally in its act of concealing from the masses this situation of panic on the part of imperialism and, in consequence, deceiving them. But the Chinese and Fidel Castro also act in this way. The Chinese have made not a single analysis and drawn not a single conclusion impelling the masses to act as a consequence of this process, to understand and to intervene. If Kennedy was assassinated, it is because the Pentagon has sensed and understood that there are no more means of persuasion, methods parliamentary, financial or political by which to change the internal relationships of forces of imperialism, which hence sees no possibility in the immediate future of changing this relationship, favourably to itself, through the parliamentary road. Therefore assassination was decided on. It is significant that it was fixed without regard to the moment, with or without Johnson, to go to war dragging the whole of capitalism in its train. Could such a thing be done? It is well that we should grasp its true significance: to assassinate the American President, the President of that country which wants to show itself to the world as the champion and the living centre of democracy! This assassination is a formidable loss of authority for imperialism, a loss of prestige in front of the whole world and, above all, in front of the North American masses.

The Pentagon was conscious of all this and, if it has dared to organize the

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## EDITORIAL

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grant the pay rises—but still less can it afford the social consequences of a prolonged strike. The situation is unstable and with correct leadership the working class could deal capitalism blows which would set it reeling. This leadership will not come from the TU bureaucracy, but it can and must come from the worker's rank and file organisations.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) calls for the unification of the anti-capitalist struggle, on a transitional programme on the basis of shop steward and factory committees. We are for the formation of these committees in all factories, transport depots, docks and building sites. We call for the linking together of all the committees in allied industries, and for the organisation of a national and European shop steward and factory committee conference to discuss and plan the anti-capitalist offensive. An offensive based on the demands for nationalisation with workers control, the 40 hour week, a third week's paid holiday, and an all round increase in wages. Against such a programme the capitalist class, and its hirelings the TU bosses and the Labour and Communist Party bureaucrats, will be able to do nothing.

## Kennedy killing

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assassination, it is because it no longer hopes to win the support of the North American masses for the triumph of its policies.

If, in the United States, a communist or a Castroite had planned such an action, all the newspapers and the FBI would have alerted public opinion over several months (for the United States is the country where there are always to be found offers of tremendous financial rewards for denunciation). Today they have assassinated Kennedy, and it is as if they had disposed of a greengrocer. This attitude is consciously struck, on the part of the government and the bourgeoisie. It knows that the author of this project is the Pentagon, but it does not wish to provoke it. It has been warned. And it has reacted by trying to influence the Pentagon. But the Pentagon did not assassinate Kennedy so as to suffer a loss in its own influence. The Pentagon is an apparatus which is not open to social influences. It has made up its mind.

The reaction of world capitalism has been unique in history. In the space of 24 hours, all the presidents in the world rushed to the United States. They wished to present a block face to the Pentagon, to restrain it by their simple presence. They did not go to the funeral to carry flowers, but to demonstrate their support of Kennedy's policy. Their attendance has been, equally, a warning to the Pentagon, which has undoubtedly had its effect, at least momentarily, on the Pentagon. But the class war, within the prospect of the final reckoning of accounts, will be decided by whoever controls the apparatus. There is no doubt that economic development, financial stability and all the rest are important. But, in this period when capitalism has outlived the possibility of further growth, the Pentagon liquidates Kennedy in order to prepare for war.

And, notwithstanding all the economic and financial confidence which capitalism is said to have, when Kennedy was killed all the representatives of the rest of capitalism rushed off, not to show off their large and flourishing economic prospects, but to speak of peaceful co-existence. This makes apparent the formidable contradictions of capitalism from which neither the Soviet bureaucracy, nor China, nor Castro profit. It is possible to imagine what is the state of this regime, which finds itself obliged to act out a circus scene. It has absolutely no social strength and the war will sweep it away. That is why the wife of Khrushchev wept on the shoulder of the American ambassador.

From the political point of view, the assassination of Kennedy is the basis for an enormous political credit from which the Soviet bureaucracy is not profiting. To profit would be to needle the Pentagon without knowing how to halt the consequences.

Johnson was sworn in one hour after Kennedy's death, Mrs. Kennedy at his side, an event unprecedented in the history of the United States. (Only in Argentina and Bolivia could one find three or four presidents ready to be sworn in at the same time. But for the White House there is customarily a certain procedure and protocol). If Johnson was sworn in in such a manner, this was through fear of sections of the Kennedy tendency that a state of chaos would be created from which the Pentagon could have profited so as to impose a series of measures which would have led towards an immediate confrontation with the Soviets. That is say that in default of the existence of a legal government, working within a constitutional framework, during the reign of "democracy," there is no guarantee of controlling the country constitutionally—that is, all the conditions for chaos exist. The United States is not the Congo. The United States has mocked the Congo, where the Africans are supposed to be incapable of controlling the country. Meanwhile, they bump off one president and swear in his successor in an aeroplane in case anyone might make off with his life. They are afraid that a subaltern, or perhaps a general, might take things into his own hands and start the war. This indicates the degree which their internal decomposition has reached. The Soviet bureaucracy, vile and wretched as it is, is now reinforcing capitalism in that country where it has been shown to be most rotten.

The Pentagon will not rest content simply with this warning. Only a team determined to go to the very end would allow itself to envisage and to execute the killing of Kennedy. One can make no comparison with the assassination of Lincoln or others. These were the outcome of internal struggles, without external repercussions of importance. This assassination today takes place in the period of the final reckoning of accounts. This indicates that it is the work of a determined team, with the strength to go on to the very end, and the present silence of the Government on the true circumstances of the assassination and of its planners. If it were the work of a little group of no importance, they would have been wiped out. But in fact the silence concerning the assassins shows that they are a group of men who direct the military

apparatus and planning of the United States. Independently of the attitude of the rest of the capitalist world, it is they who plan and execute the strategy of capitalism, dragging the rest in their wake.

It is certain that the coming of all the presidents has had an effect on the Pentagon, upon which they have imposed a change of tactics and a search to find an assassin who was not a communist. All had been in readiness to make it appear that the assassination was the work of somebody who had been a communist or a Castroite. But the arrival of all the presidents has caused a part of the Pentagon team to reflect, sensing the need for a certain basis of support in the rest of the capitalist world. But imagine the tremendous possibilities opening out for the revolution, in the face of this colossal enfeebling of world capitalism. And, in so far as the workers' states are an enormous force, a great cohesive force among and centralizer of the masses, the bureaucracy rushes to prop up a capitalism thus enfeebled.

We must wait a little time for the full consequences flowing from the assassination of Kennedy to manifest themselves. But this much is clear. The Pentagon killed Kennedy within the framework of a policy designed to launch the war by surprise at that moment most convenient to itself. By waiting, they will simply show that the policy of peaceful co-existence has certain short-term advantages for themselves: among others, it obliges the bureaucracy to make a series of concessions on Cuba, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

But the bureaucracy itself is disconcerted, because it has no policy with which to reply. Outside of a revolutionary policy there is no substitute, no remedy. This explains the reaction of the bureaucracy. Two roads are open to it: to profit from this event from a revolutionary point of view or, on the contrary, to try to check the consequences of a big advance for the Pentagon. But to take this second road is openly to support US capitalism.

We, the IVth International, are the only ones who have always maintained that the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy will become more and more counter-revolutionary. The line of co-existence can have no other outcome. The basis for this line is the giving of assurances to capitalism, not to support, stimulate or impel any proletarian revolution. In this crisis of US imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy has messed itself up in memory of Kennedy, it has observed minutes of silence, as it did at the meeting of the World Peace Council at Warsaw, and in meet-

ings of the Political Bureaux of Communist Parties throughout the world.

The masses of the world have reacted altogether differently to the assassination. This has been noticeable above all in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The so-called backward masses, who, it is said, understand nothing about politics, have drawn a simple and direct conclusion: "Some bandits have shot another bandit; that is their business." The worker base of the CP reacted at first in a correct way before they were given the official orientation of their leaderships: "Kennedy has had to pay for wanting to invade Cuba." They have thus reacted by accusing Kennedy, by pointing out all the murders for which Kennedy was responsible in Cuba, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia. The masses did not react by weeping but by pointing out the murderer's role that Kennedy had played. Here one can measure the abyss which separates the masses of the world from the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and other workers' states.

For their part, the Chinese have also taken up an opportunist and reformist position. If we agree with their attitude at Warsaw, refusing to respect a one minute silence for the death of Kennedy, which was given for this murderer, it is opportunist to limit their reactions to such administrative organs as the Council for the Peace of the World. They have not given any explanation to the masses of the world. They have the duty to call the masses of the world to overthrow capitalism.

The assassination of Kennedy means the worsening of the inter-capitalist contradictions and in consequence, the possibility of the breaking out of the war at any moment. The murder of Kennedy is a direct blow at the policy of those, including the Chinese, who still believe in the possibility of avoiding the war and talk of the possibility of peaceful co-existence; and that goes for Fidel Castro as well. The consequences (of this assassination) will be immense in spite of the Chinese and Khrushchev, because the policy of peaceful co-existence needs good apologists. The policy of Johnson or his successors (if they shoot him) will be to weaken the policy of peaceful co-existence not to affirm it. That is to say that at this stage of the final encounter, those who will decide the policy and lead, independently of European capitalism, will be Yankee imperialism and more precisely the Pentagon, which has just shown that it has decided to act.

Up to the present the administration and the tendency of Kennedy representing American imperialism, intended to retain the leadership by the electoral political game. The Pentagon has just shown that it has no confidence in this game and that it has confidence only in assassination and physical elimination in order to impose its policy.

It will no longer wait for elections to decide. The pressure to which the Pentagon has had to submit, by the presence of Presidents, kings and other idiots who went to the funeral, will be of short duration, for the world objective situation will not be favourable to the establishment of new bases for peaceful co-existence. On the contrary, the permanent advance of the revolution, the development of the workers' states will narrow, ceaselessly, the bases for such co-existence, and will stimulate new reactions from the Pentagon.

The accusation of the Soviet bureaucracy on the alleged connection between the suspected murderer of Kennedy and Trotskyism has been put forward in order to divert attention from the real organisers of the assassination. They are putting forward a lie, totally absurd and stupid, of the same type as those at the time of Stalin. It gives Johnson an argument in his intention to conceal the responsibility of the Pentagon.

The important conclusion of this analysis is that, in spite of the Chinese who are not trying to take advantage of this situation; in a short time they will be obliged to exploit it. The Sino-Soviet crisis will worsen. The lack of an objective basis for the continuation of the line of peaceful co-existence by the Soviet bureaucracy, will become obvious in a very short time. The counter-revolutionary role of the communist parties will become more obvious at every step. The fight of the Chinese will tend, inevitably, to become fiercer as the

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## LIFE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

### ARGENTINA

*Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party, Argentine Section of the IVth International, has become a weekly. The Party has grown rapidly with the deepening of the struggle of the masses against imperialism and capitalism, and with the development of pro-Chinese currents in the Communist Party of Argentina and a pro-Trotskyist tendency within the Peronist mass movement. The advance from fortnightly to weekly production of the paper answers the need of the masses in struggle. It is the expression of the enormous strengthening of the Party in Argentina. We salute the decision of our Argentine comrades to go forward to the building of a mass Trotskyist Party, a decision which is a vigorous reply to recent government repression and measures against the Trotskyist press.

The weekly *Voz Proletaria* is a big advance for Trotskyism and a stimulus for all the other Sections of the International.

### BOLIVIA

We denounce the suppression of *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists), announced in a decree of the Paz Estensoro Government of September

9, 1963. It is, of course, no accident that this latest repressive act of the rotten, petty-bourgeois regime of Paz Estensoro coincides with a new period of bitter struggle by the Bolivian working class, headed by the tin miners, for the seizure of power. The situation of dual power which has lasted for 11 uneasy years cannot continue. Proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, and the Government's action is a recognition of the increasing strength and influence of Trotskyism in Bolivia. We pledge full support for our Bolivian comrades, who are continuing to bring out the paper clandestinely.

### CHILE

The Party continues to make big advances, particularly in the trade union field. The hospital workers have recently won a resounding victory when, after a strike lasting 25 days, the Government gave in, ceding all their demands. Our comrades were very active in this struggle.

The Communist Party of Chile is the only one in Latin America to develop a large, influential and effective pro-Chinese opposition. Our comrades discuss constantly with the Left Opposition in the CP, and the Khrushchevite leaders are terrified by the imminent prospect of the formation in Chile of

a revolutionary current of potentially massive proportions.

### GUATEMALA

The reduction of the sentence of death on the peasant leader Zaldivar to one of ten years' imprisonment is a tremendous victory for the international campaign of protest organized by our Sections. It must be stressed, however, that the guerilla fighter's life is still in danger, and efforts must be redoubled for his immediate release. Telegrams and resolutions should be addressed to Colonel Peralta Azurdia, Government Palace, Guatemala.

### ITALY

The Italian Section is leaping ahead in the present pre-revolutionary situation in that country. Locals have now been opened in the leading industrial centres in the north; flourishing locals have already existed for some time in Rome, Naples and Sicily. This activity in the oppressed south, with its grinding poverty and mass peasant discontent, is especially significant. During all its years of pettyfoggish existence, the rotten revisionist tendency of Maitan has been able to build nothing in the south. The dramatic advance of the reconstructed Italian Section of the IVth International is an example to all Trotskyists, particularly in Europe.

# REVISIONISM AND WAR

The task of the working class is to overthrow imperialism and to build socialism in its stead. To fulfil this, its historic mission, the class must construct a leadership armed with an understanding of events and the will to power. The Marxist world party of proletarian revolution is the vehicle through which the international struggle of the working class is organized and led.

For years Stalinist politics had been class-collaborationist in practice. The alliance with "the shadow of the bourgeoisie" in Spain, the strike-breaking "People's Front" in France, the "non-aggression" pact with Hitler, the partnership with Roosevelt and Churchill during the "Great Patriotic War," had culminated in the massive betrayal of the revolution in three continents at the close of World War II. But through all this, the "Red professors" and the hired hacks of the international apparatus had been obliged to attempt the impossible task of "justifying" each twist and turn in terms of the schemata of Marxism-Leninism.

## PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

From 1956, despite lip-service to Lenin, this ideological baggage has been jettisoned. The closely allied doctrines of peaceful co-existence and the parliamentary road to socialism (even in Spain and Portugal!) have been proclaimed. The working class would come to socialism through the example of the "socialist camp" in successful competition with capitalism, and in an increasing number of former colonies the rule of imperialism would be replaced by "national democracy of a new type" whose leaders could sidle their way into socialism, fattened by dollops of Soviet aid.

## PEACE, PERFECT PEACE

As it happened, the limitations of peaceful co-existence were swiftly shown. In October 1956 the Hungarian workers rose in revolt against the Stalinist regime of Gero. Khrushchov and Mikoyan lost no time in demonstrating that, although perfectly prepared to co-exist peacefully with imperialism, they were in no circumstances prepared peacefully to co-exist with the political revolution. As for the masses of Laos, Vietnam, Korea and Cuba, to them peaceful co-existence is a bad joke.

## OUR ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

Details have been published in sections of the bourgeois press about the preparations of US imperialism to launch war, without even bothering to consult its allies and subordinates, one year ago, on the occasion of the Cuban crisis. Home, speaking in Kinross on October 26, has revealed that similar preparations were made on at least two previous occasions—the Laos crisis and the Berlin Wall incident. On October 22 *The Evening Standard* stated that, among the personnel at operational controls in the Pentagon in October 1962, were two men, an officer and a sergeant, who had .38 Colt revolvers with silencers, with which they were specially authorized to shoot any officer or other rank who lost his nerve and refused to press the button. This confirms to the hilt the analysis made by the IVth International at its Extraordinary Conference in April 1962, wherein it is pointed out that nuclear war can be launched at any time by a small number of key personnel. If war was not launched, it is not because of the "strength of the peace forces" or the "undefeated might of the western working class." It is because of the retreat of the cowardly leaders of modern revisionism, who time and again have allowed imperialism to live and to spawn new crimes against the working people. That has ever been the rôle of the revisionists.

## PARTY LIFE

At marches, called by the Movement for Colonial Freedom in Glasgow and London to protest against the renewal of the colour-bar Immigration Act, the Party intervened with a special leaflet demanding immediate expropriation of firms and landlords who discriminate against coloured workers, the closed shop and full support for the coloured and white workers at P. A. Marriotts of Wembley, who have been on strike for 26 weeks.

The Party lodged a strong formal protest with the Cuban Embassy against the arrest of A. A. Perez, member of the Cuban Section. All trade union general secretaries were circularized.

Our paper is now sold regularly in the streets of London and four other cities, as well as appearing in bookshops elsewhere. Early morning sales at tube stations are a regular feature.

A Party intervention secured the passing by the London Area Executive Committee of the Movement for Colonial Freedom of a resolution condemning the action of the Bolivian Government in arresting two miners' trade union leaders and demanding their immediate release. The resolution condemned the sending of troops into the mining area and demanded their immediate withdrawal.

## OUR FIGHTING FUND

By The Editor

We are now a monthly. The advance of the Revolutionary Workers' Party in numbers and influence has made the more frequent appearance of our paper possible as well as necessary.

We are not yet strong enough financially to appear regularly as an 8-pager, as we are doing this month. The sharpening of the world conflict between imperialism and the workers' states, the torrential progress of the colonial revolution and the increasing ferocity of the class struggle within the capitalist countries, however, all signify the need for a continuous lead to the vanguard. This lead is given in our epoch only by the IVth International, of which *Red Flag* is the only organ in the English language.

This places on our Party and its paper a tremendous responsibility, not only to British workers in struggle, but to the workers and revolutionists of all those countries upon which imperialism has imposed the English tongue, alongside British bullets and balance-sheets. The voice of the International and of

# THE ENGINEERS' FIGHT

By BRIAN LYNAM

The recent major struggles of the engineering workers have been on the question of pay and shorter hours. In fact, the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions has recently won a 5% pay claim. This claim was won after a short overtime ban and, no doubt, the public statement of the 'Confed' shop stewards supporting the demand. However, the employers refused a claim for a shorter week and negotiations are being reopened on this issue. The latest pay increase is totally inadequate particularly when one considers that 5% means less than ten shillings to most workers. Although engineering wages are close to the national average the basic wage is still extremely low. In fact, a semi-skilled workers' basic rate is around the £9 mark. The balance is made up by bonus payments, piece-work rates and overtime payments. There can be no doubt that the employers would, if the need and opportunity arose, cut wages back to the basic. A demand for a substantial rise in the basic rate should be put forward immediately.

The increase in mechanisation and automation has brought the issue of a shorter working week to the fore and the 'Confed' are demanding an immediate forty-one hour week followed by a forty-hour week in 1965. This demand is ridiculous and, as usual, the union leadership is far behind the advance of industry. The demand should be for an immediate forty-hour week and a thirty-five-hour week in the next twelve months. This demand should be put in union branches throughout the industry now and shop stewards committees should ensure that the demand is put in more than one union. This is an issue that can unite all organised workers in the country and nation-wide industrial action should, if the need arises, be taken.

A never ending struggle must be waged to strengthen the 'unofficial' organisation within the industry. It is the only way to ensure that strength with which the workers will gain higher pay, shorter hours and greater security of employment. This struggle for more control of the industry by the worker, and this is what security of employment means, must be carried on relentlessly.

Every move by the management must be challenged and every question of labour loading, hire and fire and speed of production should be controlled by the workers at 'shop floor' level. In this manner the way is paved for the necessary and certain nationalisation of the industry. Workers, support your shop stewards and 'shop floor' organisation, build the strength to fight the employers and, eventually to gain control of the factory which you work in.

(continued from previous column)

its British Section must be heard.

We must make possible an advance to a regular monthly six-pager, to be followed by a monthly eight-pager and then a fortnightly publication of *Red Flag*. For this expansion we must have money, and we can no longer depend only on the pockets of Party members. We ask every reader of *Red Flag* to help the paper forward. Fix a sum and send it regularly every month.

We do not beg for the support of our readers. We demand it. Never was a Marxist working-class lead needed as it is today, and there is no Marxism outside the Revolutionary Workers' Party and its paper, *Red Flag*. If you doubt us, look around!

## KENNEDY

(continued from page 7)

basis of agreement with Khrushchev becomes smaller at every stage. The crisis inside the Soviet Union will increase. The tendencies in the army and the middle and lower sections of the bureaucracy will sense the beginning of the preparations for the war. The masses will press forward on their side, they will stimulate and in consequence will increase the intensity of the the Chinese.

We must intervene in this process. The Chinese have failed to form any communist oppositions in the communist parties, and they will fail again. In effect, they have been able only to organise communist oppositions on a reformist and conciliatory programme. To continue their fight they will be obliged to accentuate and establish a revolutionary programme. And this is Trotskyism. Independently of their desire and their objectives, all anti-capitalist policy is Trotskyist. If one tries to put a limit on the policy, it will fail. And if one follows an anti-capitalist policy it must proceed to the taking of power. One cannot organise a communist opposition without an anti-capitalist programme and anti-capitalist activity. The discussion on Stalin and his role will pass into history and will be resolved positively. But it is today that the masses need an anti-capitalist programme. The Chinese want to discuss in closed orbit with the Soviet bureaucrats, without the intervention of the great masses. But they will have no other remedy than to have recourse to the masses of the world. And in as much as they will be obliged to do this, and they will be, they will open the way for our development.

The assassination of Kennedy marks a step in the process which will continue to accentuate itself in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the Sino-Soviet crisis, and in the organisation of revolutionary tendencies in the CPs on a revolutionary programme. And this programme will be Trotskyist.

That is why the accusation of Soviet bureaucracy: "The murderer is a Trotskyist, perhaps" is not an accident. It is not an accusation out of thin air. Basically it is a conscious exclamation of the bureaucracy indicating its principal enemy and also a centre of common interest around which to unify the Pentagon, the Kennedy tendency and itself. In spite of them, everything will advance and develop. The will of Trotskyists is not a product of their decision, of their dynamism and of their activity. Certainly, all this counts and is of fundamental importance, but the essential basis is that the objective process is Trotskyist. This is why, in all this process, the only ones who have succeeded in understanding, in mobilising themselves and in organising action, have been the Trotskyists. Therefore, we must organise our action to extend our positions and the programme, based on the confidence that the process will be objectively and concretely favourable to the development of the revolution. The war is the revolution. And the war is the end of the Soviet bureaucracy and of capitalism, and the development of the world revolution is the development of Trotskyism.

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\*I enclose ..... in response to the Editor's appeal.

\*I will send ..... every month to the Fighting Fund.

(\*Delete whichever is inapplicable)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

*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*

Vol. 1 No. 4

FEBRUARY 1964

SIXPENCE

## Panama — Bolivia — Zanzibar — Kenya **OUT WITH IMPERIALISM**

World events over the last few weeks have shown again, the continuous crumbling of World Imperialism, its utter inability to check or control the progress of the World Revolution.

American imperialism has taken a pounding from Panama, a tiny country, itself a creation of the USA at a time when Imperialism was still able to organize the world. Now under the immense pressure of the masses, the Panama leaders (previously safe friends of America) are being forced to demand nothing less than the abolition of the canal zone and the nationalization of the canal.

In Bolivia the revolution enters a new stage; the miners and peasants, arms in hand, have forced Paz Estensoro and his Yankee backers to release the imprisoned union leaders.

### BRITISH IMPERIALISM CRUMBLES

British imperialism has fared no better recently. Indonesian workers have taken over some British enterprises and only the reactionary Sukarno and the criminal inactivity of the Indonesian Community Party, prevent the complete expulsion of British Imperialism from Indonesia and the North Borneo territories. Despite their leaderships, the Indonesian masses express their will to power; they have no fear of imperialism and its nuclear missiles. In Africa, the social repercussions of the Zanzibar revolution, quite out of proportion to the island's size and population, have already made themselves felt in the army mutinies in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. The British neo-colonialist set-up in East Africa is beginning to totter. British imperialism, already over-extended militarily to the extent that plans for a selective call-up have been suggested to increase the army's strength, will be unable to control the situation. The "confrontation" with Indonesia, the Cyprus crisis and the strike breaking operation in Swaziland are already more than it can cope with; now it can only watch and hope.

Predictably as the world revolution advances, the Soviet bureaucracy intensifies its counter-revolutionary activity. It is now seeking to open up diplomatic relations with Spain! But the time has long past when the Soviet bureaucracy could utterly betray and destroy revolutions as in Germany and Spain before the second world war, and in Italy and France after it.

### WORKERS INFLUENCED

The recent revolutionary upheavals in Africa, Asia and Latin America encourage the British workers in the struggle to obliterate imperialism. The fighting mood of the workers has been sustained by a series of victories or partial victories on every front. At the present time the seamen, who have not had an official strike for 50 years, have rejected a 7% offer by the employers and empowered their executive to call a strike if all their own demands on wages and hours are not met. The craftsmen at the Port Talbot steel works who have been fighting the Steel Company of Wales since before Christmas, have rejected a TUC 'peace plan' designed to get them back to work, and at the time of going to press, express a tremendous militancy.

The Tory Party pretending to be con-

cerned with lowering prices, are planning to abolish Retail Price Maintenance; but through this abolition, in fact, the monopolies assert their own interests against the "little man"—a process Marx described a long time ago. The ruling class hope to stop RPM in the overall interest of its economy, in spite of the fact that this will alienate the small shopkeepers, most of them staunch Tory voters; and so, once again capitalism loses some of its social support. The just-published revelations about the fight for the Tory Party leadership last October show, in all the allegations and counter-allegations of bad faith, dishonesty and intrigue, the failing self confidence of the ruling class, their sharp divisions, their lack of perspective. And all this is a result of the increasing power of the Workers' States, the tempestuous advance of the colonial revolution, and the militant struggle of the workers in this country and throughout the world.

The RWP(T) calls for the linking together of the struggles in the colonial and the industrial countries.

Factory and shop steward committees, supply money and arms to the colonial workers in struggle against imperialism! Demand the withdrawal of British troops and bases.

For the unity of the struggle on the basis of the revolutionary conclusions of the 25 points (advanced by the Chinese CP on June 14, 1963) for the liquidation of imperialism all over the world.

Forward to the new mass Communist International!

The craft workers' claim in essence, is for a substantial pay rise to bring them up to the level of the 'process' workers. It expresses the craftsmen's complete rejection of any form of imposed wage restraint, and their determination to maintain and improve their standard of life. This militancy, coming from a relatively well paid section of workers, refutes the myth that so-called prosperity weakens the class consciousness.

The capitalist class was caught off balance by this strike. Some would like to see the SCOW management fight it to the finish, while others are terrified of the social consequences of a protracted strike at this time.

### ROTTEN TU BOSSES

The union leaderships have played a rotten role in this strike. There were no reasonable grounds for the AEU refusing to join the process workers' union in talks with the management. A South Wales representative of the AEU was quoted as saying that recent meetings of AEU members "felt that as the claim was for craftsmen, there was no point in the body containing representatives of the process workers." This attitude demonstrates the need for a really effective joint shop stewards committee representing both craft and process workers, putting forward wage demands and demands for workers' control. This would increase

enormously the effectiveness of the workers' struggle. Because of the rottenness of the Dutch TU leadership and the lack of contact with European shop stewards committees, Dutch steel continued to come into this country weakening the Port Talbot strike. To meet the European capitalists it is essential and possible, for the workers to organise a joint European shop stewards committee.

The SCOW strike shows the need for organisations of the workers at the base of the trade unions. Even when the TU leaders are forced to call a strike they do their utmost to sabotage it; the so-called peace plan of the TUC is an example of this.

### RIPE FOR GENERAL STRIKE

Throughout Western Europe the working class is pressing forward, forcing their respective bourgeoisies to concede more and more; the workers have suffered no major defeats and they have now begun to struggle not just for economic demands but for power.

Comrades, workers, organize yourselves on an industrial basis sweeping away the outdated craft divisions. A national and European organization of joint shop steward committees representing workers industrial organizations is the only effective weapon of struggle. This strike shows once again that conditions are ripe for the General Strike, to bring capitalism down.

## NEW STRUGGLE OF CYPRIOT MASSES

The crisis in Cyprus is a further indication of the enormous difficulties facing world imperialism, the complete instability of any area under its apparent control.

Great pressure exists in Cyprus for the removal of imperialism and its bases. This in itself is all part of the turbulence of the world revolution, particularly in the Middle East. The previous struggles of the Cypriot people ended in the 1959 "Agreements" which were imposed by the NATO powers: Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. The Constitution was aimed at dividing the Turkish and Greek peoples with such devices as separate Greek and Turkish municipalities. Meanwhile the NATO bases remained with a 10,000 British garrison. The Cyprus base is of importance for imperialism as part of the counter-revolutionary NATO military system whose object is to "contain" and finally attack the workers' states. For British imperialism it has the additional value of preserving some sort of prestige and authority in a world situation where its authority diminishes at every instant.

The original Constitution of 1959 was an invaluable weapon by which to stir up communal strife and permit a further imperialist intervention.

Both the Labour Party and the Communist Party should have prepared the way, over a long period, for mass mobilizations against the dispatch of British troops to colonial and semi-colonial areas, including agitation among the armed forces and other sabotage measures. But both these rotten organizations, based on class collaboration, are against anything apart from reformist criticisms. They repudiate a programme that links the colonial revolution with the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries, with the question of taking power all over the world. Hence the impunity with which at the present conjuncture imperialism sends its troops abroad, as in the Swaziland asbestos miners' strike, as over the question of British Guiana—and now Cyprus.

The Labour Party says it does not like British troops in Cyprus—after all, it has its social base to consider—and mutters about UNO. Apart from that—nothing.

The CP does not advocate a socialist solution for Cyprus; it supports the constitutional manoeuvres of Makarios, a reactionary bourgeois nationalist. It also advocates the use of UNO. If used, UNO would be a camouflage for imperialism, as in the Congo. The CP does not call for the preparation of armed struggle by the Greek and Turkish masses against imperialism. On the contrary, it talks in terms of "the Constitution" and of UNO. This is a further example of Khrushchev's handshake with imperialism.

British and all NATO troops should be withdrawn immediately!

We call for the establishment of workers' and peasants' councils in Cyprus on a socialist programme for workers' power!

Out with the imperialist troops!

Long live the struggle of the Cypriot masses for a socialist Cyprus!

Political Bureau, Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists),  
British Section of the IVth International.

January 6, 1964.

# Perspectives And Contradictions In The Advance Of The Algerian Revolution (Extracts)

The IVth International has always maintained that Ben Bella is not an imperialist agent, but that he wants a pacifist type of socialism, achieved in stages. It is evident that he expresses a tendency which has no faith in the masses and which does not even want to have faith in socialism. His attitude is, in reality, one of idealization, of prejudice and even of mysticism towards the masses. As such we have, in other circumstances, analyzed it as an expression of the contradictions within the Algerian revolution. The essential basis of these contradictions lies in the existence of a situation which is ripe for the establishment of proletarian power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reason for the failure to seize power lies in the policy not only of the Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy, but also of the Chinese and the Cubans, who have not helped the masses to acquire sufficient centralized force to push a leadership towards the social revolution. This contradiction does not only lie in the relationship of the masses with Ben Bella. The masses have an enormous strength which surpasses any number of Ben Bellas. But Ben Bella finds a sufficiently important support for his policy, not in the masses' state of backwardness — there is no state of backwardness among the masses — nor in the objective situation, allowing him to manoeuvre, but in the fact that the world organizations which should have compensated for the organizational feebleness of the Algerian masses help Ben Bella and French imperialism, even while the conditions for seizing power exist.

Such is the fundamental contradiction existing in Algeria. It is on this basis that the dealings of Ben Bella must be measured.

On the other hand Ben Bella has, till now, always tried in his reactions to respond to the pressure of the masses in aiming blows at imperialism. Not because to do so is a part of his way of thinking, but because his attitude reflects the extent of the enormous pressure exerted, and the steps which he has taken to satisfy the masses and maintain his authority over them. Moreover he was disposed to adopt these measures — if not, he would never have adopted them. A Ferhat Abbas would have acted differently.

All this means that Ben Bella is a contradictory product—infinitely inferior to Fidel Castro—of the Algerian revolution. He stands between a petty-bourgeois leadership which wants a *sui generis*, mystical, Mohammedan or Arab socialism, and the masses, who are ready to by-pass Mohammed, all religious prejudices and all the mystical idealization of Ben Bella. With him this is not just a lie, or a device to soothe the masses and contain them, but is the result of his own mystical conception. Ben Bella is also the product of a world situation which is ripe, but devoid of a centralized leadership; the petit-bourgeoisie expresses itself to a great extent through Nasser. If the workers' states had assumed their revolutionary role (they play an objectively revolutionary role, but without a conscious, revolutionary leadership) we would not have had a Ben Bella. Fundamentally Ben Bella is a product of this world contradiction and not of a particular situation in

Algeria. The same contradictions exist in other parts of the world.

## The Algerian Revolution Is Measured On A World Scale

The fundamental contradiction of the Algerian revolution is measured on the world scale and not, basically, on the national scale. If Nasser, Islam and pan-arabism were able to have an influence and a role in the first place, alongside Ben Bella, it is not by reason of the immaturity of the revolution or of the masses but because of the important and decisive support, in favour of conservatism, on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, as well as the lack of revolutionary intervention by the Chinese and the Cubans. The Algerian revolution must be considered on a world scale. De Gaulle does not intervene, not only because he understands that he would be defeated, but also because it would mean revolution in the rest of Europe.

De Gaulle could not intervene now without taking into account the upheaval of the French masses. That's clear and categorical. If de Gaulle was able to count, before, on the Communist Party, he can do so no longer. The Soviet bureaucracy would not allow French imperialist intervention. Not that it would act in a revolutionary manner but, in the world relationship of forces, the workers' states could not allow such a thing. De Gaulle's attitude follows from that. He understands not only that Ben Bella is for him the lesser evil, but also that he cannot intervene. In this sense, Ben Bella is an idiot. He must be told so publicly, for even from the reformist point of view he can obtain more from de Gaulle. The latter is preparing to promote the nationalization of petrol, for he understands that he has not the power to stop it.

De Gaulle has had to liquidate the OAS. It was an obstacle to the fundamental interests of French imperialism. The structure of the French army is the weakest in Europe. The army (not just the officer corps, but the very structure) has lost its sense of military and patriotic intervention. It has carried on a series of counter-revolutionary wars and has suffered defeat after defeat. In spite of the Communist Party, which has pressed the soldiers to submit to French patriotism, the French army has had to fight constantly against incessant desertion and threats of desertion. The actual relationship of forces, the waves of strikes in France and in Europe, the advance of the revolution, and of the Algerian revolution in particular, all these, apart from other reasons, prevent French imperialism from again invading Algeria to enforce, as it puts it, respect for its "rights." And that is even with the troops which it has in Algeria at the moment.

The world situation, on the other hand, has evolved radically in favour of the revolution and not of imperialism. Ben Bella's attitude is not a revolutionary one, even if he strikes certain blows at imperialism, but is an attitude of defence. An aggressive attitude from Ben Bella would have been to probe to the very root the power of French imperialism to put pressure on Algeria by demanding the withdrawal of the French army from Algeria. The French army must be shown the door. The exploitation of petrol (the essential wealth of Algeria) by imperialism must be stopped. The latest measure, the nationalization of lands taken by Ben Bella was an important blow. It shows that he is not, as some claim, a reactionary, or a restorer of

capitalism and fascism. It is completely stupid to talk this way. That's the same kind of accusation which the Chinese level at the Yugoslavs. Ben Bella is neither a capitalist nor an agent of capitalism, nor does he want to maintain capitalism. In none of our documents is it said that Ben Bella is an agent or a representative of imperialism. That he plays the game of the capitalists, and that he has to sustain capitalism in the face of the masses, is another matter. But he is not the type disposed to rush to the defence of capitalism. He wants to build socialism, but by piecemeal methods.

This we said in our last document.

## The Programme For Developing The Progress Of The Revolution

The peasants are evidently the basis of power in Algeria. The agrarian revolution under the slogan "Land for the tillers" is the social basis of power. Though, in Algeria, the social basis for proletarian power is the peasantry, yet the basis of the Party which directs its political consciousness and its programme is the proletariat. The peasant tends to be isolated by reason of his level of consciousness, his interests and his limited horizons (especially in so backward a country as Algeria). That is why the Proletarian Party comes into existence. The proletarian composition of the Party means nothing if it does not base itself on the programme of proletarian revolution: complete nationalization of all property, workers' control, the soviets and the communes. Such are the immediate slogans.) To succeed, it is necessary to push to the fore the collectivization and socialization of large properties, distribution of the land and government aid and, in addition, the organization of communes, to pull Algeria out of its backwardness and to eliminate unemployment. The functioning of soviets is an iron necessity.

There is no contradiction between the communes and the soviets. The soviet is the political organization of the country and the commune is the territorial form of organization. It permits the superseding of the country's backwardness, the absorption of the unemployed, the development of the economy and the speedy penetration of the peasantry by proletarian consciousness, raising them to a level approaching that attained by the proletariat.

This possibility of eliminating in a short time, the backward mentality of the countryside and of the peasant way of life is offered by the communes. What are the measures essential to the attainment of that goal in the present situation? We do not believe that a referendum and a Constituent Assembly are essentials. It is necessary to accept the programme for proletarian power. It is also necessary to consider the fact that, without a Party, the tasks are rendered very difficult or, at least, more complicated over a long period, for there is no way of promoting the slogans. But the conditions, subjective as much as objective, are not favourable for Ben Bella's policy. He must yield and make concessions to the revolution. He will undoubtedly deal blows to the Left but he must, like Stalin, make unwilling concessions to the revolutionary masses. He has already shown what form these blows will take. He accuses all opposition movements of being allies of imperialism and of the Moroccans. These movements, in turn, accuse him of the same thing, because none of them represents the revolutionary necessities of the development of Algeria.

We must insist on the fact that the trade-union movement, which lacks the strength to mobilize itself, must despite this discuss the essential problems of the revolution, showing the essential basis of the revolution to be the proletariat. That is where roots must be established, and not in the peasantry. We support every uprising which tends, not to divide the revolution or isolate it, but to impose the democratic right of the masses to decide and develop the revolution. We will support every move-

ment in this sense, but there has not been one yet. We are interested not in victory in some small sector or another, but in the development of the social revolution in Algeria. If a movement shows this characteristic during a certain period we support it, even if it is very small. We shall try to persuade it that it is necessary to take as its perspective the gaining of the political demands of the masses, including by armed action if that is necessary.

But this action cannot have in view only an armed triumph. One can seek over a period, arms in hand, to gain the rest of the population politically, including the proletariat. But the Kabylie do not address themselves to the proletariat. There are also sections of the Right that want to exploit the movement at the expense of other sections which are, in a confused way, on the Left. Ben Bella, for his part, plays the game of co-existence with de Gaulle. The nationalization undertaken is propped up by petty-bourgeois, shameful and cynical speculation, for it will be paid for with money loaned by imperialism. He says of de Gaulle: "He has our complete confidence." Ben Bella does not act according to a socialist programme against imperialism and, although he is forced to attack it, he seeks to attack as little as possible.

## Management Committees And The Revolutionary Programme

The management committee does not replace either the soviet or the commune; it is a retrogressive organizational form. It is not an advance towards a programme of control by the masses, towards the programme of the revolution. It is a regressive form which tends to divide the workers, to decentralize effort and to stir up local, regional and circumstantial interests. In this way it brings about the formation of an aristocracy of labour, and tends to create and develop competition among the masses, which has much more serious consequences in a country with a grave unemployment situation. It tends, moreover, to create a labour aristocracy which, even in the limited form that it might take in Algeria, will be a basis of support for the government. Ben Bella follows the example of Tito, with a view to creating a social basis proper to himself. This must be combated vigorously, but at the same time it must be seen that the management committee is presented to the masses in another way, that for them it represents something else: it is a means through which they think they might bring pressure to bear. The slogan with which we must agitate is: "Transform the management committee into the organ of workers' control, and transform the trade-union movement into the central axis of the intervention of the masses in the whole of Algerian life!"

A discussion among the masses on the planning of the economy and on the means of achieving socialism now, by expropriating everything, is absolutely necessary.

The mobilization of the masses is necessary to expropriate imperialism. The soldiers of the French army must be called upon to withdraw and to desert, uniting with the Algerian revolution. Let the Algerian masses tell them that they are in the act of achieving what the French miners, dockers and railway workers wanted to achieve. They must make a direct appeal for desertion and rebellion by French soldiers in order to have a point of support which will dislodge French imperialism. These are the essential slogans for agitation.

## Soviet Aid And The Prospect Of The Development Of The Revolution

The intervention of Khrushchev is directed against the Chinese. It aims to prevent the influence of the Chinese on the Algerian revolution. Khrushchev saw that Ben Bella, in spite of everything, had to give in to pressure for a socialist Algeria. It must not be forgotten that Ben Bella refused the first offer of a Soviet loan two

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# Life Of The International

## Mexico

The occupation for the third time, by a sector of the landless peasants of Chihuahua and the municipalities of Janos and Ascension, of the Santa Anita de Casas Grandes estates, Chihuahua, demonstrates that a new, elevated phase of the agrarian revolution is developing in Mexico, and that the maturity and consciousness of sectors of the peasantry is advancing at an accelerated pace. This armed seizure of land has an enormous importance, not only through its local significance but because it affirms a permanent tendency throughout the country by peasants who question all the agrarian measures of the government and who are opening the way to a period of very profound struggle on the part of the peasantry, who inevitably play an enormous role. In the last four months, there have been "invasions" in Guanajuato, Chihuahua, Sonora, Veracruz and Chiapas. The bureaucrats of the CCI like to claim that they are precipitate. But in reality these events show the most precise and dynamic line of the agrarian revolution. And this, despite the lack of leadership and a revolutionary peasant centre, which can impel and organize the masses on an anti-capitalist programme, and centralize the struggle within the prospect of the worker-peasant alliance.

### MILITARY BLOCKADE

If these seizures of land go beyond the CCI and reach such an elevated level, it shows quite clearly that the conditions are ripe for a deepening and extension of the struggle for the land throughout the country. The CCI, since the year of its foundation, has sought to receive the support of sectors of the peasantry on electoral perspectives. But the sentiment and will to struggle of the poor peasants and landless peasants is bound to the direct and immediate perspective of the struggle for land. Such is the immensity of the agrarian problem that the bourgeoisie, necessarily for a period, makes some concessions, hoping to hinder the development of the situation in relation to the workers and petty-bourgeoisie. This is in the short term only.

The policy of concession is expressed, for example, in the explanation offered by the central government in the case of the lands of Chihuahua: that the Agrarian Department places the responsibility for the failure to divide the lands on Governor Giner of Chihuahua. But, now that the movement has not been extended, the army will maintain its blockade to force back the peasants. It is a vital necessity to impel the struggle throughout the country, that full support by the trade unions, peasant organizations, student organizations, anti-imperialist, professional and artisan organizations, by the whole exploited masses, be given to the land seizures by the peasants of Chihuahua. Protests must be made to the local government of Chihuahua against the military blockade of the land recently seized, which belongs to the peasants and not to the exploiting landowners.

### APPEAL TO WORKERS

We appeal to the whole of the poor peasantry, from Lower California to Yucatan, to follow the line of the peasants of Chihuahua, who for months have struggled in defence of their rights to the soil. We appeal to them to follow their example, seize the lands, work them with the tools that are available, camp in tents and defend, with armed militias, their right to work and cultivate.

We appeal to the whole proletariat of the country, and to the unions and workers' centres, to the CTM, CNT, CROC, CROM, UGT, the petroleum workers, electrical workers and railwaymen, that they proclaim in their meetings the worker-peasant alliance, the formation of workers' and peasants' committees. We appeal to the proletariat of Chihuahua, to the miners of Parral, Santa Eulalia, to the mineral workers of the Sierra, to the electrical, railway, telephone, construction workers, of whatever state, that they demand the occupation of the land and the formation of committees.

### WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Mexican Section of the IVth International, supports unconditionally the actions of armed seizure of the land, and appeals to all the peasantry of the country to crush the bosses and rural bourgeoisie, and in the process to form the revolutionary Marxist tendency which can centralize

action and promote the formation of the Revolutionary Peasant Centre.

For the seizure of land, as in Chihuahua, imposed by force!

For the Worker-Peasant Alliance!

For the support of the workers' centres (CTM, CNC, CROC) and of all the masses for the seizure of land!

(From a Statement by the RWP(T) of Mexico published in *Voz Obrera*.)

## Brazil

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great pressure from the masses.

At the end a Trotskyist comrade launched an appeal to organize a demonstration, a march to the prison, to demand the release of the prisoners. These propositions were supported with enthusiasm and the demonstration was organized, with three Trotskyist banners at its head, demanding "Death to imperialism! Freedom for the prisoners!"

When they reached the prison, the police let the arrested trade unionists go, so that they could speak in the meeting. Among the prisoners one of our three comrades took the rostrum.

### PEASANT VICTORY

In the name of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) he made an appeal to carry forward the struggle for the land and against the repression of the government of the latifundists, and for the Congress of Peasants. Even the policemen, under the influence of the peasants' struggle, showed their sympathy with the demonstrators.

It is in leading this struggle forward that our comrade Jeremias (Roberto Pinto) was murdered by the latifundists. He was a leader of the peasants of this region, a member of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T). But the action of the peasants continues to spread throughout the north-east with an ever greater force, and our Trotskyist comrades are fighting in the vanguard of this struggle, at the same post of duty as Comrade Jeremias.

Radio Peking — as recorded in *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Uruguayan Section of the IVth International — has announced that the peasants of North-East Brazil have won a great victory in securing an increase of 80% in wages and three weeks' holiday with pay. These are the two most important points in the revolutionary programme of struggle of the North-East Brazilian peasants, and these gains are undoubtedly the result of the actions and the revolutionary methods applied by the peasants, with the guidance and the direct participation of our Brazilian Trotskyist comrades.

Our Party greets the action of the Brazilian peasants and gives it most fervent revolutionary salute to the Brazilian comrades who are carrying these struggles forward.

## Peru

The RWP(T), the Socialist Party and the peasants' trade union at Tumbes have signed an electoral pact for the presentation of candidates in the Tumbes municipal elections, a peasants' and petrol workers' area. The election manifesto makes an appeal to give the elections an anti-capitalist content. It says:

"For the first time in the history of the struggle of the exploited masses for their liberation, of the regime of imperialist - feudal - bourgeois exploitation, it has been possible to organize a 'Front' between a trade union and the workers' parties with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme to intervene in the electoral struggle."

The manifesto ends with this appeal: "Each vote cast for the Electoral Class Front will be an expression of the decision of the peasants of Corrales and San Jacinto to organize themselves into the Peasants' Union of Tumbes, until such time as the "latifundia" are dispersed, until the land is distributed freely to the poor peasants, for a daily wage of 60 soles, etc. . . . It is a vote for the worker-peasant alliance, for the expropriation without compensation of the International Petroleum Company, with workers' control; for the expropriation without compensation of all imperialist enterprises in the national interest; for a unified National Bank; for the monopoly of foreign trade; for a minimum living wage; for a sliding scale of wages and hours of work; for the centralized solution of the health, housing and transport problems of the toilers.

"Comrades!

Down with oligarchy! Down with imperialism! Long live the Electoral Class Front with the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists)! Long live the Socialist Party of Corrales and San Jacinto! Long live the Peasant Union of Tumbes!"

TUMBES	
APRA-UNO	763
APDC	168
POR (Trotskyists)	158
SAN JACINTO	
APRA	164
POR (Trotskyists)	142
APDC	108

This success for the POR (Trotskyist) shows that the programme and policies of the Trotskyists find an echo, more and more important, among the exploited worker and peasant masses of Peru in their struggle to drive out imperialism and overthrow capitalism. It is for the first time that the RWP(T) — clandestine and banned throughout the rest of the country — has had the chance of presenting candidates in a public election.

## ALGERIA

(continued from page 2)

years ago. He did not want to have anything to do with the Soviet Union, but today he accepts, "with pleasure." The loan will not carry interest and the Russians will send technicians, "with no strings attached"—which shows a different relationship with Algeria than that with Cuba. This difference in attitude is not due to the maturity of the Algerian revolution, which is in reality behind the Cuban revolution, but is designed to defend and preserve the world interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. That is the nature of Khrushchev's investment. It is for this reason that French imperialism has not cried "scandalous," even though it does not suit them.

Khrushchev does not intervene to prevent Yankee or other bourgeois in-

fluence, but only so that the Chinese will not "interfere." He interferes, in fact, in order to increase the weight of his pacifism, his co-existence and his conservatism. In this sense it must be understood that the bureaucracy will intervene with all its weight there, as in other revolutions. It will improve its financial participation, its financial support, so as not to meet greater resistance than it did in Cuba. Such is the attitude of the bureaucracy. This will have as an inevitable consequence the demand, on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, of guarantees (through the direct intervention of the CP).

### Algerian-Moroccan Conflict

The Algerian revolution is part of the process of the World Revolution and of the Revolution of the Middle East. It is impossible, in the final analysis, to say with conclusive accuracy who started the frontier incidents. It is clear that it is convenient to both parties, but more so for King Hassan than for Ben Bella. In the last general election in Morocco none of the workers, nor the unions nor the Left intervened. But if the regime had formally to democratize, and to give an appearance of democracy at the elections, it is because it sees itself crumbling everywhere: that is why it needs some kind of diversion. It could be that Hassan, without consciously preparing such, used the problems "normal" to frontiers. We must be emphatic. An appeal from the International is needed against all frontier incidents, and for the re-forming of an assembly of unions of workers and peasants of both countries, with the aim of the unification of the Maghreb. It must be left to the masses to decide, through the expropriation of imperialism and capitalism, what is to be the solution.

We believe that this stage of the Algerian revolution is developing very quickly, and that the events of the Middle East will also have a great influence on it. We must insist on the unification of the Maghreb and on African unification: the soviet socialist unification of all Africa. The influence of the transformations effected in Egypt will reflect on Algeria. Egypt is closer to a workers' state than to a capitalist state, and if Egypt advances still more, with another series of measures of the kind she is at present taking, such as expropriation and the limiting of landed property, the problem will be posed of whether or not Egypt is a workers' state. Already, as she is today, she is much nearer the workers' state than the capitalist state, and she cannot move back. That is important. In this sense, the measures which are taken and the struggles which are developing in the Middle East at present are in part the reflection of the contradiction between the mature situation and the lack of a leadership. That also exerts an influence on the Algerian revolution, which has not yet reached the workers' state level; while in Egypt there is, on the contrary, the presence of a series of important measures of expropriation of imperialism and capitalism.

In the Algerian-Moroccan conflict, we support the Algerian revolution against imperialist provocation, French as well as American. They are behind this provocation by the Moroccan regime. The Moroccan masses must be called upon to overthrow the monarchy, to oust imperialism and to smash capitalism. The Moroccan soldiers must be called upon to fraternize with the Algerians and to turn their arms against the monarchy. But this call must be made with the intervention of the Algerian masses, by extending the nationalization, and the expropriation of capitalism and imperialism in Algeria, and by calling for the Soviet Socialist Unification of the Maghreb. The workers' and peasants' organizations must take the initiative. Committees must be formed regrouping Algerian and Moroccan workers and peasants, to discuss and resolve the frontier problems—and not only these problems, but the establishment of workers' states in Algeria and Morocco and their soviet socialist unification.

The UGTA, the UMT, the student organizations and the anti-imperialist workers' parties must advance from these beginnings.

The International Secretariat of the IVth International.

October 15, 1963.

## CHOU EN-LAI'S VISIT TO NORTH AFRICA

Chou En-lai's visit signifies a new stage in the Sino-Soviet conflict, reflecting in a new manner, the Chinese attempt to intervene in the colonial revolution and in consequence the actions and interests of the maturing Chinese workers' state coming into sharper conflict with those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Although Chou En-lai did not appeal to the revolutionary socialist aspirations of the masses, the masses see more than a Chinese delegation. They see the revolutionary path taken by the Chinese masses; the immense achievements of the Chinese workers' state; the Chinese leadership's denunciation of the counter-revolutionary role played by the Soviet bureaucracy; the assistance including arms by the Chinese to the colonial revolution and the need of the Chinese workers' state to extend their socialist revolution. Despite the actions of Chou En-lai during this visit, by the Chinese going to the masses, his visit has acted as a catalyst to the revolutionary actions of the masses. This is another example of the interaction of the developing colonial and Chinese revolutions.

Oppositional pressure from the Soviet bureaucracy was demonstrated when after the initial statement that Guevara was going to meet Chou En-lai in Egypt, Guevara's trip was cancelled, the consequence of the Soviet bureaucracy's pressure on the Cuban Government. The complex manoeuvres of the Soviet bureaucracy with regard to the developing colonial revolution can best be demonstrated by considering its relationship to the Algerian revolution. Bearing in mind the rôle played by both the Soviet bureaucracy and Khrushchev's CP in France throughout the fight for national liberation, the aid from the Soviet bureaucracy to Ben Bella has not the objective of developing the Algerian revolution to a workers' state and on to the construction of socialism. On the contrary, Khrushchev's action is from fear of the Chinese influence on the Algerian revolution and fear of the Algerian masses. It is an attempt by Khrushchev to increase his pacifist base and strengthen his policy of peaceful co-existence.

### WILL OF THE MASSES

The opportunism of the Chinese bureaucracy and the glaring contradictions in the Chinese policy were yet again demonstrated by Chou En-lai's visit. On the one hand the Chinese endeavour to gain support in their struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, and their efforts to assist countries in their anti-imperialist fight. On the other hand, the Chinese at this stage try to limit their actions and limit themselves in this trip to pompous formalities and purely governmental dealings. Chou En-lai's comments such as war not being inevitable and the stress he put on China regaining her seat at the UN are not the remarks of a Marxist-Leninist, but only reflect confusion and conservative traits in the Chinese leadership and the pressures and desires of the governments Chou En-lai visited. These cordial, uncritical meetings with the different North African governments do not help to achieve workers' states in North Africa. Such statements as 'Premier Chou En-lai praised the successes achieved by His Majesty's government and the Moroccan people' (*Peking Review*) completely mirror Khrushchev's conciliatory policy, and it is a continuation of the erroneous non-committal policy taken by the Chinese leadership over the Algerian-Moroccan conflict. A true Marxist-Leninist leadership would have supported the Algerian revolution, seeing US imperialism's interests behind the Moroccan offensive.

It would, moreover, have called on the Moroccan masses to overthrow their monarchy, to smash capitalism and expel imperialism. At the same time the Algerian masses should have been given a programme of extending nationalization under workers' control, setting up of communes and expropriation of all capitalists and imperialists from Algeria.

Algeria suffers from massive unemployment and this year a large fall in indus-

trial and agrarian production; yet Chou En-lai did not transmit any of the important Chinese commune experience to the Algerian masses. The setting up of communes is the only path which the Algerian revolution can take to absorb labour, increase production and raise the consciousness of the peasant masses. Instead of the Chinese leaders helping to organize the centralized machinery for the masses to enforce their demands, Chou En-lai actually tells the Algerians not to rush into socialism. This criminal behaviour demonstrates the most negative aspects of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Throughout the historical development of the Chinese leadership, they have been pushed by the gathering momentum of the masses, the developing Chinese revolution and the developing world revolutionary situation.

Khrushchev has not a social base in the masses of the colonial countries, and it is not Khrushchev who dictates the pace and course of the colonial revolution but the objective world revolutionary conditions and in particular the will of the masses—the will of the masses to smash imperialism.

### World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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). Manuel Fernandez, 160 rue Potagere, Brussels.

**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.

## Release the Three Cuban Comrades

On November 9, 1963 Andreas Alfonso Perez, a worker and member of the POR(T), Cuban Section of the IVth International, was arrested and is now in prison in Havana. Two other comrades—Comrade Florida Fraga, the wife of Comrade Perez, and Comrade Ricardo Ferrera—were arrested on December 1 and 2. They had previously protested against the arrest of Comrade Alfonso Perez. These comrades were all arrested without any charge being brought against them.

These actions against our Party in Cuba are undertaken by the Khrushchevite bureaucratic clique with the object of intimidating both the Party and the masses. In fact our comrades have been imprisoned simply because they are Trotskyists.

All of them assisted in the establishment and defence of the Cuban Workers' State, participating in actions against Batista, serving in the militia and in the voluntary labour corps.

Comrade Alfonso was twice previously arrested, for no reason, by local Khrushchevite functionaries and then released as the result of protests by fellow workers. On one occasion, having clashed with union officials, he was arbitrarily moved to another place of work—a direct violation of trade-union and basic democratic liberties. In essence, the very bureaucrats who supported Batista and concealed themselves during the revolution now threaten our comrades who fought for the revolution.

Their actions reflect the desperation of

the privileged bureaucratic clique in Cuba which fears any criticism made of it, not only by our comrades but by those other tendencies who support the general line of the Chinese against the counter-revolutionary policy of peaceful co-existence followed by Khrushchev. Cuba was not a signatory to the Test Ban Treaty—on the other hand, Castro betrayed his inability to comprehend the revolution by his absurdly sentimental comments on the death of Kennedy. This reflects the struggle now proceeding in Cuba. The bureaucracy, forced on to the defensive, attempts to intimidate the masses by isolated acts of individual terrorism. There is a serious possibility that the arrests are a prelude to the physical liquidation of our comrades by the Khrushchevites.

We call upon the trade unions, the Labour Party, youth and student organizations and all militants to protect strongly to the Cuban government against these arbitrary arrests, which directly violate the trade union and democratic rights proper to a workers' state, and to demand the release of these comrades.

A campaign must be launched immediately on these lines. We reiterate that there is an actual danger that our Cuban comrades may lose their lives.

Political Bureau, Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists), British Section of the IVth International.

January 6, 1964.

## Party Life

The Party held a small but successful meeting in London on January 26 dedicated to the release of our imprisoned Cuban comrades. With the participation of members of the audience, further measures in the campaign were planned. The Party was able to report that resolutions had been carried in a number of trade union and Young Socialist branches and local Labour Parties, whose protests had been sent direct to the Cuban Embassy in London and to the Cuban Government.

Also on January 26, the Party intervened in the annual general meeting of the London Area of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Six resolutions and two amendments had been tabled in the name of the Party or by individuals and organizations sympathetic to the Party. An emergency resolution demanding the withdrawal of British troops from East Africa and urging the Labour Party and the trade unions to take steps to prevent the sending of additional troops was ruled out of order by Standing Orders Committee (which was itself divided on the issue). By the narrow vote of 313 to 308, the conference accepted the bureaucratic ruling, but the high vote against acceptance indicates the feeling aroused by this bureaucratic manoeuvre on the part of the Khrushchevite area leadership of this organization.

The voice of the IVth International was heard on the following questions: the struggle of the masses in Latin America against US imperialism and bourgeois exploitation (including a de-

nunciation of the murder of Roberto Pinto); the sending of arms to the clandestine organizations of the masses in South Africa, fighting against Verwoerd; the struggle against Malaysia and the role of Sukarno and the opportunist leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia; the campaign for the release of political prisoners in India and an exposure of the vile Dange clique and the vacillations of the opposition within the Communist Party of India; the course of the revolution in Iraq. Amendments and resolutions on Algeria, the fight against racialism in Britain and the arrests of the Cuban comrades were not reached. Despite this, it may be said with confidence that the Party completely dominated this conference, even though none of its resolutions was carried. Every speaker, especially the representatives of the Communist Party and the chairman, a former Labour MP, referred to the Party or to its ideas.

In Nottingham and other Midlands cities the Regional Committee of the Party has organized the distribution of leaflets on the conditions of shop workers and tobacco workers in the area.

### BRAZIL (Party Life)

On December 1 at Pernambuco a meeting of 5,000 peasants was organized to demand the release of the imprisoned peasant leaders, among whom were three Trotskyists. Against the sabotage and indifference of the petty-bourgeois leadership of Juliao, those who organized and mobilized the peasants for the demonstration were our comrades.

During the demonstration the three Trotskyist comrades and the other peasant leaders were spoken of. All the speakers placed the workers' and peasants' government on the order of the day. F. Juliano also spoke, taking up the Trotskyist perspective under

(continued on page 3)

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we are nothing. With  
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everything*

— Trotsky

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# RED FLAG



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

Vol. 1 No. 45

FEBRUARY 1964

SIXPENCE

## Panama — Bolivia — Zanzibar — Kenya

### OUT WITH IMPERIALISM

World events over the last few weeks have shown again, the continuous crumbling of World Imperialism, its utter inability to check or control the progress of the World Revolution.

American imperialism has taken a pounding from Panama, a tiny country, itself a creation of the USA at a time when Imperialism was still able to organize the world. Now under the immense pressure of the masses, the Panama leaders (previously safe friends of America) are being forced to demand nothing less than the abolition of the canal zone and the nationalization of the canal.

In Bolivia the revolution enters a new stage; the miners and peasants, arms in hand, have forced Paz Estensoro and his Yankee backers to release the imprisoned union leaders.

#### BRITISH IMPERIALISM CRUMBLES

British imperialism has fared no better recently. Indonesian workers have taken over some British enterprises and only the reactionary Sukarno and the criminal inactivity of the Indonesian Community Party, prevent the complete expulsion of British Imperialism from Indonesia and the North Borneo territories. Despite their leaderships, the Indonesian masses express their will to power; they have no fear of imperialism and its nuclear missiles. In Africa, the social repercussions of the Zanzibar revolution, quite out of proportion to the island's size and population, have already made themselves felt in the army mutinies in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. The British neo-colonialist set-up in East Africa is beginning to totter. British imperialism, already over-extended militarily to the extent that plans for a selective call-up have been suggested to increase the army's strength, will be unable to control the situation. The "confrontation" with Indonesia, the Cyprus crisis and the strike breaking operation in Swaziland are already more than it can cope with; now it can only watch and hope.

Predictably as the world revolution advances, the Soviet bureaucracy intensifies its counter-revolutionary activity. It is now seeking to open up diplomatic relations with Spain! But the time has long past when the Soviet bureaucracy could utterly betray and destroy revolutions as in Germany and Spain before the second world war, and in Italy and France after it.

#### WORKERS INFLUENCED

The recent revolutionary upheavals in Africa, Asia and Latin America encourage the British workers in the struggle to obliterate imperialism. The fighting mood of the workers has been sustained by a series of victories or partial victories on every front. At the present time the seamen, who have not had an official strike for 50 years, have rejected a 7% offer by the employers and empowered their executive to call a strike if all their own demands on wages and hours are not met. The craftsmen at the Port Talbot steel works who have been fighting the Steel Company of Wales since before Christmas, have rejected a TUC 'peace plan' designed to get them back to work, and at the time of going to press, express a tremendous militancy.

The Tory Party pretending to be con-

cerned with lowering prices, are planning to abolish Retail Price Maintenance: but through this abolition, in fact, the monopolies assert their own interests against the "little man"—a process Marx described a long time ago. The ruling class hope to stop RPM in the overall interest of its economy, in spite of the fact that this will alienate the small shopkeepers, most of them staunch Tory voters; and so, once again capitalism loses some of its social support. The just-published revelations about the fight for the Tory Party leadership last October show, in all the allegations and counter-allegations of bad faith, dishonesty and intrigue, the failing self confidence of the ruling class, their sharp divisions, their lack of perspective. And all this is a result of the increasing power of the Workers' States, the tempestuous advance of the colonial revolution, and the militant struggle of the workers in this country and throughout the world.

The RWP(T) calls for the linking together of the struggles in the colonial and the industrial countries.

Factory and shop steward committees, supply money and arms to the colonial workers in struggle against imperialism! Demand the withdrawal of British troops and bases.

For the unity of the struggle on the basis of the revolutionary conclusions of the 25 points (advanced by the Chinese CP on June 14, 1963) for the liquidation of imperialism all over the world.

Forward to the new mass Communist International!

## NEW STRUGGLE OF CYPRIOT MASSES

The crisis in Cyprus is a further indication of the enormous difficulties facing world imperialism, the complete instability of any area under its apparent control.

Great pressure exists in Cyprus for the removal of imperialism and its bases. This in itself is all part of the turbulence of the world revolution, particularly in the Middle East. The previous struggles of the Cypriot people ended in the 1959 "Agreements" which were imposed by the NATO powers: Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. The Constitution was aimed at dividing the Turkish and Greek peoples with such devices as separate Greek and Turkish municipalities. Meanwhile the NATO bases remained with a 10,000 British garrison. The Cyprus base is of importance for imperialism as part of the counter-revolutionary NATO military system whose object is to "contain" and finally attack the workers' states. For British imperialism it has the additional value of preserving some sort of prestige and authority in a world situation where its authority diminishes at every instant.

The craft workers' claim in essence, is for a substantial pay rise to bring them up to the level of the 'process' workers. It expresses the craftsmen's complete rejection of any form of imposed wage restraint, and their determination to maintain and improve their standard of life. This militancy, coming from a relatively well paid section of workers, refutes the myth that so-called prosperity weakens the class consciousness.

The capitalist class was caught off balance by this strike. Some would like to see the SCOW management fight it to the finish, while others are terrified of the social consequences of a protracted strike at this time.

#### ROTTEN TU BOSSES

The union leaderships have played a rotten role in this strike. There were no reasonable grounds for the AEU refusing to join the process workers' union in talks with the management. A South Wales representative of the AEU was quoted as saying that recent meetings of AEU members "felt that as the claim was for craftsmen, there was no point in the body containing representatives of the process workers." This attitude demonstrates the need for a really effective joint shop stewards committee representing both craft and process workers, putting forward wage demands and demands for workers' control. This would increase

enormously the effectiveness of the workers' struggle. Because of the rottenness of the Dutch TU leadership and the lack of contact with European shop stewards committees, Dutch steel continued to come into this country weakening the Port Talbot strike. To meet the European capitalists it is essential and possible, for the workers to organise a joint European shop stewards committee.

The SCOW strike shows the need for organisations of the workers at the base of the trade unions. Even when the TU leaders are forced to call a strike they do their utmost to sabotage it; the so-called peace plan of the TUC is an example of this.

#### RIPE FOR GENERAL STRIKE

Throughout Western Europe the working class is pressing forward, forcing their respective bourgeoisies to concede more and more; the workers have suffered no major defeats and they have now begun to struggle not just for economic demands but for power.

Comrades, workers, organize yourselves on an industrial basis sweeping away the outdated craft divisions. A national and European organization of joint shop steward committees representing workers industrial organizations is the only effective weapon of struggle. This strike shows once again that conditions are ripe for the General Strike, to bring capitalism down.

British and all NATO troops should be withdrawn immediately!

We call for the establishment of workers' and peasants' councils in Cyprus on a socialist programme for workers' power!

Out with the imperialist troops!

Long live the struggle of the Cypriot masses for a socialist Cyprus!

Political Bureau, Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists),  
British Section of the IVth International.

January 6, 1964.

# Perspectives And Contradictions In The Advance Of The Algerian Revolution (Extracts)

The IVth International has always maintained that Ben Bella is not an imperialist agent, but that he wants a pacifist type of socialism, achieved in stages. It is evident that he expresses a tendency which has no faith in the masses and which does not even want to have faith in socialism. His attitude is, in reality, one of idealization, of prejudice and even of mysticism towards the masses. As such we have, in other circumstances, analyzed it as an expression of the contradictions within the Algerian revolution. The essential basis of these contradictions lies in the existence of a situation which is ripe for the establishment of proletarian power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reason for the failure to seize power lies in the policy not only of the Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy, but also of the Chinese and the Cubans, who have not helped the masses to acquire sufficient centralized force to push a leadership towards the social revolution. This contradiction does not only lie in the relationship of the masses with Ben Bella. The masses have an enormous strength which surpasses any number of Ben Bellas. But Ben Bella finds a sufficiently important support for his policy, not in the masses' state of backwardness — there is no state of backwardness among the masses — nor in the objective situation, allowing him to manoeuvre, but in the fact that the world organizations which should have compensated for the organizational feebleness of the Algerian masses help Ben Bella and French imperialism, even while the conditions for seizing power exist.

Such is the fundamental contradiction existing in Algeria. It is on this basis that the dealings of Ben Bella must be measured.

On the other hand Ben Bella has, till now, always tried in his reactions to respond to the pressure of the masses in aiming blows at imperialism. Not because to do so is a part of his way of thinking, but because his attitude reflects the extent of the enormous pressure exerted, and the steps which he has taken to satisfy the masses and maintain his authority over them. Moreover he was disposed to adopt these measures — if not, he would never have adopted them. A Ferhat Abbas would have acted differently.

All this means that Ben Bella is a contradictory product—infinitely inferior to Fidel Castro—of the Algerian revolution. He stands between a petty-bourgeois leadership which wants a *sui generis*, mystical, Mohammedan or Arab socialism, and the masses, who are ready to by-pass Mohammed, all religious prejudices and all the mystical idealization of Ben Bella. With him this is not just a lie, or a device to soothe the masses and contain them, but is the result of his own mystical conception. Ben Bella is also the product of a world situation which is ripe, but devoid of a centralized leadership; the petit-bourgeoisie expresses itself to a great extent through Nasser. If the workers' states had assumed their revolutionary role (they play an objectively revolutionary role, but without a conscious, revolutionary leadership) we would not have had a Ben Bella. Fundamentally Ben Bella is a product of this world contradiction and not of a particular situation in

Algeria. The same contradictions exist in other parts of the world.

## The Algerian Revolution Is Measured On A World Scale

The fundamental contradiction of the Algerian revolution is measured on the world scale and not, basically, on the national scale. If Nasser, Islam and pan-arabism were able to have an influence and a role in the first place, alongside Ben Bella, it is not by reason of the immaturity of the revolution or of the masses but because of the important and decisive support, in favour of conservatism, on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, as well as the lack of revolutionary intervention by the Chinese and the Cubans. The Algerian revolution must be considered on a world scale. De Gaulle does not intervene, not only because he understands that he would be defeated, but also because it would mean revolution in the rest of Europe.

De Gaulle could not intervene now without taking into account the upheaval of the French masses. That's clear and categorical. If de Gaulle was able to count, before, on the Communist Party, he can do so no longer. The Soviet bureaucracy would not allow French imperialist intervention. Not that it would act in a revolutionary manner but, in the world relationship of forces, the workers' states could not allow such a thing. De Gaulle's attitude follows from that. He understands not only that Ben Bella is for him the lesser evil, but also that he cannot intervene. In this sense, Ben Bella is an idiot. He must be told so publicly, for even from the reformist point of view he can obtain more from de Gaulle. The latter is preparing to promote the nationalization of petrol, for he understands that he has not the power to stop it.

De Gaulle has had to liquidate the OAS. It was an obstacle to the fundamental interests of French imperialism. The structure of the French army is the weakest in Europe. The army (not just the officer corps, but the very structure) has lost its sense of military and patriotic intervention. It has carried on a series of counter-revolutionary wars and has suffered defeat after defeat. In spite of the Communist Party, which has pressed the soldiers to submit to French patriotism, the French army has had to fight constantly against incessant desertion and threats of desertion. The actual relationship of forces, the waves of strikes in France and in Europe, the advance of the revolution, and of the Algerian revolution in particular, all these, apart from other reasons, prevent French imperialism from again invading Algeria to enforce, as it puts it, respect for its "rights." And that is even with the troops which it has in Algeria at the moment.

The world situation, on the other hand, has evolved radically in favour of the revolution and not of imperialism. Ben Bella's attitude is not a revolutionary one, even if he strikes certain blows at imperialism, but is an attitude of defence. An aggressive attitude from Ben Bella would have been to probe to the very root the power of French imperialism to put pressure on Algeria by demanding the withdrawal of the French army from Algeria. The French army must be shown the door. The exploitation of petrol (the essential wealth of Algeria) by imperialism must be stopped. The latest measure, the nationalization of lands taken by Ben Bella was an important blow. It shows that he is not, as some claim, a reactionary, or a restorer of

capitalism and fascism. It is completely stupid to talk this way. That's the same kind of accusation which the Chinese level at the Yugoslavs. Ben Bella is neither a capitalist nor an agent of capitalism, nor does he want to maintain capitalism. In none of our documents is it said that Ben Bella is an agent or a representative of imperialism. That he plays the game of the capitalists, and that he has to sustain capitalism in the face of the masses, is another matter. But he is not the type disposed to rush to the defence of capitalism. He wants to build socialism, but by piecemeal methods.

This we said in our last document.

## The Programme For Developing The Progress Of The Revolution

The peasants are evidently the basis of power in Algeria. The agrarian revolution under the slogan "Land for the tillers" is the social basis of power. Though, in Algeria, the social basis for proletarian power is the peasantry, yet the basis of the Party which directs its political consciousness and its programme is the proletariat. The peasant tends to be isolated by reason of his level of consciousness, his interests and his limited horizons (especially in so backward a country as Algeria). That is why the Proletarian Party comes into existence. The proletarian composition of the Party means nothing if it does not base itself on the programme of proletarian revolution: complete nationalization of all property, workers' control, the soviets and the communes. Such are the immediate slogans.) To succeed, it is necessary to push to the fore the collectivization and socialization of large properties, distribution of the land and government aid and, in addition, the organization of communes, to pull Algeria out of its backwardness and to eliminate unemployment. The functioning of soviets is an iron necessity.

There is no contradiction between the communes and the soviets. The soviet is the political organization of the country and the commune is the territorial form of organization. It permits the superseding of the country's backwardness, the absorption of the unemployed, the development of the economy and the speedy penetration of the peasantry by proletarian consciousness, raising them to a level approaching that attained by the proletariat.

This possibility of eliminating in a short time, the backward mentality of the countryside and of the peasant way of life is offered by the communes. What are the measures essential to the attainment of that goal in the present situation? We do not believe that a referendum and a Constituent Assembly are essentials. It is necessary to accept the programme for proletarian power. It is also necessary to consider the fact that, without a Party, the tasks are rendered very difficult or, at least, more complicated over a long period, for there is no way of promoting the slogans. But the conditions, subjective as much as objective, are not favourable for Ben Bella's policy. He must yield and make concessions to the revolution. He will undoubtedly deal blows to the Left but he must, like Stalin, make unwilling concessions to the revolutionary masses. He has already shown what form these blows will take. He accuses all opposition movements of being allies of imperialism and of the Moroccans. These movements, in turn, accuse him of the same thing, because none of them represents the revolutionary necessities of the development of Algeria.

We must insist on the fact that the trade-union movement, which lacks the strength to mobilize itself, must despite this discuss the essential problems of the revolution, showing the essential basis of the revolution to be the proletariat. That is where roots must be established, and not in the peasantry. We support every uprising which tends, not to divide the revolution or isolate it, but to impose the democratic right of the masses to decide and develop the revolution. We will support every move-

ment in this sense, but there has not been one yet. We are interested not in victory in some small sector or another, but in the development of the social revolution in Algeria. If a movement shows this characteristic during a certain period we support it, even if it is very small. We shall try to persuade it that it is necessary to take as its perspective the gaining of the political demands of the masses, including by armed action if that is necessary.

But this action cannot have in view only an armed triumph. One can seek over a period, arms in hand, to gain the rest of the population politically, including the proletariat. But the Kabylie do not address themselves to the proletariat. There are also sections of the Right that want to exploit the movement at the expense of other sections which are, in a confused way, on the Left. Ben Bella, for his part, plays the game of co-existence with de Gaulle. The nationalization undertaken is propped up by petty-bourgeois, shameful and cynical speculation, for it will be paid for with money loaned by imperialism. He says of de Gaulle: "He has our complete confidence." Ben Bella does not act according to a socialist programme against imperialism and, although he is forced to attack it, he seeks to attack as little as possible.

## Management Committees And The Revolutionary Programme

The management committee does not replace either the soviet or the commune; it is a retrogressive organizational form. It is not an advance towards a programme of control by the masses, towards the programme of the revolution. It is a regressive form which tends to divide the workers, to decentralize effort and to stir up local, regional and circumstantial interests. In this way it brings about the formation of an aristocracy of labour, and tends to create and develop competition among the masses, which has much more serious consequences in a country with a grave unemployment situation. It tends, moreover, to create a labour aristocracy which, even in the limited form that it might take in Algeria, will be a basis of support for the government. Ben Bella follows the example of Tito, with a view to creating a social basis proper to himself. This must be combatted vigorously, but at the same time it must be seen that the management committee is presented to the masses in another way, that for them it represents something else: it is a means through which they think they might bring pressure to bear. The slogan with which we must agitate is: "Transform the management committee into the organ of workers' control, and transform the trade-union movement into the central axis of the intervention of the masses in the whole of Algerian life!"

A discussion among the masses on the planning of the economy and on the means of achieving socialism now, by expropriating everything, is absolutely necessary.

The mobilization of the masses is necessary to expropriate imperialism. The soldiers of the French army must be called upon to withdraw and to desert, uniting with the Algerian revolution. Let the Algerian masses tell them that they are in the act of achieving what the French miners, dockers and railway workers wanted to achieve. They must make a direct appeal for desertion and rebellion by French soldiers in order to have a point of support which will dislodge French imperialism. These are the essential slogans for agitation.

## Soviet Aid And The Prospect Of The Development Of The Revolution

The intervention of Khrushchev is directed against the Chinese. It aims to prevent the influence of the Chinese on the Algerian revolution. Khrushchev saw that Ben Bella, in spite of everything, had to give in to pressure for a socialist Algeria. It must not be forgotten that Ben Bella refused the first offer of a Soviet loan two

(Continued on page 3)

# Life Of The International

## Mexico

The occupation for the third time, by a sector of the landless peasants of Chihuahua and the municipalities of Janos and Ascension, of the Santa Anita de Casas Grandes estates, Chihuahua, demonstrates that a new, elevated phase of the agrarian revolution is developing in Mexico, and that the maturity and consciousness of sectors of the peasantry is advancing at an accelerated pace. This armed seizure of land has an enormous importance, not only through its local significance but because it affirms a permanent tendency throughout the country by peasants who question all the agrarian measures of the government and who are opening the way to a period of very profound struggle on the part of the peasantry, who inevitably play an enormous role. In the last four months, there have been "invasions" in Guanajuato, Chihuahua, Sonora, Veracruz and Chiapas. The bureaucrats of the CCI like to claim that they are precipitate. But in reality these events show the most precise and dynamic line of the agrarian revolution. And this, despite the lack of leadership and a revolutionary peasant centre, which can impel and organize the masses on an anti-capitalist programme, and centralize the struggle within the prospect of the worker-peasant alliance.

### MILITARY BLOCKADE

If these seizures of land go beyond the CCI and reach such an elevated level, it shows quite clearly that the conditions are ripe for a deepening and extension of the struggle for the land throughout the country. The CCI, since the year of its foundation, has sought to receive the support of sectors of the peasantry on electoral perspectives. But the sentiment and will to struggle of the poor peasants and landless peasants is bound to the direct and immediate perspective of the struggle for land. Such is the immensity of the agrarian problem that the bourgeoisie, necessarily for a period, makes some concessions, hoping to hinder the development of the situation in relation to the workers and petty-bourgeoisie. This is in the short term only.

The policy of concession is expressed, for example, in the explanation offered by the central government in the case of the lands of Chihuahua: that the Agrarian Department places the responsibility for the failure to divide the lands on Governor Giner of Chihuahua. But, now that the movement has not been extended, the army will maintain its blockade to force back the peasants. It is a vital necessity to impel the struggle throughout the country, that full support by the trade unions, peasant organizations, student organizations, anti-imperialist, professional and artisan organizations, by the whole exploited masses, be given to the land seizures by the peasants of Chihuahua. Protests must be made to the local government of Chihuahua against the military blockade of the land recently seized, which belongs to the peasants and not to the exploiting landowners.

### APPEAL TO WORKERS

We appeal to the whole of the poor peasantry, from Lower California to Yucatan, to follow the line of the peasants of Chihuahua, who for months have struggled in defence of their rights to the soil. We appeal to them to follow their example, seize the lands, work them with the tools that are available, camp in tents and defend, with armed militias, their right to work and cultivate.

We appeal to the whole proletariat of the country, and to the unions and workers' centres, to the CTM, CNT, CROC, CROM, UGT, the petroleum workers, electrical workers and railwaymen, that they proclaim in their meetings the worker-peasant alliance, the formation of workers' and peasants' committees. We appeal to the proletariat of Chihuahua, to the miners of Parral, Santa Eulalia, to the mineral workers of the Sierra, to the electrical, railway, telephone, construction workers, of whatever state, that they demand the occupation of the land and the formation of committees.

### WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Mexican Section of the IVth International, supports unconditionally the actions of armed seizure of the land, and appeals to all the peasantry of the country to crush the bosses and rural bourgeoisie, and in the process to form the revolutionary Marxist tendency, which can centralize

action and promote the formation of the Revolutionary Peasant Centre.

For the seizure of land, as in Chihuahua, imposed by force!

For the Worker-Peasant Alliance!

For the support of the workers' centres (CTM, CNC, CRCC) and of all the masses for the seizure of land!

(From a Statement by the RWP(T) of Mexico published in Voz Obrera).

## Brazil

(continued from page 4)

great pressure from the masses.

At the end a Trotskyist comrade launched an appeal to organize a demonstration, a march to the prison, to demand the release of the prisoners. These propositions were supported with enthusiasm and the demonstration was organized, with three Trotskyist banners at its head, demanding "Death to imperialism! Freedom for the prisoners!"

When they reached the prison, the police let the arrested trade unionists go, so that they could speak in the meeting. Among the prisoners one of our three comrades took the rostrum.

### PEASANT VICTORY

In the name of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) he made an appeal to carry forward the struggle for the land and against the repression of the government of the latifundists, and for the Congress of Peasants. Even the policemen, under the influence of the peasants' struggle, showed their sympathy with the demonstrators.

It is in leading this struggle forward that our comrade Jeremias (Roberto Pinto) was murdered by the latifundists. He was a leader of the peasants of this region, a member of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T). But the action of the peasants continues to spread throughout the north-east with an ever greater force, and our Trotskyist comrades are fighting in the vanguard of this struggle, at the same post of duty as Comrade Jeremias.

Radio Peking — as recorded in *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Uruguayan Section of the IVth International — has announced that the peasants of North-East Brazil have won a great victory in securing an increase of 80% in wages and three weeks' holiday with pay. These are the two most important points in the revolutionary programme of struggle of the North-East Brazilian peasants, and these gains are undoubtedly the result of the actions and the revolutionary methods applied by the peasants, with the guidance and the direct participation of our Brazilian Trotskyist comrades.

Our Party greets the action of the Brazilian peasants and gives it most fervent revolutionary salute to the Brazilian comrades who are carrying these struggles forward.

## Peru

The RWP(T), the Socialist Party and the peasants' trade union at Tumbes have signed an electoral pact for the presentation of candidates in the Tumbes municipal elections, a peasants' and petrol workers' area. The election manifesto makes an appeal to give the elections an anti-capitalist content. it says:

"For the first time in the history of the struggle of the exploited masses for their liberation, of the regime of imperialist - feudal - bourgeois exploitation, it has been possible to organize a 'Front' between a trade union and the workers' parties with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme to intervene in the electoral struggle."

The manifesto ends with this appeal: "Each vote cast for the Electoral Class Front will be an expression of the decision of the peasants of Corrales and San Jacinto to organize themselves into the Peasants' Union of Tumbes, until such time as the "latifundia" are dispersed, until the land is distributed freely to the poor peasants, for a daily wage of 60 soles, etc. . . . It is a vote for the worker-peasant alliance, for the expropriation without compensation of the International Petroleum Company, with workers' control; for the expropriation without compensation of all imperialist enterprises in the national interest; for a unified National Bank; for the monopoly of foreign trade; for a minimum living wage; for a sliding scale of wages and hours of work; for the centralized solution of the health, housing and transport problems of the toilers.

"Comrades!

Down with oligarchy! Down with imperialism! Long live the Electoral Class Front with the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists)! Long live the Socialist Party of Corrales and San Jacinto! Long live the Peasant Union of Tumbes!"

TUMBES	
APRA-UNO	763
APDC	168
POR (Trotskyists)	158

SAN JACINTO	
APRA	164
POR (Trotskyists)	142
APDC	108

This success for the POR (Trotskyist) shows that the programme and policies of the Trotskyists find an echo, more and more important, among the exploited worker and peasant masses of Peru in their struggle to drive out imperialism and overthrow capitalism. It is for the first time that the RWP(T) — clandestine and banned throughout the rest of the country — has had the chance of presenting candidates in a public election.

## ALGERIA

(continued from page 2)

years ago. He did not want to have anything to do with the Soviet Union, but today he accepts, "with pleasure." The loan will not carry interest and the Russians will send technicians, "with no strings attached"—which shows a different relationship with Algeria than that with Cuba. This difference in attitude is not due to the maturity of the Algerian revolution, which is in reality behind the Cuban revolution, but is designed to defend and preserve the world interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. That is the nature of Khrushchev's investment. It is for this reason that French imperialism has not cried "scandalous," even though it does not suit them.

Khrushchev does not intervene to prevent Yankee or other bourgeois in-

fluence, but only so that the Chinese will not "interfere." He interferes, in fact, in order to increase the weight of his pacifism, his co-existence and his conservatism. In this sense it must be understood that the bureaucracy will intervene with all its weight there, as in other revolutions. It will improve its financial participation, its financial support, so as not to meet greater resistance than it did in Cuba. Such is the attitude of the bureaucracy. This will have as an inevitable consequence the demand, on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, of guarantees (through the direct intervention of the CP).

### Algerian-Moroccan Conflict

The Algerian revolution is part of the process of the World Revolution and of the Revolution of the Middle East. It is impossible, in the final analysis, to say with conclusive accuracy who started the frontier incidents. It is clear that it is convenient to both parties, but more so for King Hassan than for Ben Bella. In the last general election in Morocco none of the workers, nor the unions nor the Left intervened. But if the regime had formally to democratize, and to give an appearance of democracy at the elections, it is because it sees itself crumbling everywhere: that is why it needs some kind of diversion. It could be that Hassan, without consciously preparing such, used the problems "normal" to frontiers. We must be emphatic. An appeal from the International is needed against all frontier incidents, and for the re-forming of an assembly of unions of workers and peasants of both countries, with the aim of the unification of the Maghreb. It must be left to the masses to decide, through the expropriation of imperialism and capitalism, what is to be the solution.

We believe that this stage of the Algerian revolution is developing very quickly, and that the events of the Middle East will also have a great influence on it. We must insist on the unification of the Maghreb and on African unification: the soviet socialist unification of all Africa. The influence of the transformations effected in Egypt will reflect on Algeria. Egypt is closer to a workers' state than to a capitalist state, and if Egypt advances still more, with another series of measures of the kind she is at present taking, such as expropriation and the limiting of landed property, the problem will be posed of whether or not Egypt is a workers' state. Already, as she is today, she is much nearer the workers' state than the capitalist state, and she cannot move back. That is important. In this sense, the measures which are taken and the struggles which are developing in the Middle East at present are in part the reflection of the contradiction between the mature situation and the lack of a leadership. That also exerts an influence on the Algerian revolution, which has not yet reached the workers' state level; while in Egypt there is, on the contrary, the presence of a series of important measures of expropriation of imperialism and capitalism.

In the Algerian-Moroccan conflict, we support the Algerian revolution against imperialist provocation, French as well as American. They are behind this provocation by the Moroccan regime. The Moroccan masses must be called upon to overthrow the monarchy, to oust imperialism and to smash capitalism. The Moroccan soldiers must be called upon to fraternize with the Algerians and to turn their arms against the monarchy. But this call must be made with the intervention of the Algerian masses, by extending the nationalization, and the expropriation of capitalism and imperialism in Algeria, and by calling for the Soviet Socialist Unification of the Maghreb. The workers' and peasants' organizations must take the initiative. Committees must be formed regrouping Algerian and Moroccan workers and peasants, to discuss and resolve the frontier problems—and not only these problems, but the establishment of workers' states in Algeria and Morocco and their soviet socialist unification.

The UGTA, the UMT, the student organizations and the anti-imperialist workers' parties must advance from these beginnings.

The International Secretariat of the IVth International.

October 15, 1963.

## CHOU EN-LAI'S VISIT TO NORTH AFRICA

Chou En-lai's visit signifies a new stage in the Sino-Soviet conflict, reflecting in a new manner, the Chinese attempt to intervene in the colonial revolution and in consequence the actions and interests of the maturing Chinese workers' state coming into sharper conflict with those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Although Chou En-lai did not appeal to the revolutionary socialist aspirations of the masses, the masses see more than a Chinese delegation. They see the revolutionary path taken by the Chinese masses; the immense achievements of the Chinese workers' state; the Chinese leadership's denunciation of the counter-revolutionary role played by the Soviet bureaucracy; the assistance including arms by the Chinese to the colonial revolution and the need of the Chinese workers' state to extend their socialist revolution. Despite the actions of Chou En-lai during this visit, by the Chinese going to the masses, his visit has acted as a catalyst to the revolutionary actions of the masses. This is another example of the interaction of the developing colonial and Chinese revolutions.

Oppositional pressure from the Soviet bureaucracy was demonstrated when after the initial statement that Guevara was going to meet Chou En-lai in Egypt, Guevara's trip was cancelled, the consequence of the Soviet bureaucracy's pressure on the Cuban Government. The complex manoeuvres of the Soviet bureaucracy with regard to the developing colonial revolution can best be demonstrated by considering its relationship to the Algerian revolution. Bearing in mind the rôle played by both the Soviet bureaucracy and Khrushchev's CP in France throughout the fight for national liberation, the aid from the Soviet bureaucracy to Ben Bella has not the objective of developing the Algerian revolution to a workers' state and on to the construction of socialism. On the contrary, Khrushchev's action is from fear of the Chinese influence on the Algerian revolution and fear of the Algerian masses. It is an attempt by Khrushchev to increase his pacifist base and strengthen his policy of peaceful co-existence.

### WILL OF THE MASSES

The opportunism of the Chinese bureaucracy and the glaring contradictions in the Chinese policy were yet again demonstrated by Chou En-lai's visit. On the one hand the Chinese endeavour to gain support in their struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, and their efforts to assist countries in their anti-imperialist fight. On the other hand, the Chinese at this stage try to limit their actions and limit themselves in this trip to pompous formalities and purely governmental dealings. Chou En-lai's comments such as war not being inevitable and the stress he put on China regaining her seat at the UN are not the remarks of a Marxist-Leninist, but only reflect confusion and conservative traits in the Chinese leadership and the pressures and desires of the governments Chou En-lai visited. These cordial, uncritical meetings with the different North African governments do not help to achieve workers' states in North Africa. Such statements as 'Premier Chou En-lai praised the successes achieved by His Majesty's government and the Moroccan people' (*Peking Review*) completely mirror Khrushchev's conciliatory policy, and it is a continuation of the erroneous non-committal policy taken by the Chinese leadership over the Algerian-Moroccan conflict. A true Marxist-Leninist leadership would have supported the Algerian revolution, seeing US imperialism's interests behind the Moroccan offensive. It would, moreover, have called on the Moroccan masses to overthrow their monarchy, to smash capitalism and expel imperialism. At the same time the Algerian masses should have been given a programme of extending nationalization under workers' control, setting up of communes and expropriation of all capitalists and imperialists from Algeria.

Algeria suffers from massive unemployment and this year a large fall in indus-

trial and agrarian production; yet Chou En-lai did not transmit any of the important Chinese commune experience to the Algerian masses. The setting up of communes is the only path which the Algerian revolution can take to absorb labour, increase production and raise the consciousness of the peasant masses. Instead of the Chinese leaders helping to organize the centralized machinery for the masses to enforce their demands, Chou En-lai actually tells the Algerians not to rush into socialism. This criminal behaviour demonstrates the most negative aspects of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Throughout the historical development of the Chinese leadership, they have been pushed by the gathering momentum of the masses, the developing Chinese revolution and the developing world revolutionary situation.

Khrushchev has not a social base in the masses of the colonial countries, and it is not Khrushchev who dictates the pace and course of the colonial revolution but the objective world revolutionary conditions and in particular the will of the masses—the will of the masses to smash imperialism.

### World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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). Manuel Fernandez, 160 rue Potagere, Brussels.

**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.

## Release the Three Cuban Comrades

On November 9, 1963 Andreas Alfonso Perez, a worker and member of the POE(T), Cuban Section of the IVth International, was arrested and is now in prison in Havana. Two other comrades—Comrade Florida Fraga, the wife of Comrade Perez, and Comrade Ricardo Ferrera—were arrested on December 1 and 2. They had previously protested against the arrest of Comrade Alfonso Perez. These comrades were all arrested without any charge being brought against them.

These actions against our Party in Cuba are undertaken by the Khrushchevite bureaucratic clique with the object of intimidating both the Party and the masses. In fact our comrades have been imprisoned simply because they are Trotskyists.

All of them assisted in the establishment and defence of the Cuban Workers' State, participating in actions against Batista, serving in the militia and in the voluntary labour corps.

Comrade Alfonso was twice previously arrested, for no reason, by local Khrushchevite functionaries and then released as the result of protests by fellow workers. On one occasion, having clashed with union officials, he was arbitrarily moved to another place of work—a direct violation of trade-union and basic democratic liberties. In essence, the very bureaucrats who supported Batista and concealed themselves during the revolution now threaten our comrades who fought for the revolution.

Their actions reflect the desperation of

the privileged bureaucratic clique in Cuba which fears any criticism made of it, not only by our comrades but by those other tendencies who support the general line of the Chinese against the counter-revolutionary policy of peaceful co-existence followed by Khrushchev. Cuba was not a signatory to the Test Ban Treaty—on the other hand, Castro betrayed his inability to comprehend the revolution by his absurdly sentimental comments on the death of Kennedy. This reflects the struggle now proceeding in Cuba. The bureaucracy, forced on to the defensive, attempts to intimidate the masses by isolated acts of individual terrorism. There is a serious possibility that the arrests are a prelude to the physical liquidation of our comrades by the Khrushchevites.

We call upon the trade unions, the Labour Party, youth and student organizations and all militants to protest strongly to the Cuban government against these arbitrary arrests, which directly violate the trade union and democratic rights proper to a workers' state, and to demand the release of these comrades.

A campaign must be launched immediately on these lines. We reiterate that there is an actual danger that our Cuban comrades may lose their lives.

Political Bureau, Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists), British Section of the IVth International.

January 6, 1964.

## Party Life

The Party held a small but successful meeting in London on January 26 dedicated to the release of our imprisoned Cuban comrades. With the participation of members of the audience, further measures in the campaign were planned. The Party was able to report that resolutions had been carried in a number of trade union and Young Socialist branches and local Labour Parties, whose protests had been sent direct to the Cuban Embassy in London and to the Cuban Government.

Also on January 26, the Party intervened in the annual general meeting of the London Area of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Six resolutions and two amendments had been tabled in the name of the Party or by individuals and organizations sympathetic to the Party. An emergency resolution demanding the withdrawal of British troops from East Africa and urging the Labour Party and the trade unions to take steps to prevent the sending of additional troops was ruled out of order by Standing Orders Committee (which was itself divided on the issue). By the narrow vote of 313 to 308, the conference accepted the bureaucratic ruling, but the high vote against acceptance indicates the feeling aroused by this bureaucratic manoeuvre on the part of the Khrushchevite area leadership of this organization.

The voice of the IVth International was heard on the following questions: the struggle of the masses in Latin America against US imperialism and bourgeois exploitation (including a de-

nunciation of the murder of Roberto Pinto); the sending of arms to the clandestine organizations of the masses in South Africa, fighting against Verwoerd; the struggle against Malaysia and the role of Sukarno and the opportunist leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia; the campaign for the release of political prisoners in India and an exposure of the vile Dange clique and the vacillations of the opposition within the Communist Party of India; the course of the revolution in Iraq. Amendments and resolutions on Algeria, the fight against racialism in Britain and the arrests of the Cuban comrades were not reached. Despite this, it may be said with confidence that the Party completely dominated this conference, even though none of its resolutions was carried. Every speaker, especially the representatives of the Communist Party and the chairman, a former Labour MP, referred to the Party or to its ideas.

In Nottingham and other Midlands cities the Regional Committee of the Party has organized the distribution of leaflets on the conditions of shop workers and tobacco workers in the area.

### BRAZIL (Party Life)

On December 1 at Pernambuco a meeting of 5,000 peasants was organized to demand the release of the imprisoned peasant leaders, among whom were three Trotskyists. Against the sabotage and indifference of the petty-bourgeois leadership of Juliao, those who organized and mobilized the peasants for the demonstration were our comrades.

During the demonstration the three Trotskyist comrades and the other peasant leaders were spoken of. All the speakers placed the workers' and peasants' government on the order of the day. F. Juliano also spoke, taking up the Trotskyist perspective under

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

— Trotsky

Vol. 1 No. 6

MARCH 1964

SIXPENCE

## No Wage Freeze — No Sackings CENTRALISE ANTI-CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

The mounting class struggle in Great Britain—reflected in the number of significant strikes and threatened strikes—postal workers, steel workers—takes place against a background of the constant elevation of the world revolution.

The Italian masses including large numbers of the middle class employees constantly mobilise against a government which cannot maintain its authority save by the aid of the Italian Socialist Party, a sign of enormous weakness. In the Congo the masses without any aid from the workers' states continue to struggle and actually hurl back the puppet armies of the imperialists who are quite incapable of stabilising the situation. In Latin America, revolutionary mass currents fused with Trotskyism prepare to topple the Argentine capitalist class who fearful and demoralised, are forced to break the petroleum contracts with US imperialism. The latter anxious over the situation in Viet Nam ponders a more direct intervention—the harder line of the Pentagon since their assassination of Kennedy begins to show itself.

This ceaseless wave of world mass struggles will inevitably result in devastating results in Great Britain when the worker masses and the capitalist class really enter into the sharpest conflict. The hopeless inability of capitalism to achieve even minor successes has been shown in the Cyprus situation. Here the ebb of world capitalism was demonstrated with remarkable clarity. The imperialists know that they cannot afford a "colonial" war that the Cypriot masses want to expel imperialism and will not be delayed by the contrived inter-racial provocations. Nasser reflecting the enormous pressure of the Arab masses demands the liquidation of the NATO bases in Cyprus. Now the Mediterranean is terribly dangerous from the point of view of imperialism—Algeria, Italy, Egypt, Greece itself all reflect the turbulence of the masses against imperialism. The counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy has shown its abject fear of the situation by remaining very quiet apart from some harmless burblings intended not to alarm the imperialists. It is at this juncture that British military expenditures reach the enormous sum of £2000 million, but so extended are the resources of British imperialism that it is admitted British imperialism cannot control the situation by itself. No wonder that Home quite openly says that he finds the economic problems incomprehensible and the political ones insoluble and also reaffirms his belief in the "bomb" rather than "pink paper peaceful co-existence" as the saviour of capitalism. The Pentagon should be pleased with the last remark at least.

### CAPITALIST DISUNITY

Even as they prepare for the final settlement of accounts imperialism is incredibly divided. Britain sells goods to Cuba and infuriates the USA. De Gaulle recognises China, hoping to pressurise the right wing of the Chinese CP. Quarrels within the Common Market are continuous; capitalism cannot unite economically, politically or socially.

As part of this world wide advance of the masses, the British workers see the General Election as the opportunity to express their class strength, their determination to oust capitalism. Wilson's Swansea programme is of course nothing to do with socialism, on the contrary it is a direct

assurance to capitalism that the Labour Party will do its best to defend capitalism in all possible ways. He promises to promote exports by subsidies, etc., and also to support an incomes policy—this is a direct promise to capitalism that he will adopt a policy of wage restraint. His brand of "nationalisation" of perhaps steel or machine tools will be to use it—as in Italy—to sustain the rest of the capitalist economy. Basically Wilson of course in sharing the perspectives of capitalism has no perspective. The capitalist economy with its precarious economic balance has no prospect of seriously raising its rate of growth, partly through the competition on world markets, the unproductive expenditures absorbed by armaments but primarily because the masses are not prepared to be exploited in the way that capitalism needs to exploit them. The capitalist home market has no prospect for dynamic development. The capitalist perspective is to hold down wages.

The British workers show in many ways their class intransigence. Post Office workers, against their union officials, reject the idea of distributing Tory political literature. Railway workshop men among others raise the question of the 40 hour week. At Corby steel works, workers strike because they object to working with a non-union worker. There are always reports of unofficial strikes. In other words without a programme, without a leadership, without a centralisation of struggle, the masses block the plans of capitalism, and these constant mobilisations could very quickly lead from struggles over economic disputes to demands for workers control and finally to workers power.

British capitalism depends on the LP to save it, a hopeless perspective in view of the world wide disintegration of capitalism. In the meantime it tries to intimidate shop stewards by the recent *Rookes v Barnard* judgment whereby shop stewards may be sued with heavy damages for breaking contracts. This indicates that capitalism is trying to intimidate militants because it realises the strength of the workers struggle. Without a serious mass tendency ready to defend it capitalism faces an insoluble crisis of authority. The struggles in this country have still to reach the level of intensity of those in Italy, but the political tasks are clear—that is the centralisation of the struggle via the unification of shop stewards committees, linking factory with factory on an anti-capitalist programme with demands

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## Raleighs & Fords Persistent Workers Struggles

At Raleighs of Nottingham, the cycle factory, part of the giant Tube Investments, the workers are on strike against redundancy—or the proposed redundancy of twenty-five men in the toolroom. The millwrights are out in sympathy. In December the capitulating Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding workers had agreed to the sacking of 850 men at the Raleigh works. The A.E.U. acting under pressure from below stuck to the view that there should be no redundancy but work sharing and a shorter working week.

### FORWARD TO WORKERS' CONTROL

These strikers are raising the banner for all workers who reject the view that the capitalist class decide who works and who does not and that increases in productivity go to the capitalist class at the expense of the workers. Automation is now on the horizon, the wealthier capitalist firms wish to rationalise. Reports indicate that the Raleigh workers are making contact with the shop stewards committee at Fords, Dagenham, who themselves have been informed of redundancies. This tendency to link struggles in industries and between factories will inevitably become a leading factor in the conflicts ahead, the means to develop shop stewards committees on a thoroughgoing anti-capitalist programme.

The ceaseless struggles at Fords have never been settled by the capitalist class in the way they would like—despite the victimisation of leading worker militants. Now the management of this most powerful of capitalist enterprises has been demanding 40 hours overtime a month with the charming promise of redundancies later. The Halewood plant at Liverpool sees similar struggles with the management, clearly a much more co-ordinated struggle is indicated, i.e. the presentation of demands co-ordinated inside and outside the industry by means of a national shop stewards committee. It is ludicrous that the gigantic potential of workers struggles at Raleighs and Fords loses its impact by the present lack of co-ordination. The union leaderships seek only to contain these struggles, dissipate them, block unity between skilled and unskilled workers.

It is necessary to go forward on a programme for the 40 hour week, all round 20% increase in wages, all profits of automation to go to the workers, workers control, nationalisation, combined shop stewards committees on an industrial, national and international basis.

We call upon all the workers' organisations to support the struggles of the Raleigh workers and the Ford workers, so that a national struggle be waged in support of these workers. Hurl back the capitalists, centralise the anti-capitalist struggle by means of national combines of shop-stewards committees.

## Bolivian Miners Mobilise

We produce some passages from a letter of the Bolivian section to the IS, showing the origins of the recent new phase of the Bolivian revolution:

... the Miners Congress had been converted into the focal point of all the pre-occupations of the entire country ... and the struggles are the fundamental cause of the social crisis of capitalism and of the capitalist government. The resolutions of this congress will be gradually adopted by all the other sectors of the country (The letter recounts the kidnapping of the worker delegates and the swift retaliatory seizure of foreign technicians). In face of the attitude of the miners ... the only means possessed by the government was the mobilisation of the army. It sent from Catavi-Siglo a part of the army and concentrated several regiments in Oruro. More, it mobilised the so-called peasant militias of Ucuarena in number about 800 who advanced within 30 kilometres from there. In these so-called peasant militia of Ucuarena were to be found in a majority, agents of the political control, bureaucrats and some genuine peasant militia. The government had mobilised these peasant militias not through lack of regular armed forces but because it wished to create conflict between the peasantry and the proletariat

and to prevent the worker peasant alliance. But the attempt failed. Even in the army itself there was resistance from the young army officers to marching on the miners and shooting the workers ...

Workers and peasant militias mobilised against the government in Catavi-Siglo, Huanuni, Colquiri, Japo, etc. When the situation approached the moment of combat, the party proclaimed the slogan of the General Strike without limit by all the masses of the country ...

### Trotskyists Call For Workers' Government

In all the demonstrations there was a spirit of combat, of violent attack on the government and in certain cases, implications of a desire to overthrow it.

The party during these tense moments issued a leaflet which has been distributed particularly at Catavi calling for the reinforcement of the militias by the launching of the General Strike, by the seizure of the factories and the installation of the workers administration, TO CONSTITUTE THE REGIONAL WORKERS GOVERNMENT OF CATAVI-SIGLO, etc. ...

# THE CRISIS IN THE

# AND THE BUILDING OF A MASS

J. POSADAS

The crisis in the Italian Socialist Party will not end with the incidents which gave rise to the special Party Congress. Whatever be the end of this affair, the crisis will develop. If capitalism could attain some stability, the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy would also find a certain stability. But to the extent that Italian capitalism cannot do this, the whole situation will continue to develop.

Today the most important fundamental problem is to know why the crisis of Italian capitalism is expressed in a crisis of the Socialist and Communist Parties. The reason is that capitalism cannot function without the Socialist Party. Its structure does not rest on any social force which will allow it to maintain and develop itself. It needs the Socialist Party of Italy (PSI). That is the first point. In the second place, the PSI cannot function without a policy of conciliation of capitalism, expressed in the whole range of its reformism. These two aspects are indissolubly linked. Hence the immediate repercussion from the crisis of capitalism within the PSI. Put in another way, the crisis of Italian capitalism has repercussions in the PSI and the crisis in the PSI is an integral part of the crisis in Italian capitalism; for the PSI is a part of the structure of the system.

The crisis of the Communist Party of Italy (PCI) is included, moreover, in this crisis to the extent that it does not advance a revolutionary policy. Such a policy would quickly escape the control of the PCI leadership, for any position taken on the part of the PCI to take advantage of the crisis of capitalism and of the PSI will impel and stimulate the revolutionary positions of the masses. That is why, although it would be ridiculously easy to profit from this situation, the PCI leadership does not put forward a single accusation, does not launch a single denunciation, knowing that they would boomerang.

The crisis of Italian capitalism is the crisis of the workers' parties, for the latter are unable to oppose to it a revolutionary class policy, or even just a class policy. They safeguard certain class positions, but only on the basis of minimal strike struggles for a betterment of conditions. But the crisis of Italian capitalism cannot be resolved simply through economic struggle. Today's statistics show—and these are the official figures—a constant increase in the cost of living. From a general point of view, Italian capitalism has no future. There is no point in waiting for a stabilisation of capitalism. That is why it finds it necessary to support itself on the PSI to try to meet its crisis: this shows that it has no social force of its own. If it were possible to solve the crisis with its own government, it would do it. If it leans on the PSI, this shows that it has no strength, either today or tomorrow. And it tries to meet the position without a precise plan. Capitalism is in process of collapse. And ruling circles have already decided on a military coup, and before long, at that. What these sectors are looking for is the opportune moment to realize it. Also, since they have not done it, in spite of the policies of the PSI and the PCI, this indicates the enormous extent of their feebleness. It is virtually certain that at least half the army and the police would not follow them in any campaign of repression against the masses standing in their path.

If Italian capitalism had the least strength to provide a solution, it would have done so. In the first place because this would have increased its authority in front of the masses and shown that it is capable of running the country, even now. In the second place because the bureaucracy of the capitalist state and capitalism itself prefer not to have to give the Socialists even those crumbs which they are obliged to give them, in spite of everything. There is no need to believe that the Socialist bureaucracy has given its support to Nenni, to the Government, to Lombardi without demanding anything in exchange. It has claimed plenty: posts, positions, financial privileges. That is to say, all the things which the bureaucrats of the PSI can demand on entering the government.

What is important in all this, is that Italian capitalism by having recourse to the PSI shows its weakness in all its intensity. And, at the same time, it has only deepened its own decomposition. The fascist apparatus, for instance, made its intervention in a situation such as this. But today is not the period for fascism. Not because it is impossible for it to develop, but because it is a social phenomenon developed in the conditions of a different historical stage than that existing today. In effect the petty-bourgeoisie, the fighting force of fascism, cannot in today's conditions be won for it. Even if, nationally, Italian capitalism were strong, the world relationship of forces is totally unfavourable to fascism. For the strength and enormous influence of the world revolution, which expresses itself—albeit in a

limited fashion—through the development of the Workers' States, of the colonial revolution and of the great working class struggles, presses hard on the petty-bourgeoisie, denying to fascism all possibility of gaining much from this class. Even were it possible for them to gain a limited sector, all the doors are closed to fascism, given that all the fundamental sectors of the people are locked in the internal struggle in Italy, given the profound crisis of Italian capitalism and the existence of powerful Socialist and Communist Parties, and that the struggle of the masses is dragging the petty-bourgeoisie in its train.

In such conditions the taking of power could be for the Socialists and the Communists a matter to be decided in congress. Such a congress would be able to say to the capitalists: "Right, get out." And they would be made to. Six months of activity, of a campaign for the general strike, on an anti-capitalist programme and the masses, seeing the Socialists and Communists determined, would say: "This time, it's for good," and they would throw themselves into action, to the very end. What is more, half the police and the army, we insist, would join the masses, won to them in that capitalism no longer had any authority over them.

Why is this crisis not taken advantage of by the PSI and the PCI? This must be clear from our documents: to profit from the crisis of Italian capitalism, for the Communists to profit from the crisis of the PSI, means to stimulate the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle. That is why they are silent. There is between them an agreement, tacit but unwritten, that is: don't make a sound, the neighbours might hear you. In other words, disturb things as little as possible so that the proletariat will intervene as little as possible.

The Communists, if they speak at all, address themselves to the Socialist Party bosses, to see whether they are able to profit from the crisis by increasing their strength on the electoral plane. They could today take two million votes from the Socialists. In reality they are not interested in doing it. If they were, they would be putting forward an anti-capitalist policy, offering a programme, an alternative and a prospect of class struggle to the Socialist masses. They cannot act in this way because this would signify the mobilisation of their own base. This is an essential feature of this aspect of the crisis.

## The Culminating Point in the Crisis of the Socialist Party

What is certain is that what is called the Left of the PSI has reached a culminating point in its present activity. Following the entry of Nenni into the government, this Left hoped to collect the benefit of its so-called class position. In reality it had no revolutionary class position, except for certain limited aspects of the economic struggle. It put the class struggle on the level of a dispute with capitalism over the national revenue. What can such a class struggle mean? What, perhaps, is its objective? It is a reformist class struggle carried on within the framework of capitalism, whereas the revolutionary class struggle seeks to overthrow capitalism.

Since 1948 there has not existed in Italy a situation so favourable for the revolution. This situation, wherein capitalism depends on the PSI, would for it be inconceivable if an important Left existed in this Party. The necessity of this recourse to the PSI gave rise to an acute struggle within the bourgeoisie in the course of which Moro saw fit to declare: "Gentle-

men, there is no other issue but this. Outside of this, what are you offering? Fascism, the Liberals, nothing like that matters." Let us once more take account of the contradictions of Italian capitalism. The Moro tendency, which has its roots within the ENI, quarrels with the old monopolies for domination of the export market. Here is a real internal struggle, which forms part of the contradictions of capitalism in that country.

The other aspect is that the Socialist Party shows all the weakness of the workers' parties. An enormous feebleness. They are powerful because they rest on the support of the masses, but they are feeble because they neither know what to do nor wish to act. They do not know what to do because, faced with a situation of crisis of the bourgeoisie, they are incapable of understanding the nature of this crisis. And as a result they cannot profit from it to organize a programme of action against it.

But there could be no such crisis in the Socialist Party without this having been preceded, accredited and established by a crisis within the Communist Party. We have held, and we continue to hold, that the crisis in the Socialist Party is a reflection of the crisis in the Communist Party. The crisis of the Socialist Party lies in the question of whether or not it should enter the government. If the PCI were interested, the entry of the PSI into the government could have meant the liquidation of that Party.

**If the PCI had been a revolutionary party, there would be no place for a Socialist Party. We must insist on this clarification. A Socialist Party exists in Italy only because of the reformist and conciliatory policy of the Communist Party. That is to say that the PCI permits the existence of a Socialist Party adhering to policies of conciliation of capitalism because of the fact that a conciliatory policy is in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this fact there has appeared in the Italian Communist Party a pro-Italian bourgeois wing.**

If the PCI had advanced a policy of defence of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, today we would not be present at such a discussion, at such a crisis within the PSI. We would have an Italian Workers' State which would have changed the whole structure in Europe, which would have transformed Europe and which would have developed the revolutionary struggle.

But the fact that the Left of the PSI has encountered no stimulant, no support, no revolutionary class influence from the side of the Workers' States, encourages it to persist in its policy of reform and incites it to remain in the Socialist Party. These Left manoeuvrers are timid, indecisive and utterly lacking in revolutionary will-power, totally unprepared, having made no preparation for a sharp break with the Socialist Party. A break is not excluded, but it is necessary to say that a split determined in such a manner will not be a revolutionary step. Because if the Left had been preparing it, the struggle would have been conducted on the basis of a revolutionary programme. If that was not done, it is because this Left had neither the will nor the desire to organize the fight on a revolutionary programme. They have instead carried on a reformist struggle tending to hold the Socialist Party not within the limits of a class line (that is excluded, because a class line means an anti-capitalist line), but rather within limits which have permitted it to compromise with the capitalist state, to which they would rather render account than tell it to go to hell. They know and they sense that capitalism is crumbling, but they on their side have no confidence in the proletarian revolution. For they take the road of reformism and it is in this sense that they do not know what to do. There are only two paths, either the programme of the proletarian revolution, or the programme of structural reforms of capitalism which will make it viable. Indeed, this latter does not exist. That is why, even if the Left agreed with such a programme, it could not propose it. Basso says clearly in *Mondo Nuovo* that the Left does not criticize either the entry into the Government or support of the Atlantic Alliance.

A revolutionary policy would say above all: we others are against entering the

Government and against the Atlantic Alliance, and to it we oppose a revolutionary class programme of anti-capitalist struggle. The Left proposes certain reforms, certain improvements, certain nationalizations; but even to realize these it must have recourse to a revolutionary policy. That, needless to say, it does not propose. The means which it proposes and foresees for effecting its "structural reforms" is none other than the parliamentary road! One cannot expound a programme without discussing the means of realizing that programme. In the same way, to put into effect today a revolutionary policy within the Workers' States does not consist simply in opposing them to capitalism: that is the natural condition of a Workers' State. But it means opening the way for the intervention of the masses so that they may conduct and carry forward the revolution: that is to be revolutionary.

## The Crisis in the PSI is Linked to the Crisis of the PCI

To be a revolutionary means at each stage of history to lead the struggle for the programme, the politics and the measures which impel the national and world advance of Socialism. In this sense the counter revolutionary role of the PCI within the Italian Socialist Party appears a determining factor. One cannot discuss the Italian Socialist Party without discussing the Italian Communist Party. The Italian workers have demonstrated that they are mature and ready to take power. The persistence of these struggles, their prolongation, the clashes with the police (the constant clashes with the police among the building workers), demonstrate this spirit of struggle. At Rome, in Emilia, in Turin, at Genoa, at Milan, in Calabria, in Livorno, from north to south, east to west of the country, all the masses of all sectors of the population, workers, peasants, proletarianised lower and medium petit-bourgeois have entered into struggle, strike and clash with the police. Finally the bank employees have struck whereas generally they tend to isolate themselves from struggle.

The proletariat enters struggle and at the same time undergoes diverse pressures. These arise from the development of the colonial revolution, the existence of the workers' states, the advance of the socialist revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the constant advance of the revolutions which commence at nationalist revolutions and orient themselves towards socialist revolutions.

On the other hand the masses realise that the policy of the Italian Communist Party is a reformist policy based on conciliation with capitalism, submission to capitalism in each country.

The masses have not yet developed the decision to realise the revolution under their own leaderships, although they feel themselves blocked, betrayed. In part this explains why there is not yet an important development of the IVth International. The historic bases for the development of the IVth International do not yet exist. On the contrary there exist many centralised factors against the IVth International: absence of a revolutionary Marxist base, of Marxist revolutionary traditions and of struggle for a revolutionary programme. In spite of that the masses give capitalism no peace.

The crisis of capitalism is not only conditioned by its own internal contradictions and historical lack of perspectives but by the fact that the masses will not allow themselves to be used to realise a giant imperialism, the intention of capitalism. The masses reject imperialism. If the workers had not imposed on capitalism a whole series of concessions, exploitation today would be on an enormous scale. If in spite of these conquests Fiat, Pirelli, Montecatini exploit the proletariat in a barbarous manner, one can just imagine what would be the state of affairs today if the proletariat had not struggled despite the treacherous leadership of the Italian Communist Party. In 1948, the masses had mobilised not in defence of Togliatti but to take power. They led and carried with them the petit-bourgeoisie, cutting at the social support of Italian capitalism. Without that

# ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

## REVOLUTIONARY CURRENT

### (EXTRACTS)

capitalism would have taken Mussolini-type measures. It could not because of the struggle of the masses.

The Left of the Socialist Party is weak. Incorporated in this Left there are tendencies who wish to advance further, to go forward on an anti-capitalist programme. But they receive no stimulus, have no centre of attraction, no example. They see that the Italian Socialist Party, the Communist and Socialist Parties of the world conduct a reformist and capitulationist and reformist policy. They see on the other hand that the IVth International is a small organisation.

It is in this sense that the party must work with all its force and decision to impel the Left to break with the Socialist Party.

Quite apart from the demagogues, the careerists, the parliamentarians a base exists in the Socialist Party which desires a revolutionary struggle. The Left which has existed side by side with Nenni for so long independently of the Communist Party does not exist because two or three types write bulletins or books but because there is a revolutionary socialist base. This base has obliged in part the Communists to show themselves in a certain manner and for a certain time more attentive to the struggle of the masses. But for this the Italian Communist Party would have been more treacherous in favour of capitalism. We are not able to determine in a sure way the course of this Left sector but we can influence it, give it confidence, explain to it. Clearly the Italian Communist Party offers it no perspective, does not act as a pole of attraction within the context of the Sino-Soviet dispute, of the deepening of this conflict.

The Italian Communist Party is geared to the counter revolutionary policies of Khrushchev. The latter's policy in relation to Soviet agriculture is that of a man who is lost and empirically grasps at every straw. When he invests 42 milliards of roubles, placing the whole of Soviet industry in danger and a whole series of sectors of the workers' state in order to save himself it is the mark of his realisation that neither peaceful co-existence, Kennedy or anyone else can save him. Thus he tries to calm, to pacify, to mass produce a series of consumer goods—he expresses the philosophy of the swine who say, "give them bread and onions and they will shut up."

The attitude of Khrushchev reflects an atrocious empiricism. He acts not because he particularly wants to act so but under an enormous pressure. He has to show the Soviet masses that socialism is advancing. This creature who said Communism would exist in 1980—a communism with elections every three years—says now that in 1970 the Soviet Union will succeed in producing the chemical products necessary to overtake the capital states. This is atrocious empiricism on a fantastic scale. The policy of the Italian Communist Party defends all this.

It must be clear to our party that the Left of the PSI has no perspective to which it can refer. It is because the PCI has not conducted a revolutionary policy that this Left has been able to survive until now. If the PCI conducted a revolutionary policy, either the Italian Socialist Party would have been captured by the Left or the Left would have passed to the Communist Party.

The actual crisis in the Italian Socialist Party has reached a most advanced stage. This in itself is an index of the situation of Italian capitalism, now in its last phase, lasting a very few years at the outside.

The crisis provoked by the death of Kennedy has not yet shown its full repercussions. It will soon. The Kennedy team could have profited from the assassination for immediate electoral ends. But this in itself would have signified an enormous lack of authority on the part of capitalism over the petit-bourgeoisie throughout North America, Latin America and the other capitalist countries of the world. But they said nothing quite cynically. The proof of this is shown by the recent meeting of the Pentagon convoked not by Johnson, but by the General Staff. 800 leaders attended, the whole General Staff, the

Pentagon, as well as other sectors.

The crisis has not yet produced its real effect. Peaceful co-existence depends not only on the will of Khrushchev, it is necessary that capitalism accepts this. Shortly the Pentagon will toughen the line towards peaceful co-existence (not to break it) and will demand more from the workers' states. We have been the only international leadership which has really explained the sense of the assassination of Kennedy. Everyone else has floundered. Some have said, this means war. Others, are we going to know who killed him? We alone have analysed that the assassination of Kennedy was an indication by the Pentagon not that it wished to break with the policy of peaceful co-existence (this would not suit it) but that it wanted to enforce its own interpretation of that policy. They constantly perfect new arms as is clearly demonstrated by the recent news on the preparation of the satellites for military purposes. In fact they have not taken the firm decision as to the moment of the war. But in the measure that they feel that they are well prepared, they can declare it at any moment. Whilst accepting peaceful co-existence, they try to develop the most efficacious arms having an instantaneous effect. The dialectical logic of this process is that they cannot wait on the possession of arms, but that if they are able to profit from co-existence to divide the world revolutionary camp, they will do so. In the attempt at a rapprochement between the two Germanies for example; it is Ulbricht who has taken the initiative in the discussion. Similarly there have been very important discussions between Germany and Roumania.

The latter agreed to concede enormous advantages in indemnifying Austrians expropriated by capitalism. In similar fashion the USSR withdraws its troops from Hungary. It is certain that after the assassination of Kennedy, the bureaucracy will accentuate its efforts to demonstrate its goodwill. All this situation is going to reflect itself in Italy. The present crisis in Italian capitalism which is not a direct consequence of the assassination of Kennedy but a part of the crisis of world capitalism will be exacerbated very shortly by this assassination.

Another process which demonstrates the loss of a capitalist base is that of Vietnam where the South is seeking for a terrain of agreement with the North.

### Politics of Opposition and Revolutionary Politics

The Left of the Italian Socialist Party finds itself in a situation without a clear issue. It tries and will continue to try to put pressure on Nenni to reach an agreement with him. But Nenni having taken this position cannot retreat. Even at the risk of a split he must go forward. His hardness is determined by the fact that he cannot go back but also that he knows that the others will flinch. The split has indeed not been prepared. Thus the Senators of the Left abstain, a group of Deputies is neutral. All this is in favour of Nenni.

At present the Left is undergoing many pressures and does not know how and with whom it is going to break. In reality it has completely accepted the Congress which has just ended: the participation in the government, the choice of ministers, everything, and now, it asks for the calling of another Congress. Why call such a Congress? This has no political sense. The internal pressure has increased and the Left is hoping to use this pressure, to negotiate from a bureaucratic point of view and consequently to contain the pressure and avoid a rupture beyond its control. The demand for integration in the Italian Communist Party from a sector of the militants is a proof of this. The Left tries to maintain its cohesion but it can no longer play the game that it was accustomed to before the entry of the Italian Socialist Party into the government. At the moment the Left wages a polemic not only against the Right but also against the Communist Party in which it will influence the masses. Today the Italian Socialist Party is a part of the government. It has compromised itself. Consequently the principal opposition of the Left must be against the government. Also there exists, agitated and liquidationist elements at work, hence the despairing

hope in a Congress. The attempt is a manoeuvre to reach a new agreement. The Left has a very confused vision of the present situation and that which is to come. The Left possesses neither a revolutionary policy nor an articulate reformist policy. The Italian Socialist Party has finished by entering the government but it has neither programme, nor perspectives which can lead it anywhere.

The Left has never fought for a coherent programme; it has fought on certain issues; against exploitation, for an increase in wages, against the Atlantic Pact in general but it has never proposed a full positive programme. It has followed what is called a policy of opposition but not a revolutionary policy. Revolutionary politics is not simply opposition politics but a revolutionary programme. It is not a question of opposing particular governments but a revolutionary struggle for a programme. The policy of opposition consists of ameliorating, of diminishing the "unpleasant" effects of capitalism. But revolutionary politics does not confine itself to such effects, it is opposed to capitalism in itself and in consequence utilises the class struggle to oppose capitalism. The Left has never conducted such an opposition.

On the other hand at the base of the Socialist Party there has germinated and developed a revolutionary desire which is the reflection of revolutionary struggles and in part the reflection of the Sino-Soviet crisis.

This is a powerful tendency. The 35 federations who asked for the Congress cannot be simply treated as part of a manoeuvre, but as the expression of a desire and of a general discontent, without defining it as a direct demand for a revolutionary programme provoked by the entry of the Italian Socialist Party into the government. This is a rejection of the capitalist policy of the PSI. We can calculate that 40% of the PSI is opposed to the policy of the leadership. When 40% ask for a Congress it is because they are against the leadership of the party. That is certain.

Here is the basis of a new revolutionary current. Although this base does not have a great echo today, it will have an echo shortly. The nature of the present crisis of the PSI is not the same as preceding crises. It takes place precisely in the time of the Sino-Soviet crisis, of the assassination of Kennedy and of the hardening of the policy of imperialism. In these conditions the entry of the PSI into the government means for this party a rapid decomposition. When they were outside the capitalist system the Socialists could maintain a certain appearance of "purity." But once in the apparatus, the decomposition will be rapid, involving the whole Socialist Party.

Hence the necessity for a revolutionary current basing itself not on the existence of these groups, but on all the factors we have mentioned; the existence of the 35 federations, a really strong Left, the Sino-Soviet crisis, the hardening of capitalism in a very short time, the sharpening of the class struggle, the contradictions of capitalism, the dispute within the Common Market. All these lead to a new crisis of capitalism.

In this situation there is no perspective of stability in which the PSI could regain its unity and maintain it, in which the Left could maintain its base, peacefully. On the contrary it is necessary in the crisis to keep one step ahead, to allow the Left to develop further, to put pressure on the CP. It is in this sense that it is necessary to see the perspective of the objective revolutionary development.

The same conditions of crisis exist in PCI as in the PSI. If it has not produced the explosions in the PCI that it produced in the PSI it is because there exist in the PCI degrees and elements of influence and centralisation superior to the PSI; the Workers' States and the perspective of the development of the Workers' States. Also the communist masses express themselves in a different way. The annual resignation from the party of 10 or 12 thousand communists and the entry of others, indicates the same ferment and crisis. All the fluctuating mass which enters and leaves the PCI, can be gained and influenced by a revolutionary current. This does not mean that the PCI is all powerful. It is only so in as much that it represents for the masses, not only the Workers' States, but responding to what the masses want. For this reason, at a given moment the Chinese get a great echo, but it does not last, because the Chinese sing their criticisms of Tog-

liatti and nothing more. They do not call for any fight for a programme, for any concrete fight in Italy. Because of this the masses don't have any interest. They feel themselves, here in Italy, ahead of the Chinese.

This sector of the base which leaves the CP, which does not renew its card, all this base which is in the T.U.s and tries to put pressure on them to lead and put forward the revolutionary class struggle will be sensitive to revolutionary currents, capable of organising itself, of being consistent and showing a real desire to fight for a revolutionary programme, even if at the beginning it is feeble and limited.

### The Left Must Form a New Revolutionary Current

At the beginning these sectors will lack confidence, they don't have an ideological foundation which gives them confidence in a perspective. One cannot propose vague perspectives. Perspective is based on two concrete conditions; the first, is the material conditions for a perspective (the development of the Workers' States, the development of the revolution); the second is firmness and ideological security.

The Left of the PSI does not have any of these conditions. It does not have a Workers' State on which to depend. It has neither the foundation nor the consciousness of an ideological confidence. For the reason of a series of limitations, the state of insecurity is determined not only by the absence of consciousness, of spirit, of revolutionary decision, or of a programme, but above all because they don't see any perspective.

This is not to say that they cannot change. It is very likely that the leaders of this Left will remain as they are. But an important part of the whole base of the party can be gained and influenced and can be given a perspective.

It is this base which is going to influence the Communist Party and attract behind it a part of its base. The conditions for this exist. Every year, thousands and thousands of communists leave the CP dissatisfied in protest against the policy of conciliation and capitulation followed by the leadership of the PCI. They leave the CP but they do not abandon the class struggle, they do not simply go home but intervene in many struggles, they vote for the CP, their means of centralising the struggle. This demonstrates a highly centralised class sentiment.

This Left of the Socialist Party must create a new revolutionary current, with a revolutionary Marxist programme which has an enormous future. The crisis within the PCI will deepen. This crisis will have repercussions on the Chinese. It will force them to be more resolute, to intervene in Italy in proposing a revolutionary programme, in stimulating and in supporting with all means a revolutionary programme. This means that a group even relatively small which decides to hurl itself into the struggle in Italy with a revolutionary programme and with the authority of the Chinese (because they really have an authority, a certain tradition, they are known, carry a certain weight, have acquired posts of leadership in the workers' movement) can develop an enormous revolutionary influence, because there exist already the right conditions on the national and international plane. They do not have to look for a base but to mobilise a base which already exists.

The convocation of the Congress demonstrates the enormous insecurity of the Left on the possibility of remaining in the Italian Socialist Party. Different pressures work on it, since it has neither revolutionary programme, policy, tradition, and it has no clear perspective by reason of the contradiction it observes in the Workers' State and in the PCI (of this contradiction it only sees the capitalist aspect, the alliance of the PCI with the capitalist government and Italian capitalism. All this provokes on this Left an enormous confusion and a contradiction which does not encourage it to be won by a revolutionary programme to, have confidence in its possibility of development).

Nevertheless this Congress is the expression of an enormous discontent, of an enormous pressure. This is so precisely because the crisis of capitalism shows an enormous revolutionary ferment in the working class. It is impossible to speak of the crisis as an event which takes place simply within the heart or structure of capitalism itself

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and consider it separately from the crisis in the leadership of the workers' parties. They are a part of the crisis and of the contradictions of capitalism.

### Necessity for a Marxist Mass Party

The revolutionary struggle of the masses has as a very near perspective a very great elevation of the struggle. The perspective is immense. It is not necessary to predicate that this sector is going to leave, break and experience an immediate development. The masses undergo a process of confusion, a contradictory process. And this—we repeat—lies in the politics of the workers' states and of the bourgeois policy of the PSI and the PCI. All this weighs on the masses and weakens in part their decision to break or to organise new movements, in as much as the PCI is obliged—as also the PSI—to carry forward certain demands of the proletariat.

This government has as its aim the proping up of capitalism, not in view of its economic perspective but for its preparations for war. That is its role. It will enter into direct conflict with the masses; and it will enter into conflict with the PCI. This government has not been realised to reinforce capitalist economic development, nor to make concessions to the masses. From the very beginning it will reinforce the capitalist apparatus and will develop—that goes without saying—against the masses towards a super exploitation.

If the Americans need to reduce the forces which they have in Europe in order to diminish their expenses, this is not demagoguery. They in no way diminish their power of destruction. They have an enormous military capacity. They diminish simply the number of soldiers. Johnson himself has said to the Pentagon that it is necessary to reduce expenses. If a country's production reaches 565 milliards of dollars and it has to watch the next milliard this is a sign of great economic weakness. The Americans have invested \$62 millions in the world. With all this money, Latin America could survive for many years, and every year they invest in this or that enterprise so many millions. Even if the government allows the Left to make great protests, in order to cover the counter-revolutionary politics of the PSI with a Left facade, the Left if it remains in the PSI must support this government which prepares the war. This is why the perspectives is one of an exacerbation of the struggle.

Inevitably a revolutionary current is and will be necessary. This is why our perspectives starts by saying that this government must steer and will steer a political path of super-exploitation of the masses who will resist this, and that they will persecute the democratic trade union and political rights of the masses. If the Left remains in the PSI it will participate in this policy and this would then signify its rottenness. In any case this would favour the PCI who without realising any class politics, would remain as an opposite pole to the government, even if this opposition is limited. And this pole would liquidate their base.

For the opposition, all conditions exist—as we have already analysed—for the formation of the revolutionary current which must transform itself into a party. To form a new party does not signify dividing the working class. There is division when the objectives of the working class are held back by politics which are opposed to the revolutionary struggle. The working class unites itself in its fight against capitalism. The pacifist means of Togliatti are not the means that history and the objectives reveal as being possible to realize. When capitalism asks socialism to enter the government, it does not do so to uphold the masses. It does so in order to have a prop, prestige, a base to strike the masses and afterwards have an authority by which to divide the labour movement—that is what is meant by dividing the workers.

The division of the movement consists in entry into the government. The division of the movement is to have permitted this entry without conducting an anti-capitalist attack. Any revolutionary party which is formed in this situation is not a division.

It tends to unify the masses revolutionary actions. Likewise, the masses, when they strike are not dividing the movement. They are against the T.U. leaders and go against the trade union leaders and organise themselves for a fight against the

bosses. They unify themselves despite and against the leadership as in the feats of the Piazza Statuto in Turin, as in the building workers' fights. When the masses come out in strike and fight against the leadership they do not divide, they unify. They unify themselves behind a programme and revolutionary action. Such is the mission of this movement.

In Italy the need for the mass Marxist party is inevitable. There is no means of knowing how it is going to organise itself at this moment. But the basis exists for this. There is a basis of authority in the masses, in tradition, in prestige and a perfect time for its construction. All the accusations of division, of rupturing the unity of the working class are falsehoods. The working class is not divided. The working class unifies itself in the big struggles, as the unanimity of the big strikes show. Each category in a strike unite. And there are some socialists, communists and christian democrats. Those who divide the working class are those who are opposed to the unification of the anti-capitalist fight of the masses. It is they who divide the working class. We call for the formation of a new party on the basis of the existing movement which has before it at short notice an enormous possibility of realizing this task. A revolutionary current which launches a general appeal, which makes an intensive campaign of agitation on a revolutionary programme, even a limited one, as a first step towards the later formation of the true Marxist revolutionary party, perhaps under another name, but which inevitably corresponds to the Marxist party of the masses—will develop itself on the basis of the programme of the fight for the overthrowing of capitalist power and the construction of the Italian Workers' State.

J. Posadas.

12/12/63.

### World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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). Manuel Fernandez, 160 rue Potagere, Brussels.

**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.

## LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

During December for eight days, a cadres school for the European and African sections was held under the direction of the International Secretariat. This was the second realised in Europe since the April conference of 1962. Thirty comrades attended, which constitutes an expression of the development of militant Trotskyism since the April conference and the reorganisation of the European sections, the beginning and affirmation of the Trotskyite movement in the African countries. Comrades from other areas were not able to participate because of legal difficulties. The school was held under the presidency of Leon Trotsky, Natalia Trotsky and Roberto Pinto Jeremias. In the building in which the school was held portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were displayed. The orientations and directives of the International in this phase of the world situation which approaches the final encounter, the War Revolution which will see the end of imperialism and the advance to socialism on a world scale, were displayed in seven languages, corresponding to the various European and African countries involved.

All the comrades who participated led during the course of the school a collective life with on average 11 hours a day being given to attendance at expositions and discussion groups. During the evenings revolutionary songs from Europe, Africa and Latin America were sung and further discussions took place informally; anecdotes and experiences of the world revolutionary and workers' movement were exchanged. In all these sessions Cde Posadas was indefatigable in intervening on many problems posed by comrades, all of which greatly assisted in raising the political level of the school.

The school developed around the following themes:

Introductory Discourse by Cde Po-

## DARIO RAFAEL PERALTA

According to information reported in the bourgeois press and relayed from the Latin American comrades, among the Dominican guerillas assassinated in action by the dictatorship was Comrade Dario Rafael Peralta. The notice is short and indicates that joined to the guerillas of the 14 June movement killed with the leader Manuel Tavarez, our comrade fell in heroic action against heavy odds as the government used every means provided by imperialism (planes, napalm bombs, tanks) to isolate and destroy the guerillas.

Comrade Peralta was a heroic revolutionary fighter imprisoned by Trujillo. He found his way into exile to save his life. He then fought as a leader in the 14 June movement where he struggled to construct a revolutionary vanguard in a united front with other Marxist revolutionaries of other tendencies, in particular of the popular Dominican movement.

The deaths of these heroes, a blow at the revolution will not halt the process. We do not know the full details of the actions realised by the guerillas, but we believe that the concentrated action of the government was an attempt to prevent the guerillas linking up too closely with the peasantry, that is the government tried to smash the insurrectionary process in its first stages. The process will not be stopped.

sadas on the fundamental perspectives of the IVth International, the advance of the world revolution, the necessity of the IVth International to fuse with the masses, the processes leading to the final encounter and the liquidation of imperialism, and the establishment of workers' states all over the world. Fundamental problems of Marxism at this epoch (Posadas).

World crisis of capitalism; Economy of the Workers' States (Ortiz).

History of the workers' movement: The Internationals — Present Stage

a) Construction and structure of the IVth International, b) Crises of the Communist and Socialist Parties, crisis of the world workers' movement; its leaderships (Arroyo).

Crisis of the International — Construction of the parties in Europe (Ortiz).

Permanent Revolution: Colonial and proletarian (Arroyo).

Permanent Revolution: Maturity of conditions for the Political Revolution in the workers' states—in the first place the advancing Sino-Soviet dispute — development of the mass Communist International — Role of the IVth International (Posadas).

At the conclusion of the school a fete of revolutionary fraternity took place. Cde Ortiz made the closing discourse and Cde Posadas made a last intervention examining the development of this school; the concrete conditions which prepare and render possible leaps forward in the future and the general balance of the school.

The courses developed in this school will be published, and the results which have been obtained will be discussed by the International executive committee.

To conclude the comrades sang the International, and sent from all the sections of the International greetings to the Cuban section of the International, the International Secretariat and the Latin American Bureau.

As was the case with Comrade Jeremias, killed in action at the head of 500 peasants in North-west Brazil, the counter-revolution has now assassinated Peralta and his Dominican comrades. His memory is immortal and the proletariat and the masses will avenge his death in the utter obliteration of imperialism throughout the world. The Dominican dictatorship will fall, the Dominican revolution is in the ascendancy, the memory and example of the guerillas will impel the construction of the revolutionary Marxist leadership of the Dominican revolution.

### AID THE REVOLUTION

We call upon the workers' movement and parties to hold a minute's silence for Peralta and the victims of the oligarchy and imperialism in Dominica and to send resolutions of protest to the government and the ambassadors of the Dominican dictatorship. We appeal to the trade unions and workers parties throughout the world, in Cuba, China, the others workers' states to collaborate with all possible means including the sending of resolutions, arms, guerillas, money to the Dominican revolution. We appeal for the struggle to expel imperialism from the whole of Latin America, and for the construction of workers' states to avenge the death of these revolutionary heroes.

(continued from page 1)

which range from a 40 hour week i.e. minimum demands, to nationalisation under workers control, smashing of the alliance against the workers states, economic and military aid to the colonial revolution, concluding with the demand for a workers government. The RWP calls for struggle around this programme, the development of mass revolutionary currents with this perspective.

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# Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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



Vol. 1 No. 7

APRIL 1964

SIXPENCE

## CONFUSION IN IMPERIALIST WAR ALLIANCE

### Khrushchev's Weakness Before World Revolution

The confusion in the Imperialist war alliance against the workers' states has reached a new pitch with the visit of de Gaulle to Mexico, traditionally the sacred sphere of interest of American Imperialism. This decentralisation in Imperialist authority, already reflected in de Gaulle's cult of the independent deterrent, is a direct reflection of the advance of the world revolution and the lack of authority which American Imperialism possesses to meet this advance. The fragmentation in the authority of Imperialism makes all the more criminal the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which now desperately leans over backwards in efforts to conciliate Imperialism, i.e. non-intervention in relation to Cyprus, Togliatti's welcome to the American loan to Italy, Khrushchev's endeavours to encourage capitalist methods in the economy of the workers' states, thus actively endangering the advance of the economy and sabotaging a socialist solution of the agricultural problem. But although the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy distort the economy of the workers' states, prevent the necessary participation of the worker and peasant masses in the running of the economy, Khrushchev's open conniving with Imperialism marks his weakness, his desperation, his isolation in front of the Soviet masses. The Soviet masses see the Sino-Soviet dispute and they see K's counter revolutionary activities — all the pressures of the world revolution lead inexorably to the objective united front of the workers' states with the colonial and proletarian revolutions.

De Gaulle's grand visits reflect the general preoccupations of the world bourgeoisie at this stage — the need to find fields of trade and at the same time to boost their authority in front of the masses. The French economy has no great prospects, but in present conditions of international competition, new markets are useful if only on a small scale. Judging by the new wave of strikes in the public sector in France, de Gaulle's wages policy has had no more successes than that of any other bourgeois government. In recent demonstrations at Nantes and St. Nazaire, workers, peasants, and students have united against the government in anti-capitalist struggle against the police. The communist party puts forward the idiotic „programme commune" with its „parliamentary road" and „defence of democracy" instead of calling for the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses on a class programme.

#### “CHINESE” TENDENCIES

In Madrid in a complete flouting of Franco's falling regime the workers demand free unions. If we look at the developing European situation, bearing in mind that the Italian sector is unstable socially, politically, economically, that Franco's regime fails week by week, that nowhere in Europe has the capitalist regimes any large margin for concession on wages or conditions because of the war economy and its accompanying inflation, it is clear that objectively the way is wide open for the evolution of revolutionary currents. The Chinese leadership has shown its ineptitude very clearly in the last few months. Despite entirely favourable conditions they have been incapable of providing a revolutionary programme or leadership in Italy. In Belgium Grippa's group capitulates to Flemish and Walloon bourgeois nationalism instead of calling for joint struggles against Belgium capitalism. (Such “Chinese” tendencies speak bold language but adopt entirely reformist programmes indistinguishable from the Khrushchevite organisations.

They are bureaucratic and reformist. Naturally such tendencies do not reflect the full weight of the Chinese position. Whatever the stupidities and bureaucratic conciliationism of the Chinese leadership, the process which they have reflected is irreversible. In China itself the surging power of the Chinese economy, the extension of mutual peasant aid teams in Tibet expresses the dynamism of the Asiatic revolution. All this is coupled with the tremendous struggle of the Viet Cong guerillas in Vietnam, the seizure of Imperialist enterprises in Indonesia and the pressures in Burma, clearly demonstrated there in the nationalisation of trading enterprises recently. It is of course absurd for the Chinese leaders to concentrate simply on abusing Khrushchev, even more opportunist to call him a “Trotskyist” (they seek here the support of the old Stalinist bureaucrats in the USSR), but there is no way back for them in this dispute. Sooner rather than later new stages in the world revolution will force changes upon and within the Chinese leadership, and open the way to the mass communist international.

The recent tumults in Africa reflecting the new stages of the African revolution finds support in the recent speech of Tettegah, the General Secretary of the Ghana TU Congress who called quite openly for the stimulation of guerilla activity in areas struggling against the Imperialists — when trade union bureaucrats speak such a language, the enormous pressures of the revolution can be realised. When little Zanzibar nationalises the land it is an indication of the drive towards the establishment of workers' states in Africa — whatever the petit-bourgeois character of the initial leaderships. Meanwhile the exploiter trash of South Africa backed up by British capitalism builds its roads through the Transkei, preparing for a new slaughterhouse. It is not enough for protests to be made for the release of prisoners, the victims of apartheid. Certainly a much more vigorous campaign could be developed against the handling of South African goods by the Trade Union movement — as in Aberdeen — but this should

## Build The Unofficial Workers Committees

### Control The Rhythm Of Work

The crisis of the capitalist economy continues to show itself in all its forms. The fact that unemployment is not on an extensive scale and that a continuous level of economic activity is being maintained cannot conceal the precariousness of the economy. The British employers federation has already openly said that higher wages are the cause of the crisis of inflation — thereby declaring their wish to restrain wage increases and their lack of trust in the ability of the trade union functionaries to restrain the workers. Wilson has similarly assured all and sundry that his government will not give way to workers' demands. However the workers show not the slightest diminution in their desire to enforce their class demands.

#### SUPER EXPLOITERS

Despite the lack of seriously coordinated struggle in Fords, the bosses are treading somewhat warily. They still speak of offering a third weeks' holiday in return for overtime, but have retreated on the 40 hours compulsory overtime a month.

However their real intention has also become clear — like the Italian bosses they wish to create a privileged layer of workers to watch over the rest of the wage slaves. This small group will be paid 6d an hour more and will obviously be the managements narks and slave drivers. To oppose any such vile system of super exploitation there must be an acceleration of joint action on the part of the workers throughout the car industry.

It is ridiculous that car disputes in Austins and Coventry remain isolated

be coupled with demands against the dispatch of arms to the South African oppressors and for the sending of arms to aid all the revolutionary organisations struggling for freedom from Imperialism — in Angola, Congo, etc.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Wilson and the Labour Party bureaucrats have no intention of pressing for a more positive attitude to the South African revolution because this implies revolutionary perspectives for this country — the colonial and proletarian revolutions are uniquely interconnected at this stage of history.

In Great Britain the continuous mobilisation of the masses continues. The power workers show their contempt for sacred long term contracts by forcing their timid leaderships to take the offensive against the Tory bosses who are showing increasing reluctance to make concessions — after all there are so few to give these days. The principle drag on the whole proceedings remains the Trade Union officials. By sheer force of events the workers will be forced to unite around their own unofficial committees. The isolation of the Raleigh  
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from the Dagenham combats. Workers must meet any threat of unemployment by the demand for the sliding scale of hours and must stage struggles with the definite object of controlling the rhythm of work in the factories. The management of the big firms may appear strong — they are not. They have no fascist tendency to help them, they bluff and use to the maximum the officials who try to sabotage any revolutionary struggle, and act simply as the sidekicks of the system.

#### BETRAYAL OF POWER MEN

The handling of the power dispute, like the handling of the builders' strike, has brought out clearly the desperate concern of the TU bureaucrats to stave off strong concerted action. The workers could easily obtain their demands if their full strength was used — but instead it is dissipated in go-slow methods and of course the farce of continuous talks goes on. All this reluctance to use the full strength of the unions, this dragging out of the negotiations is an attempt by the bureaucrats also to weaken the determination of the workers, to make them fed up and less insistent.

#### SPATE OF DEMANDS —

The spate of wage demands and demands for the 40 hour week by miners, engineers, postal workers, etc., shows conclusively that there is a desire to struggle on the part of the workers. They are not impressed by the arguments of the capitalist press that the “good of the nation,” i.e. capitalism depends on restraint. Only reformists and idiots suggest that the workers are apathetic — the continuous uproar in industrial disputes displays the vigour of the workers' struggle.

## NO TO NEUTRALISM FOR VIET NAM

The coup d'etat which carried General Nguen Khanh to the head of the South Viet Nam Government, against General Dinh, a member of the same military group which participated in the overthrow of Ngo Din Diem, shows the complete rottenness of the bourgeois government in South Viet Nam. This coup d'etat is an expression of the panic of these sections before the advance of Viet Cong, the permanent mobilisation and the ripening of the Socialist revolution in this part of Indo-China. This succession of coups d'etat is the expression of a total disintegration of the authority of South Viet Name capitalism. The masses stay outside these palace revolutions; they do not intervene; they give their support to no section of the bourgeoisie; strengthening on

(continued on page 3)

# THE NEW STAGE IN THE WITHIN THE WORLD

The stage of relative equilibrium is over. The government and the bourgeoisie had determined to settle the situation and crush the masses. They have failed and have only augmented the confidence and security of the masses. The next stage will be dominated in the last instance by the fact that the miners can attract and organise the peasants with them, organise in practical terms the worker and peasant alliance and in a period of months can launch the struggle on a basis which can develop towards the fall of capitalism.

Yankee Imperialism has understood this situation. For this it offered Paz Estensoro all the means and aid to settle the situation and crush the opposition. Thus were prepared the means to repress the miners. They hoped to crush the miners by bombardment, to destroy the miners physically: not simply in one place or another, but to destroy them, kill them! The Bolivian bourgeoisie has done this before. Some years ago the bourgeoisie in 1949 killed hundreds of workers. They put them in planes and trucks, took them to Lake Titicaca, a lake about 12,000 feet in height where at night the temperature is so cold that life cannot be sustained longer than 15 minutes to half an hour. The miners were taken and dumped from another 1,500 feet. They did this with hundreds of workers. But this did not intimidate them. That was the reply of the miners.

The most recent action of the Bolivian miner masses has had an echo throughout the whole of Latin America. It has been discussed everywhere. Not only out of sympathy for the miners but because the masses see the results as a support for themselves, a means to advance their own interests. And capitalism itself sees the problem: how to contain the Bolivian revolution. Bolivia is a small country, has no influence economically, yet exerts an enormous influence.

The masses discuss Bolivia more than Cuba because Bolivia is at the summit of the revolution and shows a clear path. The means taken by the miners, the decision to take hostages shows a revolutionary decision but not a political comprehension, how to proceed. They still have a certain respect for the leadership. The struggle against the government and the Bolivian capitalist class refracted itself simply through a question of the liberty of the miners' leaders. It was not a question of salaries, of workers' control, or hours of work. But when the struggle for liberty of the leaders leads to a revolutionary situation it is because this society is mature for the revolutionary explosion. This goes for the whole of Latin America, without distinction.

The masses have launched this revolutionary action for the two arrested leaders. These leaders were not communists — to say so is a complete lie. On the contrary they have been and are sympathisers of Trotskyism. This is public knowledge. They have signed appeals of the International in the campaign for the release of Pablo for example; they have helped our movement. They are not Trotskyists. They are not consciously formed revolutionaries. But they are leaders who in one way or another have reflected at different stages the will to struggle of the masses. On other occasions they have clashed with the masses and have served the government, have been instruments of the government, on many occasions in fact. When the masses in spite of this — since the masses know this — go forward in the struggle for their liberty, it is because this is a centre around which they can unify in revolutionary action and because at this stage, the seizure of the two miner leaders was an attempt by the government to open a counter revolutionary offensive against the masses.

Twice the government has attempted a trial of strength. Every trial of strength is the preamble to counter revolution, but also to the revolution. The government made a trial of strength in the former strike for the same reason. Apparently there was a status quo. But in this first trial of strength the government failed to eliminate workers' control, to eliminate the nationalisation of the mines or dismiss thousands and thousands of workers. The leadership was ready to negotiate, among them Pimental and Escobar, the two leaders whose imprisonment caused the recent clashes. They did not accept everything, but they were ready to negotiate. Among the conditions which the government imposed was the elimination of Escobar and Pimental. And the latter said: "Let us discuss!" That is to say it was a situation in which the masses did not have a firm, secure, resolute leadership. These leaders were not on the side of the government, they were against. But they were ready to drift. They were ready to retreat. The miners said to them, "You will give up nothing! Stay there — we are going to decide." In this trial of strength, the government lost. The masses did not triumph, but the government lost, because the object of the government was tacitly to

impose its authority and the masses rejected the attempt. Thus the defeat of the government is the triumph of the masses. There have been dismissals — although only a few — above all because there are workers who accepted compensation for dismissal.

But the offensive of the government as such was hurled back by the masses. Four months have passed since the first encounter: that is to say in four months two trials of strength have taken place in which the government was not able to impose its capitalist authority, although basing itself on the mobilisation of the army. The conclusion from this trial of strength is that capitalism has observed by the means of a terroristic pressure, from the blockade of the miners that there is no possibility of successful pressure. Thus the government is preparing for a direct and open repression.

The trial of strength signified that if the government had won, it had decided on repressive action without going as far as a massacre — on an open military intervention. It concealed its intention to smash the masses by an intervention directed apparently with the object only of imposing the authority of the law. But now the intervention will be quite simply an action of military dictatorship.

## A Decisive Confrontation Is Not Far Away

The conditions are prepared for a decisive encounter. As regards Lechin, he has not obtained nor possesses a strong base of support. His proposal to raise the strike was rejected. It was raised only with the presence of Lechin who promised that nothing would be yielded. But he is not able to retain his authority because now it is the base of the movement which is mobilising, not delegates, and the base when it finds that in the assembly there is no possibility of imposing itself, resolves as it has resolved now: it takes to arms and will resolve the situation through its direct intervention. It is a perspective which we can expect in a very short space of time.

In this perspective our party has the possibility of intervening; already it has a base to intervene with great success and result. This action of the Bolivian masses shows that neither the communist party nor the socialists nor the nationalists organise for action. But the masses advance in an organised way against all the existing leaderships. This shows the capacity for organisation and the resolution of the masses.

The manner of measuring effectively the relationship of world forces between capitalism and the revolution can be seen through a situation like that in Bolivia where capitalism has all the means, all the possibilities — force, money, apparatus, conciliatory leadership to contain the masses — yet the masses cannot be contained. And this takes place at a time when in the world scale of forces, for example, the concessions of the Soviet bureaucracy permits capitalism to proceed in the defence of its world interests against revolutionaries.

This process of the Bolivian revolution is the most vivid demonstration of the course and structure of the permanent revolution, of the world relation of forces between the revolution and the counter revolution. It shows that although in specific circumstances, in a specific country the bourgeoisie and Imperialism can count on a certain relation of forces favourable to them in relation to the world process, the world situation of the revolution favourable to the development of the socialist revolution helps directly and indirectly the re-

volution in this country; Bolivia for example. The revolution in Bolivia has been in state of unstable equilibrium for eleven years. This means a situation in which the contradictory and antagonistic forces continue struggling, trying to conquer and experience a series of victories and defeats. The level of victory and defeat does not change the general relation of forces, but prepares the conditions for the next phase — for an advance of the revolution or the counter-revolution.

Imperialism has not succeeded in Bolivia in restoring capitalist property in the mines. It has not succeeded in re-establishing the agrarian relations which existed until 1952. It has not succeeded in depriving the masses of workers control of the mines. On various occasions and for a long time workers' control has actually been used against the workers. As it has not functioned in submission to the democratic will of the miner masses, workers' control has become bureaucratized and functions more as a civil service. But in a way similar to the bureaucracy in the workers' states — although in an infinitely diminished scale — the condition for the bureaucratic and conservative functioning was the maintenance of the nationalised mines.

Capitalism could corrupt workers' control and did corrupt it infinitely, but could not return to private property in the nationalised mines. And in spite of the limited success gained in corrupting workers' control, in so far as the bourgeoisie did not succeed in denationalising the mines, the relation of forces was maintained in the same situation. Thus partial success signified in this corruption did not provide a sufficient base to incline the balance of forces in favour of national and international capitalism. This is the most important conclusion.

## Weakness Of Imperialist Authority

The maintenance of nationalised property, of agrarian reform was defended and is defended by the will of the masses to defend and sustain themselves. Imperialism tried on various occasions to take measures of military repression to return the mines to private property. Always they failed. Paz Estensoro and the other capitalist governments will accept such action, such measures against the Bolivian masses. In this conspiracy the bourgeoisie and the armies of Peru, Chile, Argentina and the respective big powers were involved. They awaited an opportunity to intervene. If they did not intervene it was because the relation of world forces was favourable to the revolution — because an intervention against the Bolivian masses would have provoked in Latin America a rising of the masses against Imperialism and capitalism and in the rest of the world also. This state of affairs has contained until now the intervention of Imperialism. The advance of the revolution throughout the world — not only in Cuba, since Cuba is not the principle area — the advance which is taking place at the present moment, in Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, showed to Imperialism the relationship of world forces. It could intervene in Bolivia. It wished to intervene. For example it offered military aid and planes to bombard.

What actually restrained its intervention and restrained Paz Estensoro from accepting such an intervention of Imperialism was fear of the reaction of the masses, that such action would lead to the revolutionary explosion throughout Latin America. Although there is no direct relation through organisations, the struggle of the masses of the world, including the European proletariat, the great strikes of the European proletariat have weighed and continue to weigh on all the governments and all the capitalist apparatus throughout the world and prevents it intervening, because the consequences will be worse for capitalism than the results to be expected from intervention. This is the relation of world forces.

The relation of world forces favourable to the revolution does not manifest itself only in the intervention or declaration of direct support from the workers' states to the colonial revolutions or to other movements but also in this way.

J. POSADAS

## The Struggle For The Workers' State In Bolivia

The other basic aspect of the relation of world forces favourable to the revolution is the development of the workers' states. From its own nature, from its own interest, the workers' states cannot remain insensible before the counter revolutionary intervention of Imperialism. Evidently world capitalism intervened in a counter revolutionary form in Africa, in the Congo for example, Lumumba was assassinated by world capitalism, in the struggle of one sector of capitalism against another. The Soviet bureaucracy permitted all this, but did not appear before the masses as involved in this event — the bureaucracy protested and presented itself as condemning the act. But it is not for this reason by permitting these crimes that the attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy did not find a greater echo in the Congo but because by reason of the objective situation, the revolutionary process was limited when the leaderships were against the minimal organisation of the masses. If in the Congo the masses had mobilised as in Bolivia, if there had been such a struggle of the masses, Imperialism would not have been able to assassinate Lumumba and to contain the process of the Congolese revolution. The Congolese people did what it could in the historic conditions of its existence and of its social existence; with scarcely any unions, they had a proliferation of dialects and tongues, they were submitted to the enormous pressure of ignorance of every class, an unimaginable pressure, to a tremendous indignity in all material necessities, with almost total illiteracy. In these conditions the masses were not able as those of Bolivia to respond or react as the Bolivian masses.

The Bolivian masses were unified, they have a strong proletariat, they have been concentrated by capitalist exploitation. They have had union struggles for many years, matters of which the Congolese masses had little experience. This does not mean that the Congolese masses were unable to escape the yoke of capitalism. They were able: but they did not because of the leadership of the workers' parties, above all the example of the Soviet Union. The masses have not received stimulus, inducement, orientation or organisation to advance.

In Bolivia capitalism has not succeeded in returning the mines to private property because of the relation of forces on a world scale favourable to the revolution: but at the same time that this favourable relation existed and continues to exist, existed also this refusal of the Bolivian masses to retreat. Thus the influence and the weight of the world relationship of forces amongst other things could express itself in the will of the masses to defend their conquests. And the Bolivian revolution showed how for a very long period when the revolution did not succeed in completing its advance to socialism, in completing the full cycle of involving the whole country in the national revolution, capitalism was still not able to push the process back. Eleven years! And all this time the masses remained firmly attached to its conquests and neither socialists, communists or Lechin developed a political power over the masses.

To all those who say how come the IVth International did not develop we say: In eleven years this revolution did not go forward and neither did it retreat — nor organise or generate socialist, communist or nationalist leaderships. If the IVth International did not develop it is because it develops as a process in ratio to the Bolivian revolution. It does not retreat, it goes forward. Those who do retreat are the old organisations which do not respond to the necessity of the progress of the revolution. An historical epoch is not measured nor is a current by the slowness with which it advances. Never! What is necessary to observe is if the slowness obeys objective or subjective reasons. That is all. But if the process advances it means that the revolution is an historic necessity and the party, the IVth International also — if not the IVth International would have been de-

# BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

## BALANCE OF FORCES

### (EXTRACTS)

stroyed. Similarly with the Bolivian revolution, if it had not possessed the force from the relation of the forces favourable to the revolution, it would have been destroyed. The essential reasons for which the Bolivian revolution was not destroyed we insist, is the relation of world forces favourable to the revolution; and in the second place the revolutionary will of the masses did not retreat.

In this process of unstable development, the struggle between capitalism and the masses has been in the final instance favourable to the masses. The masses without leadership in Bolivia against the leadership, abandoned by the leadership, have been able to retain their revolutionary will. Among other things which have maintained their will and their revolutionary decision is the struggle of the Bolivian peasantry which has been constant, inexhaustible. No more than two years ago, six hundred thousand peasants besieged La Paz, not allowing anyone to enter or leave, obliging the government to make concessions which the peasants had demanded. If the peasants unite with the workers what remains of capitalist power? What resistance can capitalism make? They would be toppled with a gust of wind. They threw at Paz Estensoro a stone with a note saying "Idiot, get out," and afterwards they may hang him. It is an old tradition of the Bolivian masses to hang certain gentlemen. They believe with some reason that in suspending them in the air and the sun, they are being disinfected. In a short time many will be disinfected. This worker and peasant alliance which objectively unfolds in the struggles of the peasants and miners, of the industrial workers who strike constantly with great success, of the petit bourgeoisie who likewise struggle with great success has not been established in a united front in an organic worker and peasant alliance because the leadership is lacking. In this process neither the communists, socialists or the power of Lechin has advanced. Lechin has the core of the authority and control of the apparatus which he held before. But he has no authority over the masses, it is in the apparatus only that he finds support. And when the apparatus — which reflects the mood of the masses only in the most distant manner — shows signs of escaping the control of Lechin, it is because the force of the revolution cannot be

contained. The apparatus tries to adapt itself quickly to the will of the masses and when it replies as it replied with 30% in the last vote against Lechin it is because the decisive force to impel the revolution is immensely greater.

The petit bourgeoisie has a great social weight in Bolivia. The fascist movement, the Bolivian Socialist Falange which five years ago had great social force has been destroyed, disintegrated, disorganised. It met the necessity for struggle of the petit bourgeoisie through a programme of opposition to the government which had an echo, but the conclusions at which this leadership arrived which meant the installation of a reactionary government found no social support. Moreover it was not the government or Lechin which developed forces against the Falange. On the contrary the policy of these stimulated a current behind the Falange. But the struggles of the peasant, miner and worker masses influenced above all the petit bourgeoisie and gave it a perspective which prevented the possibility of it being directed or organised under the massive influence of the Falange. This did not resolve the problem, but it showed how without a conscious organisation, without a conscious leadership which responds to the revolutionary will of the masses, the miners, the peasants and the industrial workers with their spontaneous empirical struggles, with their wild-cat strikes, with the mobilisation of children, women and the aged have exercised and continue to exercise an enormous authority over strata of the petit bourgeoisie.

#### For A United Front

For the next stage it is necessary to organise the miners with a programme which unites the demands of the petit bourgeoisie, industrial workers, peasants, miners in a united front. A transitional programme of demands, on the cost of living, the possibility of employment, etc., united to the programme of expropriations, workers' control of all expropriation, planification of production, direct contact with the workers' states, with the Cuban workers' state, the appeal to the Brazilian masses, calling for the installation of workers' power in the appropriate areas, and on the basis of this an appeal for the planification of economic and social life of Bolivia on an anti-capitalist programme.

From this struggle will arise the leadership of the revolution and of the workers' state in Bolivia joined to the programme of general planification and of general demands which must unite the sliding scale of wages, the sliding scale of hours, that is to say the programme of transitional demands with the creation of organs of democratic intervention, revolutionary organs of the masses; organisms which do not possess electoral perspectives, since there is no electoral perspective but are directed towards the economic and social planification of the country through the struggle for workers and peasant power.

#### Miners As Workers' Centre

In the final instance the masses of the country feel the authority and the influence of the miners, the mines being the essential economic centre of the country. The miners are the centralised nucleus, the most important centralised proletarian base in the country. They exercise an unquestionable authority throughout the country.

When in countries such as Brazil, Argentine, Chile, Peru there is a process of re-

volutionary development, the reactionary and counter revolutionary intervention of the bourgeoisie of these countries increases the development of the revolution in these countries because the masses understand such an intervention as directly linked to their own situation, feel it as a blow directed by their own counter revolutionary bourgeoisie at themselves and all this helps them to see beyond their own leaders.

The world situation favourable to the revolution is going to help the Bolivian masses and this will be the development of the IVth International. Certainly the Latin-American bourgeois, above all the bourgeois states close to Bolivia are going to intervene: Argentine, Chile and Peru. They will try to crush the revolutionary process. Independently of the military successes which they can obtain, the intervention of these bourgeois states will be a heavy blow against themselves which will increase their own decomposition and will stimulate and develop the revolutionary struggle in these countries.

J. POSADAS.

February 5, 1964.

## SPANISH FASCISM DECAYS Towards Workers Power

Spain, one of the bastions of capitalism, is in a full process of decomposition. Spanish fascism has gone soft, not because the fascist leadership has gone soft but because it cannot continue to be tough. In itself Spanish fascism has not the strength to sustain itself. Only the policy of the bureaucracy of the workers' states has permitted it to sustain and establish itself. The same goes for Portugal. Without the policy of this bureaucracy based on conciliationism, reformism and collaboration with capitalism, Franco would not have been able to maintain his domination. The masses would have risen against him.

It is not correct to measure the delay between the defeat of the Spanish revolution and today as the consequences of the demoralisation of the will and sentiment of the masses or of some stability of the structure of the capitalist apparatus. After their defeat by fascism — not only Spanish fascism, but by the fascist states of Germany and Italy who intervened with their military power — aided by the policy of the communist party, the Spanish masses received on a world scale and constantly the blows of the policy of the CP. The Soviet workers' state, the communist parties presented themselves as allied to world capitalism during the second world war. What perspective, what attraction, what stimulus could the Spanish masses have found on the world plane? None! The apparent delay is not the consequence of the slow reactions of the Spanish proletariat, but of the world politics of the bureaucracy of the workers' states, of the communist and socialist parties.

One should rather look at the reverse side of the coin: it is necessary to perceive the extent to which Spanish fascism has not been able to consolidate and sustain itself, nor in consequence maintain its authority. It has attained the limit of its possibilities because the world situation and the internal situation weakens the Spanish and world capitalist structure and stimulates the struggle of the masses.

Hitler was able to sustain himself for a certain period above all because he gave a perspective to German capitalism. He had a precise and possible perspective; to prepare for war and to eliminate the other capitalist competitors in the world. This gave him a certain force, structure and authority in the eyes of the German petit-bourgeoisie. Spanish industry is one of the most backward in the world. The conditions of life of the Spanish proletariat are among the worst in the world. And the apparatus of repression of Spanish fascism is infinitely less powerful than that of Hitler or even Italian fascism. From this our conclusion must be clear and determining: one of the bases of the maintenance of Spanish fascism was the international politics of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the communist and socialist parties which means a policy and programme of reforms, of conciliation and alliance with capitalism.

But this does not signify the reinforcement of the solidity of Spanish capitalism — and one of the essential props for European capitalism is Spain. The disintegration of Spanish fascism proceeds at an accelerated pace. A series of tendencies, of internal struggles disorganises the cohesion and the internal solidity of Spanish fascism — and it is not the letters of the curés or those of Jose Bergamin which are the expression of this crisis. On the contrary the curés and Bergamin tend to hide the real force which

is decomposing Spanish fascism at the present moment: the resistance and the decision of the masses against Spanish fascism. It is the masses who give courage to tendencies to intervene and oppose Franco.

There is one wing of Spanish fascism which seeks the support and aid of the Spanish bourgeoisie and which makes attempts in this direction. It is above all a Catalan wing. It seeks to pass without internal social commotion from the present regime to a regime which relaxes the internal tension, which permits a certain movement, a certain liberty for the petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie — and in part the proletariat under the condition that it is to control and direct it. It is a combined process which Spanish fascism is not now able to contain or retard.

The development of the common market is going to crush Spanish industry, to break open the Spanish internal market. The policy of fascism shows itself incapable and powerless to meet this. Hence the reaction of important sectors of the Spanish bourgeoisie — textiles, metallurgical industry — producing particularly for the internal market. All understand this danger and try in consequence to develop the economy and to orient the functioning of the economy in order to face up to this situation. But they cannot act without taking account of the situation existing in Spain; that is to say that they find themselves between the control, the limitations imposed by fascism and the dangers of a new Spanish revolution — which they see and feel at every instant.

In this contradictory process the communists do not propose a revolutionary policy — no more than the socialists and the anarchists. The masses have no organisms; they cannot speak or discuss; they are not allowed to. And a sector of

(continued on page 4)

## NO TO NEUTRALISM FOR VIET NAM

(continued from page 1)

the contrary, their unification around the centres of the anti-capitalist struggle.

This new coup d'etat reflects the despair of the army before this unification and extension of the struggles of the masses. The internal pressure from the worker and peasant masses, encouraged by the victories and the advance of the guerillas, the influence of the Chinese revolution, the force and dynamism of which comes once again to break through the blockade of Imperialism, hurls down one after the other, all the political barriers which Yankee Imperialism tries to set up, and prevents at the same time, all possibility of a military solution in South Viet Nam.

It is the realisation that no military solution in Viet Nam is possible, which sharpens the contradictions in the heart of the military ranks of South Viet Nam. These military leaders are wolves at bay, without perspectives, without a solution. General Khanh, having removed Dinh, restores him to the post of Chief of State. This disorientation shows at one and the same time, the loss of confidence of the South Viet Nam military junta in themselves and in Yankee Imperialism. Because of this they submitted to a replacement of the Diemist group, in the hope that another group would be able to support itself on a larger social base, and to intensify the struggle against communism, while at the same time safeguarding some appearance of democracy. The masses, in refusing their support for either the one or

other bourgeois group, in intensifying the armed struggle, have aimed a stinging blow at these attempts. This is a new attack on the military authority of Yankee Imperialism, from which French Imperialism tries to profit, in proposing its own solution of neutralisation.

#### Ripe For Victory

The internal political decomposition, and also the loss of serious possibilities of military and political action on the part of American Imperialism, make conditions ripe today for the victory of the anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist revolution in Viet Nam on the basis of the unification of Viet Nam in the framework of a workers' state.

This coup d'etat, which has shaken the whole structure of capitalism in Viet Nam, is the reflection of the class contradictions becoming sharper in Viet Nam, which allow no more possibilities for capitalism to maintain itself, which opens the road in the struggle for power for the support of North Viet Nam and China.

Before this expression of bankruptcy, of panic, of the South Viet Nam bourgeoisie and of Imperialism, the working-class, united with the peasants, must intensify the struggle for a Socialist programme, against all forms of neutralisation, which is the last card of Imperialism, and snatch power from the hands of the Viet Nam bourgeoisie, solely supported, as it is, by American Imperialism.

# SPANISH FASCISM DECAYS

(continued from page 3)

the Spanish bourgeoisie — intellectually and ideologically expressed by all the writers who protest against brutal treatment inflicted on a woman prisoner but who keep quiet on the murder of thousands and thousands of workers — is trying now to obtain the support of the masses to pressurise Franco and to seek to pass without much commotion from the fascist structure to a structure which permits a certain bourgeois parliamentary sphere for political manoeuvre. These intellectual sectors supported above all by the Catalan bourgeoisie are seeking thus at the same time a means of preventing the drastic fall of fascism and the triumph of the proletarian revolution. They have understood the situation. The discussion at present existing in the directing team of Spanish fascism reflects all this. On the one hand there is the liberalisation of the regime — as they say to free industry. That is to say to increase production, to raise productivity, to put pressure on the industrial and peasant sectors (including the big landowners) to ameliorate the system of production (lowering the costs of production, increase of production). All this has the idea to improve the economic situation of the Spanish people as one of the bases to prevent the proletarian revolution. That is in brief a democratic bourgeois perspective. And in this sense there is in the interior of the government a great pressure directed towards the industrial and peasant sector. They think in terms of a series of measures which can show the masses that the bourgeois are preoccupied with them and their situation. It is a question of a series of laws of personal security of economic laws, having a very slight significance but which mean in the fascist regime an attempt to establish a basis of support on the acceptance or the illusion of a possible perspective of improvement in the condition of life of the Spanish masses.

To uphold itself fascism demands the social extension of this same regime throughout the world. If it does not meet such a support, it decomposes or is defeated. If the revolution has not been able to triumph in Spain, this is simply because the socialists, communists and anarchists have hindered it with the aid of the bureaucracy of the workers' states. It is for this reason that Franco still exists. But when fascism has to have recourse to such support it because it has no one else on whom to rely.

Spanish ministers have journeyed through Europe and the United States to dredge up investments for Spain. And they have looked for the support of the British Labour Party. Such a support in the Labour Party is destined to find a world and national base on which it might be possible to rely to pressurise the Spanish masses; and this with the object of a transformation of the fascist regime.

At the present moment the Spanish masses are reflecting. The recent strike of the Asturian miners has given expression to the consciousness of this proletarian sector for a revolutionary issue in Spain. Compared with strikes of previous years, none of the liberals, the writers who protest now against Franco, none have approved this strike, have declared themselves for the strike or taken measures of support for the strike. They have realised, felt that the attitude adopted by the Spanish miners has been expressed with clear consciousness of acting as the leading sector of the masses. The strike was not simply the obtaining of better conditions of work and increase of wages. That in part was the objective.

But fundamentally, the workers came out to attract attention, to

attract the support of the Spanish masses and the European masses, to demonstrate that they are disposed to take power if they have this support. On the other hand, the curés and the writers present themselves today as champions of democracy, in order to deflect the miner proletariat and to block their path. All this, so that it does not present itself as the centre of the struggle for the demands of the Spanish masses.

Gil Robles liquidates now the united front which he looked for a year ago, even with the anarchists. These are now the sectors who present themselves as being the champions of democracy, in a single united front with the perspective of a democratic government.

The miner proletariat of Spain has shown that it is ready for the struggle for power. Although without public, open organisms, it functions in the best way it is able. It has already realised an enormous experience, and it has functioned as a real leadership — in a clandestine, conspiratorial form. Already the new leadership of the revolutionary Spanish workers' movement is in process of formation. That is why the attempt of all these sectors to give a lead without social commotion will fail. Hence the crisis within Spanish fascism.

The crisis provoked by the Kennedy assassination in the country considered as the most democratic and the crisis in Spain — two poles of capitalism — show that absolutely favourable conditions exist for the struggle for power.

J. POSADAS.

## World Trotskyist Press

- ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist).
- ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.
- BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.
- BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Oruro.
- BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.
- CHILE:** *Vanguardia Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.
- CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq. Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.
- FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.
- ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.
- MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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). Manuel Fernandez, 160 rue Potagere, Brussels.
- URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.
- INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

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# LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

## URUGUAY

The campaign launched by our section for the immediate release of our comrades held in Cuba has received a great welcome from the masses of Uruguay. Strong worker participation with the activities of the party, shows the political maturity of the masses in Uruguay who with their firm support for the liberty of the arrested comrades demonstrate their decision to defend the Cuban workers' state but also proletarian democracy.

On Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays regular radio reports have intensified the campaign for the freeing of comrades Perez, Fraga and Ferrera arrested by the Khrushchevite bureaucracy in Cuba, enabling also publicity for the documents of the International, parts of the letter of Cde Posadas to the Cuban comrades, the letters of the POR(T) to the Cuban ambassador and the daily advance of the campaign.

## BRAZIL

The Arrais government of Pernambuco state — propped up by the Khrushchevites — has been forced to free comrades Carlos Montarolo, Claudio Cavalcanti and Aimbere Ferreira Sa after having freed comrades

Joel Camara, Chapeu de Couro and Joca. Among the peasant leaders arrested only Julio Santana condemned to 18 months remains in prison. The cause of their arrest goes back to the great mobilisations of Recife of which the highest point was the assembly of 8000 peasants in the demonstration in front of the prison — when cds Claudio and Santana were given parole. This is a great success for the POR(T) and for the party's regional committee. It is a severe defeat for Arrais and above all for the Communist Party apparatus which controls the police and has played a vile role in aiding the bourgeoisie against the peasants and against our party.

With this notable success the POR(T) and the regional committee of the North East is intensifying its activities to unite the demands of "ALL LAND TO THE PEASANTS" and "SEIZE THE LAND" with the campaign for the liberty of Julio Santana and with the struggle for the organisation of the Revolutionary Peasant centre which is an objective necessity.

The British section salutes this outstanding success of the Brazilian comrades and of their regional committee.

## Confusion In Imperialist War Alliance

(continued from page 1)

strike reflects the treacherous negative attitude of the union bosses. Here skilled workers took their stand on the correct principle that in the event of unemployment there should be work sharing and reduction of hours. With automation coming in the issue is primary — but the Trade Unions have done nothing to help the strike on a national scale. There is no attempt to co-ordinate the claims for the 40 hour week or the three week holiday — anything to prevent railwaymen linking up with engineers and postal workers. However the objective march of events pushes inexorably to a settling of accounts in relation to automation, working conditions, wages — whatever the manipulations of the TU bosses. We repeat the necessity for the co-ordination of all strikes by the shop stewards committees on a firm anti-capitalist programme which links demands on wages and conditions with demands for aid to the colonial revolution, and the breaking of all alliances against the workers' states.

At the very time that the capitalist class calls for wage restraint concealed under the words "incomes policy", the Tory government raises the price of milk to 9d. a pint. The masses have to suffer increases in fares and basic necessities and also contribute to the agricultural subsidy system to the tune of £320 million a year. The only socialist policy in relation to the land which would eliminate capitalist exploitation, raise the level of agricultural wages and solve the problem of the small over-worked farmers is land nationalisation, expropriation of the larger estates and co-operative federation of the smaller holdings helped by state credits. The subsidy system is a brazen example of the exploitation of the masses for the benefit of a few privileged wealthy farmers.

However, what the workers have tolerated in the past becomes intolerable in the present. The way is open to the maturing of revolutionary tendencies directly in the factories. The RWP will fuse with this struggle and calls for its centralisation on a programme directed towards the unification of all workers' struggles on a national basis with the perspective of crushing capitalism and constructing the British workers' state.

## OUR PROGRAMME

- 1) A 40-hour week in all industries, in preparation for a 35-hour week.
- 2) Three weeks' paid holiday in all industries, leading to four weeks' paid holiday.
- 3) An all-round immediate 20 per cent. increase in wages. Establishment of a Basic Minimum Wage, to rise with the cost of living.
- 4) Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
- 5) The profits of automation to go to the workers.
- 6) Pensions to equal the average wage. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60.
- 7) Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of Defence Committees to protect tenants against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organization of Tenants' Committees which should have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
- 8) Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers' control, leading to nationalization under workers' control. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work-time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
- 9) Nationalization of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor vehicles and road transport services, arms and the building and building materials industries. Nationalized industries to be placed under workers' control.
- 10) Workers' control of all industry.
- 11) Expropriate 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 organize direct marketing of produce and cut out middle-men.
- 12) Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
- 13) Formation of Factory Committees on each job and Workers' Councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 14) A United Front of all workers' organizations on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 15) For a single European trade union centre on an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme.
- 16) State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalization of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
- 17) Struggle against imperialism and defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strike, boycott and sabotage, and the dispatch of arms to colonial workers.
- 18) Withdrawal from all imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO, directed against the workers' states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers' states and the colonial revolution against imperialism.
- 19) For the United Socialist States of Europe as a part of a world front of socialist states.
- 20) For a Workers' Government.

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*Workers of the World, Unite!*

# RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

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SIXPENCE

## Struggle For A Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Programme In The Labour Party, The Communist Party, The Factories And The Trade Unions

IN A STATE of chaos, dejection and without perspectives the Tories are preparing to hand over power to the intended saviours of capitalism, the leaders of the Labour Party the last lifeline with the Trade Union bureaucrats, for Imperialism in this country. The powerful electoral victory of the Labour Party in the Greater London elections confirms that the Tories have lost influence over their petit bourgeois supporters and that the worker masses wish despite the moribund capitalist programme of the Labour Party, despite the routine betrayals of strikes by the union officials to express their desire for a fundamental transformation of society and to centralise themselves around the organisations they feel that they can influence. The coming victory of the Labour Party will therefore be symptomatic of the mood of the masses; in itself of course the General Election means nothing in terms of the establishment of the British workers' state — that will be achieved only by the revolutionary seizure of power and the utter smashing of the state machine. The capitalists in this country are looking to the ignominious leaders of the Labour Party to delay and confuse the increasing momentum of the class struggle destined to be more and more accelerated by the velocity of international events which every day witness the disintegration of world Imperialism and its allies the Soviet bureaucracy.

The worker votes in the London election for the Communist Party also reflect the development of a serious current thinking in general terms of a resolute settlement of accounts with capitalism. We know of course that the politically insignificant Communist Party is dedicated to electoral cretinism ("the parliamentary road to socialism") believes that capitalism can be gently eased out of existence, that "peaceful co-existence" will dissolve world capitalism and that we must on no account frighten the bourgeoisie by talk of the need for a revolutionary Marxist party organised on an international basis under Bolshevik discipline as in the IVth International. The British Communist Party is essentially a middle class party piously determined to fetter worker militants and pressurise "progressive bourgeois" elements.

### Apparatus Without Life

But what is particularly significant at this stage of history is the way that the masses simply use the existing apparatuses to register their mood and exercise a pressure but their real struggles by-pass the existing organisations. Such organisations as the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Trade Unions whatever paper votes they may represent are simply administrative apparatuses. They have no genuine political life. The workers do not function politically within them. Such organisations once had a form of life but it has long since departed and now they are simply monstrous putrefying political corpses whose only value to the bourgeoisie is to confuse, delay, block the initiative of the masses. The apparatus men cannot believe their eyes when history does not do their bidding — after all how can anyone least of all the untutored masses do anything without that divine sun, that sublime gift of ancestral bureaucrats, the apparatus? Various bird-brained hacks on occasion have the impudence to sneer at the relative smallness of the IVth International, but history will teach even their puny understanding that wherever the masses wage a revolutionary struggle, that is the same as the spirit of Trotskyism. The masses for practical purposes are more and more ignoring the existing parliamentary bound organisations.

In Great Britain the masses have found their own way to build up unofficial strike committees which go beyond the desires of the trade union bosses. In other words these will provide increasingly a means for the workers to organise struggle—a struggle

directed as much against the union leadership as the capitalists. It is characteristic of the CP of course that it proposes that the shop stewards must integrate with the unions, no doubt again to support the "progressive" unions, i.e. to back the Left reformists as opposed to the Right ones. Obviously where it is possible to develop a particular union towards a revolutionary militant stand this should be done, but the autonomous workers organisations can in no way integrate themselves with the existing apparatuses which are hopelessly corrupt even if under pressure they may take a Left turn.

### Militant Currents

It is perfectly true that over the last few months strong potentially revolutionary currents have been reflecting themselves through the unions. The fact that the engineering unions have been proposing nationalisation of machine tools, maritime industries, aircraft and electrical industries, that in the AEU, Birch a CPer comes close to upsetting Carron is an example of the spirit which is at work. The demand for large wage increases now voiced by the miners and the power workers (Paynter, the miners CP boss, acts like a typical reformist — much pious fulmination and no perspective) plus the determined wish of the London busmen to have an immediate rise without any strings involving possible redundancy and new conditions of work, expresses the tremendous anti-capitalist spirit of the masses. Nevertheless the factory committees are the essence of a workers' democracy and these will be the source of the serious revolutionary currents. In general, at the moment they do not function properly, they do not co-ordinate within an industry or group of industries together sufficiently — and it is also true that under certain circumstances they too can degenerate but only the consolidation of these basic units of the workers' movement will provide the masses with adequate instruments of both political and economic struggle.

Apart from the wider context of the international disintegration of Imperialism, the events of the colonial revolution constantly undermine the authority and influence of British Imperialism, whether it be the recent stirrings in Southern Rhodesia or the conflicts between Malaysia and Indonesia, or the complete inability of UNO and British Imperialism to do anything but suffer de-

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## Right Wing Coup In Brazil

### FINAL BLOW AT THE PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

We received too late for publication the most recent article of Comrade Posadas, adopted as a resolution by the IS on the recent Right wing coup in Brazil. However, this earlier article provides the background to the coup. The downfall of Goulart is an inevitable result of the total breakdown of bourgeois parliamentary government in Brazil and it means a blow at any policy of peaceful co-existence.

The Yankee Imperialists tumbled over themselves to recognise the government and undoubtedly precipitated the coup. The new government of Mazzilli and the other frightened diehards has a short future — its principle role is to intimidate the masses and impede the development of the worker-peasant alliance and the consolidation of the proletarian and peasant unions. In the long run its only accelerates the polarisation of the class forces and the development of the mass revolutionary tendency around the transitional Brizola current.

The Right wing leaders have no policy to solve the land question, the problem of inflation — anything which touches the problems most vital to the masses. Goulart was trying limited agrarian reform and had even shown a certain compliance — or so it has been reported — with sailors rebelling against their officers. This particular event followed military mutinies, all part of the decomposition of capitalist authority in Brazil.

The bourgeois in Brazil — divided among themselves a sure sign of immi-

nent collapse — are caught in a trap — if they make concessions it encourages the masses. If they don't they will be smashed anyway. In the latest statement of the IVth International the world party particularly addresses itself to our comrades in the Latin American parties to explain the full significance of the coup and its relation to the Latin American revolution to all the revolutionary currents likewise on the path to crush the capitalist power in Latin America. As usual the Chinese had no line on Brazil apart from defending Goulart as a "national" leader!

## NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN BRAZIL

J. POSADAS

SINCE the flight of Janio Quadros, a process of decomposition has taken place in the Brazilian capitalist state apparatus. Imperialism has lost authority, bases, and force within Brazil. Brazilian capitalism has lost a base, authority and force in the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the backward layers of the working class, bases of support for capitalism on which Brazilian capitalism supported itself politically. In three years of constant maturation of the Brazilian masses, an enormous progress in their capacity for organising the means of class and revolutionary struggle has taken place.

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## Meeting Of 7th World Congress Of The IVth International

The IVth International has just held its Seventh World Congress in Europe. An account of the resolutions and the May Day appeal will be given in the next issue of "Red Flag." The Seventh World Congress has taken place at the period when the remarkable maturity of the masses for socialism shows itself in every continent and sphere. The Congress reflected this in the quality of the contributions to the Congress, the revolutionary passion of the participants and the tremendous sense of Bolshevik comradeship and optimism. The buoyancy and confidence of the Latin American sections particularly reflects the strength of revolutionary Marxism in this part of the world, particularly important in the speed of the development of the International.

Resolutions were adopted on all important international and national perspectives. A new IS and IEC were elected. Particular problems, subjective and objective in the various sections were fully discussed and resolved.

Delegates felt that the mood of enthusiasm and the quality of the discussion reflected the interpenetration of the revolutionary spirit of the masses with the most elevated comprehension of the world revolutionary process.

All the sections of the International were represented with the exception of the Cuban comrades who were refused permission to leave Cuba, on account of the counter revolutionary tendency in the Castro government. Greetings were sent to the three comrades still under arrest in Cuba.

# The Johnson-Krushchev Negotiations And The Revolutionary Fight Of The Masses

## A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

*I.S. of the IVth International, 7-9 Jan. 1964*

THE DYNAMIC and vertiginous development of new international events confirms fully the analysis made by Comrade Posadas on the evolution of the international situation in his article of December 3, 1963: "The Assassination of Kennedy by the Pentagon exacerbates the crisis of Imperialism and the policy of peaceful co-existence," adopted as a resolution by the International Secretariat.

Immediately after the terrible commotion produced in all the structures of world Imperialism, of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the world bourgeoisie by this assassination, the plans of the sectors of the Pentagon who required and executed this assassination have apparently failed. Faced with the unanimous reaction of world capitalism which had counted with the full support of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Pentagon had to retreat.

Since then an intense and furious internal struggle about the orientation and character of the counter revolutionary strategy and tactics on the part of Imperialism has taken place, to which corresponds a no less intense, dynamic and vertiginous activity in the camp of the revolution for the definition of a policy, of a strategy and of a tactic for the revolution.

The preparation for the final encounter proceeds in a confused, empirical and deformed way and it assumes the form of an intense world diplomatic activity. It shows itself in a deformed fashion in the discourses, public declarations in the various diplomatic visits and partial agreements: such as the OAS meeting, the farce perpetrated by the Pentagon and the Goldwaters to put pressure on the bourgeoisie and on the other sectors of Imperialism to promote a new aggression against Cuba. It can be seen even in the message of Krushchev to Johnson where he makes new concessions in exchange for the prolongation of peaceful co-existence. Similarly the journeys of Chou-en-lai in Africa and in Albania; in the same way the visit of the Pope to the Middle East must be so understood.

### Intense Struggles

This is the characteristic sign of the form acquired by the deepened internal struggle, consequence of the assassination of Kennedy. And this internal struggle, these diplomatic, formal, external manifestations respond to the exacerbation of the class struggle in the world framework.

The Soviet bureaucracy — more precisely the sector of the bureaucracy which Krushchev represents — conscious of this internal struggle in the heart of Imperialism, conscious that in this struggle its own fate is in question, makes desperate efforts to impose the Kennedy wing against the Pentagon. In these efforts Krushchev arrives at compromises and offers concessions which put seriously in danger the defence even of the Soviet workers' state. To disarm ideologically the masses puts in peril even the defence of the Soviet workers' state. To wish to have believed that there is a sector of capitalism which is weakening and which honestly does not desire war; to conceal that the difference separating Johnson from the Pentagon only exists in relation to the precise opportunity when to launch the counter revolutionary attack within the world framework and with nuclear weapons, but that they are in agreement fundamentally on the preparation and the realisation of this counter revolutionary nuclear world offensive and attack, is to disarm the masses. And to propose a reduction in armaments, to overthrow — in total irresponsibility — the orientation of finances in an absurd plan for chemical and fertiliser production with an unparalleled empiricism and on the basis of a co-existence envisaged for decades in relation to Imperialism, places in jeopardy even the defence of the Soviet workers' state and of all the workers' states. This policy is criminal because Imperialism, whilst the bureaucracy offers peace, continues to conduct bloody local wars.

### Krushchev's Fear

This collaboration furnished by Krushchev to Johnson is the result of his terror in face of the development of an international situation which will result in a violent convulsion. He knows in effect that the masses will reply by mobilising for a revolutionary struggle and that in this mobilisation will develop the class tendency,

the revolutionary tendency which will sweep him away with all the bureaucracies, at the same time as Imperialism. Krushchev tries to deform everything which takes on the appearance of a class struggle. And he offers to concede to Imperialism on the most pressing problems of the class struggle, posing them as simple territorial questions, as simple problems of borders and frontiers. Such is the meaning of his offer to resolve the problems posed by the development of the revolution in Indo-China, in Korea, in Berlin, Cuba, Formosa. All this is in fact the offer by the negation and the camouflage of the social revolutionary character of each of these problems of a willingness by the Soviet bureaucracy to hinder all development of the social revolutionary struggle.

When the bureaucracy arrives at such concessions to Imperialism, when it capitulates before these problems which are vital not only for those countries but also for the defence and the security of the Soviet Union itself, it is because it is conscious that the fall of the policy of "peaceful co-existence" manifested in the assassination of Kennedy has accelerated the struggle within the Soviet Union and has brought nearer the end of "peaceful co-existence" the fall of the bureaucracy in the war.

North American Imperialism is aware of this situation of the extreme weakness in which Krushchev finds himself. Also at the same time that it prepares to "harden" the conditions of "peaceful co-existence," it shakes hands with Krushchev in order to sustain him as one of the best pillars which permits world Imperialism to rely on a further delay in its preparation for the counter revolutionary world war. To meet the discontent which reigns at the base of Soviet society, to conceal the disaster of its policy, the bureaucracy solicits the aid of Imperialism by a purchase of wheat. Imperialism gives this aid not only by reason of the interest which it has in supporting Krushchev, but also with the view of drawing the social and political advantages from this sale of wheat.

It seeks thus the possibility of regaining a certain authority over its own base, appearing with a certain superiority on this terrain in relation to the workers' states. It tries thus to draw a social and political advantage from the problems and the contradictions of the bureaucracy.

The purchase of wheat by the bureaucracy on the Imperialist North American market is not the result, the consequence of an economic deficiency of the Soviet state — whatever the deficit of its agricultural production. It is not an indispensable way to respond to the urgent needs of the Soviet masses. During the war and in the process previous to the war the masses knew how to survive victoriously from much more precarious situations than those which they have to face at the present moment. This purchase responds in reality to a political necessity of the bureaucracy: as much in relation to the masses as to show Imperialism the advantages of "co-existence."

And it is in the same sense that Imperialism has agreed to this sale of wheat to the Soviet Union. Important as this operation is what has impelled it is not economic or financial interest (although particular sectors of North American capi-

tal have seen in this affair the possibility of a magnificent investment) but above all the possibility to obtain political advantages. It is in this that resides the counter revolutionary character of this operation by the Soviet bureaucracy. There also can be found the apparent contradiction in the Imperialist camp: whilst the Yanks sell to the USSR a million tons of wheat, they protest against, denounce and exert a blackmail against all possibility of trade with Cuban workers' state. They accuse Britain of violating the blockade because it contracts to sell 440 buses to Cuba. They show moreover the farce of the OAS (Organisation of American States) when trying to aggravate the commercial and financial blockade of the Cuban workers' state. The reason for all this contradiction is that to trade with the USSR provides Imperialism with political advantages for it gains social authority in front of its own base and before the masses of the capitalist countries whilst to admit trading with Cuba is to suffer a new and greater defeat. We see once more that what determines the measures of Imperialism at this stage is — despite the existence of economic and financial interests on whatever is at issue — the political and social interest of counter revolutionary strategy.

On the other hand the political and ideological weakness, the complete lack of comprehension and the advance of conservative and opportunist positions in a sector of the leadership of the Cuban workers' state have been manifested in particular in the recent speech of Fidel Castro on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the overthrow of Batista and of the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

The recent speech of Castro at the same time that it shows the political confusion of the leadership of the Cuban workers' state the absence of a MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY FORMATION and the lack of a revolutionary Marxist party expresses also the advance of conservative thermidorian positions within the leading team. The speech of Fidel Castro in contradiction with his former refusal to sign the test ban treaty and his abandoning of the position of the five points put forward in relation to the blockade of Cuba in October 1962 shows his incomprehension of the significance of the assassination of Kennedy. They show also and fundamentally, the sharpness of an internal struggle and of a differentiation within the governing team. Indeed the differences are each time more noticeable between the positions upheld by Guevara — whether at the Congress of the International Union of Architects of Cuba in October 1963 or the speech on the occasion of the solidarity week with the struggle of the masses of Vietnam where he leant towards a Chinese position in the political and ideological dispute opened within the framework of the struggle between the CCP and the CPSU — and the conciliatory positions of Castro. The internal struggle shows itself also in the more or less public replacement of certain leaders of the Cuban Communist Party such as Marinelli and in the return to repression and terrorism exercised against the Trotskyist comrades of the Cuban section of the IVth International, three of them being imprisoned without trial. This measure is destined to try to prevent the development of our party but on the other hand and above all to contain and terrorise the revolutionary Marxist tendency which advances on the road of differentiation within the team of the Cuban leadership and which struggles to free itself from the bureaucratic terrorist and counter revolutionary policy of the bureaucratic caste whose wish is to enrich itself from the leadership of the Cuban workers' state.

### Crisis Within Cuban Leadership

The sector or the wing of the leadership of the Cuban workers' state more sensible to the will, to the influence and to the pressure of the Cuban masses, to the pressure of the Latin American revolution, is more conscious of the international perspectives which have been posed by the assassination of Kennedy. It is more conscious also of the necessity of supplementing the feeble and isolated teams of the

CPs of Latin America who are backward compared with the masses and in most cases frankly against the development of the struggle and of the political consciousness of the masses. It feels the necessity to look for alliances; for agreements, of support around the class and revolutionary tendency in process; around the process of the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses in Latin America. By its empiricism, by its confusion and its lack of confidence in the masses, such efforts are limited to soundings, and compromises with circumstantial leaders. But they pose the necessity of the line of advance towards the fusion with the tendency and the new leadership of the revolutionary class of the mass movements as they actually exist. They pose in consequence the necessity of an advance towards a rapprochement and a liaison with Trotskyism, closely united and fused with the process of development and of constitution of these tendencies, of this leadership in process of formation in a united front with them.

But this differentiation is still confused and contradictory. This is not the result of a conscious activity but of a more or less great sensitivity to the enormous pressure of the wishes and desire of the Cuban masses, the reasons for their struggle — the masses exert pressure all the time through a thousand and one demonstrations and concrete actions. But even this sector of the team of the Cuban revolution which feels itself encouraged to look for support in the revolutionary struggles of the Latin American masses, by reason of its incomprehension of the phenomena of the mass movement, orientates itself towards a mechanical transplantation of the experience of armed insurrection and of guerilla fighting, of the Cuban experience, to the rest of the Latin-American countries. Its incomprehension makes it substitute for the organisation of revolutionary mass mobilisation, organisations of the terrorist and putschist type such as that of the FALN in Venezuela.

### Chinese Intervention

The journey of Chou-en-Lai to Africa. is a manifestation of the correctness of this analysis. The comrades of the Chinese CP expected mistakenly that by their denunciations of the capitulation and the treason of the Soviet bureaucracy, they were going to win bases and leaders or sectors and bases of the leaderships of the CPs of the world and that in this way they were going to check the Soviet bureaucracy. That is to say that they hoped to win a simple battle of positions within the bureaucratic apparatuses of the CP. The IVth International has pointed out some time ago (Prologue of Comrade Posadas to the edition of the document: "The Sino-Soviet conflict" July 1963), the falsity of these perspectives. The comrades of the Chinese CP although they still maintain their proclamations of support to Stalin, tend to orient themselves towards seeking another base of support. They are increasingly oriented towards an offensive to influence the leadership of the Cuban revolution giving this priority in their radio broadcasts. And Chou-en-Lai has also begun to seek to influence the leadership of the movements of the colonial countries. Thus in his journey to Cambodia, he continued what he had tried to realise in Egypt, in Algeria and Morocco. And this journey expresses also all the confusion and the opportunism of the Chinese leadership. It feels the necessity to dispute the leadership of the colonial revolutionary movements, but it limits this action as a function of its diplomatic accords with the governments of these countries, not understanding the real character of the struggle. Its opportunism is expressed at the highest point in the journey to Morocco in the attempt to draw advantage from the contradictions of Imperialism in Europe by negotiating with de Gaulle. If from the diplomatic point of view it is perfectly in order to come to terms with sectors of Imperialism to draw advantage for the workers' state, it is not permissible to deceive the masses by encouraging expectations of a possible co-existence with sectors of Imperialism. In these negotiations with de Gaulle, the policy of Chou-en-Lai differs in no respect from the agreements negotiated by Krushchev with Johnson. As for frictions provoked by de Gaulle with the centralised com-

# Nationalism And Socialism In Brazil

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In 1946 the CP managed to obtain 660,000 votes, which would mean today 3,500,000 votes. For in 1946 the CP was able to obtain 660,000 votes, when there was not more than 800,000 to 900,000 workers — whereas today there are 2.5 million workers. Today there is an immense maturation of the world revolutionary fight, the workers' states exert an indubitable influence, there is a clear separation of classes in all the world, capitalism on one side and anti-capitalism on the other.

Yet the CP does not have today even 3% of the votes that it had in 1946.

The wave of organisation of trade unions in Brazil, above all of peasant trade unions, have been made against the Communist Party. The organisation of the big strikes has been against the CP. Part of these strikes were organised and led by members of the CP and militant communists, but not in the name of the CP, only against its directives.

This process demonstrates in consequence that the Brazilian revolution matures and goes towards the final settlement of accounts, without the intervention, without the organisation, without the orientation of the CP and against the CP.

In two years, from the flight of Quadros, until today, Brazil has matured enormously. The development of revolutionary maturity in Brazil has been the result of the deterioration of capitalism, the advance of the revolutionary will of the masses, of the many contradictions within Brazilian capitalism, of the enormous influence of the world anti-capitalist revolution, and by the incapacity demonstrated by capitalism to find a solution for the social, economic development in Brazil, which satisfies the will of the masses, the needs of the masses and the consciousness already reached by them.

The peasants of the north of Brazil have produced a veritable wave of trade unions. And it is our party that intervenes in this organisation. Our comrade Jeremias was assassinated for this. Now we have comrades imprisoned also for the same reason. They kill Jeremias and new leading comrades emerge. They put in prison four Trotskyist leaders and already there are twenty more.

There is an enormous authority of the party in the north. In Pernambuco, as seldom before seen in history, the prisoners go out, speak at a political meeting and afterwards go back into the jail. This happens in periods of revolution, when the will, the sentiment, the consciousness of the basis of the society is involved in the revolution. If not, there is no such thing. For prisoners to go out — and Trotskyists! to speak at a meeting, signifies that in the consciousness of the authorities the revolution has already triumphed. They have acted as people who have already been overthrown.

When there is a rebellion of sergeants and corporals as in Brazil, when these military people intervene actively in politics, hold meetings and draw up declarations, have made united fronts with workers and peasants, it is because the revolution has already triumphed in their will. The revolution, before it triumphs materially, first triumphs in the decision to intervene and triumph.

After 17 years — since 1946 — the Brazilian industrial masses made the greatest general strike, surprising the present leaders. Sectors of the petit bourgeoisie intervened massively, constantly. All sectors of society intervened. The repressive apparatus of capitalism has weakened, is in a state of decomposition, does not have any confidence to respond. And the principal apparatus of repression is not the police, but the army.

The Latin American army performs a political function. The Latin American bourgeoisie has not been able to give to its armies the dream of a patriotic war. It gave the army the task, explosive enough, of opposing the population, and the actual army feels the power of it, its pressure, and feels that the people are right. The Latin American army since 1810, has acquired the only glory of killing workers and repressing strikes. The Imperialist armies of the European capitalist states were able to give themselves a certain

military mystical idealism. The first world war, the second world war, the wars of expansion in the colonies, were for the military an exclusively military action and moreover, they seemed endowed with a social power above society. This is what gave it its authority. Not because of its action in invading Africa: it knew that it was a vile thing to invade Africa, that it was a murderous affair, but capitalism possessed the strength and authority enough to do this.

## Crisis Of The Economy

But in Latin America, the army goes to repress a strike and at the third strike they have repressed, such action turns against the army. And all this occurs in the period of the influence of the world revolution.

Capitalism has found out in Brazil that it has no perspective, has no road forward. From the financial and economic point of view, it is falling. It is not a question of investments. Coffee, the economic basis of Brazilian capitalism, today becomes a menace, because it is necessary to reduce production in order to maintain the price. And it can diminish still more the price by improving the production and the technique of production, it can improve the investments and thus reduce by 20% or 30% the cost of production. But, to whom can capitalism go to sell the coffee? There is a crisis in coffee, of consumption and of price. The internal Brazilian market cannot act as a substitute for the world market. If the production of coffee is increased it disorganises all Brazilian capitalism.

Brazilian industry has developed extensively. From the industrial point of view, production is high. But the economy continues to be based, above all, on the export of coffee. This is what Brazilian capitalism would have to transform, to resolve the problem. The bases for transformation is modernisation, to diminish the cost of production of coffee. This would mean, among other things, a greater unemployment than that existing at present. And this cannot be compensated for by an industrial development. No backward country can develop today from the capitalist point of view. None! There is a capitalist world saturated by industrial production. The United States, Japan and the European Market and the Workers' States, can produce at a fraction of the cost of Latin American production. That is to say, the base of the possibility of industrial development is closed in these backward countries. It is not a question of better or worse governments, or of investments. Certainly capitalism fears to invest.

But this is not the main reason why they don't invest, because the same fear exists also with respect to Africa, and they invest there. They do not invest in Latin America because they have no possibility, because the average rate of profit is inferior to what is obtained in other places.

Moreover, in Brazil, the mobilisation of the peasants, the fight for the land, the fight of the peasants for their unionisation, means a revolution. One of the bases by which capitalism has been able to maintain its dominion is by impeding trade union organisation of the peasantry. But this is now going on and nothing can stop it. In a process of four years starting with the peasant leagues of Juliao, those who are supposed to be idle and backward passed from the leagues to the trade union organisation; and from trade union organisation they passed to the confederation and to a single peasants centre and a programme of revolutionary and class struggle. In only four years!

This process develops over the head of the CP and against it. It is not led nor organised by any class party. The participation of the Trotskyists in the organisation of the Brazilian peasant masses is quite important. Their action and activity are important, but what is essential is the initiative of the masses. It is this which gives the basis for the development of the trade union movement. And this happens in all parts of the country, in places of enormous, inconceivable backwardness.

The proletariat increased its trade union organisation, its fight and its conquests. But these measures mustn't be measured

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mand of world Imperialism for the defence of the particular interests of French Imperialism, even if it manoeuvres and uses blackmail with the object of obtaining partial advantages in the organisation of the European Common Market in spite of the weakness and crisis of the European Common Market, de Gaulle will not push the divergences to the point of putting in danger the common strategy of world capitalism. The European bourgeoisie are conscious that the collapse of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance as that of the ECM could not be borne by world Imperialism and would simply precipitate the launching of the world war. The ECM, deformed expression of the objective necessity of an economic development responds fundamentally and essentially to a military strategic necessity of capitalism. The subordination of the particular interests of the European bourgeois to the general interests of world Imperialism has been clearly shown by de Gaulle when he was one of the first and most speedy in running to the counter revolutionary world council, the burial of Kennedy. The opportunism of the Chinese comrades in their negotiations with de Gaulle cause immense harm to the revolution.

This internal struggle of differentiation in the heart of the Cuban revolution is encouraged by the process — which it will influence in its turn — of dynamic and vertiginous differentiation existing at present in the masses and in the world framework under the impulse and the encouragement furnished by the struggle of the Chinese CP.

This struggle has entered upon a new process. Thus as has been already outlined by Comrade Posadas in the article cited before, whatever the retreats and the partial delays of the leadership of the Chinese CP, of the Sino-Soviet crisis, the development of the political revolution, are independent of the intentions and the plans of this leadership. They respond to an internal process which is much more profound. Comrade Posadas upheld the view that the comrades of the Chinese CP would be soon obliged to abandon their intentions of reducing the problem to a question of defence or non-defence of the role of Stalin and that they would be forced to conduct the struggle in broad daylight, to extend their own base.

But beyond the opportunism of Chou-en-lai, the attitude of the Chinese workers' state responds in a deformed and bureaucratic manner to the necessity of finding a basis of support outside the CP. They seek to find it in the colonial movements. The necessity of the objective course of the revolution, of the revolutionary alliance of the workers' states with the colonial and world revolution is dominating and will impose itself beyond the diplomatic manoeuvres, empiricism and opportunism of the Chinese comrades. The masses in their ideological and political development will reject from this its opportunist character and will gather from it the objective element of the alliance with the colonial revolution to advance in their struggle. This experience will have great repercussions.

The accelerated course of the process to implement a revolutionary policy, a strategy and a tactic in a world framework, the struggle within Imperialism on the opportunity and the manner to conduct the counter revolutionary world offensive, the abbreviation of the delays before the confrontation and final settlement of accounts also affects the church. This most sensitive sector of all the institutions of capitalism is trying to make an agreement which will provide a structure ideologically and spiritually unified to face the development of the Communist consciousness of the masses. In modernising itself, in realising "reforms of structure" in religion, the church seeks to put itself at the level of this social and revolutionary consciousness, to dispute the Communist consciousness in the masses. At the same time the policy conducted by the church expresses its consciousness of the fact that it is impossible to throw back or smash the ideological and political development of the masses within the world framework. It tries in order to survive, to adjust religion to the political and ideological development already existing.

The peace offensive of Krushchev, the voyage of Chou-en-lai, the Pope's journey, the differentiation within the Cuban government are the deformed manifestations of the abbreviation of the delays leading to the war expressed in the assassination of Kennedy. All this responds to the irreversible process of the revolution which enters

in Latin America its insurrectional phase for the struggle for power, the result of the development of the class and revolutionary tendency and the selection of a new leadership. This selection shows itself in the struggle for power in Bolivia, with the recent miners insurrection in Hunanuni, Catavi, Siglo XX; in the insurrections of sergeants in Brazil and the peasant movement of the North-West; in the organisation of guerilla commandos in Chile to impose the triumph of the FRAP and the will of the masses in the next elections. It shows itself also in the crisis of the bourgeois leadership of Peronism and in the development of the revolutionary class tendency of Peronism in a united front with Trotskyism in Argentina; in the electoral front of Tumbre in Peru with Trotskyists at their head; in the progress of the Algerian revolution towards its definition as a workers' state. It expresses itself in the crisis in the Italian Socialist Party and the splitting away of its Left wing, some of its elements advancing towards their integration with Trotskyist positions. There are a thousand and one concrete examples of this.

At this stage there is no mobilisation of the masses, there are no mass meetings, congresses, assemblies, where are not expressed concrete aspects of the transitional programme of the IVth International, of Trotskyism, and action of Trotskyism. The occupation of the land, the occupation of the factories, and the placing under workers' control including the sale of their products, the organisation of worker and peasant militia, the anti-Imperialist struggle for the nationalisation without compensation of Imperialist and nationalist enterprises, the taking of hostages from among the officials and the technicians of Imperialism, the conscious fusion of the struggle for the expulsion of Imperialism with that for the taking of power and the erection of socialism, the consciousness of the necessity for a total and violent confrontation with Imperialism and the proximity of war, are the elements common to every mobilisation of the masses at this stage.

The accelerated process for the establishment of the counter revolutionary strategy and the tactic on the part of Imperialism, the open and counter revolutionary capitulation on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy put in peril even the defence of the Soviet Union itself. This renders ever more urgent the necessity for a public and open discussion in the world revolutionary movement on the strategy and tactic of the revolution at this stage, on the necessity for a united front between the workers' states, the colonial and proletarian revolutions, on the need for the most complete proletarian democracy in the workers' states with the total intervention of the masses in the formulation of this strategy and tactics, on the necessity for the mass Communist international. The recent events in the world put on the agenda the most immediate task of the revolutionary workers' movement: the discussion and the struggle for the objectives for which the IVth International has appealed in its last open letter.

The conditions could not be better for a great step forward. All the manoeuvres of world Imperialism, of the Soviet bureaucracy, to contain the course of the revolution smash against the development of the class revolutionary tendency and of the new leadership in process. These manoeuvres are aimed against the masses. But they are ignored by those who are the true protagonists of this historical process. It suffices to see that the masses of the Viet Cong reduce Imperialism to the following alternative; to be completely swept out or to play its last card, the nuclear war which will be its end. It suffices to see that in spite of its manoeuvres, the Bolivian miners have developed at Catavi, Siglo XX and in Huanani, the experience of a workers' power confronting capitalist power. And passing beyond the truce imposed by the passivity and treachery of the bureaucratic leadership of Lechin, they will go over to the offensive in a short delay to sweep out capitalist power in Bolivia. In the same way as can be seen, the colonial masses of the world with the deepening of their general Communist consciousness develop the class and revolutionary tendency. To that extent they enter into the programme, the policy, the activity of Trotskyism, centre of the reorganisation of the world Communist international. It is the masses who must discuss publicly and openly the policy, the strategy and the tactics of the final encounter.

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fundamentally through increases in salary, but through their resolution of trade union organisation, of the unification of their struggles and of their trade union organisations.

The bourgeoisie, with the peasants, had a certain success in keeping the immense majority of the proletariat out of the trade unions. This the bourgeoisie could do because the communist, nationalist and socialist leaders, were directly or indirectly serving its aims. These leaders sabotaged and still sabotage the fights and the strikes of the masses, the intention and the decision of the masses and thus impose a certain intimidation, a certain discouragement to stop a massive process of unionisation. The strength of the bourgeoisie is not its own capacity, but the counter revolutionary action and sabotage of the nationalist, socialist and communist leaderships.

Today these leaderships still play the same role, but are by-passed by the upheaval of the masses. The contradiction and crisis of capitalism constantly deepens, and one of the expressions of this contradiction and crisis of capitalism is that it has no power to establish an equilibrium of capitalist power, for example, by parliament. From the downfall and flight of Janio Quadros onwards, the base of equilibrium, of stability of the capitalist power, the organic means of solution for the contradictions and problems between capitalists, that resolved themselves fundamentally in parliamentary forms, have been liquidated. Parliament is a circus. Deputies go there to exhibit themselves, but the resolutions are adopted without the parliament. This happens daily, and everybody is conscious of this.

Consequently, the constant crisis develops on the basis of this situation and puts clearly before our eyes a revolutionary solution within a short period.

The advance of the peasant masses, workers, petit bourgeoisie, sergeants, is decisive, it means the immense majority of the country. There is a decomposition of the bourgeois apparatus in all its echelons, beginning in the essential apparatus of repression — the army. The rebellion of the sergeants and corporals is only one aspect of the decomposition of the army — the most important but not the only one. There is the fight between the chiefs and officers, the fights of the military who support openly the Cuban revolution, army chiefs, and this is not new. We must not forget that Quadros intended to decorate Castro. This was not simple demagoguery. Basically it was because he did not want a Cuban revolution in Brazil. But he wished to support himself in the Cuban revolution, in order to gain the support of the masses. This was the significance of pinning a medal on Guevara. And when, in order to win an election he must support the Cuban revolution, it is not because it is necessary to attract the interest of the masses towards the Cuban revolution, but that their interest already exists, it is there. And though Janio Quadros fell directly for this action, it was not the fundamental reason. The reason for his fall was very different. It was an excuse by which the reaction unified itself, justified itself before a series of military and bourgeoisie sectors; an anti-constitutional means that served in consequence the ends of the counter revolutionary reactionary sector to impose a strong government, the base to establish a dictatorship, founded above all on the petit bourgeoisie. And Janio Quadros escaped. But the masses did not.

And this is not because the masses are not able to leave Brazil. They could simply take no interest! But they are interested. They intervene. And the result was that the masses started the process which exists now — without party, without organisation, without TUs and against the communists. There we can measure the force, the relation of forces on a world and national scale favourable to the revolution.

The actual situation approaches a show-down. Lacking a party and a leadership the process is not an ordered one. That is to say it is not fulfilled in steps, with foreseen actions. It is tumultuous, impetuous, chaotic, and empirical, because these are conditions and phases of the process. It can be chaotic and not tumultuous. It can be empirical and not chaotic. But all these

events demonstrate the intervention of the masses, following each other without interruption; massive interventions of thousands and thousands. There are peasant guerillas, occupation of the land, strikes of sergeants, demonstrations and meetings of sergeants who say, "Our arms are at the disposal of the working class to defend the peoples freedoms."

In this process the necessity for a centralising organism of the masses becomes more pressing. The Trotskyist Party of Brazil is in process of filling a very important role, acting as organiser, orienter, centre more and more for the alliance between workers, peasants, petit bourgeois, military. The party is making an important intervention in this process. It exercises a considerable influence in the development of revolutionary events, not by reason of its numbers but by its capacity for comprehension and organisation. Although small, it can and will play an even more decisive role in the Brazilian revolution. It will be one of the essential organising elements in the progress of the revolution.

There is no capitalist issue for Brazil. Brazil, Argentine, Chile, and Mexico are the essential bases for the capitalist system in Latin America. The capitalist stability of Brazil, socially and politically is of vital importance for Yankee Imperialism. But it is also evident to the whole capitalist world and to Yankee Imperialism that Brazil will be lost and shortly to Imperialism. But they can do nothing to hinder this: neither by investments, aid or military repression. Every intervention in Brazil will provoke an instantaneous reaction from the masses above all in Brazil, but also in Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Mexico — in the whole area which links Brazil to Latin America — such that every North American found in the streets would be killed and all capitalist property expropriated.

Capitalism wishes to intervene in Brazil. It has already organised the intervention. Four or five months ago it finished an aero-naval exercise called "Unitas" throughout Latin America against a possible invader. And who was going to invade? Mosquitoes? This manoeuvre has been carried out to prepare the counter revolution against the masses, the petit bourgeoisie and the Latin American nationalist movements. It was aimed at terrorising, an attempt to contain the revolutionary action of the masses. But it did not contain it — it increased it! Imperialism does not possess a single initiative to parry this process. Not one! The alliance for progress is already buried. The declaration of Kennedy was clear in this sense. Imperialism understands that there is an irreversible revolutionary process — as Kennedy expressed it — which cannot be contained with arms. They have understood that changes were necessary in Latin America, but that the basis of these changes required the old owners of the land to voluntarily promulgate agrarian reform. And in so many words the oligarchy said "tell that to your grandmother." Firstly they do not propose to abandon their interests. Secondly they know a real voluntary agrarian reform would be the same as the revolution. All this shows the impossibility

## Belgium : STRIKES OF FLEMISH WORKERS

The road to the General Strike, to the unification of all the workers in Belgium against capitalism is open. The metal workers and chemical workers of Ghent have launched the offensive so breaking with the conciliatory, capitulationist policy of the trade union leaders of the FGTB and the CSC. The metal workers of East Flanders, of the ACEC of Charleroi have gradually reinforced these fronts of struggle.

The development of the strike is not the result of the slogans, the directives of the leadership. It is on the contrary the product

of a capitalist solution or of a capitalist conception of the revolution.

Brazilian society has reached such a mature level that even such leaders as Brizzola, Alfonso and the others are going to stimulate the forces of the organisation of the masses so that they are unified — soldiers, peasants, sergeants — and these forces will go beyond their leadership. Without doubt such a movement would tend to create a conservative, bureaucratic apparatus, careerist also, upon which the industrial bourgeois would try to lean and which it would try to use for its own ends. And this would be with the double object of serving its interests of capitalist exploitation and of control of the internal market and also to obstruct the action of the revolutionary masses. These possibilities exist but they are very little.

The reaction is prepared to reply with a counter revolutionary military movement. Lacerda, Adhemar de Barros and the reaction are prepared. They tried to act some months ago. They desisted because they feared they would be smashed. They still feel this — but they cannot accommodate themselves for much longer. Imperialism is inciting them to intervene, it gives them aid of every type. On the other hand their interests undergo grave pressures because they cannot compromise in any way with the progressive course of the Brazilian revolution. While the petit bourgeois and certain sectors of the bourgeoisie can accommodate themselves to this process, they are going in every way to reply with an attempt at counter revolutionary military and civil repression.

Brazil is advancing towards a revolutionary explosion in a relatively short delay where our party will exercise a fundamental role, where the masses will know a great triumph. Even slowly and led by a nationalist, the process will not take the ten years of Bolivia, because the conditions are more advanced here, because the historical stage is much more favourable, because the world balance of forces are infinitely favourable to the revolution, because there exists a powerful proletariat and also our party.

The stage which is developing in Brazil, part of the world process of the permanent revolution advances very soon towards a revolutionary explosion it can lead a nationalist movement to power, even that of Brizzola. But from there will open the phase of the unrolling of a revolutionary process towards the socialist revolution.

We will intervene with all our force in this process. And we will try to lead it in a short delay to a socialist definition.

of the initiative of the metal workers and chemical workers of Ghent who provide a centre, a path for the intervention of the worker masses of the whole country who for a long time have looked to fight against the increase in the cost of living, the increase of taxes, the repressive laws of the bourgeoisie.

This strike, this anti-capitalist initiative taken by more and more workers, breaks through the cobweb of mystification with which attempts have been made to confuse and hold back the consciousness of the workers since the General Strike, 1960-61. But in spite of bourgeois federalism, the capitulations of the leaders, the worker masses find the way to intervene, to unify in anti-capitalist struggle, on the way to the anti-capitalist united front of Walloon and Flemish workers in the General Strike.

This action of the masses explains the tensions in the MPW, the crisis in the CP, the "La Gauche", the CP of Grippa, the FGTB, the PSB and all the organisations which rely on reformism, federalism and class conciliation.

This initiative from the base, this strike, shows the enormous revolutionary potential which exists in the working class. It shows the anti-capitalist nature of the workers' struggle, in spite of the attempts of the "Sacred Union" with the Walloon or Flemish bourgeoisie. This is the reason for the present crisis in all the reformist organisations. That shows at the same time that the base exists for the revolutionary reorientation of the Belgian workers' movement, for a Marxist revolutionary mass party.

Forward to the General Strike!

## EDITORIAL

(continued from page 1)

feats in Cyprus or the appeal of Nasser — reflecting the tempestuous advance of the Arab revolution — to expel British Imperialism from the Middle East.

The problem of how to cope with the South African issue also places British Imperialism and its ally, the Labour Party leadership, in a most embarrassing light. Wilson openly rejects the idea of a blockade enforced by this country against Apartheid — any serious step in this direction is highly dangerous for British Imperialism. Thus on a burning issue of aiding the South African masses in their struggle to smash Imperialism, the Labour Party leaders show their complete integration with the capitalist apparatus.

Today the struggle of the masses against their oppressors in the colonial countries tears off the mask from those who merely talk "socialism" but in practice ally with Imperialism. Johnson, Krushchev and all the "socialists by pious resolutions" are in the same camp — frantic opposition to anything which will endanger the Verwoed regime and the other Imperialist governments. However, neither nuclear missiles, torture, beatings, massacres have paralysed the oppressed African or world masses.

They are saying in so many words to the murderous overlords "whatever you do, we shall destroy you utterly." It is a revolutionary obligation of the European proletarian masses to give every form of aid to this epic struggle. Today the Congo masses are fighting without help from anyone. It is intolerable that this sort of struggle should continue unaided.

We appeal to all the workers' organisations to organise a campaign to refuse to handle any South African goods and to show complete proletarian solidarity with the South African masses by sending money and arms to the underground organisations embarked on guerilla struggle not only in South Africa but in Rhodesia, Angola and the Congo.

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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*

**37** — Trotsky

No. 10

JULY 1964

SIXPENCE

## Solidarity With The Spanish Revolution Campaign For The Release Of The Imprisoned Militants And Trotskyists

**SIX** comrades of the Spanish section of the IV International have been arrested by the Franco police. These arrests with those of other militants of the pro-Chinese tendencies reflects the panic of the weakening fascist regime in Spain despite the tremendous fighting spirit of the Spanish workers who by their strikes — in face of police intimidation — are in effect calling for the smashing of the Franco regime and the imposition of workers power.

The Asturian miners have particularly acted as the focus of the activity of the masses at this stage. They have developed their own clandestine organisation which directs and organises. Similarly metal workers have been on strike in Catalonia. Clearly the recent concessions of the government had no effect on the determination of the Spanish proletariat to finish with Franco. The latter's regime is particularly afraid of the generalisation of the struggles all over Spain. Leaflets in Madrid and among the Basques have reflected the widespread sympathy for the strikes and their significance. Outside the main centres, peasants have seized land and gone on strike in Galicia.

According to reports from Spain the government is not even particularly sure of its own forces of repression, so much so that fascist irregulars have appeared to buttress the government forces.

The activity of the Spanish section of the IV International has been dynamic and unaffected by the dangers of fascist police intimidation. The section has developed a constant orientation towards the revolutionary perspective of workers power in Spain.

### Clandestine Leadership

Conditions are ripe in Spain as Posadas has explained to construct a national centre, a national leadership, a clandestine force which centralises by a united front the generalisation of the struggles in relation to a programme of democratic rights, such as freedom of the press, right of functioning of parties, right of assembly allied to freedom of trade unions, right to strike, and the relating of wage demands to the increase in the cost of living (sliding scale). In accordance with this it is necessary to unite the peasants in the united front around demands for elimination of land taxes and all debts, confiscation of the largest estates, etc.

Such a centre with such a programme can in one way or another make an appeal to the European proletariat for a general strike in solidarity with the masses in Spain to overthrow Franco; it can call on the workers states, the trade unions and the masses, particularly of Cuba, Zanzibar to mobilise in support of the new Spanish revolution.

### Revolution Not "Liberal Reform"

The forces who most realise the gigantic pressures building towards the overthrow of Franco wish desperately to find safety in a general liberalisation. Thus the Spanish Catholic church has called for "intermediate groups of all kinds" in which "man may act freely and responsibly." They hope for a liberalisation which they can use to stave off the coming catastrophe destined not simply for Franco but the whole rotten capitalist regime in Spain.

We appeal to the Trade Unions, to all worker militants, to work towards sympathy strikes in support of the Spanish proletariat, to impose bans

on trade with Spain, with the object of escalating towards a general strike in support of the Spanish proletarian masses. We call for links to be established with the European proletariat for a European general strike.

We appeal to the trade unions, the LP, the CP, LP and CP branches and militants, worker militants, students and their organisations, university organisations, to organise committees of solidarity with the object of providing economic and legal aid to all those militants arrested, including the pro-Chinese communists and the militants of the IV International. We call upon those Spaniards living in this country particularly to organise and participate in such a campaign. We call for the sending of delegations to the Spanish embassy and the sending of letters and telegrams demanding the release of those arrested. We call for the organisation of demonstrations in solidarity with the Spanish masses in their struggle against Franco and for the release of all militants.

**SMASH FRANCO. OUT WITH FRANCO!**

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT.**

**ORGANISE THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.**

**ACTIVE SOLIDARITY WITH THE SPANISH MASSES, WITH ALL THE MILITANTS IMPRISONED IN SPAIN, WITH THE ARRESTED TROTSKYISTS, WITH THE SPANISH TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT!**

**THE SMASHING OF FRANCO WILL ACCELERATE THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION!**

## UNION BOSSES BLOCK MINERS' DEMANDS

**T**HE wage increases demanded by the miners, provide further resistance on the part of the working class to the capitalist attempts to "stabilise" wages. The offer of the Coal Board, described by an official of the Derbyshire area as miserable and inadequate, has been rejected by the Lancashire, South Wales, Scotland and Derbyshire areas. The National Executive of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) insist on recommending 'the acceptance of the Coal Board's offer. The National Executive faced with serious opposition to the pay offer and desperate to hold back the miners' struggle, have called for a ballot of the membership regarding the pay offer. This ballot, which will take three months to complete, is simply a time wasting device on the part of the bureaucracy. This is the most brazen example of capitulation and class collaboration on the part of the trade union bureaucrats that has been seen for some time.

### Paynter Collaborates With N.C.B.

The Khrushchev supporter and National Secretary of the NUM, Will Paynter, has particularly distinguished himself as chief collaborator. The CP apparatus and leadership are the principal aids of the 'right wing' whom they verbally denounce, but in practice, support to the hilt.

Paynter comes in for some praise from the organ of the employers of this country. In a recent "Financial Times" article one industrial commentator had this to say about the National Secretary, "The odd thing, in view of his politics (!), is that he will be fighting, as he has from the start of the present dispute, for moderation — his militancy peeps out usually only when he is backing the Coal Board against the government"! In other words, the leadership of the NUM has sold out completely the interests of the miners to the Coal Board, and the anti-working class role of the communist party leadership is revealed completely by the actions of its leading members.

### Militant Resolutions

However, the struggle of the workers at the base of the NUM continues undiminished by the action of the 'official' leadership. The militancy of the miners is revealed by the resolutions to their annual conference. The Nottinghamshire miners call for a 6-hour shift "on the grounds of increased mechanisation and automation." A similar proposal comes also from Scotland, and other proposals also for the overhauling of the system of pay, for a production bonus and a service bonus to everyone in the industry.

Miners! Build and strengthen your

(continued on page 4)

## PENTAGON INCREASES PRESSURE

**O**VER the last couple of weeks there has been a definite hardening in the attitude of American imperialism with regard to the revolution in South-east Asia. The Americans have said that they will not shrink from using all their power in the area, if China and North Viet-Nam continue to

help the Pathet Lao and the Viet-Cong. Already US fighter-bombers based in the Philippines have strafed Pathet Lao positions, and there is a big build-up of American arms and equipment in Siam. This decision to be tough over South-east Asia is not only an attempt by American imperialism to intimidate the Chinese but to impress its own allies as well. The US is so obviously incapable of controlling the world revolutionary process that even its most powerful allies, British and French imperialism, are losing confidence in the abilities of world imperialism to react successfully to world events. This has been demonstrated very clearly over the Laos crisis, where Britain and France

(continued on page 3)

The following are the names of the comrades of the Spanish section (IV International) under arrest:

Nicole Boyer, office worker,  
Gabriela Hildebrand, office worker,  
Francisco Alvarez, worker,  
Antonio Perez, worker,  
Andres Alvarez, worker.  
(All these comrades belong to the Committee of Barcelona).  
J. Cuadrado, artist painter (Regional Committee of Seville).

IN the present situation, the most dangerous element for the Cuban revolution is not the detention of our comrades. This detention is dangerous. But the most dangerous element is the crisis which is coming about, due to an almost certain discussion and new agreement between the soviet bureaucracy and imperialism, in which, in order to demonstrate its counter-revolutionary sincerity, the bureaucracy comes close to the intention of sacrificing Cuba. It is very difficult for it to approach the position of sacrificing Cuba. Not because Khrushchev or the soviet bureaucracy, or a sector of the soviet bureaucracy is not interested in doing so, since it interests them very much to negotiate, at Cuba's expense. But they are not in a position to negotiate.

The importance of all this is that Fidel Castro is going to be obliged to break with, to abandon abruptly, the declaration of the 1st of May, in fact, to go beyond any agreements. But Khrushchev at the same time, is going to be obliged again, in a certain way, to conceal his intentions and this is very significant. When he conceals them, it is not because he is undecided, but because he is frightened to oppose himself to the soviet people, the masses of the Workers States and of the rank and file of the Communist Parties. This is why he conceals his intentions. He never appears at any moment to abandon Cuba: he appears constantly declaring himself for the defence of Cuba. When Khrushchev has to make such demagogic statements, it is because basically he is going to be obliged to defend Cuba, because of the forces which exist within the Soviet Union: the army, the masses and a sector of the bureaucracy oblige him to do so.

It is absolutely absurd to suppose that Khrushchev has not already spoken with Johnson about the planes. These flights have been going on for a year and a half, and he, as well as Fidel Castro, knows this.

When Fidel Castro suddenly makes this denunciation it is not because he has suddenly discovered the aeroplanes. One has been shot down before—the one shot down during the October crisis—and it was a demonstration made against imperialism to condemn it, to show that they were quite determined to shoot down intruding aircraft and to show that they had the weapons. It was a demonstration of force to restrain imperialism so that the blockade was not strengthened. But therefore the flights of spy planes is normal; they have been going on for 18 months. Why all this fuss now?

### Struggle In Cuban Leadership

There are two possibilities. The first is that there is a big internal crisis, which has reached the knowledge of the masses, or that there has been a discussion in the leading team about the flights and they resolved to prevent them, because the masses were against the flights, and were disposed to prevent them. This attitude was a manifestation that they were disposed to throw out imperialism. This can possibly be one explanation.

On the other hand, it could also be a measure of Fidel Castro aimed at putting pressure on Khrushchev, so that the latter does not negotiate; or an indirect way of denouncing whatever treaty is made at Cuba's expense. The two things are possible. The speech of Fidel Castro contained several militant declarations; but it did not reflect the conscious attitude of a responsible leader.

Everybody knows that there have been flights for 18 months. Castro should say why they have changed now and what is behind all this. He approaches this in an indirect way.

He says, "We are Marxists but we shot them down; we must put a limit between what is diplomacy and what is treason, between what is an agreement and what is surrender." There has been no change. When Castro speaks in this

# The Repression Of Fetters The Advance Of

J. POSADAS

way, it is not because he has suddenly acquired a new understanding, because he has already said all this before. The Cuban masses have forced him to speak because they are afraid that there is a great danger of a deal behind the scenes; above all, of a pressure from part of the soviet bureaucracy to grant and make concessions to imperialism.

What are the concessions the soviet bureaucracy can make to the detriment of the Cuban revolution? I firmly believe, that the pressure of the soviet bureaucracy and the agreement with imperialism, is directed at the leadership of the Cuban workers state, the leadership of the Cuban party, Fidel Castro, Guevara, etc., to turn them from feeding, stimulating the Latin-American revolution, to turn them from the stimulation and support of the guerillas. That is to say, the soviet bureaucracy is against intervention; the communist party is against intervention. This is the basis of the question. In no other way is there an explanation why Fidel Castro, after 18 months, denounces the flights and says, "we will not accept any agreement which they want to impose on us."

What is the agreement, what is it based on? What is the dispute with the soviet bureaucracy? The agreement with imperialism is that imperialism does not intervene in Cuba, and that Cuba does not intervene any more in the Latin-American revolution.

### Guerillas Not The Only Path

Everybody knows, and imperialism more than anybody, that the Cuban revolution, with every right and responsibility, supports the Latin-American revolution. This does not mean that it supports it in the most correct manner, but it supports it, tries to push forward the revolution, stimulating in its way, the guerillas, a certain type of struggle of the masses. This is good, we agree with this. What we do not agree with is that it stimulates only these forms of struggle which are not the best, which are the most backward aspects of the revolution.

We are not against guerillas. We support it as an additional form of struggle and in certain circumstances as the principal element, but this depends on the circumstances. But in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and also Bolivia, the guerilla is a very supplementary form of struggle. When there is an organised workers movement, it is necessary to develop the workers militias that already exist.

The support of the Cuban workers state, of the Cuban leadership for the development of the revolution, particularly for the guerillas of Latin-America, is a manifestation of the force of the Cuban revolution. In an empirical and indirect way the leadership of the Cuban workers state yields to an enormous pressure and to the necessity of the Cuban revolution to extend itself, but it does so in an empirical way, not planning in order to draw the most favourable conclusions for the development of the revolution, the development of the proletarian revolution, the formation of militias as in Bolivia, etc. Even in a limited way, the Cuban revolution shows enormous force and vigorous dynamism, through the indirect intervention of the Cuban workers state in the support and development of the Latin-American revolution.

The problem is that basically, the Cuban revolution is going to be under pressure from the soviet bureaucracy which wants to contain, limit the way, the means and fundamental basis of the existence, development, and defence of the Cuban revolution, that is the expression of the revolution in Latin-America.

There is an evident direct conflict between the statements of Guevara and the communist parties. While Guevara pushes forward the revolution, the communists are against it. In the last number of "International Politics," the inter-

national review of the Soviet Union, there is an article about Guatemala which dissolves the guerillas and the revolutionary struggle. They are completely dissolved! This is their line. The attitude of the communist parties of the whole world, is one of betrayal and denunciation.

### Communist Parties As Police Agents

In Argentina, Baxter of "Tacuara" (a right-wing nationalist group.—Ed.) denounced the communists as those who spend their time in the ministries, betraying revolutionaries. In Chile, the communists detain and hand over to the police, worker militants who were overturning cars belonging to the police, the deputies, and the bourgeoisie. In Uruguay, in the demonstration in support of Cuba in 1962, the communists made a cordon to prevent people from invading the US embassy and the Rural Radio of Chicatazo. In Venezuela, the communists were denounced by all the revolutionaries because they called for an agreement with the bourgeois government of Leoni. An accusation exists that Prestes (Brazilian CP) was in league with Castelo Branco, one of the leaders of the recent right-wing coup. In Peru they have betrayed revolutionary militants, so declared De La Fuente; they betrayed Hugo Blanco, and they are informing on all the other revolutionaries, Trotskyists, pro-Chinese and the left Apristas.

All this clashes with the leadership of the Cuban revolution and is evidently the basis for the negotiation and conceptions of the soviet bureaucracy with imperialism. The article of Suslov, which is the counter-revolutionary programme of the soviet bureaucracy for all this stage, is applied completely. The principal sources of information say that Khrushchev is hoping to make a new agreement with imperialism. What would be its basis? What could the bureaucracy offer? Its services! What are its services? The communist parties of the world. For what? To impede the revolution. This is what they can offer. Imperialism cannot accept an agreement except on the basis of these services. And also, an agreement about Cuba.

The other expression of this is what we have already spoken about in the article on Suslov. Fulbright said that he hoped and believed that the bureaucracy was going to adapt itself. They had concrete proofs from the CPs, from the soviet bureaucracy, from Khrushchev and all his legions that they are going to adapt themselves. What did Fulbright base this on? Because Khrushchev spoke the truth because he is an honest type? No.

Certainly Fulbright shows the same distrust, and the same vigilance, the same fear in the face of Khrushchev: but he has hopes because the interests of the soviet bureaucracy embrace the entire counter-revolution. The confidence of Fulbright is in this fact, not in Khrushchev's word. For it is said, actions speak louder than words. And what are the actions? Those which they did in Cuba, in Iraq, as in the work of the communist parties and as in the most eloquent case of the communist parties of the world, that of the CP of India which is a wing of the bourgeoisie of that country against China. They have definite proofs of the attitudes of the communist party of India, of the Italian communist party which merely suggests reforms of capitalism. Even if in words CPs support and call for a fight against capitalism, in practice they are the bulwarks which oppose the revolutionary fight of the masses, canalising it or trying to canalise it for parliamentary reforms, simple demonstrations nothing more, opposing the armed struggle of the workers, the organisation of militias, the occupation of the factories and workers control, etc.

This is what is at the bottom of the attitude of Fidel Castro. But this does

not mean a sharp attitude. One cannot define for certain the outcome of the present line of the Cuban revolution. The speech of Fidel Castro showed a great distrust, a great crisis with the soviet bureaucracy and an interior fight, but not a definite line. There is no fighting line to advance the revolution thanks to the soviet bureaucracy. The situation indicates an important crisis and a serious internal fight, in which in a very indirect way the masses are participating.

The declaration of Fidel Castro, when he says, "We are not above the nation, but neither are we behind the nation," signifies that the will of the people is to want to fight. In this sense it is fundamental and important to reiterate that all these declarations of Fidel Castro on fighting against imperialism, stopping the flights, fighting for the expulsion of imperialism from Guantanamo, have been the old struggle of the Trotskyists—and directly of the struggle of the Cuban section of the IV International, which has been at the head of this struggle. At no time has the Cuban section of the IV International called for an invasion of Guantanamo with the forces that the Cuban workers state has to throw out the imperialists, because it is not possible to throw them out with their own military forces, but with a world campaign. Thus in place of making an agreement between the soviet bureaucracy with imperialism, an appeal should be made for an agreement of the workers states—the USSR, China, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland—with the world workers movement to throw imperialism out of Guantanamo. The soviet bureaucracy makes a pact with imperialism not in order to check imperialism, but in order to permit the partition of zones of influence and in order to contain and to guarantee that the revolution does not break out.

### A World Campaign

The Trotskyists have proposed and propose a world campaign, and for the co-ordination of this world campaign with an interior agitation which stretches out to include the people of the United States. But a campaign! Not one declaration one month and another declaration the next month; a campaign which stimulates the masses, supports the revolutionary fight of the masses, the militias, the occupation of the factories, big strikes, by joining to it the struggle to throw out imperialism from Guantanamo. In the process it will be seen whether to invade Guantanamo or not. As the Chinese say, it is not possible to throw out imperialism save by force.

### Guantanamo — Base For Counter-Revolution

There is no pact without value for imperialism. Guantanamo is not a lost island which has no importance. Guantanamo is for imperialism the base and guarantee of the counter-revolution, the stimulus, the morale of the counter-revolution throughout Central America. Not only because it is an established military base but because it is the hiding place of spies, of counter-revolutionaries of armed men. And who controls this? Imperialism. There is no way to prevent men and arms going in and out to do whatever they wish.

Hence the necessity for a permanent struggle, not because of what Guantanamo means for Cuba or against Cuba but because of what it means to maintain a militant counter-revolutionary morale for the counter-revolution throughout Latin-America.

The other fundamental aspect of this question is that without calling to the Latin-American revolution it is not possible to expect that Cuba can defend itself. There is a great mistake in the last speech of Fidel Castro. He says, "We will defend ourselves with our own

# Trotskyists In Cuba

## The Socialist Revolution

### (Extracts)

forces." This is an absolute error. The force of the Cuban revolution is not the force of the Cuban people. The force of the Cuban people is the fight of the masses of the world and particularly of Latin-America.

Concretely, Fidel Castro, the leadership of the Cuban revolution must draw the following conclusion. If the Brazilian people had been demoralised by the recent counter-revolutionary blow, the Latin American reactionaries would be on the march in Chile, Peru, Bolivia. If the Brazilian people had been demoralised and the counter-revolution had been able to impose the original fascist plan which was the idea of Lacerda and of Adhemar de Barros, they would have stimulated a blow in Chile.

In face of the triumph of the Chilean masses in Curico and the reaction of the Chilean masses who formed committees of victory, made demonstrations, overturning cars, destroying the property of the bourgeoisie, the communist party denounced them to the police, as in Santiago informing all the papers and denouncing the Federation of Students of Chile. The masses in Huanuni (Bolivia) replied with a rising to confront the provocation of Barrientos and recovered the radio station which the counter-revolution abandoned and today in Huanuni no civil authority exists—the masses are the only authority since they have occupied everything. Without this struggle which contains the bourgeoisie, which frightens the bourgeoisie, without the struggle of the masses, Cuba would have been invaded! The imperialists fear not only the action of the soviet bureaucracy, but fear the action of the Latin-American and world masses. For imperialism it is not only the problem of destroying but after of occupying and following this up with the establishment of a capitalist regime.

When Fidel Castro despises and underestimates the role of the masses and particularly of the Latin-American masses, he is not working as a revolutionary; he is working as a nationalist who defends Cuba. And Cuba cannot be defended by itself, as has been shown already.

#### Struggles Of European Masses

Without the fight of the French proletariat and of the Italian proletariat, de Gaulle would not play his role. De Gaulle would play the role of Johnson. When de Gaulle plays the part which he is doing, it is because he cannot impose himself on the French masses. If French imperialism could have imposed itself, a military dictatorship would have resulted. And what de Gaulle would have liked would have been lowering of wages, lowering of the standard of living, and a greater accumulation of capital. When he has to seek for external trade it is because he cannot smash the masses of his own country.

If the Italian proletariat had not gone forward into the present struggles, had not mobilised constantly, and had not waged a constant anti-imperialist struggle, Italian capitalism would have imposed a military dictatorship, would have smashed the workers and this would have been a stimulus for the whole of European capitalism, for the reaction against the masses.

The British proletariat is struggling to raise the labour party to power and is going to. The by-elections show the ascendancy of the labour party. This struggle of the Labour party obliges British imperialism to contain and limit all its sinister counter-revolutionary intentions and desires in the world. All the concessions which imperialism has made, above all the concessions since the war to give independence to all the colonies, is because it has not been able to smash the British proletariat. The ideal condition for the development of imperialism is to begin by dominating

the centre of imperialism itself, the point of departure. When this cannot be done it is because imperialism lacks the strength and this is because of the struggle of the masses.

Without this activity, without this struggle of the European masses, world capitalism would be in the position to dedicate its thought and energies to the destruction of Cuba. And it would have been destroyed. The defence of Cuba is rooted not only in the Cuban people but in the struggle of the masses of the world. This is the guarantee of the Cuban revolution, always and each time more. And this is because every time the polarisation and centralisation of forces increases in Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and throughout the world.

In this sense, the declaration of Fidel Castro is totally incorrect when he says that the strength to defend Cuba lies in the decision of the Cuban people to fight to the death. It is an important part but not the only one nor the most important. Because once Cuba is invaded the solution is military, it is a question of military calculation quite simply. Imperialism has forces to destroy Cuba. Who doubts this?

No doubt the Cuban masses would fight inch by inch. But the struggle is not decided by the will to struggle but by the possibilities that exist. And the possibilities that exist are not the military defences to confront imperialism if the latter decides to attack. If imperialism attacks it will attack with all the forces which it possesses—but the existence of the relations of world forces is the decisive factor. Consequently it is absurd that in this speech of Fidel Castro there is no eulogy of the Brazilian people who have resisted the dictatorship and continue to resist, that he doesn't eulogise the Bolivian masses, the Bolivian militia who have confronted the army and defeated it. He should appeal to these forces. The Cuban CTC should appeal to the masses of the world to rally to the defence of Cuba, call upon them to rise against capitalism, to occupy the factories; call to the armies to occupy the barracks, to disarm the troops and to form workers militias. Workers militias as in Bolivia!

This is the example which the revolution in Chile must follow. Now. To form the militias, to foresee is to be prepared in the best and only way to prevent the triumph of a military rising. They may not be able to prevent a military coup but they can prevent its victory. Workers militia! In Huanuni and in the whole of Bolivia the courage of the workers militia is clear. If they do not exist in Chile it is because the communist party and the socialist party oppose them. The masses want the militia. It is necessary to begin their organisation.

I believe that this crisis can have serious consequences within a short time because Fidel Castro has stimulated an intervention from the Cuban people. Undoubtedly the imperialists have stimulated interventions and the demands to permit flights can have very important consequences, very serious consequences which can lead to a new crisis of the type of October 1962. This must be considered to be a question demanding the attention of the world workers movement, particularly the Latin-American movement, for the revolutionary movement to defend Cuba.

The main defence of Cuba we insist is the struggle against capitalism in every country in Latin-America, the struggle to overthrow capitalism in every country. It is not only trade union and economic conquests which are in question, but social conquests, among them workers militias, organs of dual power, occupation of factories, the administration of factories and the sale of their products, statification of the whole of production, of all properties, planification of external commerce, trade with all nations, agrarian reform, expropriation of the land, return of the

land to the peasants, collectivisation of the land. This is the most complete way of defending Cuba because it is the way to paralyse imperialism.

The Latin-American masses have had a much more powerful effect in their present struggles. The proof is Brazil. The intention of the counter-revolution was a fascist military dictatorship—and what's happened? If the clique had triumphed, they would have aimed powerful blows at the revolutionary and workers movement, but they have not diminished the will to struggle of the masses and this has limited the effects of the triumph and its outcome. In Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, the struggle of the masses is imposing a series of conditions which limit the possibility of capitalist reaction. This is the most important and the greatest defence of Cuba.

The demonstrations, assemblies, congresses in defence of Cuba are important but are secondary. A delegation of French workers approached Lenin in the Soviet Union in 1918 and asked, "Comrade Lenin, what is the best thing we can do to defend the Russian Revolution?" He replied, "French comrades take power." The class struggle and the revolutionary struggle in every country is the most elevated and complete way to defend Cuba.

The communists arrange congresses in defence of Cuba, hold meetings, demonstrations, dances in defence of Cuba. This has nothing but a very limited and very relative importance and in reality serves under a general sympathy for Cuba to reduce the struggle for Cuba. It is a way of destroying, of choking the struggle. The struggle for Cuba is to develop the class struggle and the revolutionary struggle in every country.

Brazil has not broken with Cuba. It is really significant that the organisers of the coup has not been able to break with Cuba. There is in fact a sector of the industrial bourgeoisie which has no great interest in depending any more on imperialism and seeks to maintain the present position, in so far as Cuba exists, without leading to greater embarrassments. This is due to the equivocal attitude of the Cuban leadership.

When Guevara declares that it is necessary to develop industries, to diversify industry in order not to depend on sugar it reflects in fact a struggle against the soviet bureaucracy because

## EDITORIAL (continued from page 1)

were suggesting peaceful 'neutralist' solutions. The Pentagon, the most conscious section of the American ruling class, shows in response to this wavering by its allies, its military power, and its determination to defend its class interests whatever the cost.

This does not mean that there is unanimity in the question of the counter-revolutionary strategy, among the American ruling class, even though events are tending to unite them. Over the question of the handling of the Congo revolution, the differences emerged sharply recently. American pilots flew Congolese troops into action against rebels in Bakavu, expressly against agreements made by the State Department on the use of American pilots in the Congo. The result was that Johnson in Washington is reported to have clamped down on the Central Intelligence Agency, who were responsible for the flights and who see the Congo situation developing into a Viet-Nam situation and want to employ tougher methods now.

Not only are the alliances of imperialism disintegrating before the continual advance of the revolution, but the process is beginning to affect the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well. The disagreements between the bureaucracies of the USSR and Rumania over the development of the Rumanian economy, which

the latter wish to maintain this dependence stemming in part from the sale of sugar. In reality this is a very large process of industrialisation, not a process of two or three years. But the desire to correct errors, as Guevara says, and to initiate the line of industrialisation is directed not only against dependence on capitalism, but against dependence on the soviet bureaucracy and the workers states. In this connection it is necessary to see that the possibility of industrial development is limited. Cuba can never attain the level of an industrial state by itself: it will not reach socialism by itself because the nuclear war will be launched. The development of the Latin-American revolution will not lead to a great development of its industry. The war will break out and the revolutionary struggle is going to settle accounts with capitalism. This is the view put forward at the congress of architects that it was necessary to plan architecture bearing in mind the coming nuclear war whether it be four, five, six or seven years; it is necessary for any programme of industrialisation to bear in mind the coming of the war in a not too distant future. This does not mean to limit the development of industry but to take into account the coming war and what industries to develop.

The best way is a genuine political life which is not simply based on accepting or rejecting measures presented but on the right to give opinions, to initiate, to propose on the basis of soviet delegates as organic functions. The political life of the Soviets is necessary in the form of Soviets and where possible with the experiences sufficiently accessible to Cuba, the Communes. Communes are not opposed to Soviets. The great retreat of the Chinese is that to the form of the communes they have not added the form of soviets. This is a great retreat and for the advance of the Chinese revolution it will be necessary quite inevitably to turn to the soviets to the organic form of organisation of the workers' state.

When the masses are not allowed to express opinion, proletarian democracy has a fictional form, because there are fictional formal reunions, because the masses have no right to initiate. If the masses were given the right to discuss, propose, initiate, they would not propose fantasies, they would not hurl themselves with blade and pike, against Guantanamo. They would give their opinion, and it would be felt in North America. The masses of the world would feel this, above all the North American masses that the Cuban masses live, feel, think, and intervene directly. This would have an enormous effect on the masses and the North American people.

have culminated in Rumania's embarking on an independent policy of trade with the West, is one example of the fragmentation which is taking place among the bureaucratic alliances as a direct result of the progress of the world revolution reflected in the Sino-Soviet dispute and the blow at the authority of Khrushchev. Unable to obtain a general denunciation of China from the communist parties of the world, Khrushchev leans more heavily on imperialism in his struggle against the Chinese.

Home has said in the House of Commons that in the event of a threat from China, the interests of Russia and the West would be as one. Butler has been invited to visit the Soviet Union and Wilson has recently returned. All this suggests a constant discussion between the soviet bureaucracy and imperialism to come to some agreement to hold back the revolution.

It is clear that every crisis, every blow at imperialism—whether it be in the Congo, or in the unsolved crisis of authority in the Argentine or the intervention of the Asturian miners or the growing influence of the workers state in Cyprus, brings the war and the collapse of imperialism nearer. It is necessary all over the world to accelerate the activity of the revolutionary currents, to seize power wherever possible to reduce the damage to humanity as a result of the war.

# Nigerian General Strike And The African Revolution

**NIGERIA** apparently so backward judging from some imperialist writers has provided a striking confirmation of the maturity of the African masses, their resolution, their decision, their desire to paralyse and overthrow the rotten system of "national" capitalism in alliance with world imperialism which is called "independence." The Nigerian masses have no revolutionary party. The decrepit communist and social democratic trade union leaders of the whole world, particularly the European leaders have done all in their power to isolate the struggles of the African masses from the proletarian struggles in Europe. The counter-revolutionary policy of the soviet bureaucracy and the timidity of the Chinese comrades has meant that the colonial revolution has in the main been forced to struggle alone. It is true the very existence of the workers states encourages the colonial masses, but basically the material means of struggle and the determination of the masses have been questions for the African masses alone.

## Permanent Revolution

The scope and extent of the Nigerian General Strike is a brilliant confirmation of the permanent revolution in the African continent. There is no stability for any national bourgeois regime — the struggle against world imperialism is carried through to the bitter end by the masses. The weak African bourgeoisie cannot meet the demands of the proletariat or conduct a genuine agrarian reform. Furthermore every advance of the world revolution aggravates every local and national situation.

The richness and boundless possibility of the African revolution shows itself everywhere. The heroic struggle of the Congo masses defeating imperialism at every turn is a constant source of encouragement for the African masses particularly those in South Africa. The existence of Zanzibar is a permanent source of disquiet in East Africa. Events in Africa and in the Middle East, and in Cyprus encourage the masses of Algeria in their struggle to erect a workers state. The General Strike in Nigeria will echo throughout Africa. It will have increased the self confidence of the Nigerian masses. It has exposed the utter weakness of the bourgeois government and will lead the masses to reflect on the next stage of the struggle — the quest for a fully conscious leadership, the organisation of a revolutionary programme with the prospect of workers and peasants power, the United Socialist States of Africa.

## Worker-Peasant Alliance

Almost a million workers have been out on strike — a formidable expression of the power of the Nigerian masses contrasting most clearly with the haste with which some government leaders left Lagos. The strike ostensibly developed over the need for large wage increases and the refusal of the government to implement the increases advised in the Morgan Commission's report. The struggle has also been over the demand for a national minimum wage. However all the bourgeois press have realised that the strike has had political implications and will have political results. The strike has had no immediate effects on the wages front. But the outcome has been a tremendous stimulus for the workers — no victimisation, and the strike to be considered as a holiday with full pay.

The strike has posed most sharply the need for a party, and a programme to meet the objective needs of the situation, i.e. a programme that corresponds to the homogeneity and maturity of the Nigerian workers the vanguard of the Nigerian masses. The strike has emphasised the tremendous weight of the proletariat in the country. The trade unions provide the focus for the mass revolutionary current. We call for the mass revolutionary party based on the trade unions. Apart from the basic de-

mands for nationalisation of all the principal industries, workers control, expropriation of all foreign enterprises, wages related to the cost of living, collaboration with revolutionary movements in the rest of Africa, we call for the orientation of the struggle also towards the enormous peasant masses of Nigeria who work on a narrow subsistence basis, work without all the benefits of modern methods and are generally illiterate. A call should be made for a programme based on agricultural co-operatives with the prospect of communes as a final perspective. Nigeria is a vast country rich in resources, but they can only be utilised under a regime of workers and peasants power.

The tasks are gigantic. Many of the Nigerian masses live in the worst conditions of poverty and isolation, but the strength and leadership of the proletariat provide an enormous scope for revolutionary action. The General Strike has posed all the questions for the realising of a revolutionary programme based on the worker and peasant alliance in Nigeria.

## LIBERTY FOR THE CUBAN TROTSKYISTS!

**I**n a secret trial—and we have not been able to gather any knowledge of the accusations (if there were any!) — the following comrades of the Cuban section have been sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

Andres Alfonso, transport worker, 5 years imprisonment.

Florida Fraga, companion of Cde Alfonso, 2 years imprisonment.

Ricardo Ferrera, office worker, 2 years imprisonment.

Cde Idalberto Ferrera, General Secretary of the Cuban section and Editor of the paper "Voz Proletaria," and Cde Roberto Tejera were arrested in April without any charge and will probably be sentenced in secret trial as was the case with the other comrades. As we have explained in previous issues of our paper all these comrades have fought for and served the Cuban revolution as guerillas in the militia or in voluntary labour service.

As Cde Posadas has explained in the article in this issue, the arrests reflect the counter-revolutionary policy of the CPs and of the soviet bureaucracy in the interests of peaceful co-existence with imperialism.

We call upon the militant workers to wage a campaign for their release in the LPs, CP, trade unions. Send letters of protest to the Cuban government and embassy in this country.

We express complete solidarity with the Cuban comrades and salute most warmly the tenacity and confidence of the Cuban section under the leadership of the IS of the IV International.

A clear sign that is the Cuban masses wish to intervene in the recent sentence on Marco Rodriguez. The sentence on this traitor is an indirect expression of the pressure of sectors of the workers movement who forced the sentencing of this agent. In this matter it must be clear for us that this man was an agent who was a member of the communist party and worked within the directives of the communist party, denouncing members of the Revolutionary Directory, to eliminate them as political competitors and because they were against the revolutionary armed struggle raised by the Revolutionary Directory. This is the same process as followed by the communist parties of other places, betrayers of the revolutionary movement

At the same time that we unconditionally defend the struggle of the Cuban workers state, the Cuban government's proposals against imperialism, we repeat the right of the Trotskyists to unconditionally function freely, with our paper, premises, etc. It is not because it has no importance that we put in the second place the defence of our comrades, but in measuring the concrete importance of the defence of the Cuban revolution, the International places the defence of the workers state foremost. This is the same line of conduct, worthy and revolutionary, practiced by our Cuban comrades, who from imprisonment, showed themselves defending the Cuban revolution, and not putting as a condition their own defence. They defend as much inside as outside prison. Our paper "Voz Proletaria" is exactly the same, not putting as an essential condition in order to defend Cuba, the defence of our comrades and the freedom of our comrades, but the unconditional defence of the Cuban revolution.

The policy of Trotskyists, of the IV International in Cuba, is the unconditional defence of the Cuban workers state, that an appeal should be made to the Latin-American and world revolution, that an appeal of the CTC should be made to the masses of Latin-America, an appeal on the Brazilian events, an appeal for the formation of workers militias. In Brazil it is very clear that the lack of militias has been the essential factor that allowed the counter-revolutionary reaction to triumph when all the favourable conditions existed in the army. Having all the cards in one's hand, it is not a question of going to the mountains, but organising militias and militias in the army. The same as in Huanuni, the same as in all Bolivia. We call upon the Cuban CTC to appeal to the Latin-American masses, to organise militias, to occupy factories, to expropriate imperialism, to expropriate the land and re-allocate it, that is the basis of workers and peasants alliance. This is the programme of the Trotskyists

And in Cuba we call for an unconditional fight against the bureaucracy. And the fight is: workers control in all factories, the complete right of everyone to speak, discuss, reject and to propose. The workers, even though they make mistakes for lack of technical knowledge, are not going to make more than a handful of errors and in any case less than the leadership of the Cuban revolution who have allowed the spy fights for a year and a half and only recently denounced them.

Guevara says: we have made a series of industrial mistakes, we have bought bad plant and we are now going to

correct mistakes. If they commit errors and correct them, so can the masses. The masses have not even had the right to participate, nor to decide.

The socialist democracy of the Cuban workers state is the essential basis of its own strength, because it would acquire an enormous authority in the rest of the world. Even without revolutionary leadership, without mass revolutionary parties, the Latin-American masses have checked imperialism and capitalism. The Cuban revolution can intervene and must intervene, through the CTC, calling the masses to organise militias, to overthrow imperialism, to make a revolutionary United Anti-Imperialist Front, a United Anti-Capitalist Front, in order to lead forward the revolutionary fight, in order to smash capitalism. With the nuclear war that imperialism is preparing, this is the only way to effect the least possible damage to humanity, and moreover to prepare the Cuban workers state to resist the imperialist invasion, which is being prepared, to repel it and although it is not able to impede the invasion, to extend the revolution to all the rest of Latin-America. This is the appeal that we make.

J. POSADAS.

May 6, 1964.

## MINERS

(continued from page 1)

own committees which are the most effective means of waging your struggles. Organise them on a national basis! The union leadership in the face of organised miners committees would be forced to call a strike, and if this still does not win your demands, then it is necessary to work with committees in other industries with the object of calling a general strike, around a series of common demands: the placing of industry under workers control — a shorter working week — pay rises geared to the cost of living — profits of automation to go to the workers, etc.

The miners, by their force, by their decision, could play a main role in centralising the struggle against the capitalist class at the present stage which can have spectacular results within a short period, coinciding as it does with the time when the proletarian masses are showing their determination to propel the Labour Party into power.

## World Trotskyist Press

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we are nothing. With  
the Party we are  
everything

41 — Trotsky

No. 11

AUGUST 1964

SIXPENCE

## More Blows Against World Imperialism Goldwater Proposes The War Line

**I**N fear and trembling the Soviet Bureaucracy is assuring world Imperialism of its good intentions. The abject protestations of good behaviour by Castro reflect the pressures of the Kremlin to this end. But nowhere does Imperialism gain a single victory, not even by the grace of Khrushchev; and he together with Imperialism, will face further big defeats in a very short space of time.

For British Imperialism, the Cyprus crisis, the nationalisation of British banks in Iraq, the toughening of Indonesian opposition to Malaysia and the secession of Fadhli state from the South Arabian federation, are all blows to its authority, a demonstration to the masses of the world that British Imperialism is no longer capable of enforcing its will.

At home the British ruling class faces a host of problems. The strike of the postmen (dealt with in more detail elsewhere in this issue), they have managed to solve with the help of the conciliatory Union leadership. But nevertheless they have been obliged to grant a pay rise of 6½% which is almost twice the 'guiding light' figure. And the economy has been almost stagnant since January. The British share of the export market for manufactured goods has been falling, and there is a sizeable deficit in the balance of payments. Probably the Tories will do nothing about this — they have spun the "boom" (!) out as long as they could and they hope it will last them until the election.

This situation will face the incoming Labour government and they will have to take unpopular measures to counter it. Only by reducing wage increases so that they "keep pace" with the miserable increase in the rate of expansion of the economy does the Labour party hope to stave off most serious economic tensions. As we have emphasised before a new labour government would like to take a tough line with the working class in order to ensure the survival of capitalism, but now, so fragile is capitalism that toughness will not pay off any more. Some Trade Union leaders on the other hand are reflecting the anti-capitalist militancy of the members of their unions, demanding as for example did the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, nationalisation of the heavy electrical engineering companies like ABEI, GEC and English Electric. As the situation develops we are likely to see a sharp differentiation between the positions of the TU bosses, under pressure from their rank and file, and the leaders of the Labour party. And as for "reforms" that will "benefit" the working class there won't be any from the labour government. At the moment there is a housing problem which is getting worse. A recent survey published by the Town and Country Planning Association, stated that it would require about the building of half a million houses a year and the repair of 200,000 old ones, if the slums were going to be cleared. But there are no plans to build anything like that number, and without a sweeping programme of statification of the economy, there is no possibility of building them. It will be the same in all the social services, health, education, etc.

### Unite Negroes And White Workers

The USA the world's most powerful capitalist power, demonstrates that it too is quite incapable of solving its problems, its bad housing and unemployment. The recent savage rioting in the rat infested hell hole of Harlem, where most of New York's negroes are condemned to live, has shown that American Imperialism's only answer is violence and repression. The negroes of

Harlem influenced by the successes of the colonial revolution, and the deterioration of Imperialist authority, have had enough of being beaten, shot and humiliated by the police and other white thugs, and sweeping aside the reformist non-violent leaders, they are beginning to fight back, and like the masses of all the world they fight for their own dignity and to decide their own destinies.

### Imperialist Fear of Guiana Masses

At almost the same time, Goldwater, a personification of American ruling class violence and reactionary petit-bourgeois cretinism, sweeps to victory in the republican nominations. Goldwater collects what social support there can be found among the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie for the hard line of American Imperialism, but whether he or Johnson wins the elections makes no difference. The counter-revolutionary strategy of Imperialism is decided by the Pentagon; it is they who will decide when the war will be launched, just as it was they who decided to eliminate Kennedy.

The agents of the Pentagon in the CIA are active wherever the revolution and Imperialism clashes. They are in the Congo, fighting the revolutionary movement and it has been reported by a British MP that CIA agents are stirring up racial strife in British Guiana. The Americans are terrified that Jagan will come to power in British Guiana, and with bomb throwing and shooting, try to excite the Indian and Negro communities against each other allowing an excuse for British Imperialism to bring in troops and apply repressive measures. The lack of a revolutionary leadership and the parliamentarianism of Jagan have played into the hands of Imperialism and account for the fact that British Guiana is not already a workers state.

Racial strife is one of Imperialism's last cards, and it plays it where it can. In Cyprus it is failing. The bringing back of Grivas to the island was an attempt to stimulate once more the idea of Enosis (union with Greece), but it

(continued on page 3)

## POSTMEN REJECT INCOMES POLICY

### Unify The Struggles To Enforce Demands

**T**HE news has largely been dominated by the extremely militant strike of post office workers — so militant that the police had to protect the union boss Ron Smith from the members that he is supposed to be leading. He of course protested his desire not to take industrial action and was forced into it. Other officials in other regions also admitted to the enormous pressure coming from union members. The Tories were finally forced to capitulate and give 6½% instead of the absurd 4% they began with. However there is no doubt more could have been obtained than this if the leadership were interested in any sort of fight — but they are not and present an obstacle to any serious struggle because they wish capitalism to survive as a guarantee of their bureaucratic existence.

### Work Towards the General Strike

Two factors are of extreme interest in this recent struggle. Firstly the extreme militancy of the rank and file — a small indication of what is going to happen on a much bigger scale when capitalism goes into the inevitable economic stagnation in a very difficult world situation and the world revolution has reached an even higher tempo of development. Secondly the TUC felt itself obliged to offer aid to the union. This signifies that even through the distorted apparatus of the union bosses the necessity for a united front made itself felt. It is essential to have as a final perspective the General Strike.

The whole of capitalist society is being called into question by the refusal of the masses to accept any form of wage restraint. This refusal is in fact the prelude to a much more conscious attempt to overthrow the whole putrefying morass of Imperialism.

### Capitalism Has Nothing To Offer

Capitalism can give no more reforms. It is utterly finished as an historic force. It is essential for revolutionary militants to put forward the General Strike as an object to be worked for. Unity of the workers — as is happening in the Argentine where wage increases according to the increase in the cost of living have been forced on the government — could force enormous concessions from Imperialism and precipitate its downfall in a very short space of time.

Not surprisingly as a result of a miners ballot the NUM has accepted the wage offers of the coal board. However the ballot revealed many thousands of miners, about a third who wanted more militant action and far higher demands. What is lacking is an organised leadership with a programme. The opposition to the union bosses was extremely feeble and could give no great impression of authority — but the potential exists among the miners — the potential for a powerful revolutionary current.

Maudling immediately after the re-

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## Intensify Campaign For The Release Of Spanish Trotskyists

**F**ROM a letter of Cde Posadas to all the European and African sections "All the sections have begun the campaign for the arrested comrades and also the other imprisoned worker militants. We believe that the arrests are a direct consequence of betrayals by the Communist party. And they also demonstrate the maturity of the objective conditions for the overthrow of Franco. The betrayals of the communists have been made with the direct purpose of impeding the fall of Franco. The Communist parties are interested in maintaining social stability in Europe. The revolution — which is the fall of Franco — and is in part the development, sustaining and persistency of the strikes in Spain — this process goes against all the interests of the communist parties, of its bureaucratic apparatuses which have conservative social interests

and privileges — destined to cease with the march and triumph of the revolution. It is not only the interests of the bureaucracy of the workers states which are opposed to the revolution. The interests of the leaderships of the Communist parties are also against the revolution. These leaderships are perverted and degenerated. They have nothing in common whatsoever with the revolution and the interests of the exploited masses. By chance a concrete instance particularly demonstrated this. The USSR and Hungary have just finished playing football in Spain. The Soviet bureaucracy is seeking to resume diplomatic relations with Spain to demonstrate to capitalism that they are seeking the social stability of capitalism and to penetrate into Spain as a means of protecting the changeover from

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# Suslov's Report — The Counter-Revolutionary Programme Of The Soviet Bureaucracy

J. POSADAS (Extracts)

IT is necessary to regard this report of Suslov published in "Pravda" on the 3rd of April and in Spanish on the 5th, two months after it had been given, as part of the internal sharpening of the struggle. It is not a break, but it certainly is a sharpening of the struggle. If they had had an interest in taking immediate action, they would have published it immediately. When they hold it back and then publish only part of it, it is because there has been an internal struggle and discussion, or attempts to come to agreements with the Chinese before publication. They have produced these documents, finally to be used as a function in argument, support, attack, defence. When they publish them now it is because the struggle is sharpening. It does not signify an immediate break; neither one nor the other really want to break but they are going on the path which will lead to a break.

The importance of the Suslov document is that, it harmonises and puts in order the plans of the Soviet bureaucracy and presents them all together: they are the ideas, the programme. It is the programme of the Soviet bureaucracy launched in reply to the programme of the Chinese. The programme of Suslov is the actual transitional programme and treason of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is a complete programme, the reply to all the problems which are posed, in an ordered form: peaceful co-existence, nuclear tests, war, revolution, the colonial and semi-colonial countries, to show that peaceful co-existence and not war is the directing line of this stage of history, and to subordinate all the interests of the colonial revolution to peace. This is the line — with the possibility of convincing capitalism that they must accept peaceful co-existence. This is the complete programme of the bureaucracy. From now on, all the communist parties will have it as a basis, because it eliminates the revolutionary road. Nothing about revolution; only peaceful roads.

## The "State Of The Whole People" is an Attempt by the Bureaucracy To Justify Itself

There are two aspects that affect essentially the factors, the fundamental bases of this stage of transition between capitalism and socialism. There is the characterisation of the state, of the party, and the new form of State which they now talk about — and which does not exist. They claim the Soviet State has passed from a workers state to a state of All the People, from a state which still reflects the class struggle, to a state for everyone. That is to say, they eliminate the character of the workers state. It is placed upon a basis which clearly is an influence for the development of and conciliation with capitalist tendencies. The elimination of the workers state and the passing to a state 'for all the people' can only be when the class struggle has been eliminated. But then there is going to be no state. Now for the theorisation of Suslov, for Marx says — according to Suslov — that in Socialism there is a state for all the population. There is no such thing. In reality the bureaucracy is offering capitalism, in this document of Suslov, an alliance with the workers states, and the survival of capitalist tendencies and sectors in the workers states.

The Chinese had an opposite experience to this: they approached the formation of a workers state in an alliance with certain capitalist sectors which they afterwards liquidated. In a reformist way, in a cautious way, but they liquidated them.

On the other hand Suslov says to capitalism; we can make a state for all the population. But what is all the population?

What does a state for all the people mean? It means simply, first, one that has, which allows, capitalist tendencies, groups and interests. But secondly, more important than this, are the bureaucratic interests. This theory is the theory of a state representative of the interests of the bureaucracy. This is the conclusion of the report of Suslov. He theorises about the characterisation of the state representing all the people, as a reflection of the interests of all the people. But it is led by the bureaucracy; it is the state of the bureaucracy!

The bureaucracy directs itself to all concerned. It directs itself towards the world bourgeoisie, and in reality, is planning an alliance with the world bourgeoisie.

The Chinese are going to respond to this line attacking the Yugoslavs and

Khrushchev as having opened the door to capitalism. But the Chinese are wrong when they say that Khrushchev has already sold out to capitalism. In reality Khrushchev is not going to sell out to capitalism although he is interested in making concessions to it. He cannot sell out to capitalism because this would mean the end of the workers state. Khrushchev wants to conciliate capitalism, and this is a very serious advance which allows the survival and solidification of capitalism, at a time when it is clear and obvious in this historical stage, that capitalism is disintegrating. When in NATO and in SEATO, there are discussions with de Gaulle and for the first time de Gaulle opposes, votes against and proposes neutralisation, we are in the middle of the disintegration of capitalism. And recently there was the proposition of the US at Geneva, in which they admitted that they were not the only ones governing the world and that it was necessary to pay attention to other sectors. In reality it is a discussion between blocs. It is not solely an inter-American bloc which is being proposed by them to be able to dominate the market of Latin America and impede the entry of the European common market, Japan, etc., but it is at the same time the recognition of another bloc with as much force and power as itself and with which it accepts discussion. It is a retreat for imperialism. It is the retreat of the master who raises the whip and gives orders, and accepts a discussion between equals on the proposals which were made at Geneva.

## Bureaucracy Perverts Marxism

The document of Suslov is the testimony of the bureaucracy of its programme theorising on the nature of the actual state as the state of the bureaucracy. The conception of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and practical historical experience is that the state disappears when it no longer needs to exist. And it only needs to exist when there are class contradictions and class antagonisms on the same scale as in the rest of the world. And the struggle is on a world scale, not on a national scale. This applies also to the Chinese, but they ignore it in their own revolutionary conclusions. Certainly they attack the Soviet Union but they don't apply their conclusions to themselves. There are class antagonisms and contradictions on a world scale, capitalism exists on a world scale. The state is the expression that there are class antagonisms. In consequence, while world capitalism exists, the proletarian state,

the workers state is necessary, because the class struggle is on a world scale.

Not only is the state necessary and reflects the class contradictions and antagonisms and is an organ of repression, but in the Soviet Union, the state reflects them and is going to reflect them while there exists unequal distribution, to each according to his ability. While this exists it is completely irreplaceable. Because the distribution to each according to his ability, means that there is not the possibility of an equal distribution for everyone, there is not the full satisfaction of necessities. Consequently there is not a 'Socialist State.' These qualifications of a Socialist State are simply capricious and tendentious. on the part of the Soviets and of the Chinese in order to hide, on the one hand, in the Chinese an insufficient comprehension and theoretical immaturity, and on the other hand, in the Chinese as much as the Soviets, in order to conceal the bureaucratic leadership.

## The Need For Soviets

Socialism means a regime in which the organ of repression is replaced by persuasion. In these conditions, the distribution will not require organs of repression. On the contrary the existence of the state shows that there are bases of repression and of unequal distribution. Every state is a gendarme, in every way, and when it exists there is an unequal distribution as there is in the Soviet Union. Basically there is the wage. In socialism wages do not exist, there is the distribution to each according to needs. Wages mean that there is a need to regulate the distribution by means of norms which requires an apparatus. In this apparatus there are differences, inequalities. The apparatus signifies in consequence an organ which distributes and which is the origin, base and force, in every way, of the existence of a bureaucracy. This is the state which actually exists in the Soviet Union. It is a proletarian state, but a state in which the proletariat is expropriated politically, it cannot intervene.

The essential base through which, in the Soviet Union the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat must exert itself are the soviets. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviet Union talk of soviets. But the soviets must function. Without the functioning of soviets there does not exist the dictatorship of the proletariat. There exists a dictatorship against the proletariat. The dictatorship exerts itself against capitalism, through the functioning of the proletariat, of the soviets, within which it must intervene. If it does not the proletariat does not exert its dictatorship as a class. Because it does not have the organs through which it can do it. The workers state such as it is reflects the power of the proletariat but does not exert the dictatorship against capitalism, through the only organ possible; the soviets. Because of this, the soviet bureaucracy can carry on peaceful co-existence, the conciliation with capitalism using the workers state, because it does not represent the soviet masses. That capitalism is not able to overthrow the workers state cannot be doubted, and moreover the worker masses do not want to overthrow it, have no interests in doing so and defend it, as during the last war. The masses had motives for overthrowing Stalin, but they defended the workers state against the more important and immediate danger, that of the Nazi invasion.

When the Soviet bureaucracy, through Suslov, wants to suppress the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian state, in order to go to a state 'for all' it is because he wants to suppress the organs of proletarian power; the organs of a proletarian nature, the soviet, of workers control. It is directed at eliminating the intervention of the masses and to seek and participate in an alliance with the world bourgeoisie, seeking the elimination of capitalism through re-

forms. This is impossible to attain, but at the same time, the soviet bureaucracy tries to make theories, in order to justify, approve, theoretically and practically, the existence of the bureaucracy at a leading stratum. This is the conclusion.

The other conclusion is that the document of Suslov shows its terror at the unrolling of the world revolution. This document shows that it already has a programme, has made theoretical concessions, the unconditional accepting of the peaceful stage, the rejecting of revolution, and at the same time it invents a new form of state, the 'state of all the people' that is to say proposes the disappearance of the class state.

This theory permits and gives a basis to the confidence felt by capitalism that the bureaucracy is going to respect the alliance with capitalism.

The bureaucracy expounds its particular conception of the state considering and inventing a formula which justifies theoretically its interests of proprietress of the workers states. The crude idea that socialism requires a state is only conceivable as its attempt to defend its interests as a parasitic and conservative counter-revolutionary caste. Socialism is a regime where the state has been eliminated because it is not necessary. Not only because abundance and the full satisfaction of all needs, exist, but because the thought, the moral existence under socialism makes unnecessary all the forms of the organs of repression and imposition. Class enemies do not exist, neither does the necessity of war.

When Suslov affirms the theoretical premise of a new form of state, it is because he is expounding the intentions of the soviet bureaucracy to maintain itself in power as if it were a new leading class, even though it cannot be one. It states furiously its intention to maintain its privileges and its benefits stolen from the soviet society. Criticising the Chinese, the bureaucracy tries to attract them, to offer them an acceptable formula, making theories for the creation of a common front against the exploited masses of the world.

## A World Programme Of Conciliation With Capitalism

But there is another thing more important than all this, that the conclusions of Suslov reflect. The most important aspect of all the discussion, and exposition (before he enters on an analysis of the "Trotskyist danger") is that Suslov poses the accent, the point of departure, the objective of this report in the view that the danger in present day reality now, is not capitalism, not the nuclear war, not the antagonistic force of capitalism but the world proletarian revolution. This is the conclusion of the speech of Suslov. This is the basic conclusion and programme, the transitional programme of the bureaucracy.

The whole document does not proceed from the world antagonism, the struggle of classes; capitalism-socialism; capitalism-proletariat. The existence of workers states, the march to socialism and the end of capitalism is not given as the central axis of the present movement of history. That is not posed as the essence. On the contrary the whole struggle and danger consists in Trotskyism. What does Trotskyism mean? As Suslov says the permanent revolution. But of course not as he interprets it — he lies. The permanent revolution is not rushing out into the streets shooting in all directions, but means the process is uninterrupted revolution from the first workers state until the total elimination of capitalism. That is permanent revolution. The balance of forces, the possibilities for intervening determines how to intervene. And it is clear that the historical analysis of the class war demonstrates that capitalism

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# The Violent Phase Of The Political Revolution Begins

**T**HE maturity of the masses in the workers states for the political revolution, that is the final settling of accounts with the privileged bureaucracy, has shown itself in striking ways recently.

There were the big anti-government demonstrations in Prague, the petition of the Polish intellectuals and the wave of strikes in Yugoslavia. In the latter country there were strikes demanding not only higher wages but the right to intervene in the management of factories, the right to control investments and the disposition of funds of the factories. In Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina the timber and textile workers struck without making immediate wage demands but demanded to be able to participate in the planification and control of the economy. In Hungary, in Budapest women workers refused to work the hours fixed by the management and the official trade union paper was forced to give general support. This shows the enormous weakness of the bureaucracy. They were not able to talk of "capitalist" agents as in the days of Rakosi. It is shameful that in a workers state the right to strike is not allowed and that the unions are simply a wing of the vast state apparatus controlled by the privileged bureaucracy. In these strikes—despite the pretence of the capitalist press—the workers do not attack the nationalised property relationships of the workers states, neither do they call for a return to capitalism but they do call in effect for a genuine proletarian democracy functioning within the factories.

This intervention of the worker masses in the workers states further exposes and weakens the soviet bureaucracy. It gives the lie to the Khrushchev myth

of reforming the system. "Destalinisation" was simply the opening phases of the political revolution when the bureaucracy sought to placate the masses partly by modifying the more obvious repressive apparatus, i.e. the political police, releasing some prisoners, attempting to rationalise planning via decentralisation (in fact encouraging factory directors to go ahead without any control from below), and by grandiose promises of communism and quantities of consumer goods.

After the death of Stalin the bureaucracy was in no position to continue the old policy of terrorising the masses. They had to retreat and have been retreating ever since. But they will not relinquish their gigantic material privileges without a bloody encounter with the masses. The bureaucracy showed their frenzied fears of the masses during the suppression of the Hungarian revolution (this was presumably an example of Khrushchev's liberalism). Similarly the East Berlin riots of 1953 were an expression of the will of the masses towards the political revolution. There are many strikes in the Soviet Union never reported in the press which similarly reflect the restlessness of the masses with the soviet bureaucracy.

The term bureaucracy applied to this stratum in the workers states was first used by Lenin who described them in the early 1920s as "privileged persons estranged from the masses" and in 1920 defined the young soviet state as "a workers state with bureaucratic excrescences."

Today the soviet bureaucracy contains many millions of functionaries, industrial managers, upper strata of the technicians, party apparatus, functionaries in the farms, army leaders and staffs. They may be about 12 million in number (estimate of Posadas) and have of course differences among themselves. Functionaries further down the ladder are more open to mass pressures.

This stratum realises that genuine workers soviets as in the early days of the revolution would mean the loss of the extensive privileges, the overthrow of their arbitrary rule and plundering of the workers economy. They confuse the planning of the soviet economy because they do not allow the intervention of workers for the proper functioning of the plan which inevitably is decided on an arbitrary basis. Hence the lunatic pricing policy, the bottlenecks in production, the wholesale corruption and appearance of middle-men. Periodically the bureaucracy finds scapegoats and executes them. The little fish get caught—but not the big fish. Khrushchev for example does not have to fight for privileges—he has them of right!

The bureaucracy is enormously weak—this is shown by the open conniving of Khrushchev with Tito. The Sino-Soviet dispute is now on its doorstep. The final reckoning is not far away. Peaceful co-existence of the workers states with imperialism is a reactionary utopia belied by the whole character of the world revolution. The violent phase of the political revolution draws nearer.

# S U S L O V

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cannot disappear without launching the war. Having drawn the conclusion that war is inevitable it is clear that whoever has the initiative has an enormous advantage. This is the significance of preventative war.

The other aspect, the unconditional support to colonial wars although capitalism answers with war, is not the preventative war. This is to submit the development of history to the necessity of the development of the revolution but also necessarily to take full advantage of and to find support in the existing forces of the colonial revolution.

The conclusion of Suslov that the danger is not Imperialism, not capitalism and not the nuclear war, and that these can be paralysed, shackled, domesticated, is totally false. The recent proof of Brazil demonstrated that capitalism and Imperialism are not domesticated, that if they yield it is because at a particular instant they do not feel they have the strength to reply and that they will fight back at another more convenient time. The bureaucracy seeks to harmonise itself with capitalism, to conciliate capitalism, and capitalism is ready to be conciliated in so far as it lacks the strength to restrain the revolution. A determining proof is that previously in Latin America Imperialism installed and sacked presidents by telephone, cracked the whip when it pleased and changed without mobilisation, presidents, governors of whole countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile. Today no; today it has to lean on the army. When Mann theorises and draws the conclusion that in Latin America "our real strength are the Latin American armies" he affirms that the Imperialists have no social basis by which to support themselves in any Latin American country. With all the financial strength with all the concentration of capital they have no strength to persuade the petit-bourgeois to retreat or secure a base within them. Hence the new programme with its point of support and defence in the armies. Thomas Mann has said, "This demonstrates that the armies are the most solid, the most secure, and the most firm defenders of democracy"—that is their democracy, Imperialism. This is a decisive conclusion. It is not possible to discuss as does Suslov peace in the abstract. It is necessary to examine such an issue concretely. Imperialism has just said that the base for its support in the colonial and semi-colonial regions is the army. This means that it is not going to meet it with the counter-revolution through the armies, with war. This is a practical conclusion, not one discussed in the air.

When Suslov says the greatest dangers are the adventures which can take place and that therefore it is necessary to exert pressure on Imperialism in order to contain it, Imperialism already shows its weakness: Viet Nam. There is clearly a disintegration in the Imperialist alliance. The attitude of de Gaulle disintegrates the whole Imperialist front.

## Disintegration Of Imperialist Alliances

The European papers say that the Chinese are allying themselves with the French and with the British. It is not

excluded that they can do this. We do not criticise the Chinese or any workers state seeking for support in one Imperialist sector against another. We are totally in agreement with this but not at the cost of the development of the revolution. For example the Chinese have not said one word on Gabon. It was China's duty to speak on Gabon and accuse French Imperialism of doing exactly the same as the Yanks in Latin America. Worse in fact: the French intervened directly with troops, the Yanks have not roused themselves to intervene so directly. We reiterate what we have said, that the Yanks are not going to intervene directly because that means war against them. They intervene indirectly giving their support.

It is not excluded that the Chinese will try to make a front to support themselves against the Yanks. But at the same time it would mean that French Imperialism would try to use for itself this "peaceful co-existence" leaning on China and certain semi-colonial countries at the cost of Yankee Imperialism. In the same way the Yanks lean on the Soviet Union and try to exploit for themselves the situation of contradiction and weakness of world Imperialism. This shows the constant weakening of the Yanks.

## Trotskyism Means The Advance Of The World Revolution

The Soviet bureaucracy attacks the Chinese because this is the fundamental force which even in a conciliatory and contradictory way places in danger its plan of alliance with world Imperialism. It is for this that Suslov's global report is directed to attacking the Chinese. Apart from the Chinese the material organised form, which can have an echo, it is directed at attacking the source of the influence which the Chinese are receiving, in order to destroy it. This demonstrates the enormous weakness of the soviet bureaucracy, not through the lack of the material forces of the Soviet bureaucracy, not through the lack of the material forces of the soviet bureaucracy which it has in plenty but through the lack of social support and of social historic reason.

Hence the danger from the IV International which they see in a gigantic form and they are right because the historic conditions permit the influence of the IV International. If the IV International lacks the material forces to impose itself on the Chinese and the Soviets wherein lies the danger? Danger lies in the objective historic conditions which demonstrate decisively that only the programme of the revolution can make history advance.

For years they have ignored us and suddenly Suslov says what he does say. It means that we have not been ignored, they follow us and instead of saying "we have buried them, they are dead," they say: "No it is these who are having an influence." They realise that the little group which has known how to maintain itself has today an ideological and in part a political stature. Tomorrow it will be an organic, organised force.

We reiterate what we have said for

## EDITORIAL

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has flopped. The issue in Cyprus is the expulsion of Imperialism and the construction of the Cypriot workers state; this is the desire of the Cypriot masses, not union with Greece.

The whole disintegration of world capitalism, constantly accelerating, creates the most favourable conditions for the establishment of workers states everywhere. The soviet bureaucracy is performing, as in the case of Cuba, fantastic acrobatics to convince Imperialism of its good intentions, but nothing can hold back the world revolution. The imperative task is to fuse Trotskyism with the struggles of the masses. It is essential in Great Britain as elsewhere, that the workers strengthen their unofficial organisations, link the struggles of all the workers, miners, postmen, engineering workers, seamen, dockers, etc., for the seizure of power. Trotskyism is the revolutionary programme of the struggles of this epoch.

# SPAIN

(continued from page 1)

Franco without social revolution. It is necessary to wage the campaign for the arrested comrades by explaining why they have been arrested at this particular time. They have been arrested because the situation subjectively and objectively is mature for the social revolution. The masses wish to expel, to overthrow Franco. And we have entered into this stage. This does not mean that we are at the situation in which Franco will fall but we have entered the phase where the constant elevation of the struggles proceeds towards the fall of Franco. How long this will take cannot be precisely determined—but it is very short—in time a very few years. Franco imprisons and represses our party because in this situation, in the unfolding of the maturity of the revolution, the Trotskyists are, can be and will be the base or one of the bases of the organisation of the conscious leadership. It is necessary to gain, to influence thousands and thousands of workers, anarchist, socialist, communist worker militants who are maturing outside their leaderships and are influenced by the uninterrupted permanent course of the world revolution. We salute with all our hearts the Spanish comrades. In the name of the whole International, as to the Cuban comrades, we send our complete solidarity . . . It is necessary to maintain the liaison with the pro-Chinese. It is necessary to call for a united front with them and to discuss with them the necessity to draw conclusions from the betrayals of the communist party . . . it is necessary to close the gates against the provocation of the communists . . . The discussions of the Sino-Soviet dispute are secondary on this occasion . . . The discussions and struggles in Spain will help the pro-Chinese to understand and mature much more.

All the sections in Europe must make every effort for this campaign. The Spanish comrades must feel the whole International at their side. This is essential."

## World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, French organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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.

# Castro Liberates Spanish Fascists

## Imprisons Cuban Trotskyists

**T**HE liberation of the Spanish counter-revolutionaries on the part of the Cuban government is a reactionary measure and an outrage against the Spanish masses.

Fidel Castro has just liberated 50 Spaniards detained in Cuba as counter-revolutionaries in the service of imperialism. They have been sent back to Spain. There was not and there is not any reason to liberate these counter-revolutionaries. They have not been exchanged for goods, or medicine, nor in exchange for any political or social revolutionary prisoners held in Spain. For reasons of trade with Spain, Fidel Castro has freed them, without any benefit to Cuba or the Cuban socialist revolution.

The Fascist regime trades with Cuba, not because Fidel Castro has made some concessions, such as those he has just made in liberating 50 counter-revolutionary Spaniards, but because it is convenient for him to do so. It is a consequence of the contradictions of the capitalist regime, and it is the weakness of capitalism which obliges Franco to trade with Cuba. It is a means for Spanish Fascism to enlarge its trade, which it cannot find within the capitalist system. The liberation of the 50 counter-revolutionary Spaniards and their return to Spain, is a support for the authority of the Spanish Fascist regime.

There are thousands of political and social prisoners in Spain. Twenty days ago 12 Trotskyists and 40 militants of the pro-Chinese communists were imprisoned. They were denounced by the communist party which follows the line of Khrushchev. Thus say the agency UPI from Spain and the newspapers of the Argentine and Chile. There are thousands of workers, peasants, petit-bourgeois, imprisoned in Spain for their fight to overthrow Franco. The Asturian miners, the steel workers, the textile workers of Barcelona, of Bilbao, the peasants of Andalusia, of Cadiz, are engaged in a fight to overthrow Franco.

At the very moment when the masses are in full struggle against Franco, the liberation and the sending back to Spain of the 50 counter-revolutionaries is a reinforcement for Spanish fascism. The need for Cuba to trade with Spain, the fight to break the blockade which Imperialism imposed on Cuba, does not justify these measures. The blockade will not be broken by such methods. Cuba, the Cuban socialist revolution needs to trade as much as it can with the countries it can. But trade is conditioned by the development, the full support of the world permanent revolution, by the struggles of the world masses, as of the Spanish masses in actuality so powerful and infinitely more advantageous than trade between Cuba and the Spanish Fascists. In fact these measures are a blow at the masses in their struggle to bring down Spanish Fascism and world capitalism.

Cuba's trade with the rest of the world is of great importance. But the most important thing of all is its solidarity with the world revolution, with the struggle of the masses of the world, such as those in Spain, to destroy capitalism; and they must assure this international proletarian solidarity, even at the cost of trade if necessary. Commerce is incidental, and can be replaced. The masses of the world must be able to feel and see the Cuban socialist revolution on their side, not only in declarations of solidarity, but above all in activity and concrete action.

To liberate the 50 counter-revolutionaries, and send them to Spain is to provide a prop for Franco's regime. The revolutionary masses see and will continue to see it as this. At the same time as he frees the 50 Spanish counter-revolutionary prisoners, Castro keeps the five Cuban Trotskyists prisoner. They are condemned to between two and nine years imprisonment for having defended and applied on behalf of the masses the right of criticism, in defence of, and in order to strengthen the Cuban socialist revolution. Freedom for the 50 Spanish counter-revolutionaries and prison for the Trotskyist revolutionaries. With these bureaucratic attitudes on the part of the Cuban government it is the

counter-revolution and imperialism who gain.

We demand that the counter-revolutionaries are not released, that their return to Spain be stopped, or else that they be exchanged for provisions, for medicine for the Cuban people, or for Spanish political and revolutionary prisoners. We demand freedom for the Trotskyist prisoners. Their arrest is ignominious and a crime against the Cuban socialist revolution.

The masses will take note that there remain in prison revolutionaries who criticise in order to strengthen the Cuban socialist revolution, in order to combat bureaucracy in Cuba, and that on the other hand, counter-revolutionaries are set free. It is necessary to demand the freedom of the Cuban Trotskyists.

This measure in favour of the Spanish counter-revolutionaries only profits the counter-revolution. The masses disapprove of and condemn these measures.

29-6-64 I.S. of the IV International.

## CEYLON

**T**HE exaggerated way in which the bourgeoisie has highlighted recently the word Trotskyist in relation to the LSSP party in Ceylon reflects their fear of the IV International and their desire to confuse reformism with revolutionary politics.

We will deal with Ceylon in full at a later stage but it is necessary to clarify the immediate issue. The LSSP was a section of the International but is no longer. The LSSP has in practice followed a line of collaboration with the Bandaranaike government on many occasions and now Pereira, the leader whom the western press, i.e. "The Economist" glorifies as one of their own has actually entered the government.

The bourgeoisie in Ceylon is enormously weak. For years the island has been shaken by general strikes. The mass pressures towards the establishment of a workers state are as strong as those working in Burma—and the rotten Pereira leadership comes to the rescue of the bourgeoisie. He enters the government as a cheap political careerist who tinkers with economic reforms. The first action of the coalition was a lock-out of 3000 workers from the nationalised transport board! The LSSP leadership has become the principal support for the bourgeoisie—but not for long. Differentiation is already taking place and in the tremendous process of the Asiatic revolution, genuine revolutionary elements are bound to seek for a genuine revolutionary programme and party.

We appeal to the militants to break absolutely with the rotten party of the LSSP; to form and build the revolutionary section of the IV International on the basis of a revolutionary programme for a workers state in Ceylon.

## POSTMEN

(continued from page 1)

treat in front of the postmen began to moan about wages causing the increase in prices. This repeated capitalist lie reflects their real fear of a situation which they cannot control. In fact prices have gone up by 3% since January and as usual swallowed any wage increases achieved by the masses. A series of lies has been told about the "economic advance" of the nation. There is no advance—utter stagnation rules supreme.

Today to struggle for any serious economic change whether it be in housing, conditions of work, wages, education—as opposed to tinkering—is to advance to a revolutionary programme. The day to day struggle becomes identified with the revolutionary struggle. We again appeal for the unification of the struggle on the basis of the workers own independent unofficial committees.

# YS STRUGGLES

**T**HE recent demonstrations of YS members outside Transport House and the expulsions from the YS reflect the great tensions existing between militants and the LP bureaucracy and the intensification of the class struggle in this country. These events highlight the need for a strong revolutionary party with a revolutionary perspective. The struggle against expulsions should be conducted on the basis of the programme of the IV International, the programme for workers power.

What usually happens is that the struggle is conducted on formal or side issues. The YS has little basis among worker militants who are repelled by the imbecilic factionalism and shameful lack of perspective of various groups usurping the name of Trotskyism. Militants are ruined in this process. Imperialism could hardly hope for a better situation.

With only agitational militancy to guide them, militants in the YS are fre-

quently geared to a mixture of aimless canvassing, social gatherings and low level political miseducation. A struggle has been going on for years between the bureaucracy and the more militant members of the YS, but the result in the formation of politically mature cadres for the IV International from the YS has been insignificant.

It is important to build a revolutionary current in the YS and the LP linked with worker militants on the revolutionary programme of Trotskyism. All the perspectives in this country and throughout the world are revolutionary. Trotskyism means a world party not parochial factionalism playing the Imperialist game of disruption and confusion.

We appeal to all militants to examine the documents of the IV International, to examine the programme of the world party, the articles of Comrade Posadas and to help build the RWP(T), the British section of the IV International.

## SUSLOV

(continued from page 3)

some time: In three or four years the whole of Latin-America will be involved in revolution; we are involved in the whole revolution. This is not simply our judgment. The British "Economist" says so and so do the Yanks: either they cope with Brazil or all Latin-America is enveloped in revolution. There is no solution. Hence the change we see among the Yanks. The change proposed by the Yanks is important. Fullbright proposes to recognise socialist revolutions. He is the same who in the past period was with MacArthur and Foster Dulles, partisan of "brinkmanship." Today Fullbright says we can adapt ourselves to socialist revolutions, for example of the Polish or Yugoslav type.

Fullbright leaning on the counter-revolutionary policy, activity and outcome of the Soviet bureaucratic camarilla proposes a line of conciliation and alliance with the leaderships of the workers states taking as an example the attitude of Khrushchev favourable to the alliance with capitalism and as decisive examples from other countries which are workers states: Poland, Yugoslavia. The last stage of Imperialism is to make use of these for its counter-revolutionary objectives.

The line which Suslov expounds is to take as a programme the reform of capitalism and on this basis to survive.

All this indicates what is going on among the bourgeoisie and that they have no strength. It is necessary to fully appreciate the weakness of Imperialism. But the communists like Suslov and the Chinese instead of discussing the immense weakness of capitalism which indicates the enormous base favourable to the development of the revolution discuss in the abstract.

In Brazil it was the IV International, the Latin-American Bureau, the Brazilian section of the IV International and the articles of Posadas which brought out, demonstrated that only by leaning on the armed mobilisations of the masses and on the struggle for power can basic reforms have any significance and be imposed. Not to do this means to retreat. The policy of reforms, of leaning on the army, on democratic bourgeois parliament alone has demonstrated its insufficiency. It has also been demonstrated that Imperialism, the landowners, latifundistas, bourgeoisie have no social force to resist or can hope to hold back the forces of history pressing forwards in elections, parliamentary forms, social mobilisation. The necessity to change the regime and structure of Brazil is compelling. And "basic reforms" open the road to the change of government in Brazil. For this reason the army intervened. This experience is concrete and clear.

The speech of Suslov is not directed only to the Chinese but to all the communist parties, to tendencies which exist in the communist parties and within the Soviet Union itself.

When Suslov sees that it is necessary to publish this document it is because there is no possibility of an arrangement with the Chinese—and this despite all the kisses that have passed between

them: Chou En-lai in an opportunist and repugnant form says that Khrushchev is a scoundrel and trash and then goes on to wish him many years of life and says that he is a great person. There is no necessity for this and if for diplomacy he gives congratulations there are other ways of doing it. All this of course indicates the contradictions in the policy of the Chinese leadership, the lack of comprehension and of revolutionary consistency on the part of the Chinese.

This is the danger for the bureaucracy and hence Suslov accuses the IV International, the Latin-American Bureau, Posadas, the Trotskyists. They accuse the Chinese of following the line of the Trotskyists and are warning all the bureaucracies not only the Chinese. They are also saying to the capitalists: we are against this. It is one of the guarantees that they are giving to capitalism, that they are acting "honourably" in defence of the common interests of capitalism and the soviet bureaucracy. No one can accuse them of a revolutionary position! They are acting as international delators. The importance there is minimal because these are public questions but they are saying to capitalism: we are against this, that is to say they are assuring their ally that they are being responsible in attacking every revolutionary political line. This statement is not only directed at the Chinese it is a guarantee for capitalism in a concrete and convincing form. In effect they are saying to Johnson to maintain the alliance, "Look we are against all this we criticise such and such positions, i.e. those which denounce peaceful co-existence, accelerate the nuclear war and impel the colonial revolution whatever the cost.

The most important issue which is going to express the advance of the Chinese is when they put forward the demand for soviets. This is the form of organisation without which China will not advance. It is advancing only five per cent. in comparison with what could be achieved because soviet forms are lacking.

It is not by chance that Khrushchev accuses the Chinese of propounding freedom of tendency, because the position of the Chinese points to this.

The references which the bureaucracy make to Trotskyism and the direct attacks on the IV International arise also because they feel that in the socialist camp, in certain workers states, in the communist parties the conditions are mature for the formation of revolutionary tendencies. The bureaucrats feel their extreme weakness in face of the ideas of the IV International. They do not feel our actual organic material force but the enormous ideological influence which is going to transform itself into a material force. As Marx said every idea, every programme, every position which is objectively correct and necessary by its own historic force will transform itself on the morrow into a material force.

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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. 12

SEPTEMBER 1964

SIXPENCE

## Full Support For The Masses Of Viet-Nam — Cyprus — Congo

### Workers States Must Increase Military Aid

The American attack on Viet-Nam, the Turkish bombing of Cyprus villages, and the increasing efforts of Imperialism to buttress Tshombe in the Congo, either by employing white mercenaries, stepping up military aid or by paying other African states to intervene against the rebels, show that "peaceful co-existence" is in practice a weapon for Imperialism. For their part the masses of the world have shown and are showing in an unmistakable way in Harlem, Chicago, Cyprus, Viet-Nam, and the Congo that they are not prepared, under any circumstances, to co-exist peacefully with Imperialism. It is a question of the class struggle; the class struggle which is being waged on a world scale, and which every day is registering new defeats for Imperialism and fresh victories for the world masses. "Peaceful co-existence" means the abandoning of the class struggle, capitulating before the terroristic pressure of Imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy fearing the advance of the world revolution because it knows that the downfall of Imperialism will mean also its own extinction, "fights vigorously" (the words are those of Soldatov, the Russian Ambassador to this country) for peaceful co-existence. It fights vigorously to hold back the revolution, using the communist parties of the world as a series of counter-revolutionary apparatuses, betraying revolutionaries in Spain, denouncing militants in Chile, supporting bourgeois governments and putting forward nothing but the most minimum reformist programmes; and all to ensure the continued existence of Imperialism and thus itself. The worst crime of the Soviet bureaucracy is that it allows Imperialism more and more time to perfect its war apparatus, and its destructive power.

#### Imperialist Weakness In South-East Asia

In the Soviet Union itself, the bureaucracy feels itself so weak, so lacking in a social base, that they are now proposing "capitalist" solutions for the problems of Soviet industry. A Russian economist writing in "Pravda" has actually suggested the introduction of the profit motive to improve the performance of Soviet industry. Unable to destroy the economic bases of the workers state, the bureaucracy seeks to encourage conservative interest. The performance of Soviet industry can only be improved by the intervention and control by the Soviet masses, regulating the quantity and quality of the goods produced and participating in the formulation of the overall economic plan of the Soviet Union. And this would mean the end of the bureaucracy.

American Imperialism launched the bombing of North Viet-Nam, not because of a real or invented attack by torpedo boats on their fleet; but in order to see just how far they could push "peaceful co-existence" without provoking retaliation by the workers states. The Soviet bureaucracy did nothing over the attack, Khrushchev did not even interrupt his tour of remote Soviet collective farms. The Chinese leadership talked in a threatening way but so far have

done little. The size and extent of the popular demonstrations in China showed the spirit and the desire of the Chinese masses to smash Imperialism, but the leadership made no call to the masses of the world to mobilise against Imperialism and did nothing to avenge the attack. Over the bombing of North Viet-Nam, America had the complete support of Britain. British Imperialism knows that its interests in South-East Asia would be directly affected by the fall of South Viet-Nam; firstly Malaysia and then in a short time India, already in the throes of a food and economic crisis to which the Indian bourgeoisie have no solution whatsoever.

#### Peaceful Co-existence Is A Fraud

Imperialism's other crisis is Cyprus. There is no possibility of a solution in Imperialism's favour because the Cypriot masses have shown that they want the expulsion of Imperialism, and that they will not be terrorised into accepting anything less. The bombing of Cypriot villages by Turkish planes, an action which must have had the support of the US, was an attempt by Imperialism to try to frighten the Cypriot masses, to try to stop them in their struggle to expel Imperialism. That the Cypriot masses are neither cowed nor terrorised was shown by the statements of the Cypriot High Commissioner to this country, a bourgeois politician who nevertheless reflected the enormous pressure of the Cyprus revolution when he recently said at a press conference, "For the sake of avoiding the third world war we are not prepared to make any concessions." This, not "peaceful co-existence," is the spirit of the world masses. Union with Greece is of no significance to the Cypriot masses. Enosis is being used by Khrushchev and the Imperialists to delay the formation of a Cypriot workers state. Makarios is under pressure for this but has rejected the Acheson Plan with its proposal for the continuation of NATO bases in Cyprus. The influence of the workers states becomes more and more powerful. In Cyprus, thousands listen to Radio Moscow, arms and medical supplies are already coming into the island from the workers states, and

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## Labour To Power On An Anti-Capitalist Programme

The refusal of the workers to accept the continued functioning of the capitalist system and their mobilisation against capitalism continues without interruption. Television technicians put in for claims involving 25% wage increases, the postal engineers have put in for claims which contain demands for 20% increases — even the police are putting in for 10% increases. All the nonsense about the economy not being able to stand it has no effect whatsoever.

As for the capitalist class of course, they as per usual are searching for excuses to explain the permanent stagnation of the economy. From the annual report of the International Monetary Fund one may glean that from 1961 Britain has suffered a "marked decline" in its share of all markets. And all this is partly because enormous wealth is squandered in defence expenditure on the basis of the counter-revolutionary strategy of Imperialism in preparation for the nuclear war against the workers states — indeed most of the rest of humanity — and also because British capitalism has no dynamism, no confidence in investments. There is no resolution to invest because capitalism has reached saturation point and has no perspective. The system continues to drag out its buffoon type existence purely because the existing trade union apparatus, the LP and CP atomises the struggle and blocks the masses. The counter-revolutionary role of the apparatuses is to intimidate and sap the confidence of the masses. The Soviet bureaucracy also buttresses the British Imperialists thereby retarding the overthrow of the system.

#### Declining Authority Of Capitalism

Even so despite all the pressure of propaganda directed against strikes, the British masses mobilise and encourage themselves. Thus the limited success of the postal workers strike has obviously accelerated the big demands made by the postal engineers.

The fact that the capitalist class constantly has to retreat over wage claims and that quite obviously there is no capitalist remedy for the economy further diminishes the already microscopic social and political authority of the capitalist class. Gangsters who are well aware of the feebleness of capitalist authority gaily remove one of their number from Her Majesty's prisons — and all the vicious undercurrents generated by capitalism come to the fore in gang warfare among youth, etc. The police

can no longer cope — capitalist society is decomposing before our eyes.

#### Overcome The Atomisation Of Struggle

The principle weakness in the workers movement lies on the subjective plane — the plane of a recognised and authoritative leadership. This has been argued by Trotskyism for decades and will be reiterated until we have reached the stage of a new world leadership, the mass communist international. In Great Britain the need is posed not only to strengthen the already existing RWP(T) (British section of the IV International), but for the worker militants to co-ordinate the already high level of anti-capitalist mobilisation by means of the workers own vehicles of struggle. The whole historic experience has shown over many years that the trade union apparatuses are a complete block to the co-ordination of struggle — they are surcharged with bureaucratic interest, a hive of officialdom which is remote from the interests of the masses. The host of small unions atomises the struggle, attempts to divide workers in the same industry and certainly chokes inter-union activity. It is essential that militants accelerate the development of the independent shop stewards committees. It is criminal, for example, that the re-

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#### CUBA:

### Comrade Alfonso Replies From Prison To Comrade Posadas

Comrade,

I am replying to your letter in which you attribute to me qualities which I would like to have to place at the service of the revolutionary cause; as a Marxist you know that I am only a humble aspirant and if some day I arrive there I will be very satisfied. As regards my defence I think that you are right — I have believed in and place my trust in revolutionary justice, and I have faith in my standing as an honest worker and in my sincere and principled attitude towards the revolutionary cause in my position as a worker concerned with a just society which is in process of development in one third of the world.

All this preoccupies me as is natural

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# Opening Speech To The Seventh World Congress Of The Fourth International (First Part)

J. POSADAS

Comrades!

In the name of the International, of all the militants of the International who cannot attend because of their work, of all the comrades who cannot be present because of their being involved in the struggle, of those who cannot be present because they have been murdered on account of their militant stand, in the name of all these we inaugurate the Seventh World Congress, which marks a significant period of transcendental importance for the whole future course of humanity.

Before the opening statement I think it is necessary to refer to some other aspects not touched on by the President: this relates to the criteria followed by the International for the constitution of the delegations to this Congress. The statutes of the Communist International and in part the statutes of the Fourth International until the Sixth World Congress, have an affinity in the mode of appointing delegates; the election of delegates being related to the importance of the country, to the number in it, and its importance in the International. The International is not a union of sections, in which the appointment is done on the basis of number in the abstract, i.e. the leadership appointed by the size of a section. The composition of the leadership of the International is not designated by the size, the number in the section, but it is determined by the political importance, by the political weight, by the maturity of the cadres. The cadres are elected on the basis of the necessity of developing all the International, not in the name of any section. It could be that the leadership of the International comes from a single section. But these members of the International leadership do not represent any section but the International. The policy, the line, the activity of the leadership of the International, are put forward in accordance with the interests of developing the International. The criterion which governs the elections of members, of delegates, is based on that which develops, impels and organises the International.

In the election of delegates to this Congress we have taken into account these principles of the International. The order and the number of delegates of each section, as the "Control Commission" will explain later, are determined by the importance, the weight, of each section. Thus as in the election of the IEC (International Executive Committee), of the new leadership of the International, of the IS (International Secretariat) the importance, the maturity of the cadres, the way in which they make up a harmonious, homogenous and resolute group in order to carry forward, direct and organise the activity of the International at this stage, is taken into account. This is the most difficult stage in all the history of the Fourth International, but is also similar to another period—from this point of view—absolutely unique in history, in its complication and difficulty—to that in which Leon Trotsky lived: the stage of the organisation of the Left opposition and of the Fourth International.

## The Confidence And The Will To Triumph Of Revolutionary Marxism

Between the Left opposition, the Fourth International, and ourselves, there is not only a nexus of historical continuity expressed in a programme and policy, but in the will to triumph, the will to decide, to exert an influence regardless of number, not considering the forces of the organisation, but considering the objective process, its most probable perspectives, the maturity of the international situation, the maturity on a world scale, of the revolution. And in this sense, what counts, decides and will decide, is the political confidence, the political and revolutionary decision, the clarity in action, in the perspective in the programme, in the policy of the IV International, and the homogeneity and harmony of the leadership.

In the same way, Trotsky, with a little group, decided on the constitution of the Fourth International 30 years ago—for the Fourth International was conceived in 1934. In the same way, Trotsky, 30 years ago conceived the necessity, the possibility and the development, and the historical necessity of the Fourth International. He took into account, not the number, nor the influence of the militants of the Left Opposition, but the fundamental conditions unique in history: that the world revolutionary movement, inevitably

would need, at a determining stage, the policy of revolutionary Marxism, would need the policy and the programme of the struggle for proletarian power; the programme and the policy to reorganise, to regenerate the workers state, and that the crisis of capitalism would constantly grow, in degree, in force and in extension.

But these objective historical factors were insufficient to make Trotsky decide on the constitution of the Fourth International; it was realised in the hardest, most difficult moments of human history, in the moments of the world-wide ebb of the revolution, when Stalinism raised itself like a giant that seemed to disintegrate the forces of revolution, and was in a united front, in an alliance with world capitalism against the revolution. At this moment Trotsky conceived the Fourth International, organising the preamble of the programme of the policy of the Fourth International.

## The Will To Triumph

But without the confidence, without the security that the objective process of history must necessarily take this road, Trotsky would have been impotent to give such a perspective.

Every programme and every policy signify a perspective which has previous to its realisation been conceived in the mind, in the intellectual comprehension and in the decision and revolutionary will. The programme and policy of the proletarian revolution is not solely the result of the evaluation of the relation of forces between capitalism, the proletariat, capitalism—workers state, capitalism—colonial revolution—proletarian revolution, development of the workers states; the fundamental factor is the will to triumph.

And when Trotsky formulated the bases of the programme and the policy of the Fourth International he took into account, made his point of departure the will to victory of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism to triumph. The idea in itself is apparently the abstraction of reality, because it centralises a many sided, de-centralised objective process which lacks homogeneity in appearance, and the idea centralises this process and gives the line and allows one to intervene in the process. Any other way would be chaos. But in order to conceive such a process it is necessary to be sure of victory. And the sureness comes from practice, from analysis, from being sure of the idea, but also sure in actual activity.

From then up until now the Fourth International has developed and today seriously counts in history, as we will examine later, to an immense extent

## Perspective Of A Short Duration

In the same way that we prepare ourselves at this stage to intervene in the actual and immediate course of human history—the atomic war and the revolution—we do not sustain ourselves upon, we do not direct ourselves towards, the perspective of a numerical increase of the Fourth International, but the fusion of the nuclei, of the groups, of the parties of the Fourth International with the forces, with the leaderships, with the movements which determine the next step in the course of history. This is entrism on a world scale, on a complete scale. It is not en-

taneity does not mean at the same hour, the same minute, week or month. It means that a same course involves the whole world, without exception, without interruption. It will be the most elevated, form of the permanent course of the world revolution, that will involve all the world with different levels of revolution, from colonial and semi-colonial countries, the capitalist countries, the workers states. We prepare for this

We are confident not only in the rightness of the programme and of the policy. We are confident not only in the inevitability of the unrolling of the revolution, but we are confident in ourselves. When Trotsky said "With the party we are everything without the party we are nothing," he meant that this is the only way we can have confidence in ourselves. It is only possible

*We publish in this issue the first part of the opening speech to the VII World Congress by Cde Posadas. The second and final part will appear in the October issue.*

trism to gain positions, to gain tendencies, but entrism to push forward the revolution on a stage and scale of a very brief duration.

And with this perspective we do not base ourselves on the consideration of our actual force, the numbers, our material means, but we base ourselves on the historical inevitability that can already be seen, that is already developing.

The workers states are developing in various degrees and are beginning to overthrow the whole structure of the Soviet bureaucracy. The first essential point of this clear irreversible process is that the monolithism of the Soviet bureaucracy has gone, not on an internal scale only, but on a world scale: and not simply within the ambience of the different sectors of the bureaucracy, not simply as a consequence of the internal contradictions of the bureaucracy, but from—considering as well that it is part of the process of the contradictory fight of the bureaucracy—the progress of the workers states in the economic, financial, above all social aspects which now does not allow, now does not tolerate the existence and the leadership of the bureaucracy. And this contradiction expresses itself, not only within one circle of the bureaucracy and another, within tendencies, groups and sectors of the bureaucracy of the same country or of different countries, but in the fact that the revolution advances as in China, as in Cuba, and the progress of the revolution comes into collision—and the collisions are constantly manifested—with the policies of its leaderships. This is our perspective. It is not only the long term perspective, but the short term. A short term means a short scale of years; two, three, four years. Not more.

## War Revolution

With full responsibility and consciousness we prepare and will prepare this World Congress, which is part of this process, in order to intervene in the next two, three, four years—although it could be within two years—in a tumultuous many sided process such as the human history has never before known, leading to nuclear war and in the precise instant of the nuclear war, the revolution will start on a world scale simultaneously. For the first time in human history we conceive that in the next stage, joined with the nuclear war is the simultaneous revolution throughout the world. There will not be a wait of months or years between one and another, no; simultaneous. The simul-

to have self-confidence when sustained by an instrument of history which allows participation in the process, in leading, organising and deciding the course of history. Only then can you have self-confidence.

Because this is not the confidence in the individual capacity, ability and individual resolution but the confidence in knowing how to unite, to understand, to feel, to resolve the desire, the will of millions and millions which express an objective historical necessity. It is this course which the nuclear war and the revolution is preparing.

## We Intervene In The Sino-Soviet Dispute

We are prepared for this stage. Not in passivity, in a seminary, but in daily activity, alive permanently with the agility, with the resolution to develop ourselves, to participate not only in the process as it evolves but to intervene and alter this objective process. And we intervene though small in number because we are confident in ourselves. But we have confidence in ourselves because we have confidence in the revolutionary will of the masses not only in the underdeveloped nations, Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia but in the European masses and the worker states. In the process of crisis contradiction and struggle between Khrushchev and Mao-tse-tung; we do not emphasise Mao-tse-tung or the leadership of the communist party. We do not believe that it is they who are going to decide; they are a transitory leadership because they express but do not represent a necessity which in a short space of time is going to clash with this same leadership. We are impelling this process, we intervene in it to raise the level of maturity. Our small party intervenes in the Sino-Soviet dispute to correct policies towards positions which reflect most directly the necessity of the world revolution, whether on the part of the Chinese, the Cuban revolution, other revolutions, guerrillas.

## The Masses Comprehend The Process

We reiterate: we have confidence in ourselves because we have confidence in the world's masses. Ours is not an idealistic trust, what is called "blind trust." Our trust is the most rational trust in all history. No-one has a more rational trust than we. Our trust is direct, controlled, judged and tested by the course of history. We do not expect

of the masses that they will revolt out of desperation. We do not expect that the masses will overthrow the capitalist regime where it still exists, overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the workers states from despair. Therefore we have confidence in them and consequently in ourselves, because they are guided by a conscious understanding. There is no other stage in human history which can show a process like Zanzibar. Never. All the philosophers, the idealists, the mass of imbeciles, who dedicate themselves to the explanation of the world through the human soul do not understand Zanzibar, they ignore it. However Zanzibar is the most elevated example of this historical stage, illustrating how human life works, how it reacts, why it reacts, why it moves, the relationship between its instincts and its consciousness, the relationship between reality and the mind, reality mind, mind reality.

The synthesis of the idea: Zanzibar shows this. It is not the instincts which determine the action of the masses. It is not the direct reflection of the reality of society—which was hunger—which decided the action of the masses. It is not brute, individual action which determines the action of the masses. The revolution in Zanzibar was determined by an elevated degree of consciousness which expressed itself in the fact that immediately after overthrowing Imperialist power, there is a tendency to build a regime which tends towards a worker state.

When in human history such an event takes place, it does not mean that Zanzibar is an exception, it means that Zanzibar is the rule, it does not mean that Zanzibar had special qualities or conditions, on the contrary, it means that the whole world has the conditions and possibilities of Zanzibar to advance.

#### Apparatuses Try To Intimidate

This stage of human history must be measured, judged by the fundamental contradiction and antagonism between the conditions which are maturing, each time in a more elevated, extensive and profound way, and the existing leaderships which each time retreat further. In this process, the leaderships, which seem all powerful, who have apparatuses

tuses, means, materials, exert terrorism over the masses, trying to pulverise them, given that they have the means of dominating the human mind. But the human mind is not dominated by obscurantism, by uncertainty or ignorance. They can dominate the human mind because they have instruments of torture, tanks, missiles and guns. If the arms of North America disappeared, the material means of North American repression, the North American government would last three minutes.

The human soul is not determined by uncertainty, by blindness in front of history, by not knowing what to do in front of society. No! Concretely it is determined in these countries—North America and the other capitalist countries—because before the masses there are rifles, tanks, machine guns, which exercise a pressure and determine a series of reflections on account of the terrorism which prevents them working collectively. But where the masses in the same situation find a vehicle to demonstrate and oppose this power they do so—as in Zanzibar.

#### Triumph Of The Zanzibar Masses

Between them and us there is a complete identity; we are completely identified with them. They are the most progressive, the most elevated and the most cultivated of this stage of history. It is these who tend, without any material resources to eliminate the material means and the social forms which impede progress. Before it seemed necessary to progress with philosophy, science, chemistry, medicine, deputies, senators and so many imbecile thieves. This was progress. The masses of Zanzibar have shown that progress is not this. But the basis of the progress of the masses of Zanzibar is their revolutionary will: in the worst conditions of history without any material support, they conquered and applied pressure to push history forward.

We are similar to them: a little group with many difficulties without sufficient material means facing the combined pressure of the socialist parties, of the communist parties, of Imperialism, capitalism, the leadership of the workers states, facing a combination of pressures which appeared strong enough to break us, tending to make us appear insignificant, incapable, in front of the enormous

process of the revolution, being submitted to a terrorist pressure from the difficulties and our smallness but in all this process the IV International has developed. This is because it has the will and the revolutionary consciousness that its policy is correct and develops throughout the world. Between the masses and ourselves there is a complete unity. They struggle to overthrow capitalism without ideological consciousness, without the programmatic consciousness. We act consciously with a programme, with an ideological consciousness.

#### For The Unification Of The World Revolution

We are convinced that in a short time there will be a world unification of the revolutionary forces. In July of last year we spoke of a unification with the Chinese revolution in one or two years. Having since then seen the concrete course of world history we modify that to say that our fusion will not only be with the Chinese but will be with the world revolution. And if we link up first with the Chinese it will only be as part of the world revolution; and it will not be our fusion with the Chinese but it will be a progress of the Chinese revolution with us. We are prepared for this stage.

This Congress has a significance historically which transcends all the other congresses of the IV International with the exception of the First Congress, the Founding Congress whose essential mission was to give security, confidence united to a logical and dialectical perspective; the programme and policy of the world revolution. This after the Russian revolution was the great work the most important work realised by Leon Trotsky. It was the supreme expression of belief and confidence in the force of ideas, experience and human consciousness. Without this security Trotsky would not have had the strength to conceive that humanity would not be destroyed or thrown back by the war and Stalinism.

#### Revolution Or Peaceful Co-existence

This Congress has been prepared in the most difficult historical conditions. We passed through two years ago a crisis in the International. The elements who are strengthened and demonstrate that we are prepared for this stage do not stem simply from the force of the ideas and ideological security but from a process of security in the organisation and in revolutionary activity. Two years ago we passed through a crisis in the International. This crisis divided, broke apparently the International. In fact all that collapsed were the already weak European sections—nothing more. Elsewhere particularly in Latin-America, the International continued to develop. There was no interruption. We were not held back nor detained by the coming nuclear war. We were not held back not through the revolutionary passion of Latin-America but through security in the policy, the programme and the Bolshevik organisation of the International.

The weight and historical significance of the movement is reflected in the unbreakable continuity of the movement. Such a continuity unaffected by crisis reflects that the objective necessity of the movement is not adequately represented in its present resources, but the policy, programme and perspectives demonstrate its correctness. We have continued our movement since the break with the capitulators—they have dissolved into six or seven currents. And the essential line of all these people is the abandonment of the objective perspective of the revolution and its replacement by a reformist and conciliatory road whose base in this stage is peaceful co-existence.

There are two lines: co-existence or revolution. There are no other paths, no intermediate stage, no combination of factors, no diplomacy which can unite them. Co-existence is the negation of the revolution. To be sustained it requires the elimination of the revolutionary struggle. It means eliminating revolutionary politics on the basis of the massive intervention of the masses. Revolutionary politics is not simply to declare "Long live the Revolution" but to impel the masses towards the revolution, to have confidence in them. As have said Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, the masses make mistakes but there is no historical error of the masses which leads them to support a social structure against themselves. The masses make mistakes sustaining such and such a candidate or such and such a transitional position. There are certainly thousands of examples of this in history; but the masses are not mistaken on the course of the struggle, on the historical perspective. On the contrary upon what does the programme and policy of the revolution rest if not in the revolutionary will of the masses?

History Leads To Communism

#### History Leads To Communism

All the capitulators have abandoned confidence in the masses. They feel that capitalism has no future. This is evident. Even the ants know that capitalism has no future. And the agents of capitalism sense it. Kennedy before his assassination declared that it was undoubted that the world was going towards communism, but there was still some time to go. He was liquidated two months after, because communism was advancing faster than he believed. To obtain sympathy before the masses, Kennedy the highest representative at that time of world capitalism was ready to say to accept that communism was not only a human aspiration but a human possibility. When such a declaration is made it is because the objective course, the natural process of history leads to communism. And not because of misery, not because of social inequalities but because such misery, social inequalities are confronted by the development of the workers states even when this is accompanied with social inequalities, with a bureaucratic distribution in consumption with the terrorist imposition of the bureaucracy against the masses. But the masses sustain the workers states and in no way sustain the capitalist governments.

As much in Algeria as in Cuba as in whatever other country the masses have the same tendency. They may have more or less political maturity, greater or lesser capacity for reaction to intervene but the line is identical in all. Thus the revolution in Zanzibar is not the result of the maturity of Zanzibar but basically it is the consequence of the whole force of the world revolution. From the historical point of view the masses of Zanzibar were not mature enough to do this. There was no party, no union life, material means were lacking. It was essentially the pressure of the world revolution rather than the maturity of the conditions in Zanzibar which were decisive for the revolution.

#### The Capitulators Submit To The Apparatus

This shows in a decisive and clear form what can be done. It also shows how the Algerian revolution is limited, distorted, contained by the Ben Bella leadership. When these gentlemen in Algeria submit to the peaceful course of the revolution—conciliatory reform—it is not because there is any necessity for it or a new historic path. No, it is because they have capitulated. There can be no confidence in capitalism, it has no future but these leaders have no security in the world revolution. They have fallen away en route, they have abandoned the perspective of the world revolution, abandoned the perspective, the methods, the forms, the revolutionary programme and politics and replaced it by apparatuses.

Between them and Stalin there is a great historic difference but also an identity. Their great historic difference with Stalin consists in that consciously they do not defend nor intend to defend bureaucratic interests. They attempt to impel the revolution by reformist ways. But their identity with Stalin with the policy and interests of Stalin and of Stalinism is that this policy inevitably leads to the usurpation of the power of the masses. There is an identity between them and there is no historical justification. There are the possibility of new forms to arrive at the foundation

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## International Campaign For Spanish Trotskyists

Despite the severe blow sustained by the party in Spain as a result of the arrest of comrades belonging to the cells in Seville and Barcelona, the activity of the party has continued. The latest issue of the party's paper has been produced and distributed. Strikes continue in the Asturias, on the public transport in Barcelona, etc. Thousands of party leaflets have been distributed in Seville and Barcelona. The pro-Chinese militants have realised the treachery of the supporters of Khrushchev and our links with them have been strengthened. The blow at the party has been delivered because the Franco regime and his "Khrushchevite" supporters realise that a revolutionary leadership is maturing in Spain and have tried to smash it before it becomes too deeply rooted in the Spanish proletariat.

The French, Italian and Belgian sections have succeeded in gaining various advocates for the release of our comrades and the campaign to raise money for the defence continues with success especially in the above mentioned countries.

We renew appeals for the sending of money to us for the defence of the Spanish comrades. We appeal for the continuous sending of letters to the Spanish Embassy demanding the release of our comrades. We appeal to the trade unions and militants in the Labour party and the Communist party to demonstrate against imprisonment of the Trotskyists and militants. In this country the various apparatuses rarely wish to mention anything to do with Franco—everybody including the fraudulent lefts around Tribune, etc., realise that his fall means the spark to the European revolution and the collapse thereby of British Imperialism.

## World Trotskyist Press

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

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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.

# OPENING SPEECH (Part 1)

(continued from page 3)

of workers states. There can be twenty ways of arriving at the construction of a workers state. Lenin in analysing the structures and the forms of organisation of the Bolshevik party explained: the principles are unalterable, the functioning in relation to the principles is unalterable but the forms of organisation are multiple. There is no contradiction between the forms of organisation, the principles and the objectives. But in particular phases it is possible to unite parts of the process. It is possible to arrive at the workers state in various ways—Yugoslavia, Cuba, China, the USSR and Eastern Europe. But there is only one way of constructing socialism: workers power based on the masses. The capitulators have lost this confidence and believe in the apparatuses. Between them and Stalin there is a unity, Stalin did not believe in the masses, he believed in the apparatus. The degeneration of Stalin began with this.

A programme and policy is not abandoned without concrete results. What begins with abandoning the forms, the activity of the programme and the revolutionary policy, finally ends with the expounding of programmes which synthesises theories for abandoning the revolutionary politics. These only reflect the defection of a leadership of a team, which in its time realised revolutionary tasks but was incapable of developing in this stage of history. However much tactics and methods may change they are subservient to the programme and the revolutionary policy. When the perspective of revolution is abandoned, when the objectives are not to overthrow capitalist power, do not lead to the overthrow of capitalist power or raise the masses—as in Algeria—to decide the policy of the state then the masses are expropriated and blocked. The collapse of these defectors in only two years, shows the enormous dimension and pressure of history in this period—a rapid and immense pressure.

There is an objective necessity for the International to develop in this period. Hence the change in the tactic of entry. From its formulation in 1951 until today there is a complete historical change. In 1951 it was proposed to develop the International as one of the means to develop the revolution. The fundamental objective at present is to carry forward the revolution independently of the fact that we may not happen to grow at a particular moment. Our growth will not be the increase of a group, gaining a group here and there, to gain historical means. It will be a mass growth. For this it is necessary to extend our influence, to gain more bases and above all greater political maturity.

## The Preparation Of The VII World Congress And Our Intervention In The World Revolution

Our preparation for this World Congress is the most complete in the whole history of the International. It is part of the preparation for the objective of the war-revolution, revolution-war. Without delaying for the war revolution we are preparing to intervene today in the leadership of the world revolution in various countries. We work on this basis. This is an index not only of faith in the ideas, in the future and in the perspective but is an indication of the fusion which is already stabilised in our consciousness, in our programme, in our policy with the masses of the world from China to Zanzibar.

This Congress has been prepared in the course of two years with our struggle against the capitulators in the VI World Congress followed by the Extraordinary April Congress, the meeting of the IEC, the meetings all over the world, the development of existing sections and of new sections to which we refer, the systemisation and affirmation of the papers of all the sections and the improvement of the sections, the weekly publication of papers in two sections of the International, the development of the International in the objective course of events in the revolutionary world struggle—not simply from the class struggle but from the revolutionary struggle which includes the class

struggle. The International has developed in the repercussions, the ever greater authority of the International in various countries: Belgium, Italy, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru; in the perseverance and security demonstrated by our movement in Cuba although persecuted and threatened—every month comrades are being sent to prison (I have heard that the three imprisoned comrades have been sent to a miserable prison, the same prison in which comrade Lungarzo was confined); in the security of our Cuban section in continuing activity, action, its progress in maintaining its influence.

## Diplomacy Must Be The Servant Of The Masses

There are two anecdotes from Cuba which some comrades do not perhaps know and to which I will refer: in the fortnightly paper of the February issue of the Cuban section there is a report of a trade union meeting at Guantanamo in which the bureaucracy made some proposals and our comrade defended the right of the workers. Our comrade won and the bureaucracy tried to arrest him but were not able to. In a meeting of the bakers union, a worker delegate spoke against the expropriation of workers rights by the bureaucracy—the bureaucrat accused him of being a Trotskyist hoping thus to intimidate the meeting so that they would take the vote away from this delegate. The delegate replied, "I have not the honour of being a member of this organisation, but I am proud to be called a Trotskyist," and he was voted in. This is in Cuba today whilst Fidel Castro in a vile way, in a counter-revolutionary way—and the masses will judge him for this conduct—eulogises de Gaulle, the assassin of the Algerian masses, of Africa. He refers to him as a "rebel" as having a "revolutionary spirit"—this assassin. This is how the policy of conciliation and reform ends up; this is the logical conclusion of the abandonment of revolutionary politics.

To abandon revolutionary politics means to abandon the perspective, hope and revolutionary action of the masses and to await the solutions of diplomatic combinations. We are not against diplomatic combinations; Lenin was the most able diplomat in history. He was capable of leading the workers state which was poor, without arms, without bullets, with many dying from famine. He was capable of resisting enormous pressure, attacks and capitalist encirclement. This was because Lenin based himself on the two conditions which render possible revolutionary diplomacy: firstly to address oneself to the masses, above all to their revolutionary activity; not to subordinate the revolutionary interests of the masses to diplomatic concessions from capitalism. The second condition: never to put trust in any capitalist—never! The eulogy which Castro has made of de Gaulle means to approve him to give him credit before the French masses, the colonial masses, the masses of the whole world—to give credence to an assassin who was at one time the principle assassin of the world masses. De Gaulle began early as it was the French colonial masses who were among the first to rebel in a massive way immediately after the war. And this is the man that Castro calls a "born rebel." Castro must feel our repudiation and our contempt for his counter-revolutionary behaviour and we declare that just as we have had faith in his revolutionary honesty, we express to him our contempt for his counter-revolutionary alignment and for his alliance with the agent of one of the principle bulwarks of world Imperialism.

If capitalism whether in France, whether in Great Britain, the United States, the Argentine is obliged to trade with the workers states which enters into contradiction with the world interests of capitalism it does so not because its historical objective to defend its role has changed but because there is no other way out. In the great discussions of Lenin and Trotsky over Brest

Litovsk—which was a discussion between two great revolutionaries who were intending to carry forward the revolution but adopting different tactical positions—they were concerned to gain diplomatic advantage seeking to profit from divergences between British and French Imperialism. And how did they profit? Trotsky made of Brest Litovsk a tribune, exposing the capitalist bandits particularly the German Imperialists and Lenin turned to the German working class saying to it, "We have no other way out but this; they are suffocating us, it depends on you to see that we do not have to make concessions. Overthrow them! Do not believe the German capitalists!" And all this whilst he was discussing with the German capitalists and signing a treaty! And Trotsky said, "Treaties last only for a necessary time, not a minute more than the relation of forces permit whether it be a question of treaties among capitalists or of treaties between capitalists and the workers states." This is the law, the foundation of revolutionary diplomacy.

## Castro Aids De Gaulle

Fidel Castro who trusts in the apparatus and not in the masses eulogises de Gaulle because he hopes to draw diplomatic advantage from the necessity in which French Imperialism finds itself. The eulogy which he makes of de Gaulle is a mode of buttressing French Imperialism, an Imperialism which is measured by the gigantic dimensions of de Gaulle's nose and that's all; an Imperialism which has no strength of its own to survive. The support of Castro is actually a historical necessity for French Imperialism.

If de Gaulle adopts a policy which clashes with the world interests of capitalism whether in recognising the Chinese, or in preaching neutralism, it is because one the one hand contradictions place him in opposition to the rest of capitalism and on the other he is a defeatist. Otherwise he would not act on this policy. Basically the whole policy of de Gaulle is determined not by its strength, not by the capacity of French Imperialism, but from the weakness of world capitalism that is not able to destroy the revolution. And under these conditions the advantages possible to obtain from French Imperialism are infinitely superior to what has been obtained.

If Castro thinks he is acquiring more advantages he is mistaken because he is supporting the authority of French capitalism in front of the French masses, in front of the petit-bourgeoisie. And all the concessions which French Imperialism has been forced to yield in the Middle East, South-East Asia and in Cuba are compensated for much more advantageously to the profit of capitalism in France.

Pablo, believing he was pushing forward Socialism—at no time have we said or do we say that his intentions are counter-revolutionary, that is to say that he wants to make the revolution retreat—has the same illusions as Fidel Castro. He depends on the apparatuses to advance socialism by means of manoeuvres and diplomacy. Socialism is a necessity for the masses. Socialism needs, demands, before and above all, in an irreplaceable form, the conscious, direct, organic action of the masses, without which there is no socialism. Socialism demands, before and above all, that every policy, every manoeuvre, every revolutionary action, every class action, every anti-capitalist action, depends on the mobilisation of the masses, on the understanding of the masses, on creating, developing, and maintaining at a high level their anti-capitalist sentiments; not to give any confidence to capitalism. Never! Not because we do not believe in capitalism for moral or philosophical reasons, but because from capitalism emerges class relations. Capitalism never yields except what it is obliged to yield.

The end pursued by the masses is not to gain an advantage for today. The end pursued by the masses is to gain an advantage today as a point of support

to overthrow capitalism tomorrow and also today. This is the basis of revolutionary diplomacy. Contrary to this Fidel Castro, Pierre Frank, Germain, Maitan, Pablo and all the others, abandoning a revolutionary policy adopt a reformist conciliatory policy. All these have capitulated in the short period of two years. In two years, the International, before entering into the new stage of human history, has prepared itself in a most dynamic, most solid, most coherent and harmonious way. In two years the International has prepared for this VII World Congress which is perhaps the last Congress before entering the new phase of human history.

To prepare a World Congress, as an IEC, as any other activity of the International, does not consist in giving out documents and every one reading them and drawing conclusions. It does not consist in allowing every one the power to discuss, to be independent in his orientation, in his decision, but the essential law, the fundamental principle of all important meetings, like the World Congress, consists in orientating the attention, the spirit, the will of the International towards its precise objective. We prepare ourselves to intervene in the construction of new workers states, we prepare to be at the head, jointly with others, in the coming revolutionary leaderships. For this our Congress is prepared to discuss how to intervene. Our discussion prepares not only the consciousness but the spirit and the decision. We cannot have an organic action, a revolutionary perspective, if we do not tend to centralise ourselves in a common will and a common determination. For this the World Congress has been prepared. It is intended to develop, to centralise the revolutionary force and will of the International towards the objective of the next step—to prepare ourselves for the atomic war, the revolution, and the reorganisation of humanity towards the construction of socialism on a world scale.

## The IV International Will Be

### The Leadership

The preparation of the World Congress in this specific stage of history, was and is the preparation to intervene consciously with our small actual forces, with our scanty material means, as the organisers, the leaders of the approaching world revolution. To feel ourselves this, even if we are not it now. And we feel this because the whole objective process shows that the course is not only Trotskyist in form, but it demands a Trotskyist leadership, it demands it concretely. That phrase that the International used "the objective course of history is Trotskyist" is insufficient—it is an apparatus definition, a phrase from "on high."

Each objective situation, requires objectively a leadership, and it is necessary to earn the right to be this leadership. To gain the right to this leadership the confidence of the masses must be won. This right of leadership is not merely related to a strike, a general strike, a particular party in a country, but to the masses throughout the world who intervene in China, Cuba, the workers states, the colonial revolution. And this Congress has been prepared with the complete consciousness, confidence and strength that we shall be this leadership in the next stage of human history within the next four years. The period may be a little longer but it is almost certain that it is going to be much less.

## The Soviet Bureaucracy, The

### Policies Of The Chinese CP

### And The IVth International

In our opinion, capitalism cannot tolerate four more years of this revolutionary process, nor is the Soviet bureaucracy able to maintain its domination over and its strangling of the workers states for four more years. Neither one of them has an objective historical basis, to sustain or reconcile itself; they have done their maximum, and have reached the maximum possibilities of alliances and conciliations. The bureaucracy is not able to advance more, to evolve to capitalism, nor to abandon

any workers states. Not because it does not wish to but because it cannot. The bureaucracy has enforced the constitution of capitalist forms and sectors in the workers state; and, in a certain manner the partial functioning of capitalist relationships but this does not alter nor nullify the basis of the incontestable advance of the workers states.

But the bureaucracy's actions grope for points of support, searching for new bases of support because it is losing those that it has, both in the workers states and workers movement. The bureaucracy, in forms more and more glaring, will inevitably look increasingly for support to capitalist, reformist and bureaucratic circles, organs, relations and organisations, that today are synonymous, in the final period of capitalism, without being the same thing. There is no possibility of putting back the revolution. In consequence the bureaucracy is not able to continue without support in groups and tendencies and props, to stimulate currents, groups and bureaucratic conservative tendencies and also of capitalist interests — even if after they kill them! For example under Soviet Penal Law someone can be executed for embezzling and this is not the case in any capitalist country. Under it the manager of a factory can be executed because he has cheated the workers of 20,000 metres of material while the capitalist states condemn him to five or ten years, or even nothing. But this is a consequence of their politics, of their structure and functioning. In this process the bureaucracy tends to unify more and more with capitalism, but at the same time, tending to accelerate and stimulate the formation of the maturing revolutionary forces of the workers states.

**On The Trotskyist Road**

In this process there are always fewer possibilities of manoeuvre for the bureaucracy. Its fall approaches. The bureaucracy has great ability: it has this like all bureaucracies in order to defend itself. Ability does not signify intelligence, it signifies being able to extract from a specific situation, that which is most convenient to it. It does not signify quality for historical development, but conservative interests. There is no other possibility for the bureaucracy sustaining itself, than grouping around itself more and more tendencies, groups and organisations with conservative, bureaucratic and capitalist interests.

This period is Trotskyist. But not only because of the objective course, but because the Trotskyists are intervening. Although the Trotskyists do not decide organisationally, in two or three years living Trotskyism will be felt in a direct form. Khrushchev says to the Chinese, "You are neo-Trotskyists." In what way? What is the motive of this threat? Who is it directed at? It is not being directed at the masses, but at the bureaucratic Chinese leadership, at a sector of the leadership of the Chinese revolution, saying, "Watch yourself or you will fall into the danger of Trotskyism!" and yet the Trotskyists have no strength in China. But already it has strength on a world scale.

When the Chinese say to the Soviet Union: Your politics are Trotskyist and condemn Trotsky as a renegade and opportunist, without substantiating their claims, it is with the motive of pressurising the bureaucracy against Khrushchev, saying to them: Watch this fellow for attacking us like this, making a game for the Trotskyists. Why do the Chinese resort to Trotskyism? Why do they not go to other tendencies to other positions? Why do they not approach Bernstein? Why do they not approach Kautsky? Do they go towards Bernstein, Kautsky, Kamenenev or Zinoviev? When they have no theories they do not take the line of any of these, but the line of Trotskyism. The reason is that in the course of the maturation of the revolution, to rectify and to regenerate the workers states is Trotskyism. And it is being regenerated, but reaches a limit, where the process of reforms is not sufficient and it needs the political revolution. This is a Trotskyist line, and the masses think in Trotskyist terms. And already the

Trotskyists exist in the world as an organised force and the bureaucracy know that this small Trotskyist nucleus in the objective Trotskyist process are able to assume the leadership. And not only able but that they are going to do it.

What is important in the activity and preparation of the revolution is not declarations, is not the communists, is not the text-books that expound, but the disposition of mind, the revolutionary spirit and the will and consciousness to be able to make most use of every circumstance, every millimetres, every possibility to impell the activity, revolution and struggle for power and the construction of socialism. Never to abandon any position that one should sustain, in personal relations, in relations with the party, in the struggle for the revolution. Because if we abandon a position today we shall abandon others tomorrow. The will is not the consequence of the mental decision, but is generated in the mental decision, nevertheless, to educate, correct and submit oneself to consciousness. When the will is submitted to consciousness it is indestructible. This means not to submit to the circumstantial pressure of events, or of circumstantial needs of particular surroundings or of a confined process, but to submit the will to the objective consciousness of reaching the end pursued. And then the will is indestructible because it does not submit itself except by consciousness and searching for the way of working, of leading, of developing in order to attain one's objectives.

All, all without exception, all the movements to greater or lesser degrees, all the currents and tendencies of the world's workers movement have failed in their political and programmatic objectives. All, Pablo, Germain, Maitan and others to greater degrees have failed. In general without exception, in their objectives of wanting to impell the struggle to smash capitalism, or overthrow the government, they have failed. They have not always failed in revolutionary spirit, in will of struggling against capitalism or the government (even the guerilla and terrorist do not always have an anti-capitalist objective), but they have failed. All the Chinese intentions to construct organisations and parties, submitting themselves to the Chinese orientation will fail. They want to organise movements in a number of countries, beginning in Italy, Belgium, France, England, Chile and Mexico, etc. But they have failed in everyone. In the beginning the Chinese made themselves centres of attraction in the decomposing and fractured CPs and they formed groups; but within two or three months they began to break up.

The most notorious example of this failure is Italy. Italy has the most solid, favourable and suitable conditions for the formation of centres, parties and organs of opposition to the CPs line of conciliation with capitalism and for parties to support the Chinese against the Soviet bureaucracy. We have the most decisive proof — in a year the Chinese have made hardly any progress with their tentative organisations and parties. They appealed for communist parties to split and to organise what they called new Marxist-Leninist parties. Throughout this period the ICP has been in constant crisis. The culmination of this crisis in the development of revolutionary tendencies, the social crisis of Italian capitalism and the political crisis of the organisation of the CP, showed itself with the formation of the new Italian Socialist Party of the United Proletariat. This new party was constituted two months ago and in the trade union elections, in the trade union dominated by the CP, this new socialist party gained between 20% and 30% of the CP vote. And in important areas of elections, where until now the CP has been the undisputed leader, this new socialist party has dislodged it and assumed the leadership of factories and important trade unions.

This signifies that the conditions are ripe for the construction of pro-Chinese parties. Why have they not been formed? Because the Chinese CP's policies are conciliatory, opportunist and reformist like the Italian CP and Khrushchev. The analysis, the attack on Togliatti, the attack on Khrushchev,

the relations and revelation concerning the theory of the state and revolution undoubtedly have revolutionary conclusions. The 25 points with the exception of 7 and 8 which are reformist and conciliatory, have revolutionary conclusions. But the concrete policies of the parties formed or at least encouraged by the Chinese, the appeals, the concrete organisation that the Chinese have favoured and encouraged, base themselves on programmes and perspectives that are just as reformist and conciliatory as the CPs of Togliatti and Khrushchev.

Because of this, the parties formed by the Chinese have failed. Not because they did not have the opportunity. In

Belgium it is clear and evident: the SP and CP are in crisis, Grippa forms a new party, and it is paralysed, without any life. In Italy they organised themselves in a movement that was going to apparently swamp Italy. This has not materialised. Instead, just as in Belgium, Italy develops the IVth International. In Italy the new Socialist Party is formed and as has already been mentioned, it attracted between 20% and 30% of the trade union votes, of factory delegates that previously went to the CP. This signifies that conditions are mature; but not the policies of the CP of China.

(To be continued in the next issue)

**EDITORIAL**

(continued from page 1)

Khrushchev has promised every assistance to Cyprus in the event of an invasion. Even though Khrushchev gave only a very mild reproof to the Turks over the bombings he is in no position at this stage of world revolution, to abandon Cyprus to Imperialism, and his offers of aid which run counter to all his "peaceful talk" are forced on him by the desires of the Soviet masses and the objective necessity for a united front between the workers states and the colonial and proletarian revolutions. The Cyprus crisis has demonstrated a further decomposition in NATO for only after US pressure did the Greek government send back the forces which it had withdrawn from a NATO base in Turkey.

All these crises show the lack of social support for Imperialism, nowhere has it managed to secure a current of support among the petit-bourgeoisie, not even in the United States itself. The retreat of Goldwater, his latest statements on support of the UN, peace through

strength, civil rights, etc., show that the American ruling class feel the lack of support for a hard war line, and try to camouflage it under a cover of phoney liberalism.

On a world scale conditions are ripe for the overthrow of Imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy and all the reformist leaders of the communist and social-democratic parties, and the trade union leaders are struggling to prop up Imperialism to keep it going, in the hope of staving off the revolution and the war. But the recent crises have all brought the war appreciably nearer.

OUT WITH IMPERIALISM!  
OUT WITH CAPITALISM!  
EXPROPRIATE THE LAND!  
DISTRIBUTE THE LAND!  
EXPROPRIATE IMPERIALISM!  
NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION!  
WORKERS CONTROL  
WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENTS!

**PERU: Unity Of Pro-Chinese Militants With Trotskyists**

A united front of the Trotskyists with the pro-Chinese militants expelled from the communist party, has triumphed in the university elections in Lima.

In the recent elections at the University of San Marcos in Lima the integrated list of militants of the University fraction of the POR (Trotskyists) Peruvian section of the IV International with the pro-Chinese communist militants, on the basis of a united front succeeded in obtaining an important victory. 3,115 votes gave them a majority and two Trotskyist militants were elected onto the university council.

This list succeeded in defeating the APRA candidatures supported by the CP seeking to integrate itself with the bourgeois nationalist tendency. When the Apristas tried to occupy the univer-

sity they were thrown out by students of the Chinese line and by our militants.

In spite of a timid and conciliatory programme in the first stages, the pro-Chinese militants finally adopted revolutionary positions and together Trotskyists and pro-Chinese voted for "the expulsion of Imperialism, a revolutionary agrarian programme, the smashing of the parliamentary oligarchy and the repressive bourgeois executive." The incessant activity of the party in meetings, distribution of leaflets, etc., played an enormous role in helping the pro-Chinese militants to define their position. This is the first time that such a concrete united front has been formed with the pro-Chinese comrades.

The Editorial Board of "Red Flag" appeals to all the readers of the journal to help boost its circulation and to support it with regular monthly donations.

The paper has won a regular monthly readership both in this country and abroad, and we appeal to these regular readers to sell the paper to their political contacts in the factories, places of work and educational establishments. We appeal for money so that we can enlarge the paper and bring it out more frequently.

The paper fulfils a need and in the coming period it will be needed even more to centralise the class struggle, to provide the programme leading to the establishment of the British workers' state.

Send to John Davis, Editor, Red Flag, 21 Bolton Road, London, E.15.  
Midland Regional Centre: Flat 1, 11a Wellington Square, Nottingham.

\*I enclose ..... in response to the Editor's appeal.  
\*Send a List of Publications.  
(\*Delete whichever is inapplicable)

NAME .....  
ADDRESS .....

# LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

## BOLIVIA

In a thoroughly fraudulent election in which the masses did not participate and frequently spoiled their ballot papers, the bourgeois candidate, Paz Estenssoro supported by Imperialism, was returned as President. The Vice-President is Barrientos Ortuno, "strong man" backed by the military and Imperialism. The situation is now thoroughly ludicrous—at one and the same time he talks of preserving the gains of the 1952 revolution while on the other hand feverish preparations are being made to smash the workers militia and denationalise the mines.

The general atmosphere of insecurity and the weakness of Imperialism is shown by the fact that the family of Paz Estenssoro have taken refuge in Buenos Aires—in other words though capitalism prepares to fight it fights in alliance with despair. The fact that the masses ignored the elections and maintain their armed control of various areas shows that the revolution in dual power has advanced to the highest level. Thus Lechin in vain tries to stem the tide by all manner of vile manoeuvres—ineffectual hunger strikes, alliances with discredited Falange elements (friends of the oligarchy) and talks of democratic reforms when what is in question is the revolutionary seizure of power.

The POR (Bolivian section of the IV International) is now fully engaged in strengthening the peasant and worker alliance. The miners areas must function as a government, directing appeals to the army, perfecting the militia, gaining over the army, arranging for the sale of products from the mines to the

workers states, appealing for aid to the masses of Latin-America.

The action of the masses under the banner of the worker-peasant alliance is the only guarantee to avoid a bloody retreat and on the other hand to impell the struggle to overthrow Imperialism and erect a new workers state.

## CHILE

In the conditions of the intensification of the class struggle in Chile on the basis of the coming general elections, the reactionary government has taken judicial action against the paper "Lucha Obrera" organ of the POR (Trotskyists). It has been charged with calling for the overthrow of the state. This has been taken under the clauses of the "Law of Internal Security," legislation of a fascist type which violates the most elementary guarantees even of bourgeois democracy itself. The functionaries who were serving the writ on the Editor Joel Segundo Caceres proceeded to search the premises illegally.

The action against "Lucha Obrera" has been taken purely to intimidate the revolutionary mass movement when the masses are on the road to decisive victories.

It is quite false to say that "Lucha Obrera" is calling for a coup d'etat. The paper has denounced the preparations for a coup being prepared by the bourgeoisie and Imperialism as was done in Brazil. This preparation arises from the bourgeois fears of the possible triumph of the FRAP and the candidature of Allende.

The appeal for mass mobilisations against this coup is perfectly legitimate. The attempt to apply the Law of Inter-

nal Security to "Lucha Obrera" is an attempt to cover the counter-revolutionary actions in preparation.

It is of the greatest significance that the paper "El Siglo," organ of the Chilean communist party twice referred to "Lucha Obrera" as the organ of the fascist MRNS and as a fascist periodical. This was direct and open support to the political repression against "Lucha Obrera." The methods of the Chilean communist party are typically Stalinist. They try to stop CP members reading "Lucha Obrera" which relentlessly exposes the conciliatory and counter-revolutionary policy of "peaceful co-existence."

The party has launched a nation-wide campaign against the attempt to suppress the paper and the whole party has been engaged in intensive sales of the paper and the holding of well attended cadres schools in Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion, with many workers attending including those from Huachipato, one of the principal industrial centres of Chile.

## Letter Of Cde Alfonso

(continued from page 1)

but what preoccupies me even more is what we can do to accelerate the advance of the revolution. What have we done about the law of value in respect to penal work and to the use of prisoners for ends useful from the economic, social and political point of view for the revolution? I respect the anti-bureaucratic content in the speech of comrade Castro; we congratulate him there—there lies the proof of the depth of our revolution and of the great revolutionary momentum of the masses in this phase and as you know he is sensitive to the masses. We are not critical in an absolutist manner because such a position could only be assumed in relation to the most declared enemies of the revolution. We criticise the bureaucracy as an obstacle to the revolution but we offer solutions, the means to combat it and to attenuate the damage caused by the bureaucracy and we underline that the best form if not to eradicate it at least to diminish the negative influence of the bureaucracy is the intervention of the masses, control by the working class and the functioning of socialist democracy. Our struggle has no sense if we do not defend this basic socialist principle. Our sacrifice would not be worthwhile if it was not concretised in a reality; it is necessary to defend it tenaciously. The struggle against Imperialism is well defined and perfectly clear; the struggle against the bureaucracy is more complex and difficult because it grows in the garden of the revolution and is covered with the protective mantle of Marxism-Leninism. And the enemy disguised with the revolution has a pseudo-Marxist phraseology, socialist in word and reactionary in deed as Lenin has put it.

It is necessary to examine this because there are so many stolen goods in the houses of the thieves; but rather than pass time in this way, a product of the process through which we are living, a more important and useful pre-occupation would be to attend to the overcrowding of the prisons, to offer a revolutionary solution for this problem which burdens the economy and politically is a breeding ground of the counter-revolution. Let us rather profit from the situation for the benefit of the revolution. In the first moments of captivity I was somewhat disturbed but now I feel confident and secure. I accept this hard test because I know that the revolutionary struggle is not a bed of roses. I know well that for revolutionaries it is a long thorny road, to reach a distant object in which the weak in body and spirit rest half way but the strongest proceed on the road pushing the process forwards.

The strongest continue the struggle to conquer the stars of liberty going forward impetuously because behind them lies the mud of servitude.

What I can say today comrade is that I feel today a revolutionary disquietude for being condemned already for five months to a total inactivity eating as a parasite, turned into a human parasite depriving the revolution of my humble mechanics role. I

do not say this from an individual standpoint but simply to cite it as a living example, as a grave historic error committed by those who being able to avoid this are blind and deaf. History will judge them. I am taking classes in political education and reading Lenin particularly on the first congresses of the formation of soviet power and I do not see the difference between them and us which they like to claim since the more I read the less difference I see. It will be very beneficial when these great volumes are edited in pamphlet form so as to be more accessible to the masses on account of their low cost and easier reading for the workers. I firmly believe that then, everywhere would be free from the reading of anti-Marxist confusion since he who reads Lenin sees clearly how he was always orientated towards the world revolution, hoping that the revolution would triumph in Germany and in other countries in Europe and always spoke the truth to the masses. On the construction of socialism looking at this from the international point of view a long period of struggle would be entailed by the transition to socialism. It is clear that events did not work out as he had thought, i.e. the expansion of the revolution to all of Europe did not take place, the revolution stagnated, but the bulwark conquered by the Russian proletariat could not be destroyed by Imperialism and the masses did not let this conquest fall from their grasp. Today its influence extends throughout the world, already occupies a third of the globe and will displace capitalism because the processes of history are in our favour. It is not important that Lenin was mistaken when he affirmed that the workers would triumph in Germany. The revolution failed but he affirmed that they would triumph and soon—just as Marx and Engels had affirmed the triumph of the proletariat over the capitalist bureaucracy.

These facts confirm historically that historic stages are completed however many the years involved—just as today the stage predicted by Trotsky is being fulfilled when he said that within ten years there would be millions of Trotskyists. It was not precisely ten years but in the October crisis there were certainly millions of Trotskyists. It is these historic truths which encourage the struggle to conquer the heights, because behind remains the mud of slavery. Thus humanity advances with great leaps and at other times withdraws as in a problem of tactics, to return taking more positions from capitalism which cannot be reconquered.

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

Revolution or death!

Andres Alfonso.

The latest news from our Cuban section indicates that Comrade Idalberto Ferrera, the General Secretary of the POR(T) the Cuban section of the IV International, who was recently arrested has been sentenced to 9 years imprisonment, Comrade Roberto Tejera also recently arrested has been sentenced to 6 years.

All of these comrades were active in the fight to overthrow Batista, and all support unconditionally the Cuban workers state. We reject and condemn these counter-revolutionary measures, the work of the pro-Khrushchev bureaucratic stratum in Cuba, not simply because of the imprisonment of our comrades, but because the action weakens the influence and authority of the Cuban workers state before the masses of the world. The Castro leadership has done this at the very time that the Latin-American revolution reaches new heights.

The RWP(T) calls on all worker militants, trade unionists, labour party members, pro-Chinese communists, members of the Young Socialists, students and intellectuals to show their condemnation of this act by demanding the immediate release of those imprisoned. Send letters to the Cuban Embassy, collect signatures, pass resolutions of support for the Cuban revolution.

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## LABOUR TO POWER

(continued from page 1)

cent outstanding bus workers strike in Glasgow was not assisted by a nation wide committee of bus workers or better still a committee co-ordinating all transport workers.

The union leaderships will do nothing—they have no intention of struggling for campaigns which lead to the overthrow of the system. Even when verbally they may propose nationalisations and reject incomes policy they do this under an enormous pressure with the tacit intention of blocking anything which goes beyond words. The mass of the workers realise that the unions offer no real life to them. Thus Carron in the AEU regained his presidency with only 10% voting!

The utterly passive role of the unions has been highlighted by the "Contracts

of Employment Act"—a method of intimidating "unofficial" strikers. Suddenly there is concern that "no victimisation" clauses will become actually illegal in the case of "unofficial" strikes. But no campaign has been launched because the union bosses are concerned to defend their own bureaucratic interests not those of worker militants.

In a situation where capitalism is resulting in rapidly increased food prices, no prospects for any improvement in social services, industrial stagnation and where the world situation can at any moment develop into the third world war we call upon worker militants to centralise their struggle around the following programme and intervene in the campaign for the return of the Labour party on the basis of this programme.

## OUR PROGRAMME

- 1) A 40-hour week in all industries, in preparation for a 35-hour week.
- 2) Three weeks' paid holiday in all industries, leading to four weeks' paid holiday.
- 3) An all-round immediate 20 per cent. increase in wages. Establishment of a Basic Minimum Wage, to rise with the cost of living.
- 4) Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
- 5) The profits of automation to go to the workers.
- 6) Pensions to equal the average wage. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60.
- 7) Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of Defence Committees to protect tenants against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organization of Tenants' Committees which should have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
- 8) Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers' control, leading to nationalization under workers' control. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work-time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
- 9) Nationalization of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor vehicles and road transport services, arms and the building and building

materials industries. Nationalized industries to be placed under workers' control.

- 10) Workers' control of all industry.
- 11) Expropriate 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 organize direct marketing of produce and cut out middle-men.
- 12) Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
- 13) Formation of Factory Committees on each job and Workers' Councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 14) A United Front of all workers' organizations on an anti-capitalist programme.
- 15) For a single European trade union centre on an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme.
- 16) State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalization of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
- 17) Struggle against imperialism and defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strike, boycott and sabotage, and the dispatch of arms to colonial workers.
- 18) Withdrawal from all imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO, directed against the workers' states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers' states and the colonial revolution against imperialism.
- 19) For the United Socialist States of Europe as a 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. 13

OCTOBER 1964

SIXPENCE

## **For a Labour Government on a Programme for Workers Power**

***LP Leaders Afraid to Campaign  
Strengthen the Factory Committees  
A 35 Hour Week***

***All Wages to Rise with Cost of Living  
Nationalisation of Key Industries without Compensation  
Workers Control of All Industries***

The coming general election will take place in a world situation in which imperialism and capitalism experience only failure and the forces of revolution gain strength and advance invincibly. The enormous influence of the workers states, in spite of the conciliatory and counter-revolutionary policy of the bureaucracy, makes itself more strongly felt at every stage of the world revolution. In the workers states themselves, the strikes, demonstrations, and undercurrents of discontent and opposition to the bureaucracy, herald the approach of the political revolution.

In the under-developed countries the colonial revolution goes from strength to strength, and in the so-called advanced countries, the constant strikes of the workers, allow capitalism no possibility to stabilise itself and to meet successfully the world revolutionary process. Imperialism is collapsing. It has no social support, but props itself up on the apparatuses of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade union bosses.

It periodically emphasises its nuclear armoury to try to maintain authority over the middle-classes in the metropolitan countries—but they show no confidence in Imperialism. In a last desperate effort to survive, it will launch the counter-revolutionary world war, which it is now preparing. The perspectives are short and they are revolutionary.

At this time in which British Imperialism is so obviously feeble, the Labour party presents to the British workers and petit-bourgeoisie a pro-capitalist policy with vague minimum promises of improvements in health, education, and housing, none of which meet the enormous transformations necessary. A far greater rate of growth would be necessary to meet the needs of the British masses. For 13 years the party of the British ruling class, the party that knows more than anybody how its own capitalist economy should be run, has failed to achieve even 4%.

### **There Is No Scope For Capitalist Investment — LP Leaders Afraid Of Economic Crisis**

Wilson without proposing any cuts in the enormous burden of arms expenditure, promises to reach 4%. How? By subsidising capitalism at the expense of the masses! The idea is preposterous. Capitalist investment goes on war and also abroad. The home market has no dynamism. The masses will not accept wage restraint, no matter who asks them. The threatened dock strike for October 15 (polling day!) by workers who have already rejected 6.6% makes this perfectly clear.

The Labour party has announced its intention to re-nationalise the steel industry. Steel, like coal or transport, is one of the basic industries upon which the smooth functioning of the whole of private industry depends, and Labour

intends to nationalise it to strengthen the capitalist economy. But nevertheless, in spite of its being a capitalist nationalisation, the capitalists themselves are very worried because they fear the social consequences of such a measure in the realities of today. Even limited capitalist nationalisation directs the attention of the masses towards real socialism. On the issue of defence both parties re-emphasise, to different degrees, Imperialism's nuclear strategy.

### **T.U. Congress Attempts To Block Workers — Little Reflection Of Workers Strength**

The recent TUC conference (a pure apparatus conference) was stage-managed to keep quiet about most important things, although some militancy from the rank and file did filter through. A resolution calling for the 35 hour week and 3 weeks holiday was accepted, and the TUC Central Council was defeated on a very important resolution on safety in factories. Although couched in reformist terms, hinging itself on an extension of the Factory Acts, this resolution called for the setting up of safety committees in factories, and the election of worker safety delegates with the power to govern safety measures in the factories. This would mean committees of workers deciding whether a process is unsafe or not, or whether an actual rhythm of production is too fast to be safe, and thus introduces an element of workers control over the conditions of

production. It is not surprising that the Central Council opposed it. The conference, significantly, gave a cool reception to Wilson. The TU officials have to respond to the pressure from the rank and file, and the workers distrust the Labour party bosses. The Labour party is voted for by the masses because it is an organisation around which they can mass themselves and exert a pressure. Great conflicts between LP bosses and workers are inevitable in the near future.

### **Communist Party Attempts To "Reform" Capitalism — Has No Appeal For Workers**

The programme of the Communist party for the election is a mixture of minimum and maximum demands which have not a hope in hell of being realised via "the parliamentary and peaceful road." It appeals to the petit-bourgeoisie, particularly those who want a social change, but who want it at all costs

to be peaceful and without a struggle. What is missing from the programme is any conception of class war and revolution. It is pious talk for those who have capitulated to Imperialism.

### **Imperialism Uses Science For War — LP Leaders Talk Rubbish**

All the talk by the parties about the "Scientific Revolution" is nonsense. The development of the productive forces is held back, strait-jacketed, by the present obsolete property relations and only the social revolution can set free the enormous potential of modern industry and science. Under Imperialism the development of science means the development of destructive weapons; the advantages to humanity are small and are only by-products in the enormous research and development programme of the instruments for killing and destroying. There cannot be a "Scientific Revolution" until after the social revolution. In all, the general election is a

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

*The Lanka Sama Samaja Party and its Entry  
Into the Bourgeois Government of Ceylon*

**T**HE LSSP is a Ceylonese party of Trotskyist origin which has entered the Bandaranaike government with the objective ends of the defence of the capitalist system, of private property and with the concrete objective of serving the policy of repression of the workers movement by giving its authority which it still possesses over sectors of the workers to reassure and sustain the capitalist government of Ceylon.

A whole wave of strike action in growing force has not been contained by the Bandaranaike government which outside direct repression has no means to meet the crisis. It cannot yield to the workers because from the capitalist point of view that would be the liquidation of capitalism. Hence it has had recourse to the LSSP to lead this policy of repression, to contain and sidetrack the workers in order to use the authority acquired during the time when the party was Trotskyist when it was a revolutionary party, in order to deceive the masses, to give them illusions, to confuse them. It uses this party to repress the masses and thus uphold capitalism.

The IS of the IV International rejects any responsibility for the tendency

which directs the party. The LSSP was expelled from the IV International by the Extraordinary Conference of April 1962 and at the VII World Congress of the IV International held in April 1964; expelled for the betrayal of the ideas, the programme and the revolutionary policy of the IV International. The IS of the IV International declares that it is not permissible to enter into a government which is not Trotskyist even in a semi-colonial country. The conditions which allow entry into a government which is not Trotskyist is the existence of a revolutionary nationalist government which struggles for a revolutionary programme. The entry of the IV International into a revolutionary nationalist government in a semi-colonial country would have the effect of upholding and impelling the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalist power. The moment of such an entrance is determined by the concrete process of the revolutionary struggle. This is the only situation in which the IV International, the Trotskyist sections, would enter a government which is not Trotskyist, that is one which is not bourgeois but

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# Opening Speech To The Seventh World Congress Of The Fourth International (Second Part)

J. POSADAS

FIDEL CASTRO and above all Guevara in an article recently published in "Pekin International" sang the praises of the guerrilla warfare in Latin-America. They came to the conclusion that the solution for Latin-America in the fight against Capitalism is guerrilla warfare. As in the case of the Chinese, this article of Guevara's is revolutionary, his conclusions are revolutionary, his spirit, his intentions and his declarations are revolutionary. We do not deny this. But his analysis and his programme are the quackery which lead to terrorism, they indicate a lack of understanding of the Latin-American proletariat. In the same way that the Chinese and the Soviets lack understanding of the European proletariat. They misunderstand it completely. As if the proletariat were conservative, exhausted and disinterested in the revolutionary fight. Whereas on the contrary, both the Chinese and the Cubans can advance on the revolutionary road, because the European proletariat maintains an unchanging and growing revolutionary class warfare; without this, European Capitalism could be able to use all its strength, centralize its decision to strike at the revolution, the proletariat, the class organization of the proletariat in Europe, and in consequence, increase the world power balance in favour of Capitalism. Guevara does not understand this, for him the proletariat does not exist.

For him not even the Latin-American proletariat exists, when he says that the centres of the Latin-American revolution are Venezuela, Guatemala, Ecuador and Colombia. For Guevara these are the centres of revolution. He arrives at these conclusions at the same moment at which in Brazil the peasant masses occupy the land, throughout the country, are organizing peasant co-operatives, and when a month earlier 700,000 workers, for the first time in Brazil, had paralyzed the country with a general strike. With the exception of 1946 when there took place a general strike organized by the Communists, there had been no other general strike in Brazil. It was the first strike in which the proletariat acted as a class and in which it held sway as a class, embracing diverse sectors and tendencies of the proletariat.

## Guerrillas Insufficient

Guevara does not understand this. And in Brazil there is no guerrilla warfare. In Brazil it is the functioning of the peasant co-operatives which stimulates the revolutionary fight. Guevara writes this article after the events of November and December in Bolivia, in which dual power lasted fifteen days at new levels and in which the Bolivian proletariat for fifteen days were masters of part of Bolivia. And what of the fight of the Peruvian masses? Instead Guevara praises guerrilla warfare in an abstract fashion. Where is the guerrilla warfare? In Colombia there has been guerrilla warfare for sixteen years. What advances, what progress has the revolution made? None, the revolution is stagnant. Certain sectors of those engaged in guerrilla warfare have today degenerated into bandits. In Venezuela there has been guerrilla warfare for five years. There it was strengthened in its beginning by almost a third of the army which it could have defeated. And where is the guerrilla war in Guatemala? After almost ten years the guerrilla fighting in Guatemala must re-organize itself and find a fresh orientation because the action preceding it was a failure. And where is the guerrilla war in Nicaragua? It has been going on for six years and now it is stagnant.

Guerrilla warfare in Latin America can not be analysed without a concrete analysis of the failure of the four essential centres of guerrilla fighting. It is impossible. They have all failed. Not because guerrilla warfare is wrong, but because as a means in itself, as a phenomenon in itself, it is inevitably and inexorably condemned to failure. Guerrillas can be a motor, but when vast masses begin to participate in the fight, the method of guerrilla warfare loses

strength, weight, importance and capacity for action. When the action of the masses takes over, when the masses intervene, guerrilla warfare becomes merely one means of action, and not the principle, but the secondary means. The worker militias, the general strike, are infinitely superior weapons to any type of guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare does not tend to centralize action but to disperse it: the militias tend to centralize the action and the striking power. And that which decides victory is not the firing of a gun, nor the elimination of five or ten Capitalist assassins, but it is the capacity to mobilize the masses in a centralized fashion, with anti-Capitalist objectives, which wins authority over the population, and throws the Capitalist apparatus into disarray. The militias, like the general strike, are organs which centralize the action of the masses, giving them sureness and faith in themselves, allowing them to participate organically in the fight, deciding the goal and the political objective. And furthermore, this does not disperse them but brings them together. It is not a question of choice; of whether the militias, or guerrilla warfare, or the general strike are better. They are means of action of which revolutionary use can be made but which have different importances and uses, because they are determined by different situations and necessities.

## General Strike Irreplaceable

The highest military form of the proletarian revolution is the constitution of a proletarian army, this is beyond doubt. A proletarian army, not a capitalist army won over to the revolution. Then comes the militia, because the militia springs from the already organized centre of the masses: it depends on their organic desire to fight, and it employs the military system on their organic desire to fight, and it employs the military system as one of the means of gaining the objective of defeating Capitalism. But it relies on the general strike, on the intervention of the population. The general strike is irreplaceable, because a general strike means the persuasion of the whole of the population to intervene. It is the militia which is dependent, which promotes the general strike on which it is based. It has an invincible force, not because of the militia in itself, for its military means may be very limited, but because it gains its strength not only from its weapons, but in the desire for participation in the fight, of the entire population. Guerrilla warfare can start the fight, can stimulate the fight, but when one embarks on organic action of

the co-operatives, of the general strike and of the militias, guerrilla warfare loses its effect, its importance and its power.

And in analyzing concretely guerrilla warfare, one cannot speak of Colombia, of Venezuela, of Nicaragua or of Guatemala, but one needs to analyze it objectively. How can one say, "the example of guerrilla warfare in Colombia" without saying that this guerrilla warfare has been going on for sixteen years? Sixteen years! And now it is stagnant! For four years there has been a continuous battle of Venezuelan terrorists. Because they are not guerrilla fighters, they are terrorists. Terrorism is an individual action. It seeks to impose itself through terror, through individual elimination, but it is based on an aristocratic conception of the fight, on the conception that it will be a small group

Cuban revolution. How can one be unaware of this? How can one not know what is going on? They are unaware of this, not because they do not see it, but because of their empiricism, because they do not base their analysis and their conclusions on comprehension, on ideological clarity, on a systematically developed Marxist analysis, of the objective process, on the comprehension of the strength of the Proletariat.

It is wholly wrong to disregard the European proletariat, we repeat what we have said to the European cadres schools and in our articles Fidel Castro, Guevara and other ideologists of the petit-bourgeoisie, when they speak of guerrilla warfare in Latin-America, and of the peasant revolution, mean to state that the proletariat has failed in its mission of being the organizing centre of the revolution. This is their meaning.

*We publish in this issue the second part of the opening speech to the VII World Congress by Cde Posadas.*

*The first part appeared in the September issue.*

which will decide. But a small group will never be able to defeat the Capitalist regime. It can kill five, ten, a hundred leaders of Capitalism, but these will be replaced. Capitalism is not composed merely of people, it is a system, a structure, an apparatus. A system, a structure and an apparatus which generates, produces and creates the elements of which it is in need in order to develop. Perhaps better, perhaps equal to those which have been eliminated: but it generates them. The whole history of terrorism demonstrates this.

## Proletariat Leads The Struggle

Whereas on the contrary, terrorist action in the service of the anti-capitalists fight and subject to the action of the masses, has significance, has strength and importance. Terrorist action, not terrorism. And terrorist action can be a general strike accompanied by the elimination of five, six, eight or twenty leaders of the Bourgeoisie. But terrorist action accompanies a general strike to weaken the apparatus of the enemy, to break it down, at the moment in which it advances, and to prevent it from reconstructing, from reorganizing, and so ruining it. Kill ten leaders of capitalism, but at the same time further the general strike; this breaks down the apparatus; this is the difference between terrorist action and terrorism.

To emphasize guerrillas is as though one did not consider the Argentinean and Bolivian masses. — As if to make an analysis of class warfare and of the revolution in Latin-America without saying, the essential forces of the revolution are in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Peru. How can one disregard what is happening in Chile? How can one not say that Chile is the country whose proletariat is the most politically active in South America, that capitalism has not been able to advance further because of the action of the Chilean proletariat. How can one not say that if Alessandri has not broken with Cuba and is counting on self-determination, it is because of the weight of the Chilean masses which influence the petit-bourgeoisie? In the necessity of its development, Capitalism cannot rely on the strength of its own class and must fall back on the petit-bourgeoisie, and the latter is influenced by the Cuban revolution. But if the Chilean proletariat had not maintained its incessant fight, if it had not maintained its elevated activity, the petit-bourgeoisie would not feel the influence of the

They do not recognize that the peasant is the motor of the revolution. No! This means that the proletariat has failed. The peasant is the motor of the revolution. But the motor does not mean the steering wheel. If the motor has no steering wheel, nor four wheels, it remains where it is. It is the motor which provides the power, which forces ahead, but if there are neither wheels nor a steering wheel, where will this motor go? When Trotsky said, "the peasant revolution, motor of the revolution in Latin-America," he said "motor" not "steering wheel." For this same Fidel Castro showed that he began the revolution by depending on the motor of the peasant revolution, but without recourse to the proletariat; and if he had not relied on the proletarian organizations, the formation of the worker state would not have taken place. The present basis on which the Cuban worker state relies and on which it functions is not the peasantry, it is the proletariat. The problem is to aid the proletariat to break the chains of the infamous Soviet bureaucracy, of the Communists, of the Nationalists. This is what must be done.

The incessant revolutionary fight of the European proletariat is an essential factor in the world balance of power.

Before Fidel Castro and Guevara dreamt of the existence of Socialism, or of the possibility that Socialism could exist, before all the ideologists of Latin-American guerrilla warfare, or the Communist and Nationalist leaders of Latin-America, the European proletariat gave birth to seven worker states. Seven worker states! Who has the courage to say, without demonstrating that this is not so, that the European proletariat is becoming "conservative," that it has stabilized itself in the comfort of earning a good wage (aside from the fact that they do not have good wages, for there are strikes every day in Europe)? The Proletariat built seven worker states.

## East European Masses Make The Revolution

Since 1943, the European Proletariat has fought to destroy Capitalism. The entry of the Soviet armies into Europe, in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc., was not the factor that determined the downfall of Capitalism. But without the previous action of the proletarian masses, without the resistance of the Czechoslovakian and Polish masses to Nazism, without the action of the masses against Capitalism, the occupation of the factories, strikes and guer-

rilla fighting, the Soviet army when it made its entry would not have been victorious. Half of the bourgeoisie of all these countries was eliminated during the war. Who eliminated them? The war in itself? No! It was the fight of the masses against them. The bourgeoisie supported the Germans and the masses fought against it, and in spite of the Communist parties, carried through to the end the fight for the liquidation of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie did not disappear because war destroyed its factories— Though the war did destroy the factories. And why did the workers not return them to the Capitalists? The occupation of the factories and the defence of them were in themselves the proletarian Revolution. This was the form which the phase of the proletarian revolution in Europe assumed after the war. And when the Soviet army came, the masses were in occupation of the factories, were holding meetings and strikes, which gave rise to the disappearance of Capitalism in Eastern Europe. In Czechoslovakia it lasted until 1948, and Benes left because he said they had tricked him. And because the masses could no longer stand him, they threw Masaryk out of the window. The bureaucracy sought conciliation until the last moment. They made a thousand concessions. The masses did not, and the Soviet masses too insisted on the enlargement of the worker state, on the necessity of the worker state's functioning, to elevate its economy. And this came about because of the existence of the proletariat. Not of the peasants. Of the proletariat. Following the formation of these worker states, the great strikes in Europe took place, and there followed the attempt to seize power in France, England, Germany, Italy and Belgium. Since 1947 until the present time, the Belgian Proletariat has sought power on three occasions, has shown its willingness to do so. In France in 1946, as all those who remember the history of France know, because of the dismissal of two Communist typographers, the whole of French life was paralyzed. And during the war, the French Communist Party was a small party and today it is a massive party. In Italy even before the attempt on the life of Togliatti, the masses erupted towards the PCI and the PSI which focussed the anti-Capitalist spirit. The PCI's answer to the masses was to support the bourgeois Italian constitution. One cannot with impunity ignore the history of Europe. If the proletariat did not seize power in Europe, it was because their leaders impeded it. The proletariat wants to seize power. The proletariat did not fail: it was its leadership which failed.

**Necessity For Parties And Trade Unions**

If the proletariat could seize power and destroy Capitalism without parties, without organization, we would already have been living in Socialism for some time. The action of the Party and the Trade Union plays a fundamental, specific and irreplaceable role in history. When humanity is guided by common desire, when it is shaped by a common spirit of fraternity, based on the elimination of individual and collective struggles, of class against class, of individual against individual, when Socialism has eliminated all this, the will of the masses will be collective and the social and historical conditions will be created for the elimination of the factors which generated these sentiments, these forms of reaction, of the spirit and consciousness. The masses will react in a collective fashion before any confrontation. The masses of the whole world will decide to change things simply by looking at themselves. If today the masses cannot decide for themselves, it is because the education, the structure, the functioning of Capitalism impede collective action when this is not brought about through organizations. For it is private property which shapes social relations. The Trade Union, the fight for Socialism, limits individual private action, but does not eliminate it. For this reason the Trade Union and the parties are necessary and will be so for some time to come. Only with Socialism will Trade Unions and parties

cease to be necessary. Fidel Castro, Guevara, and all the Nationalist and Revolutionary leaders, all those who think themselves revolutionary in Latin-America must rectify their judgment of the proletariat. They must understand that the proletariat in Europe is today ready to seize power. The ultimate irrefutable proof of this is the formation of the PSIUP in Italy, the welcome which this has received within the rest of the proletariat, the echo of which finds expression in the PCI which turns to the bourgeoisie to say: "We are all in danger. All. We are willing to join with the Government to guarantee Capitalist policy." This is what they say: "We will pursue a policy in the defence of private property, if not we will all fall." It is an expression of the knowledge which all these share — the bourgeoisie, the capitalist parties and the PCI — of the fact that they are all in danger and that already the PCI, above all through Togliatti, Amendola, Pajetta, seeks to build a new type of party, through which they can form a part of the bourgeois current. In other words, the democracy which these deny in the revolutionary anti-Capitalist current, they now admit in the bourgeois currents which seek to develop within the PCI.

One cannot make any serious calculation of guerrilla warfare in Latin-America without considering that it must aim to impell the proletariat to act. It is when the motor of the peasant revolution finds a proletarian leadership that this motor leads to the defeat of Capitalism.

**The New Sections Of The IV International In Europe And Africa**

The Chinese, guerrilla, warfare, the politics of Cuba, the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy, the politics of the Communist party, the politics, the programme and the objectives of Maitan, Frank and Germain, and all the others have failed. They have been defeated. The policies of the IV International are in continual advance, not only because the course of history shows this, but because this is expressed objectively in the struggle of the masses, and further in the fact that, once the revolution is under way, whatever the level at which it begins, if the revolution continues, if it is not defeated, strangled or stopped, it immediately acquires a Socialist character. And what is more, the Trotskyists participate directly.

While all these have failed, and danced a thousand pirouettes, the IV International moves forward and develops. And this Congress is the proof, not of the fact that the IV International has so many Sections, which publish weekly periodicals, that it has fourteen publications, but of the fact that in a concrete fashion, proportionally to its progress, the revolution internally discusses Trotskyist policy. The IV International acquires influence and weight; in the measure in which our movement decides to intervene, and is energetic, dynamic and vigorous, it influences and determines the general course of important revolutionary movements, as in Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Italy. It has great political influence; not authority to determine the course of this party or the action of important wings, but it has great influence; and in only a year and a half. The strength of the IV International is growing, while all these currents disperse. Fidel Castro finds the need to attach himself to de Gaulle. Do you know what this means? To attach yourself to de Gaulle! To continue the policy of the worker state, he finds he is forced into the decision to ally himself with de Gaulle, and in order to ally himself with de Gaulle, he must praise de Gaulle.

In the meantime there takes place the failure of reformism, of conciliation, of empirical policy and the confirmation of the necessity of a policy of principles. The principles have been abandoned by them all; Pablo, Frank, Maitan, Germain and Fidel Castro. Guevara creates the impression of making an effort to understand and to take the lines of principles. We desire him to do so. As we desire that all sincere revolutionaries should do so. But while all these lose revolutionary objectivity and

attach themselves to the de Gaulles, to the Ben Bellas, etc., the IV International in one year and a half has built six Sections, five in Europe and one in Africa, has developed its Sections in Latin-America, has completed the task that the earlier leadership was obliged to undertake; to build a leadership in Spain not a fictitious but a real Section small in number, with little strength, but already based on a sector of the Spanish masses.

While these others lose strength, the IV International progresses: in a year and a half the IV International has been capable of building six Sections, and among these, one in Spain and one in Algeria. The Algerian Section did not commence two years ago. It commenced in 1959. In the preceding International. But when in a year and half the International has formed six Sections, regularized its publications, which function unequally, not uniformly, but tend to develop, with an authority like that of the Belgians and the Italians, and the Algerians as well; when it has been able to bring about a World Conference with the presence of Comrade Delegates from Algeria and from Spain (also we decided that the Cuban delegate should come, we awaited his arrival until the last moment for at the last moment, fifteen days ago, they were denied visas, otherwise two comrades would have come); when the International is able in a year and a half to build six Sections, to stabilize them, to constitute small teams, with crises in some, with weaknesses in others, but in general acquiring authority, it is not the dynamism of the international leadership which has produced this. It is not the decision and the political comprehension of the leadership of the International which has produced this, these six Sections. But it is the strength of the programme and of the policy of the International. It was necessary to organize them, harmonize and launch them. We did nothing more than this. In order to do this, dynamism, decision, strength and will were undoubtedly necessary. And faith in our strength. Without these it could not have been done.

**Success In Organizing Sections In Europe**

If in only six months, faced with the resistance which we found in Europe to the organization of the Sections, resistance born of political incomprehension, of fear, of insecurity, and resistance pure and simple, we were able to create these Sections which are now functioning, this demonstrates the immediate and enormous future which the International has in Europe. I do not refer only to Latin-America. In Europe. Not

in the same way but with immediate possibilities. In a year and a half it was necessary to bring together a group of comrades in order to construct the embryo of the Sections. It was necessary to regroup them. In order to do this, it was necessary to give them confidence and faith in the fact that it was possible to succeed, to publish a newspaper. For the first time in Europe to give confidence to comrades who had never in their lives written a periodical, who were new to the International (95% of these have a year, a year and a half's life in the International — no more). It was necessary to convince them that they could publish a newspaper, with our help, that they could do it, that it would have a good reception, that it would develop, improve, that it would face up to the ideological, intellectual, and physical terrorism of the ex-members of the International (Germain, Maitan, Frank, etc.) who appeared to be the intellectual centres, the elaborators, the fountain heads on which depended the formulation of Trotskyism. To convince our groups in Europe that it was possible to face them, to eliminate them, to face up to those who called themselves Trotskyists, to the objective pressures of the petit-bourgeois intellectual who believed and still believes in the brilliance of Pierre Frank, in the intellectual capacity of Germain, who hopes to become a Minister of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, in the capacity of Pablo. To elevate our groups until they feel that they are capable of overcoming all this, was not a task of intellectual persuasion. It did not merely mean the persuasion of the intellect, but to convince and create the will. For it was necessary and it is necessary still to face up to the objective pressures of numerical weakness, to the enormity of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party, of the Trade Unions, to face the formation of pro-Chinese groups, the pressures of the Chinese against us, and the lack of tradition and experience in the International. Despite all this, we decided to accomplish this in a year and a half. And the result is the six Sections which are present here.

This indicates the enormous force of the ideas, of the policies, of the programme, of the perspective of the IV International. To have overcome in a year and a half the whole phase of the struggle to prove that it was possible to constitute Sections, and to develop them, and to arrive at a World Congress, demonstrates the enormous strength of the International — strength which has not as yet been unleashed, which is not yet mature, which is not yet utilised in depth. This signifies that there exists

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# OPENING SPEECH (Part 2)

(continued from page 3)

in Europe a force capable in less than a year of creating large currents. Belgium, Italy, England, Spain and Algeria, are countries where there is the immediate possibility of enormous development. And in a short term, immediately. Even in England. The Labour masses are preparing to defeat Capitalism, not to vote for the Socialist party but to defeat Capitalism. And Healy's group is preparing itself to impede the development of the IV International. We repeat to this Congress our judgment on the Healy group. In a direct or indirect fashion, these are people in the service of British Imperialism whose task is to obstruct, sabotage and impede the development of the IV International. This is their task which they carry out through their publications and through their activities. The reason which impels us to give this judgment is the disproportion between the political insignificance, the lack of revolutionary intentions and objectives, and the material means of which they make use in a completely disproportionate publishing activity.

The IV International did not develop before this phase in history. In this phase it develops. Not because the leaders of the International were mistaken earlier. They did make many mistakes, they erred, they subjected themselves to petit-bourgeois life and development, incapable of understanding the masses. The great revolutions since 1946 were not understood by them. They did not understand Yugoslavia, the European worker states, and China, and they saw the success of the worker states only several years after its attainment. We repeat a judgment which shows the capitulating concession of these people: in 1946 a pamphlet of Germain's, then adopted as the official line of the IV International said of these countries, that were already worker states. "Out with Soviet troops in Eastern Europe, out with the troops of Imperialism" this was not the correct slogan, was, "Out with the troops of Imperialism, Long Live the worker states, let the Soviet army support unconditionally the establishment of worker states in Europe: let the masses decide." In 1939, Trotsky supported the invasion of Finland, not in order to crush Finland, but to carry forward the revolution. This demonstrates the capitulating policy and concessions of these people.

## The Historical Structure Of The IV International

Before now the historic objective possibility of the development of the IV International did not exist. For the development of the IV International, favourable historic objective conditions were necessary and are necessary still. The favourable historical conditions are the development of the world revolution, the development of the worker states, the development of the permanent revolution. One cannot develop the International in a situation of retrocession, of stagnation, of the suffocating of the revolution. The new International, the IV International, is based on the objective experience of the masses, of leadership, actions, groups and tendencies. On these it is dependent for its development. Not only because its policy is correct. If all that was necessary were to formulate a correct policy, Capitalism would already have been dead for some time. The masses live their lives in the organizations which already exist. It is not that they are slow to learn, to experiment, to overcome. They are dynamic, enormously dynamic. Governed by the relationships of private property, united only by the links of family, of the social Capitalist relationship of private property, subordinate to the necessities of the fight to destroy a system of relationships which is the basis of present day existence, it is not possible for the masses to change from one day to the next. Not because their spirit is conservative, but because that which allows experience is the system in which they exist. The basis for experience does not reside in the greater or lesser intelligence. The historical condition of experience is the relationship between social development and the human relationship, and the collective social relationships. This determines ex-

perience. Individually one or the other may have more experience. Collectively humanity develops in this way because it is governed by the relations of private property.

In order to understand, to believe in the IV International, in the worker states and in the revolution, and in order to accept the programme of the IV International, the masses were in need of finite historical phases in the development of the revolution. But not of any development. The preceding development of the revolution took place in conditions in which the IV International was small and the bureaucracy was reinforced. The revolution developed, but so did the bureaucracy. And the IV International had to face not only the absence of maturity in the masses, the absence of fully developed objective conditions, but also the bureaucratic apparatus. When we say the lack of maturity in the masses, we do not mean the lack of revolutionary maturity. After the war the masses were ready to seize power in every part of the world. But not also to change party, leadership, to unite together to defeat bureaucracy? The conditions for maturing are objective: maturing for what? For example the Cuban masses are mature, perfectly mature, to impede the return of Capitalism to Cuba. But they are not sufficiently mature to defeat the power of bureaucracy, the agents of bureaucracy, the imposition of bureaucracy in Cuba. We decide our action in relation to the masses basing ourselves not on the second aspect but on the first. And we have faith that they will reach this decision because we have faith in their mature revolutionary decision.

## Conditions Necessary For The Formation of IV International

After 1932, after the creation of the Left Opposition and the basis of the IV International, there was no historic time for the formation of a party. Almost always, or always, in the course of history, the organization of the International has been the product of a historic event. The III International was the consequence of the Russian Revolution. The formation of the historic party fundamental to the IV International necessitated a certain lapse of time and certain historic conditions. Time is the necessary element in creating internal harmony, in acquiring solidity and faith in the programme, in the policy, in the perspective. On this basis a closely knit party with faith in itself has the foundation on which to face historic pressure. The basis, this does not mean the strength to repulse it. But it has the foundation. The IV International was able to form a party. After 1934, the formation of the first party of the IV International took place. It was an extremely small party, Trotsky and another four or five throughout the world. And in conditions of the ebbing of the revolution, when activity had to be reserved to sustain, to defend Marxism, to impede the failure, the losing of faith, the repudiation of dialectical materialism. This was the essential task. Not the formation of a party destined to push forward, to gain the leadership of the revolution. There was no time to form such a party. From 1934 to 1939 were five years of retrocession of the revolution in which the central activity of the party—which was Trotsky—was directed towards teaching the sections of the world proletariat, to explaining, to sustaining and defending dialectical materialism, to prevent the separation of the currents of the world movement from the workers. That was no time to form any party. And then in 1939 the war began, until 1945. Not even then was there the possibility for action, for an internal life to organize and develop leadership. And in the preceding period instead of there being favourable and stimulating conditions for the world development of the party, which could have given rise to faith and security, there took place the defeat of the Spanish revolution which was the most terrible blow the world proletariat

suffered after the 1914/1918 war. Only after 1946 did new conditions arise for the possible development of an international party, of an international leadership. Before there was no such possibility.

## Wrong Conception In Former Leaders Of IV International

After 1946, there developed objective conditions for the development of the international leadership of the IV International, but the groups which then grew, as the great majority of the groups in Europe and Asia, showed themselves to be weak, feeble. Leaderships were formed with mistaken conceptions, without understanding of the revolution in European countries, without understanding the nature of the Communist Party, the inner relationship between the forces which existed in Europe after the war, and seeking to introduce themselves from above into the parties, awaiting the disintegration of these parties, and pointing to the war. Basically their conception was idealist, expecting that the ideas and positions of the IV International would act of themselves in the process, feeling and acting as if they were repositories of a privileged conception, expecting that the development of the International would arise out of the war, without their having to build any worker group whatsoever in any of the countries of Europe.

The errors which this leadership committed were fundamental to the stagnation and decomposition of the European parties and sections of the IV International. But it was not simply a question of errors, although objective conditions for the development of parties of the masses of the IV International did not yet exist. History had not yet shown which was the vehicle, the road, the way which the development of the IV International would take, as a party of the masses or as a sector, tendency or leadership or party capable of merging into the revolution, of being the conscience of that revolution. But in order to discover this, it was not possible to act from the outside. It was impossible to act in this way.

## World Trotskyist Press

- ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist).
- ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.
- BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.
- BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Oruro.
- BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.
- CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.
- CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq. Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.
- FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.
- ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.
- MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, 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.

It was necessary to become one with the masses, to develop there teams in the heart of the masses to organize there the future and inevitable leading cadres of the world revolution. The possibilities which then existed were not many, but this was the road. But they did not wish to understand this, and they did not act in this fashion. They acted with the mentality of the privileged, the chosen. Their failure is not the failure of the perspective of the IV International, but the failure of a false policy. It is not the failure of an objective perspective, but the failure of a policy which sought to succeed at a level outside the direct intervention of the masses. And it was a petit-bourgeois concept of the relationship between party—class—leadership; of the relationship between party—class—and revolution. This concept derived in the final analysis from the fact that in this phase in history they felt small by comparison with the enormous process which was developing in the bureaucracy and into which they wished to gain entry through the side door. While in this same period, there developed in Latin-America the Latin-American Bureau. And this showed what could be done. And not because in Latin-America there were special conditions. In Italy, Belgium and France things were the same as in Latin-America with the added advantage of mass action by millions and millions of proletarians. What was missing was the group that, in that precise historic phase knew what was necessary to do, and could apply this concept, this policy.

## Trotskyism Develops In Living Experience

Trotsky said this. When Trotsky analyzed the relationship between class—party—leadership, he showed the importance of the existence of a group capable of understanding the historic phase in certain determined conditions, of intervening in this phase, of rendering it more dynamic. The difficulties of that phase of history did not allow the development of the International but they did allow the development of parties which acquired faith in the struggle of the revolutionary masses, and were influenced by the best in the revolution, as happened in Latin-America with the BLA.

In order to evaluate the action of leadership, it is not enough to examine its programme, its policy. Programme and policy can be valid for a whole period. The policy may be of limited scope, but it is the programme which determines the policy, and not the policy the programme. If the programme was to develop the International within the revolution, the mind, and the heart should have been open to the greatest influences of the revolution. And the greatest influence of the revolution in this phase was, for the International, the BLA. Why were they not influenced by the BLA? If they were not influenced by the BLA, it was because they resisted. Theirs was a concept of the role of leadership at the same time empirical and petit-bourgeois, idealist. They based the organic action of the masses on the intellectual action of defining what needed to be done. One does not define a policy, it develops, one creates a party to carry it out. And in living practical experience the organisms are created and developed to carry it out, both in class struggles and in the assemblies, in the committee, and in the life of the party.

Today we are in another phase. While these have undergone a continual process of liquidation, of disintegration, there has developed a leadership in Latin-America, which today organises this Congress and is now preparing itself and the International to intervene in the world revolution. This demonstrates that Marxism has neither a fixed destiny nor patronage, not even in part. This shows that culture is not the objective knowledge of books, of texts, but that culture, as an instrument of the progress of history, finds today its most elevated expression in Marxism. And Marxism is not an instrument under the patronage of a limited number of leaders, but it lives in the masses, and even though they do not understand it,

do not understand Marx, it is applied by them.

Culture as an instrument of progress, must be evaluated in the only way in which it can be of historical importance in this phase of humanity: on the basis of whether or not the masses progress. And the best and most elevated means of evaluating whether or not the masses progress is to examine whether or not they intervene, have the power of decision, have faith and confidence in themselves. And the revolution in Zanzibar, in Gabon, in Latin-America, in Africa, in Asia, Viet-nam, Laos, the revolution in the small states of Africa, and the development of the International, are the evidence that Marxism today lives in the minds of more than half of humanity. Not in the form of facts, books, texts, but in the desire for action. The old leaders have never been able to understand the feelings of the masses. It is not that earlier what we are now doing could not have been done. It could have been done. Not in the same measure as today, but it could have been done on a lesser scale, in preparation for the future, in conscious preparation for the future. It is for this reason that despite the capitulators, their crises and their disintegration the International has developed and has organised this Congress, which is a direct and living form of the development of the world revolution.

### The World Congress Shows The Perspective Of The Victory Of The International

At the same time in which the revolution generates its strength, impetus and dynamism, it generates also possibilities and perspectives. What is our perspective? That which grows out of this group? No. Our perspective is that which grows out of the will of the sections of the International, which are founded on the already existent world revolution, whatever its form may be, colonial, semi-colonial, proletarian or political revolution. This is our perspective. The perspective of all those who have capitulated and are dead, is to keep to the apparatuses. This is the epoch of the IV International. This is not a justification for ourselves. The impetuous advance of the masses, the incessant progress of the political revolution, of the proletarian revolution, the continual attempts of the European proletariat to defeat Capitalism, the constant and concrete progress of the International throughout the world are the proof that this is the phase of the IV International. For the factors which permit the development of the IV International have come together. Objectively, the incessant progress of the revolution in all its forms, the permanent process of the revolution; subjectively, the development of a harmonious, homogeneous group, not all of it members with the same comprehension, the same will, the same discipline and centralization of the will towards the objective, but all with an elevated political comprehension. And we have faith that the revolutionary struggle, that our fusion with the masses, will help to discipline, to give faith and confidence to those comrades who do not already possess these in sufficient measure in order to contribute, that which we should and can contribute.

This is the epoch of the IV International. Not because reality is objectively Trotskyist. No. But because, objectively, there exists a Trotskyist group. The world is Trotskyist. All is Trotskyist in the social development of the revolution, in social relationships. For Trotskyism today means the direct intervention of the masses, the revolutionary positions, the anti-capitalist struggle, the expropriation of capitalism, all this is Trotskyism. But it also means in empiric form the progress of Marxism, of Trotskyism. Today the course of history is Trotskyist because there is a group, there are parties and a leadership disposed to transform this empiric relationship into a conscious relationship. And this will soon be achieved. And this transformation from empiric relationship to conscious relationship will be concluded in a brief space of time in Latin-America, in Africa and in Europe. We do not delude ourselves about the power of our forces. We are

few with but little material means. But we have been capable of actions like that in connection with the new socialist party in Italy; impeding Fidel Castro from killing our comrades, for without the action of our Cuban section, without its activity, Fidel Castro would have allowed the shooting of the Trotskyists. Indirectly our action attracts the attention, the interest, of the Cuban masses, influences them, attracts the interest of part of the leadership of the Cuban revolution, because it reflects the necessity of a democratic way of life, against the Cuban bureaucracy, because our party is the one which consciously expresses these needs and thereby impedes the shooting of our comrades and, further, the arresting of all the Trotskyists. This is the direct influence on the Cuban revolution. This is our strength. This is the epoch of the IV International, of the development of the IV International, because the objectively Trotskyist course of history finds expression in every action of the masses, in every activity, in every objective which they set themselves. And further, because we exist already, in a number of countries, fused with the masses; Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia. Three countries in which the development of the International will soon be in the vanguard of the revolution. And we aim during this year or at the beginning of next year to be at the vanguard of the revolution. We believe that in these countries—with the addition of Peru and Chile—this year or in 1965, the revolution will be the order of the day. And we will be at the head of the revolution.

We are preparing ourselves in this Congress to draw the best conclusions in order to create forces with the comprehension of this objective process and of our power, which we base on the fusion and comprehension of the masses. We stand before the heroic struggle of the masses. Never above them. And when we say before the masses, it is not because we have a greater capacity, more strength, more capacity to sacrifice, or more courage than the masses. The masses have as much, or more of these than we. That which places us at the head of the masses is political and ideological understanding. For this we say: before the masses, never over them. Otherwise the action is individualistic, petit-bourgeois, pedantic, short lived, believing that the revolution is led through the giving of orders. This is the individualistic, sectarian attitude, which is opposed to collective advance and to the influence of the masses.

### We Gain Strength From The Will Of The Masses

Every movement which is not influenced by the revolutionary action of the masses is already dead. When we say: "before the masses and not above them" it is because "before" means that we influence the masses ideologically and politically, but these influence our own movement through their revolutionary will. Above the masses one is not subject to any influence on their part, but on the contrary, one is under the influence of the petit-bourgeoisie which tends not to recognise the masses, to crush the influence of the masses. This is not merely an opening speech. In reality it is a general outline of a political resolution, in which are touched upon all the points of the political resolution. This constitutes the opening speech. We do not propose to praise our own action, to draw attention to our progress, but to make a synthesis: where we are going, what the future holds. On this basis takes place and develops the whole activity of the Congress. The opening speech is a centre which guides, which tends to shape the life, the political activity and the political conclusions of the Congress. For this reason, I have made an analysis and drawn important conclusions which will be repeated in the political resolution. As in the April Conference, we began the analysis of the world situation by analysing the course of the revolution and not the economic situation (because that which shapes history is the revolution) by the same criterion that we make this opening speech.

I should like to make another series

of analyses of the aspects of the revolution in Latin-America of our intervention in Italy and Belgium, which are the places in which we see the immediate possibility for the development of the International. We will do this in the course of other reports, above all in drawing up the report on the organizations and the development of the International. And among the problems of the organizations, there will also be the problems of nationalism and of the nationalist currents in this phase.

### The International Will And Must Intervene More Dynamically

This 7th World Congress is held on the basis of the world development of the revolution, of our intervention in the revolution, of the slaughter of various of our comrades: Jeremias, Peralta, Faxas Canto, the Algerian Mustapha and others of whom we do not yet know. And this shows the activity of the International, not the activity from the point of view of possibility, but effective activity. The activity of the assassinated Dominican comrades was decided among themselves and with resolutions which they themselves applied. The action of Comrade Jeremias was prepared by the International, the same applies to the Algerian comrade. In a speech to the April Conference, I maintained that we must prepare to suffer many deaths, in the measure in which the International intervenes, we shall suffer many deaths. We honour, remember, our slaughtered comrades, but we do not make an exception of them. Together with them we remember the millions of militant revolutionaries, of peasants, of workers, of these colonial or semi-colonial countries, who—like our comrades and ourselves—are giving their lives in order to carry forward the revolution.

We must not make an exception of our comrades. We must consider them within these limits, otherwise we create a spirit of sect. Jeremias, Peralta, Faxas Canto and Mustapha, these four comrades were killed for the same reasons, for the same objective as the millions of peasants in Asia, in Africa and in Latin-America, as the European proletariat, which too is fighting for the revolution. We must have a clear conscience in this, we make no distinction. But at the same time the murder of these comrades means that the International has strength, and intervenes not only by publishing documents, not only by speaking in committees or by selling newspapers, but is intervening actively.

In the next phase the International must intervene in the guerrilla fighting, in the peasant struggles, in the mountain militias, in the general strike, in a degree a million times superior to that in which it has been done until now. We will have more dead, but we will also have more progress of the revolution. One cannot construct without destruction, unhappily, because these are the relationships in force in the world. Only socialism will build without destruction, it will transform. On the other hand, inevitably, in order to build the International, several tens and hundreds of comrades will be slaughtered. We prepare ourselves not to die, but to fight to carry forward the revolution.

The preparation of this 7th World Congress bases its strength, its solidity, faith and confidence, not only on the activity of these murdered comrades, their revolutionary activity; but also on two years of preparation, leading to this common objective, to intervene in order to carry forward the revolution; not for the glory of the IV International but for the progress of humanity. Each one of us believes in the revolution as a personal thing. We are not generous people and we make no sacrifice. We fight because we are confident that socialism is necessary. Our very satisfaction in living is to fight for socialism. For this reason between the masses and ourselves there is an identity of objectives, a common connection and further a common remembrance and a common appreciation of the fight and death for socialism. Otherwise we should be a self-glorifying sect.

We have formed cadre schools, organized meetings, lectures, congresses, never has the activity of the Inter-

national had the development which this International has had. Never. In two years we have formed cadre schools in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in Latin-America, in all of the sections and section by section. We have organized congresses, lectures, voyages, we have aided the progress of our sections with their weekly newspapers, which influence the masses. Never in the history of the revolution has there been an action similar to that of our comrades in North-east Brazil, where a small group was capable of shaking the whole of Brazil. And never has there been a situation like the present one in Brazil, where prisoners form a committee in jail with a membership of 500 peasants: a committee is formed, they leave and they return. Never in history. But we do not say this in order to draw attention and to gain satisfaction. This is in order to demonstrate to the comrades of North-west Brazil that this means that the revolution is en route, it is at hand. This means that we must develop in order to be in the organic front of the revolution; to organize co-operatives, militias, guerrilla groups, which serve as a beginning to unite with the sergeants, with the soldiers, with the workers, and prepare to defeat the Capitalist regime. This is the most important conclusion for the North-east Brazilian section. The same for the Argentinian and Bolivian comrades. It is for this that this Congress is preparing itself. This is our strength. Not because we have faith in abstract ideas, but because the ideas are the instruments for organising ourselves, for seizing power.

I conclude my opening speech in the name of the leadership of the International by greeting all the comrades, repeating that greeting to the comrades who are not present and who, in diverse parts of the world, like ourselves, in another section of activity, are fighting to carry forward the common objective of the IV International.

To carry forward objectively the socialist revolution, to push forward objectively the intervention of the masses, to push forward objectively the world unification of the struggle of the masses, this is the victory of the IV International. Atomic war and the revolution immediately after atomic war will represent a gigantic development of the world revolution, we are preparing ourselves for this. But in order to intervene in this period, we must today assume in the greatest measure possible, with the greatest depth, with the greatest force, the leadership of the revolution, above all in those countries in which this can already be done: Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, in part Peru, Italy and Belgium, in the next phase.

J. POSADAS.

March 1964.

## Activity of the French Section

In the course of its interventions in the class struggle in France, some comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party (French section of the IV International) were arrested by the police. The comrades were collecting signatures and money in the campaign for the release of the Spanish comrades which has obtained a considerable echo in France. The arrests took place significantly in Saint-Denis, a suburb of Paris, where the mayor is a member of the French Communist party. This is the fourth time that comrades of the French section have been arrested—while selling the paper "Lutte Communiste" and involved in other party activities—in areas with a Communist mayor.

We express our complete solidarity with the French comrades and denounce the evident co-operation between the police and the CP apparatus. The repeated attempts of the bourgeoisie in France to coerce our comrades despite the relative smallness of the organization reflects the great feebleness of the bourgeoisie and their consciousness that the party finds a great echo among the French worker militants. Yet again the French Communist party apparatus shows that it is not simply reformist but a counter-revolutionary organisation.

# LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL I.S. Resolution on the LSSP

(continued from page 1)

## URUGUAY

The party has accelerated its campaign against the Organisation of American States in defence of the Cuban workers state and has called for a continental general strike against the counter-revolutionary resolutions of the Organisation of American States and for the expulsion of Imperialism from Uruguay itself. The Pentagon has been increasing its pressure on the bourgeoisie in relation to Cuba and has forced a diplomatic break with Cuba. This reflects the undoubted fact that as has been argued by the International the Pentagon is preparing to smash Cuba and is preparing the armies in Latin-America for the continental civil war which is coming; the process leading to the world war revolution. Great riots have just occurred in Montevideo against the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba—in fact they have been going on for three days. The party cells have participated with leaflets and in action with the militant students organisations.

## ITALY

We reprint here some details illustrating the intervention of the Italian comrades in the enormous crisis of Italian capitalism. The comrades of the Naples Regional Committee have regularly sold "Lotta Operaia" to the workers of the ITALSIDER factory at

Bagnoli. From early on the paper had received a good reception and provoked great discussion within the factory. On the second visit of the comrades they found the bureaucrats of the CGIL waiting for them. The bureaucrats invited them to a sudden debate in the presence of the workers. They invited them to this because they thought that an attempt to defeat the comrades in this way was the only means to combat them.

But things did not go their way. The CGIL union bosses made futile attempts to stimulate the workers against us accusing our comrades of aiding the employers because we propose the General Strike! They said also with the usual Stalinist falsification that we wanted the war. They said the war was the end of the world, and went on to add that the source of our money was very strange. Incapable of discussing political perspectives in a rational way all they could do was resort to the most infantile charges and characteristic Stalinist fabrications. But all these deceptions reckoned without the maturity of the workers for revolutionary struggle. Not only did the rotten bureaucrats fail to excite the workers against our comrades but found that workers were agreeing with the party, supported our comrades openly and asked them to come to the factory more often. After that time the bureaucrats gave up and made no attempt to interfere further.

which is not Trotskyist. It is absolutely against the principles, the necessities, and the needs of the development of the revolution to enter into any bourgeois government—even if a bourgeois government is revolutionary nationalist. A nationalist revolutionary current, that is to say which is not bourgeois is different. For such a government without fighting consciously for the positions for the ideological programme of communism tends towards such a policy. For example the petit-bourgeois nationalist government of Castro in the second stage after the guerrilla phase was a nationalist petit-bourgeois revolutionary government which went on the road towards communism. It would have been correct to enter such a government.

The condition for entering into a government even if it is nationalist is that such an entrance must be accompanied by the activity and the independent action of the party calling upon the masses to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Accordingly all parties which enter these movements without supporting its activity in the government by independent external action for the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism adapts itself, submits itself and allows itself to be attracted into the orbit of petit-bourgeois nationalist politics through which the influence of the bourgeoisie penetrates. The basis for entry into a revolutionary nationalist even petit-bourgeois government in a semi-colonial country is a united front in which the front does not annul independence vis-à-vis the government but on the contrary the condition is the independence for the Trotskyist party to develop external revolutionary action, to push forward and apply pressure to the revolutionary tendencies inside the government itself in order to lead the revolution forward.

The attitude of the LSSP is totally opposed to the revolutionary conclusions of the IV International. The Bandaranaike government is a bourgeois government. It does not put forward a revolutionary, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist policy, but it proposes to maintain capitalism. Because of the lack of the social and political means to defend the capitalist regime, capitalism cannot find support on its own political forces, so it turns to the LSSP, with the view of using its authority before the masses, its previous Trotskyist prestige, for the defence of the capitalist system. The programme of reforms with which the LSSP says it enters the government is a programme of capitalist reforms, which puts forward claims within the capitalist regime. It is a justification before the masses in order to enter the government.

The decomposition of this party is not new, it is the consequence of the perversion coming from the development of a petit-bourgeois and bourgeois policy maintained for several years. The IV International has already fought this policy. The Latin-American Bureau of the IV International led this fight since 1952, against the Ceylonese section and its process of decomposition. From this time, and particularly since 1954, it foresaw and warned against this corruption and this decomposition. Before being expelled from the IV International as being conciliatory with regard to Khrushchev, with regard to the Soviet bureaucracy, with regard to capitalism and the petit-bourgeois inclinations, towards conciliation with capitalism, in the IV and the V World Congresses of the IV International, the Latin-American Bureau accused this party of conciliation vis-à-vis capitalism and vis-à-vis world capitalism. At the IV World Congress the LSSP put the view that petit-bourgeois parties should be authorised in the Soviet Union, as well as liberal bourgeois tendencies; that they should have the power to function as political parties. In the worker states, in order to construct socialism, it is necessary that only the workers parties which accept and submit themselves to the socialist interests of the revolution should be able to function. It is not ac-

tually like this in the worker states because the bureaucracy is in political power. Also the stagnation, the backwardness and the conservative passivity of the workers states expresses itself in the conciliation with capitalism, Imperialism, and in the policy of peaceful co-existence.

At the IV and V Congresses of the International some Latin-American delegates and the Latin-American Bureau proposed the expulsion of the LSSP as being a bourgeois current. In 1960, at the VI World Congress, the Latin-American delegation proposed, concretely, the expulsion of the LSSP from the International, because all its policy showed the degree of rottenness which it had reached and the BIA predicted that in a short time it would enter a capitalist government, as has now happened. The tendency of Pablo, Germain, Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, etc., supported the LSSP, attacking, slandering, infuriating the Latin-American delegations for their decided opposition to maintaining the LSSP within the International.

The Ceylonese party was united to the Maitan, Pablo, Germain, Frank tendency by a reformist and capitulationist conception before the bureaucracy of the workers states, and by petit-bourgeois conciliation with the nationalist currents of the colonies and semi-colonies. One cannot sustain a policy of conciliation without taking the consequences, one cannot carry on a policy of alliance, of direct or indirect agreement with capitalist governments, be it in parliament or the government, without becoming corrupt and without decomposing. The LSSP was accused by the Latin-American delegations in a firm and categorical way of having perverted their parliamentary action by making it an end in itself, by going in for parliamentary careerism in the same way as the socialists, the communists and all the reformists. The Latin-American Bureau preferred to separate itself from a section in spite of the importance which Ceylon had—gaining 300,000 votes in an election. But in that election the LSSP did not defend those revolutionary principles which in the last instance are going to push forward the socialist revolution and the socialist re-animation of the workers states stifled today by the conservative passivity of the Soviet bureaucracy. One of the most important consequences of this conservative passivity is the retrogression in the planning of the economy. More freedom is being given to the important factories to produce directly in relation to the supply and demand. That is to say that it produces and trades according to capitalist norms and not to those of the system of socialist planning. This conclusion is the practical consequence of abandoning revolutionary ideas and positions. The LSSP uses Parliament as a means of parliamentary careerism that inevitably leads to corruption and decomposition. The attitude of the Ceylonese party is the same as the decomposition of the Pablo, Germain, Frank, Maitan tendency.

The International Secretariat of the IV International condemns and declares before the workers and revolutionary movement of the world, that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party has nothing to do with the IV International, that it is corrupt and rotten in the same way that the Communist and Socialist parties are corrupt and rotten.

The Secretariat of the IV International calls the minority of LSSP to reorganise itself under the banner of the IV International, of the permanent revolution and of the fight for workers and peasant power, of the struggle for the unification of the masses of the world to undertake the proletarian revolution, the colonial revolution and the political revolution in the workers states.

The International Secretariat of the IV International.

Aug. 6, 1964.

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## LABOUR PARTY LEADERS AFRAID TO CAMPAIGN

(continued from page 1)

timid reflection of the mood of the British masses.

The perspectives are short and they are revolutionary. The RWP(T) calls the workers and the petit-bourgeoisie in the Labour and Communist parties, in the trade unions, and in the unofficial shop steward and factory committees, to carry on the struggle against capitalism on the basis of a programme leading to workers power. All pay de-

mands, demands for holidays and shorter hours, demands for the control over conditions of work, weaken the capitalist system and raise the self-confidence of the workers. Everyday economic struggles will spill over into demands for workers control and the establishment of workers power.

Fight for workers power on the basis of the following programme.

### 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 20% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks,

- insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
21. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
22. 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*

57 — Trotsky

No. 14

NOVEMBER 1964

SIXPENCE

## Plan the Economy on the Basis of the Expropriation of All Key Industries

### WORKERS CONTROL IN ALL INDUSTRIES

In spite of the fact that they were afraid to wage any real campaign, to put forward any anti-capitalist programme, the Labour party has narrowly won the election thanks to the profoundly anti-capitalist feelings of the British working class. However, there is no doubt that with a genuine anti-capitalist programme, Labour could have collected many more votes, both from the working class and from sections of the lower middle class. Labour's vote has hardly increased since the last election, while the Liberals increased theirs by a million and a half mainly at the expense of the Conservatives. The middle class voter, the teacher, office worker, technician, etc., although sickened by 13 years of Tory rule, have not been sufficiently attracted by Labour's feeble pro-capitalist policy; their reaction is to leave the running of capitalism to the party of capitalism, the Tories. Today the capitalist class is weak, socially, politically and economically, and the petit-bourgeoisie shows its lack of respect for it, but the Labour party programme impedes the attraction of larger sections of the petit-bourgeoisie to the side of the workers against capitalism. Nevertheless, that the Labour party has formed a government is a glaring example of the weakness of British Imperialism which survives not because of its own strength but through the efforts of the Labour party and Trade Union bosses.

The heckling and barracking of Tory speakers during the election campaign, showed clearly the powerful feelings of opposition to capitalism and contempt for bourgeois democratic functions, which so sorely embarrassed the LP bureaucracies that on one occasion they even issued a leaflet urging Labour supporters not to barrack the Prime Minister. A militant anti-capitalist spirit manifested itself continuously throughout the campaign, with the best example being the Ulster riots. The militant workers of Belfast congregated around the Nationalists because of the hopeless weakness of the programme of the Ulster Labour Party. The riots associated with the displaying of the Irish tricolour were a way for the workers to express their hatred of the police and of capitalism—in the absence of a revolutionary party to give a political expression to this hatred. The RWP(T) salutes the Belfast workers and applauds their actions which is a part of the intensifying class struggle in both Ulster and Eire. In Eire a nine week old strike of building workers has just been sold out by the Union leaders who during the whole time of the strike made no attempt to spread the strike to supporting industries. However it will not be long before the workers of North and South together throw out British Imperialism and their stooges, the Southern Irish bourgeoisie.

#### Workers Form A Homogeneous Block Against Capitalism

Labour's victory, even with so slim a majority, will give enormous encouragement to the workers both of this country and the continent, and the total contradiction between the intentions of the Labour leaders and the expectations of the British masses will soon come

into violent collision, accelerating the formation of a current both outside and inside the Labour Party, rejecting reformist politics and looking for a revolutionary solution. Because of this complete contradiction, and because of the present economic crisis, the scope of the ability of this government to help the ruling class will be extremely limited; we are witnessing the beginning of the paralysis of bourgeois government, similar to that which already exists in Italy.

#### Integration Of Trade Union Apparatus With The State

The pernicious influence of the Soviet bureaucracy made itself felt during the election campaign when Home, basing himself on a statement recently made by a Soviet economist, said that socialism had failed in the Soviet Union and that it was making a "galloping retreat" towards a system of "enterprise and reward." Although there is no possibility of a return to private property in the USSR, statements by sections of the Soviet bureaucracy harm the struggle for workers power throughout the world, by giving ammunition to the class enemy and by depressing and confusing the masses, lowering their faith and hope in a socialist future.

The incorporation of such 'left' bureaucrats as Cousins into the government is an example as pointed out by Trotsky in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" of how modern trade union organisations are more and more integrated into the capitalist state apparatus, of how the TU bureaucrats fall over themselves to show just how responsible and indispensable they can be to the 'democratic' state. Cousins is an instrument for subordinating and disciplining the working class; as Minister of Technology he will be responsible for

'modernising' British industry, the introduction of automation, the cutting down of the work force, and the speeding up of the rhythm of production. British capitalism needs to "stabilise" wages (i.e. "costs") in an attempt to solve its present economic problems. Some businessmen are complaining that they are getting no profits from their exports and though this is an exaggeration, the severe international competition for a contracting world market is forcing down the rate of profit.

The first task of the Labour government will be to get the TU bosses to agree to an incomes policy even though the workers themselves reject all

attempts to impose one. The viciousness of TU bureaucrats towards rank and file militants and local leaders, has already been demonstrated by the attempted expulsion from the Post Office Workers Union of the seven London District Council leaders.

That the workers reject wage restraint, and thereby show their rejection of capitalism, was brought out very sharply in the disputes during the election campaign; the London tube men's strike (intolerable according to Wilson), the Hardy Spicer strike (Wilson—a Tory plot) and the struggle in the docks, were examples of this. Starting as they

(Continued on page 4)

## THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV REFLECTS THE FURTHER ADVANCE TOWARDS THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS STATES

The fall of Khrushchev, the testing of the Chinese nuclear device, and the victory of the Labour party in Great Britain have provided the most recent illustrations of the tremendous tempo of the world revolutionary process. Only the IV International particularly in the documents of Cde Posadas foresaw the fall of Khrushchev within a short period. All the bourgeois commentators were paralysed by the event and generally mournful. The fall of the ex-Soviet premier and party leader was in the inevitable result of the increasing disintegration of the Soviet bureaucracy, its failures to meet the Chinese challenge, its inability to meet the demands of the Soviet masses. The strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy is in great disarray. Hastily they assured Western Imperialism that they would continue the policy of "peaceful co-existence"—but it is not absolutely excluded that the Red Army leaders played some role in the fall of Khrushchev whose attitude to military expenditures endangered the defence of the workers states. There is a wing of the bureaucracy prepared for nuclear war—without calling on the world masses and hoping to survive the war with their bureaucratic system complete. It is possible that there may be a hardening in the Soviet application of "peaceful co-existence." On the other hand the unanimous dismissal of Khrushchev does not mean unity among the bureaucracy and a period of stabilisation. In fact recent events further the path of the political revolution in the workers states—there are many tendencies in the bureaucracy due to the intense pressure of the world masses, the desire of the Soviet masses to intervene in the world revolutionary process and the desire to intervene in the running of the economy and to re-establish a Soviet democracy.

The effect of K's dismissal has also shown very clearly the wholesale decomposition of the international Stalinist movement. Like rats leaving a sinking ship the various decrepit and utterly degenerate bureaucracies in Western and Eastern Europe concerned now only to accommodate themselves as quickly as possible to bourgeois liberalism, pose as interrogators of the Soviet bureaucracy and start actually asking awkward questions—a right they deny to revolutionaries particularly when it concerns their own bureaucratic practices. Events are pulverising these miserable people and further decomposing what authority remains to them.

#### Timidity Of The Chinese Leaders

The explosion of the Chinese nuclear device acts as a tremendous encouragement to the colonial masses who take note of the revolutionary conclusions of the Chinese comrades in the Sino-Soviet dispute. However the hopeless conservatism of the present Chinese leaders in practice is in marked contrast to the necessities of the revolution. The drivel about calling "peace" discussions around nuclear disarmament does no credit to the Chinese leaders—it merely reflects their ingrained opportunism, their belief that diplomacy is a substitute for the activity of the masses, their timidity in face of the vast process of the world revolution. We must criticise their downright passivity and refusal to intervene in face of the spectacular breakdown of the regime in Vietnam and the intervention of the proletariat in the form of the General Strike.

Johnson interrupted the electoral campaign to call his National Security Council to discuss the situation arising from the fall of K and the explosion of the

(continued on page 4)

# The Objective Forces Of The Bolivian Revolution And The Organisation Of The Struggle For Workers Power

The crisis of Bolivia is not the last. It has not finished nor does it mean that the attack on Lechin, the attempt to crush him has finished the problem. The indecision of the Bolivian revolution, its impasse for 12 years can be measured in the attack on Lechin. They did not kill him, neither did they succeed in intimidating him. If they had been resolved they would have killed him—in place of trying to terrorise him they would have killed him. They wounded and did not kill him because they feared the reaction of the masses. They were not decided. It demonstrates a lack of decision and of objective certainty on the part of bourgeois. They do not have a solid social support neither are they solid and secure in relation to the perspectives which would arise from a reactionary coup in relation to the masses. This indecisive attempt on Lechin corresponds to the calculation of Barrientos in Huanuni, to the mobilisations of the army around the mines. It was a calculation then accompanied by the attack on Lechin which indicates the desire to smash, to kill; but the fact that it was not accomplished indicates the lack of decision on the part of the government. The event itself complicates the matter and makes the government weaker and more insecure.

The blowing up of the car of Barrientos indicates that Barrientos is preparing for a struggle to eliminate Lechin and Paz Estenssoro. This is the conclusion. His declaration: "I have more enemies in the party than outside" is conclusive. And on the other hand the government has made no statement indicating that it was affected by the attack on Barrientos. Firstly because it knew he had arranged it and secondly because it did not wish to give him support. The candidature of Barrientos was an imposition of the army and an internal struggle which does not mean that Barrientos is completely integrated with a reactionary policy. But it is evident that the army is more open to a reactionary policy of support to and with Imperialism. It indicates a tremendous weakness of the bourgeoisie in every way. The bourgeoisie has not been able to constitute any force to meet the opposition to Lechin or to organise any alliance against Lechin, because it has no confidence. The bourgeoisie knows that any front with Lechin can benefit him immediately in respect to the masses but it also means objectively the advance of the masses and the force that decides and can use such a movement, is going to be the masses.

Hence the bourgeoisie is afraid. Undoubtedly it wishes to create illusions in the possibility among the petit-bourgeoisie that there can be a democratic, socialising government. But the inability of the bourgeoisie to realise a united front with Lechin arises because it fears the conditions of a concrete advance and a triumph which will stimulate the masses. For this it has renounced such a front. Lechin tried and will try again to arrange this, seeking a point of support with the idea of sidetracking revolutionary means and declarations.

## Estenssoro Wishes To Break With Cuba

The recent reaction generated by the bourgeois intervention which was the organisation of a popular socialist worker government in the mines and the commercialisation of all miners production (which has not been confirmed by any declaration after this, for which reason it may be doubted, otherwise it would have been expressed in another way) was perhaps the reply of the miners to the attack on Lechin but it has not been accompanied by the organisational and organic measures concretely to apply this decision. But when such a reply takes place it is because it is in the mind of the miners to overthrow the capitalist government and to take power.

Paz Estenssoro has more interest than the sector of the Uruguayan government and Alessandri to break with Cuba. It would mean a subsidy of 50 million dollars. If he has not broken and hopes to break later it is because he fears to provoke the masses. The

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majority in the Senate of 19 votes to maintain relations with Cuba, must be taken as showing the fear which the bourgeoisie has in face of the reaction of the masses and the petit-bourgeoisie—not only the worker masses, but the petit bourgeoisie, because in the principal cities: La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosi and Santa Cruz, the petit-bourgeoisie play an enormous role. They fear all this. There is a current of the immense majority of the petit-bourgeoisie against breaking relations with Cuba. The discussion in the Senate in a distorted way expresses the petit-bourgeoisie much more than the miners. The Federation of the Miners expresses for the miners and the Peasant Federation speaks for the peasants that 90% of Bolivia is against the break with Cuba. Paz Estenssoro is waiting for the moment to break with Cuba so that he can get away with it, without it meaning a direct confrontation—although in one way or another he will hope to confront the masses afterwards.

## Petit-Bourgeoisie Are Disposed To Struggle

This is the situation of the internal struggles. In this process what is lacking and is a decisive factor is the role of the peasantry. The miners and the industrial workers have mobilised, the students also. The strike of students against the government ratified the fact that the Senate voted against the break with Cuba. The teachers and pupils who in immense majority come from the petit-bourgeoisie were on strike against the government and not in favour of reaction.

The lack of mobilisation of the peasants and the absence of a programme tending to gain, to attract the peasants for a united front, means as we have maintained, the absence of an essential factor in the maturation, in the advance of the revolution. In so far as the COB does not interest itself directly or the miners directly in attracting the peasants it will create a very great difficulty in making the revolutionary advance or taking power concretely now. It is necessary to insist on appeals for the worker and peasant alliance, so that the peasant army and the

great peasant centre mobilise to take the lands which have been taken from the peasants, not to pay taxes to recover the lands, to take the best lands held by the landowners, and for technical and economic aid on the part of the government; that the miners and the COB propose and call to the peasants to realise such means with the declaration that they will aid them, with the promise that with a worker and peasant government the government will give technical and economic aid to the peasants. This appeal, this activity, this policy is missing. And this provides very great advantages for the reaction, the oligarchy and the whole of the Bolivian reaction adhering to and acting on behalf of Imperialism.

It is necessary to expect in a short space of time a reaction, an attempt at a military coup. Paz Estenssoro has assumed the presidency again without any opposition. He had been repudiated by the masses. He had been voted by a trick—votes had been printed—and there had been no popular will behind the government—but he resumed power. Why? Because of the lack of a centre of opposition. The bourgeoisie will not follow the Falange, and the Social Christian movement has made great complications. These sectors feel that an

organised opposition against Paz Estenssoro would give place to the acceleration of the opposition of the worker and peasant masses, would give rise to a base of struggle which would escape their control and go beyond the bourgeois desire for opposition to the government. Hence the passive attitude. Nevertheless the evidence that in the bourgeois camp the contradictions are immense, and deepening and that the decomposition of Bolivian capitalism is greatly increasing lies in the guerillas attributed to the Falange in Santa Cruz. It is not possible to say with certainty what character these guerillas have. The government declares that they are groups of 80 to 100 and it would seem that they have a certain importance because they have twice smashed the army which was sent to suppress them, have killed government officials, have blown up lorries and have seized government arms. They attribute this to the Falange but although it is not possible with certainty to affirm who they are, they are guerillas who certainly exist but are developing not in the political interest of the Falange but of the petit-bourgeoisie which is showing its dissatisfaction with the present state of the government and these sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie have launched a guerilla activity observing that the proletariat is not deciding or solving the crisis of Bolivia; it does not see proletariat or peasants disposed to struggle for power. It feels the presence of the proletariat, it feels the weakness of the bourgeoisie and these discontented petit-bourgeois sectors in full decomposition and crisis advance and take political form in an individualist movement of groups which demonstrates their discontent with the government. This above all expresses the lack of decision of the proletariat which has not succeeded in attracting under its control, under its political direction extensive sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie because its own leadership has not raised the solution to the problem of power. If the proletariat struggles directly for power all these sectors would extend inevitably into guerillas or would manifest themselves in other forms of violent struggle and would be gained for the proletariat. Hence the urgency for the sectors re-

sponsible who respond to the class interests of the exploited masses, to launch the struggle for the worker and peasant government. On the other hand the reaction weak as it is of the bourgeoisie—it has to fabricate conspiracies, to attack Lechin and to justify repressions—will be impelled to attack even with little means, impelled by the lack of unity, of harmony, of centralisation and centralised leadership in the worker camp.

This present situation which develops into crisis, into clashes in a government which is not recognised by the majority of the country and within which there is a struggle for position and power is going to worsen. It is impossible to predict concretely the course of the process, it is not clear which side will draw the army to its side; it cannot be said what the situation is like in the army, because the fact that a part of the army refused to expell Siles Zuazo from the party indicates that there is an internal crisis and that there are tendencies which seek to pursue a nationalist policy which differs from Paz Estenssoro who wishes to liquidate all this. It cannot be said with certainty what are the motives of the one or the other, of Paz or of that sector of the army which even wishes to enter into conflict with Imperialism but the crisis exists and is going to lead to new explosions and the creation of revolutionary situations.

## Imperialism Prepares To Strike

Within a short period there will be a solution to the dual position of power in favour of the masses.

Everything tends in the present situation in Bolivia in the absence of a revolutionary conclusion—because the proletariat lacks a leadership which orientates the masses towards the struggle for power—all tends to impell adventurous actions, violent explosions, whether they be guerillas of Santa Cruz, a form of sidetracking, the attempt on Lechin or the attempt to make it appear that Barrientos was being intimidated. The solution for this problem is the struggle for power; there is no other way out; on the other side the reaction is going to devise the means to deliver blows.

It is necessary to start from the point of view that one must appeal to the masses or a popular workers government, to function as a popular workers government; to call to the rest of the country to fuse with them. They must not call for a secession but call for unity with them and after receiving support call for the installation of workers and peasant government in the whole of Bolivia. But from now on it is necessary to function as such and to direct appeals to the rest of the masses, to the COB, to the Cuban CTC, to the Argentinian CGT, to the Chilean CUT, to the rest of the world worker movement, above all in Latin-America for its recognition and appeal for a direct trade with the workers states. To function as a State but above all to conduct an initiative of revolutionary agitation above all based on the peasants, calling for the worker-peasant alliance, guaranteeing possession of the land, technical and financial means, to the peasantry, appealing to the army, appealing to the soldiers to help mobilise the workers army. These are the only means which can prevent chaos in Bolivia. Imperialism is waiting for the moment to strike, not only by the rupture of relations with Cuba but to impose a fascist and reactionary dictatorship, the only way to sustain capitalist interest in Bolivia. But this is excluded. With the normal democratic means, with the bourgeois democratic means, capitalism in Bolivia

has done all that it can, it has arrived at the end of the road and exhausted its possibilities many years ago. This impasse of 12 years of dual power in general, of tendencies and intentions and of struggle for dual power as conducted by the miners, the COB, and the peasants cannot continue for much longer. Imperialism is taking fundamental decisions to resolve the relation of forces with the workers states, to go forward to the final encounter, and Bolivia is one of the countries where it is going to strike in a short time, trying to impose a military dictatorship to try to sustain itself as the only way to prolong the existence of capitalism.

The attitude of Imperialism towards North Vietnam is a clear example of what it intends to do. The vote in the OAS (Organisation of American States) against Cuba also shows this, and furthermore, Imperialism tries to gain time to profit from the decomposition of the bureaucracy of the workers states—not trying to gain positions and markets to restore capitalism in the workers states which is impossible and Imperialism knows it—but because the forms of the decomposition of the bureaucracy itself has an affect on the morale of the world revolution, on the masses of the rest of the world, lowering their confidence in the revolution and hampering the petit-bourgeoisie from adopting revolutionary perspectives. The process has a depressing effect upon them and tends to separate them from the revolution. This is the hope of the Kennedy, Johnson sector above all, and of capitalism on a world scale, which places its hopes in the effect of the retreat towards measures—such as those in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia—of a capitalist tendency, of functioning directly under the law of supply and demand. The masses of the world see that this is not towards Socialism, but that it is a step backwards, and that the life of the bureaucracy of a bourgeois type, tends to be canalised towards capitalism, not hoping for a change to capitalism, which is impossible because the masses of the workers states react to and impede this process of decomposition in the bureaucracy, which tends to upset the planning of the workers states. Capitalism puts its hopes above all, on this depressing effect, of pessimism, of doubt, of vacillation, of a loss of confidence by the masses with respect to the struggle for socialism and arriving at socialism. These are the calculations of capitalism who intend to gain time. The world's masses, in spite of the acts of the bureaucracy, are going towards socialism, and fight for socialism. It is the bureaucracy of Khrushchev, Gomulka and Tito who put forward these measures. Not the masses.

#### A Worker-Peasant Government Must Function

In Bolivia, Imperialism hopes to gain time, the government of Paz Estenssoro also hopes to gain time, hoping the masses will disintegrate. If Lechin took the decision, even with the authority he partially maintains in his movement, the solution to this problem would be found, that is to say, to establish the workers and peasants government. But Lechin does not decide to struggle for a workers and peasants government. It is not sufficient to call oneself a popular government, it is necessary to function as such, to call to the rest of the population. And to call for the means to really install a government, with a programme of the socialist revolution, of socialist production, of planning, of nationalisation of all property, of the organisation of workers militias, the functioning of the popular army. These are the measures which would have an enormous effect on the rest of the masses of Bolivia. In Bolivia as in the rest of Latin-America, it is necessary to organise the struggle for these measures. These are the immediate perspectives in order to be able to solve the crisis in Bolivia before a major decomposition, which even though transitory, could be used by imperialism and capitalism. Without doubt, a determined attitude of the masses will push forward and oblige the workers leaders to take certain measures and to open the way to their being ousted, immediately or later, by the revolutionary tendencies

which already emerge in the workers and peasant movement. The negative influence of the lack of harmonic and organised class action, shows itself in that in spite of the immense revolutionary influence of the struggle of the Bolivian masses, the government of Paz Estenssoro is going along the road of breaking relations with Cuba, and at any moment they are planning to do this.

The IV International, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyists) of Bolivia, is the driving force, is the conscience of this process. It is because of this that its appeal, its policies tend to push forward the revolution independently of its own political interests as a party. The interests of the Bolivian Trotskyists, is not the development of themselves apart from the revolution, but the development of the revolution itself in Bolivia. All the actual measures that tend to accelerate the revolution in Bolivia are Trotskyist, because they are measures tending to put the masses into power, for the planning of the economy for the benefit of the masses, for the mobilisation of militias, workers control, etc. One of the fundamental points is to reaffirm workers control and also to declare anew expropriation without compensation. It is necessary to stop being naive, believing that the government is not paying compensation. The government is compensating imperialism in one way or another. It is necessary to reaffirm the resolution to stop paying compensation for the mines, and moreover, workers control to see that this is adhered to. Moreover it is necessary to make an appeal for the unification of the Latin-American revolution, for the formation of a single organising centre for Latin-America, for the worker and peasant alliance, for the agrarian reform, for the expropriation of the land, and the dividing of the land between the peasants, for the revolutionary anti-imperialist Latin-American leadership, for the appeal to the rest of the masses of Latin-America to recognise the popular government in the Bolivian mines as the sole representative of the masses and the Bolivian people. On this basis, the peasant and petit-bourgeois masses will be attracted by the force of the proletariat and the decision of the proletariat and will unite with it in a short delay to overthrow capitalism in Bolivia.

#### On The Nationalist Movement

The role of Lechin, the revolutionary struggle of the masses and Trotskyism. It is necessary to understand 'Lechinism.' It is necessary to understand that apart from and beyond the intentions of Lechin, of his reformist and conciliatory plans, the base which supports him does not do it with this object, but because there is no other centre of authority or other experience than this. In Bolivia, the absence of a Marxist tradition, a historical ideological Marxist experience, expresses itself with an irrefutable urgency, as it does in the rest of Latin-America and in the masses of the colonies and semi-colonies. The Socialist and Communist parties have a policy of conciliation and alliance with capitalism and the backwardness of the masses in organising themselves in a new leadership eliminating the petit-bourgeois nationalist leadership of Lechin and developing a revolutionary leadership, does not depend on a lack of militancy and desire to struggle—this they have—but from the ideological and political difficulties which stem from not having experience of a world tradition, because neither the Communists nor the Socialists have developed such traditions. The workers states are undertaking measures of a capitalist character in commerce. It is an error of the Chinese to say that they are capitalists or that there is a return to capitalism. There are tendencies of the bureaucracy—as they are not able to advance in the measures of planning towards socialism—that cannot reconcile their interests with the workers states, that have to retreat, and to carry out measures of a capitalist character. The biggest businesses of the USSR the hotels, can produce in accordance with supply and demand; the biggest factories can produce in accordance with supply and demand. These are capitalist measures. These are the experiments which they

are presenting to the masses of the world. From this comes also the difficulty of Trotskyism to progress and advance. Not because of a lack of will of capacity of the Trotskyists, but because of the historical conditions in which Trotskyism is developing.

The masses are nationalist. The ideology is the thing which determines the politics, and what is the ideology of the Bolivian masses? They are not communists, they are not socialists, they are nationalist. Consequently, what unites them even to Lechin is this, the nationalist sentiment, but a revolutionary nationalist sentiment which is in advance of him and which can easily be influenced by revolutionary policies.

But as with the masses, so the Trotskyists advance and progress in spite of all the difficulties. The Bolivian masses have shown that in spite of not being based on a revolutionary Marxist tradition, they have substituted for this absence of an ideological base their own fighting will and the experience which they are obtaining and working for as revolutionary Marxists without basing themselves on the understanding, the leading centre, in the Marxist revolutionary mass party.

#### The Estenssoro Government Must Be Smashed

With respect to the future of the PRIN, it is undeniable that the leaders of PRIN have shown themselves conciliatory with all bourgeois tendencies. It is in opposition to the government of Paz Estenssoro, it has criticised Imperialism, but it has not made any call either for organisation or real concrete activity of the masses to fight against the government of Paz Estenssoro. Recently, Lechin and some other workers leaders went on hunger strike instead of mobilising the masses. The hunger strike is a method of struggle, it is a passive method, a method of retreat. Only in very peculiar circumstances, when alone, and isolated, without contact with the world, can one go on hunger strike, as a manifestation of protest and as a means of reaching out to the outside to attract attention. But in conditions of the full mobilisation of the masses, when the masses have mobilised themselves, by their own will, to go on hunger strike means to avoid the mobilisation of the masses, because Lechin is frightened of the consequences and the results of the mobilisation. shows that he does not have the initiative to fight for a revolutionary programme. His response is empirical, occasional. They are verbal responses and responses which do not tend to organise. One must start from the confirmation that one cannot hope for any initiative from the leaders of the COB and from Lechin for the organisation of the revolutionary activity.

A discussion with Lechin is not excluded, to try to make a united front with him, to defend the fundamental conquests of the revolution, the revolutionary rights, the democratic rights of the masses, the sliding scale of wages, the occupation and sharing out the land to the peasants, but at the same time as the united front, the party must not hold back, because there is only a short time to carry the revolution forward, very short. In as much as they are not united to the struggle for power, it is necessary to advance a programme to attract and unify the petit-bourgeoisie, and to gain and attract them to the masses in order to impose the respect for the popular will and to impose a popular workers government in the mines, and from there to the rest of the country. Every demand for democratic liberties, for the right of the masses to speak, to decide, to have meetings to express themselves, for the right to print, speak, meet, the struggle for better conditions of life is united with the fight for the workers and peasants government. It is necessary to struggle for all these problems, but at the same time to understand that capitalism in Bolivia is not in any condition to concede any of these needs and rights to the masses.

It is necessary to promote and develop the revolutionary tendency which responds in words and actions to the needs of the revolutionary action, to occupy the mines, to ignore the government of

Paz Estenssoro, to organise the occupation of the land, of the factories, of the nationalisation of all the principal forces of production. The fundamental task is to promote; the urgent need is to develop the leadership of the revolution in Bolivia. It is necessary to direct oneself at the trade union activist, to the militants in the workers districts, in the factories, in the mines, in the fields, for it is here that the teams which will be the leadership of the workers movement, are going to be selected. It is necessary to attract the leaders of the workers movement, in assemblies, in discussions, in all forms of organisation, all these militants and activists who place before all interests, all activity, the desire to impel the revolution, of raising the masses to all forms of power, be it workers control, delegates, etc. From these are going to emerge the leadership of the revolution. This must be the general norm for the selection of the new leadership, the same for Chile, Argentina, etc. It is necessary to call the masses to ignore the government of Paz Estenssoro, but not with hunger strikes, or in a lukewarm way. Paz Estenssoro exists, functions and supports himself on the army.

The only way of really ignoring him is to call the masses to ignore his orders, his authority, and to function in accordance with the leadership of the COB. Because of this the COB will have to organise a workers programme functioning as the leaders of the society and calling for the complete overthrow of the government of Paz Estenssoro. Not to do this would be to carry on living in a delusion, encouraging in the masses the illusion that they can live ignoring Paz Estenssoro while his government exists and has power. It is necessary to call concretely to ignore him on the basis of the functioning of workers workers power, with a workers programme, of nationalisation, extension of the workers control over all the production, agrarian reform, and all the other points of the programme, calling the army to function under the authority of the COB, under the functioning of the workers and peasants state on the basis of the concrete overthrow of Paz Estenssoro. These are the measures that must be taken, not in words but in deeds.

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- BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). G. Dache, 143 rue Bayet, Charleroi Nord.  
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- BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.
- CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.
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- 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.

# Expropriate the Key Industries

(continued from page 1)

intend to go on, the government through their Minister of Labour, Gunter, has already strongly condemned attempts by unofficial dock leaders to organise a national strike. Dockers have insisted despite all the efforts of peace making by Cousins that they will not accept less than the 25/- which they have demanded. The rough reception of Cousins in Liverpool by dockers, and the statement by the chairman of the Tilbury Liaison Committee that "There is no question of easing off to avoid embarrassing the new Labour government" shows the militancy of the dockers. It now looks as if there will be an official dock strike on December 1 but the union leaders will avoid this if they possibly can. On the railways union leaders have rejected a 5% increase and are claiming 13%. 14,000 craftsmen in the steel industry have threatened to strike over their demands for higher wages to reduce the differential between them and the better paid production workers. Among non-manual workers technical college teachers are claiming a 20% increase, and electrical power engineers have cancelled their agreement with the Electricity Council and are going to apply for a wage increase. Among young workers the same militant spirit is shown by the apprentices who are fighting for wage increases, a 35 hour week and 4 weeks paid holiday a year.

The opposition to the Labour party bureaucracy among the Labour party rank and file, especially among youth, was clearly brought out in the demonstration of Young Socialists on September 27th. The organisers of this demonstration paraded the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, but made no mention of a revolutionary Marxist programme. None of the speeches brought out the necessity of smashing the state machine, or building both outside and inside the Labour party a revolutionary party for the seizure of power. Instead there were merely denunciations of police violence, undue attention to Mods and Rockers, and left

Social-Democratic speeches. The organisers know what they are doing—trying to block the building of a revolutionary current.

Over the decade since 1953, prices of consumer goods in Britain rose more sharply than in any other major European country except France, during most of the period. In recent months however prices in Britain have begun to rise more sharply than anywhere else in Europe. The working class and sections of the petit-bourgeoisie in this situation, are fighting to maintain their standard of living at its present level. The measures to meet the balance of payments further duties on foreign imports cannot solve the problems of the British economy in world economic conditions of acute competition—and the only way forward for capitalism is to try to enforce automation and resist wage demands. Already there is redundancy at Fords in Dagenham and on the railways the jobs of many workers are being threatened by line closures. No major anti-capitalist measures will be taken by this government. The economy is geared to the demands of the strategy of the coming war; there can be no reforms in this society which is without a perspective of continued existence.

The national and international conditions are ripe for the formation of a revolutionary current in the LP, the CP, and in industry itself. The RWP(T) calls for the formation of factory committees and shop steward committees in all industry, for their strengthening and linking together between industries on a national and European scale to launch the anti-capitalist offensive and to plan the general strike for the complete overthrow of capitalism. The London tube men's strike was made less effective because the bus men continued to work. The TU leaders will never try to unite the struggle but on the contrary do their best to split it up and demoralise it. A unification can only come from the base, from the workers own committees fighting on the basis of a revolutionary Marxist anti-capitalist programme.

## 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 20% 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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuild-

ing, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21. For a workers government.

# LIBERTY FOR THE CUBAN TROTSKYISTS

The condemnation of the Trotskyists indicates the beginning of the bureaucratisation of the Cuban workers state.

We are publishing a part of the political resolution of the 7th World Congress of the IV International, in which is analysed the political content and conclusions of the condemnation of comrades of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista), the Cuban section of the IV International.

"The condemning of five militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) in Cuba, indicates a serious beginning of the process of bureaucratisation in the Cuban workers state. The activity of the Trotskyists in Cuba as in all the world is for the unconditional defence of the workers state by calling for the intervention of the masses to organize the defence against the imperialist aggressions, by calling them to intervene in production, in the organisation of all aspects of the construction of socialism.

The comrades sentenced to terms of imprisonment of between two and nine years are all revolutionary militants who took part in the struggle for the overthrow of Batista, who formed part of the Defence Committees of the revolution, who are voluntary vanguard workers, militiamen who have participated and have been mobilized every time the Cuban masses went out to confront and check the aggression of imperialism. They have been in the first line in the harvesting of sugar and coffee, in the first line in the reconstruction work after the cyclone. There has not been nor can they make any charge against any of the condemned comrades.

They have been accused as in the capitalist countries, or as in the Stalinist trials, of "attempts against the security of the state."

The comrades Idalberto Ferrera, Ricardo Ferrera, Andres Alfonso, Florida Fraga, and Rodolfo Tejera, have been deprived of their fighting positions with the Cuban masses, in daily activity, by a bureaucratic and counter-revolutionary decision of the Stalinists carried out with the complicity of the Cuban government. And they have not been condemned for any action which damages the revolution, but because they, as all the party, have called and are calling for the masses to reject bureaucratisation, have called for the defence of the democratic socialist rights of the masses without limitation, in order to push forward the socialist revolution, to impede any alliance with imperialism that holds back the revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy on the contrary tries to intervene and put pressure on Cuba in order to submit its policy to its conservative counter-revolutionary interests conciliatory with imperialism, and on the other hand the bureaucracy

of the Cuban Communist party seeks to make use of the Cuban workers state to sustain its privileges and throttle the real revolutionary Cuban leadership. For openly opposing this course our comrades have been condemned.

When five Trotskyists are condemned for demanding the defence of the basic essential right of revolutionary thinking in the workers state with the express consent of the revolutionary leadership, it is because an important process of bureaucratisation has begun in Cuba. This shows that the failure of the revolution to advance, inevitably allows the Soviet bureaucracy and the other leaderships of the workers states to impose a very great influence on Cuba, controlling and at the same time intimidating the leadership of the revolution. In the measure that this leadership of the Cuban revolution does not come from the Cuban masses, it will each time be more captured by the influence and the pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The condemnation to nine years imprisonment of the comrades indicates that this process of bureaucratisation reaches the apparatus and the structure of the government. The most sensitive and dynamic reactions of the bureaucracies everywhere as much in the workers states as in the capitalist countries is their fury against the right and the exercising of the right to criticize.

It is very possible that from now on, in Cuba it is intended to submit the comrades to new trials, as in the period of Stalin, trying to show the Trotskyists as counter-revolutionaries. Possibly they intend to hide this from the masses of Cuba and the world, in order to try to disguise the interests, the conservative and bureaucratic policy on the part of the apparatus of the Cuban government. Bureaucratisation is not sustained by a firm line. It is combined with contradictory tendencies which try to hold down and contain the tendencies to bureaucratisation."

We call for the acceleration of the campaign everywhere for the immediate release of the arrested comrades and we demand the trial of the counter-revolutionary bureaucrats who suppress the rights of the masses.

We call for the extension of the campaign for the defence of the Cuban workers state in face of the preparations for new aggressions by imperialism.

We call for the road of revolutionary struggle to overthrow British imperialism, the smashing of its apparatuses and armies and the expropriation of the expropriators as the most valuable aid which the British masses can give to defend the Cuban workers state and stimulate the intervention of the Cuban masses in the running of the state and its economy.

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## FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV

(continued from page 1)

Chinese nuclear device—such is the tremendous insecurity of world Imperialism and its fear of developments in the workers states. The visit of de Gaulle to Latin-America and his threat to leave the Common Market if agricultural concessions are not granted reflects the endless fissures and supreme lack of confidence within the NATO war alliance. The world situation entirely encourages

the world masses and through their empirical struggles accelerates the possibility for the IV International everywhere to fuse with the fight and raise it to the highest possible conscious level—the path to the new world leadership of the mass communist International.

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we are nothing. With  
the Party we are  
everything*

61 — Trotsky

No. 15 DECEMBER 1964 SIXPENCE

## THE FINAL CRISIS BEGINS TO DEVELOP

### Factory Committees To Accelerate The Anti-Capitalist Offensive Build The Revolutionary Current In The LP, CP And The Unions

TODAY the forces on a world scale are completely in favour of the revolution and against Imperialism, and the British Labour leaders, thinking like capitalists and striving to maintain capitalism, find themselves in a socially explosive situation.

Every concession given by the LP to the masses will encourage them and stimulate them to further actions and demands, and although we cannot foresee at this stage the precise course the process will take, there can be no doubt that a gigantic crisis is preparing itself for capitalism and the capitalist minded Labour leaders, a crisis which will finally smash the LP apparatus and lead to the overthrow of British capitalism. The struggle for world markets grows more intense; all the capitalists need to reduce labour costs in order to reduce their production costs, but in this period they all, to varying extents, lack the power and authority to launch an all-out attack on the workers, and today they can only hope and rely on the manoeuvres of the Trade Union bosses. Earlier crises of capitalism were solved, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, and the possibility of new markets, at the expense of the working class, but today this is no longer possible because of the depth and extent of the world revolution. The masses of the world approach socialism without a leadership and in spite of the efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy, the trade unions, socialist and communist party leaders who have been propping capitalism up for the past 40 years; these people have slowed the process down, made it infinitely more tortuous, but neither they nor anything else can stop it.

The depth of the crisis in this country can easily be seen. The huge loan of the International Monetary Fund reflects the weakness and decadence of British Imperialism—and the small rate of growth seems to be falling!

The increasing of the bank rate to 7% will have the effect of deflating the economy and thus hindering any increase in production; at the same time the cost of living continues to rise and pay claims in industry after industry pile up. This is the measure of the crisis of British capitalism and it is a crisis for which there can be no capitalist solution.

#### BRITISH MASSES DEFY THE INTENTIONS OF LP LEADERS

In the Labour party's budget they have made concessions, small ones, to the social base which elected them. They increased pensions and directed the tax increases at the higher paid levels of society, and they also in some small degree curbed the power of the landlords. On the other hand, weak as they are, the Labour leaders will do what they can for capitalism—and of course pay themselves well for it, as the pay rise they voted for themselves demonstrates. Gunter, the Minister of Labour, has talked about the need for greater mobility of labour and Brown has said to the trade unions that the alternatives could be very 'unpleasant' if an incomes policy is not operating by next spring. But so far, on the question of an incomes policy, the Trade Union leaders are being very cautious, and have committed themselves to little. Woodcock, the TUC secretary, is a reactionary bureaucrat, certainly, but nevertheless he is in no position to guarantee anything because

of the pressure of the rank and file. Caught between the pressures of capitalism on one side and the growing revolutionary pressure of the masses on the other, the area of manoeuvre for the bureaucrats becomes progressively smaller. They are placed in a straight-jacket. As with the Soviet bureaucracy and the reformist leaders of the workers parties all over the world, the masses defy and ignore them.

#### THE GREAT BALANCING ACT

Internationally too Wilson and Co. make small concessions and gestures in the direction of the world revolutionary process. The decision to stop the selling of arms to South Africa (after the due honouring of contracts!) and the "hard" line adopted to the white settlers in S. Rhodesia in refusing to allow independence without African majority rule are measures, small it is true, compared to the crime of allowing Belgian paras to use the Ascension Island base against the Congo but they reflect in a feeble way the influence of the colonial revolution and the need to respond to the worker base that votes for the LP. Even more revealing are the manoeuvres in relation to the multilateral nuclear force. Here the LP leaders would appear to be trying to reduce military expenditures in relation to their contribution to NATO and break up in some measure the US-German entente—again hoping to act as a balancer between Imperialism and the workers states.

The British working class continues its struggles encouraged by the election of a Labour government. Continually in strikes it expresses its opposition to capitalism and to the union officials. Shops stewards in engineering factories

## PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN ZANZIBAR

### Worker-Peasant Alliance An Example For The Whole Of Africa

WE are reproducing from "Revolution," monthly international review No. 9, May 1964, Paris, this report because we consider it a clear expression of the objective Trotskyist course which the socialist revolution in Zanzibar is following.

These are extracts from an exclusive interview with Mohamed Babu, Minister of External Relations of the Popular Republic of Zanzibar, made by Richard Gibson.

G. A sector of the 'left' press in England particularly, present the recent occurrences in Zanzibar as a coup d'etat. In other words, it appears incredible to them that there has been a social revolution in Zanzibar. Has there been a revolution? If there has, how would you define it?

B. The reality is that there has been a true revolution in Zanzibar, whose objectives were to destroy the old order and to install a new society. It is, for the time being, difficult to affirm that all those who participated in the revolution were socialist, but they had a socialist orientation. The Marxist organisation of Zanzibar, the UMMA party played a leading role in the national and democratic revolution. It is taking, from now definitely, the road of the socialist revolution.

G. What is the social base of the Zanzibar revolution?

B. Those who took part in the revolution were principally workers and peasants. The initiative came from the city. Amongst the trade unionists and the other elements came the conviction that the only solution for the problem was the insurrection. But they were not the only ones who took the initiative. The peasants took it as well; in fact, the armed insurrection was realised in such

a way that practically all the population participated in it. In the principal cities, or at least in the majority of them, they formed themselves into groups which were constituted into a nucleus of more than 900 persons, which carried out the attack.

G. Zanzibar has been compared to Cuba, is there any basis for this?

B. We have been influenced by socialist Cuba in the measure that that island has been exposed to the hostility of a powerful neighbour which resolutely tries to smash it, in the way in which it opposes an effective resistance to a powerful enemy. If you want to say that Cuba has been a source of inspiration to us, we would reply categorically in the affirmative. Yes, in this sense we have been effectively inspired by Cuba. We have been inspired because Cuba has known well how to conduct its revolution, to modify the conditions of existence of the people, and to transform, in a short time, the national-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. If you consider these events in their mutual relationships you can easily prove that we have been theoretically influenced by the revolutionary process in Cuba. We must rely on ourselves, like the Cubans. We must be ceaselessly vigilant like the Cubans. We must expect an eventual Imperialist blockade. We also have much to learn from Cuba, but nobody has come from Cuba to support us. To try to paint the African as an individual incapable of undertaking anything without being under the orders of Moscow, of Peking, or under the orders of any part or any people, is to have an Imperialist conception of things and it is to believe that the Africans are 'under age' as the colonialist propaganda tries to make out.

G. In this way Zanzibar is on the way then to a socialist revolution, it is also an African revolution. Is it possible to establish a relationship between the two? What is African socialism? And what in the revolution in Zanzibar is an example for all of Africa?

B. Zanzibar can be an example for all of Africa. It will be very difficult to state that we are going to adopt 'African socialism'.

(continued on page 4)

in Coventry defied union officials and advised members to take their summer holidays when they and not the employers saw fit. Major wage concessions have been made to the dockers who fought despite their union. The Dockers Liaison Committee was the organ of struggle. The gravitation of the petit-bourgeois sectors towards the proletariat can be seen in the affiliation of Nalgo to the TUC.

Although at this stage we cannot foresee the precise course of events, the enormity of the crisis for capitalism and the LP bureaucracy is evident. And at this stage we emphasise the need for a regular functioning of factory committees to link up car workers, dockers, engineers, etc., to consider the concrete application of the anti-capitalist programme, thus preparing the way for organs of dual power and the elimination of capitalism.

# The Significance of the British Elections in the Struggle for Workers Power in Europe

(Extracts) J. FOSADAS

The British elections have very great importance and are going to have very great repercussions in the course of the class and revolutionary struggle in Europe, throughout the world for the overthrow of capitalism. The one country in the world in which the proletariat can take office in a country—not take power—but take office by electoral ways, is Britain. For a series of historic reasons and events, the British proletariat is a particularly concentrated proletariat with a great social influence over sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie, gained and influenced in a historic stage when capitalism was not able to gain subordinate layers of the petit-bourgeoisie. Britain has a trade unionist movement and socialist tradition going back to the early 19th century. It has a tradition of class struggle and of class organisation such as no other country. Britain was the first country where the working class concentrated itself as a powerful class movement. The country of the industrial revolution, the country of "reforms of structure" so dear to the communists of today, permitted the very important development of the working class, of the petit-bourgeois, of the exploited sectors of the population. And this influence remains and attracts large sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. Britain is a country where a peasant influence does not exist.

Thus the composition of votes for the LP is in part proletarian with a sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The Labour vote can be about 12 million votes and that is sufficient to win. It is the only way the masses can express themselves. Outside Britain the only country where this could happen—if all those could vote over the age of 18 and the illiterate were allowed to—is Chile.

The Chilean proletariat would have gained the elections if the illiterate and all those from the age of 18 could vote—it had the weight to do this. Outside these two countries there is no way of gaining this position. In Argentina the proletariat gains but not as proletariat, not as a workers movement, but as Peronism. In this it certainly carries great importance but not as a class—it is through the Peronista party. But in Chile it is FRAP with the programme of the FRAP. And in Britain it is the Labour party with a Labour programme in which in the elections of 1945 there was an important series of nationalisations. But as have said Marx and Engels and with them Lenin and Trotsky, historical experience has made clear that it is possible that the proletariat of these countries may win elections and take office, but to take office is not to overthrow capitalism. To take office does not mean to take power. What follows depends on the policy which is followed—to go towards the overthrow of capitalism or towards accommodation with it.

## IT IS NECESSARY TO SMASH THE STATE APPARATUS

It is not the first time that the British LP is in a position to win the elections. It has won others. At these times they have acted in a capitalist manner—the programme of the LP. They took office electorally, and capitalism without the military means to prevent the taking of office, finally leading to the overthrow of capitalism, tried to exercise its social, economic and political pressure to adapt the party to the norms of capitalism, to the structure of capitalism. If it is not able to do this capitalism acts in its own defence. We have seen in Chile prior to the elections that Imperialism and the Latin-American bourgeoisie were prepared—Argentina, Peru, Bolivia to intervene in Chile directly or indirectly. If having taken office the proletariat does not immediately destroy the capitalist machinery, the bureaucratic apparatus of the country, the military and political apparatus, it leaves open the way for the organisational bases of repression for capitalism to intervene. Unless the policy of expropriation is carried out, the judicial apparatus smashed, the bourgeoisie has the means to apply pressure against the policy of nationalisation and statifica-

tion against any anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist policy.

The power to take office by electoral ways can only be conceived in conditions of social crisis. Without social crisis the proletariat cannot assume office by legal means. Because by itself, by its own legal force the proletariat has no social weight of itself to decide—it is only one half of the population. It may reach 40%-45% of the population in countries where it has force but it is never more than half the population. Under these conditions its social effect is much greater—in Latin-America it is much inferior. The proletariat has a power to attract, but to exercise such a capacity of attraction it must show before the sectors of the population who are not proletarian but exploited that it is capable of deciding and resolving the social problems which these sectors of the population cannot solve and which is not capable of solving.

Only in a situation of social crisis can this circumstance arise. When the situation is otherwise the other sectors of the population do not look at the proletariat, do not respond to its weight.

The fundamental conclusion for the proletariat which has achieved an electoral victory is that if it carries out a policy of nationalisations but leaves at the same time the structure of repression, juridical, military, police, capitalism can reduce the statifications to its service and can reverse them within a short time. But if in realising the statification of property the force that is going to direct the new property are not organisms that accord with the conscience, the necessity, the interest of socialist development and the masses do not intervene, control or determine—even if the bases of capitalist power have been eliminated a sector of the society which is the bureaucracy will be created and profit.

If it is impossible to prevent the functioning of the workers state generating these organisms—the bureaucracy—it is possible to prevent the evils which bureaucracy generates. The means for this is workers control. But if workers control is not related to the independent objectives, the functioning of the proletariat it can finish by distorting, by strangling proletarian intervention, becoming a bureaucracy itself and creating a new sector of self-interested officials. It is not a union bureaucracy but the bureaucracy of workers control. If workers control is not supported on the independent movement and the independent exercise of the political activity of the class, if it lacks this means of impulse stimulus, vigilance and elevation from the activity of the class its source of power, it becomes corrupted. This occurs as much in a workers state as in a state which goes towards a workers state.

## THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

If in Britain there are elections and the Labour party wins, one of the richest phases of the last stages in the history of world capitalism is developing. The triumph of the LP can produce, is going to produce within a not very distant stage a great stimulus to the revolution in Europe. Not through the intention of the LP leadership but through the conjuncture of the world situation. The ends and objects of the leadership of the LP do not differ from British Imperialism. They diverge in methods but in particular the bureaucracy, the administrative structure of LP is a true apparatus of the state which has interests in competition with the interests of the administration of the Conservative party.

The social base of support of the LP is the proletariat and sections of the petit-bourgeoisie. To sustain this support it must respond in part to the demands and to the will and social and economic interests of the exploited population. Thus it enters in competition in partial form with the Conservative apparatus, with the mechanism of the capitalist structure of Britain. The leadership of the LP has developed the party as part of the organism of the capitalist structure. It is a constitutive part of the capitalist structure of Britain. Of all the organisms of the socialist and communist parties the LP is the most difficult to penetrate. The ideas, the pressures and the influences, the will to revolutionary struggle of the working class, meets an iron, solid resistance and barrier. But even admitting to this resistance when the exploited masses succeed in a remote way in its desire for an anti-capitalist struggle, it is because the conditions for the revolution are mature in every way.

The LP considers the British Queen as part of the apparatus as someone in whom trust must be placed. The LP bosses reverence the British monarchy. The monarchy is one of the most retrograde signs of the social legal structure. It is a basis for attack, against British Imperialism and a peculiarly sensitive one. It is a means of agitation and of the organisation of the struggle against British capitalism. But the LP leaders neither propose or mention opposition to the monarchic regime. To do so it would attract a greater number of votes, the electoral and social support of the petit-bourgeoisie. Joined to its decadence and decomposition, the British monarchy is losing its support, over numerically and socially important sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. The LP leaders do not agitate, do not mention the struggle with slogans against the monarchy, because such a struggle would lead inevitably to pose the problem of what social and political regime will succeed the monarchy. The struggle against the monarchy would pose before the masses the necessity to struggle for the socialist republic. For this the LP leadership eludes utilising an important and decisive means of agitation, even electorally.

The British proletariat has one of the longest traditions of struggle in the world—from the earliest notions of an organised socialist movement of the Chartists. From then the British proletariat has made enormous efforts as in the General Strike of 1926 to smash capitalism. The proletariat has shown a capacity for class concentration and centralisation as no other European proletariat. Neither in France nor Italy, the two countries of great proletarian concentration, have the socialist parties or

unions achieved the degree of concentration as in Britain.

The British proletariat showed an enormous development of its class consciousness and organisation and tried in 1945 exerting pressure for an anti-capitalist government through its intervention in the elections to push into power the LP leadership. They triumphed, made a series of nationalisation measures of a limited type but the LP leadership immediately parried further advance. And in place of supporting themselves on the masses who put them in power to dislodge capitalism, they utilised the support of the masses to stabilise capitalism. And at that time capitalism had no force or capacity to stabilise itself. They could not impede the proletariat attacking capitalist power; it was necessary to contain it but at the same time they had to concede somewhat. The capitalists could only do this with the LP leaders. They made a united front with the LP leadership which helped them to restrain and fetter tendencies towards the General Strike. During the war Churchill had appeared as a saviour. The old fellow was the one who said that—Never had so much been owed by so many to so few. He thought this was a historic statement. The workers replied "Get out stupid" and they voted for the LP. If the bourgeoisie effectively had gained authority in the second world war, the LP would not have won. The masses did this after years of political inactivity because this was denied them. In four years of war there was a paralysis of activity, union and political, not because this could not have been pursued but because the LP leadership impeded this. The arrangement between the bourgeoisie and the LP leadership blocked the proletariat. Nevertheless the proletariat which had no union organisms had no party by which to express themselves to raise a class activity came through the war and massively voted for the LP.

## THE WORKERS MAINTAIN THEIR UNITY

The LP got 13 million votes which were not proletarian votes only but contained a large wing of the petit-bourgeoisie which submitted to the proletariat. They were anti-capitalist votes. At the end of the war which impeded political life this represented the influence in the last instance of the victor of this war—the USSR. They saw the anti-capitalist triumph. Similarly the German masses after 10-12 years of Hitler terrorism, placed red banners on the buildings. Hitler said: "communism is smashed" and as soon as they could the masses paraded red flags. It is clear the masses have suffered from bayonets, tanks, artillery, but in consciousness, in will, in decision, they had not been destroyed. If the masses had been checked they would not have reacted in the way they did.

Similarly as the German and the British proletariat, the proletariats of France and Italy wished to take power. In the liquidation of military power in France the French CP became the centre of the reorganisation of the class to take power. Thorez, Togliatti exercised the role of security guards of Imperialism, handing over the arms to the military to the police to guarantee stability to capitalism.

In Britain when the Tories won in 1951 this was not because the proletariat withdrew or because the British economy flourished and blocked the necessity for the revolutionary taking of power. The Tories won because the LP leadership had not overthrown capitalism and in consequence an important

sector of the petit-bourgeoisie deserted the proletariat. Between a government of socialists and a government of conservatives based on the same capitalist bases, the petit-bourgeoisie are not attracted towards the proletariat.

It was not the working class which fell back in Britain. The working class won 12 million votes, but it lost the support of the petit-bourgeoisie. And this loss meant a blow at the working class. But the working class maintained itself intact. The other election which the conservatives also won, did not mean a falling back of the Labour party, which maintained its proletarian votes, but did not exert any influence over the petit-bourgeoisie and sections of small farmers. In fact, the decomposition of the conservatives expresses itself by the growth of the liberals, but the liberals are relatively very small—supported by the big bourgeoisie and the wealthy petit-bourgeoisie. Britain is one of those countries where there is a large composition of wealthy petit-bourgeoisie and farmers. There is nothing similar in Latin-America or France where there is a large number of really poor farmers. The proletariat and the poor petit-bourgeoisie of the cities have a crushing social weight in Great Britain.

#### THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE DECOMPOSITION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Even though the British proletariat has not been able to capture the mass support of the petit-bourgeoisie in order to overthrow capitalism, it keeps intact its class unity. All the policies of the conservatives have not managed to crush, to separate, to discourage the class centralisation of the proletariat. This is maintained intact. But at the same time as it keeps itself intact, its interventions in international problems, in the international class struggles is of little importance. The British proletariat is one of those which intervenes least in the world, in the international class struggle.

The bourgeoisie, through the Labour leadership, managed to create a current of support for imperialist power from being a great country; now this power has shrunk to no more than an illusion; the lion doesn't even have claws.

The social weight of the British proletariat cannot be measured, its determination cannot be measured except through its action, but in the international class struggle it is one which has intervened least, not because of its incapacity for action, but because the leadership intentionally prevents it.

In order to exert such an influence, the leadership of British Imperialism has rested on a certain historical tradition and an historical weight of Imperialism. It is the Imperialism which once led the world industrially, the first big Imperialism, the first which modernised the apparatus of production, centralised production, centralised the state, and did this under the monarchy, a constitutional monarchy.

#### LABOUR PARTY—A CAPITALIST APPARATUS

The workers bureaucracy, which has its organisation through the Labour party and the trade unions, confers with the Queen, forms part of the political structure of the kingdom and is inseparable from it. There are differences between the Communist and Socialist parties of Britain and those of France and Italy. The French and even the Italian are not a constituent part of the regime; the Italian is approximating to it. Of this, it is important to notice that Amendola is going to present a project to reorganise the Communist party, in order to make it more 'agile,' to give it more freedom of movement in relation to the bourgeoisie. But this did not suit Khrushchev—or his followers—because even when without doubt, it goes against the masses, it goes also against the Soviet bureaucracy. Since the Communist party has its own interests it wants to be free. And then it would truly become a state apparatus.

The Labour party is integrated with the regime; forms part of it. When a Labour leader thinks and reasons, he thinks and reasons as a British capitalist. The communists and socialists of

the other countries reason not so differently to the way the Labour leaders do, but the workers aristocracy was not constituted as in Britain. In Europe there are two parties which the working class support, and the workers aristocracy which supports the communists and socialists receive the pressure of the other workers sectors, this has still impeded their being incorporated completely. For example, Guy Mollet is no different to the British socialists. With respect to Algeria, he was Minister of Colonies, and held that position for three years. The same with Lacoste and all the others. But they do not have the same structure as in Britain, and they have the possibility of being influenced more, and because of this they are in crisis.

#### THE WORKING CLASS IS INTACT

The British working class is intact. The capitalist class has not managed to drag behind it the British population nor the immense majority of the petit-bourgeoisie. The way to measure this is simple: the demonstrations against the atomic bomb. Even though from the social political, revolutionary, point of view they are of little importance, from the point of view of the activity of the petit-bourgeoisie which wants to struggle, it is demonstrated in this way.

The trash who emphasise 'Mods' and 'Rockers'—and they do it constantly—have a clear intention, which is to pretend to show that there are no conditions for the revolution, to make the people lose interest, to be disheartened. They do not emphasise the last strike of the postmen, the first for 40 years—40 years! This was a strike of postmen against the will of the leadership which tried to prevent the strike but the workers struck anyway. The British worker is very punctilious, very orderly, strikes in an orderly way and the bureaucrats say: you must respect the discipline, the resolutions, you must not strike. The workers rejected this—they went out on strike. And the bureaucracy had to bear it.

The unofficial strikes, strikes which are launched repeatedly against the leadership, are daily in Britain, constant and massive. This is the reality of Britain, the struggle of the masses which constantly has grown, is growing and will grow.

The leadership of the Labour party, which is integrated with the apparatus of capitalism of the country, does not base itself on this spirit in order to prepare the elections. It does not promote such strikes, wanting them to win, it does not go forward with the spirit of the masses, stimulating strikes, organising them and preparing for the general strike.

It is indubitable that the lack of intervention by the British proletariat in the international class struggle is a very serious and important deficiency, because it impedes a greater maturation and a greater possibility for the development of a revolutionary leadership in the British working class. In this sense, the British working class is certainly reserved. Even though they are interested in international problems, they do not have the effect upon them that they have on the rest of the world, and in the conditions of the rest of the world. It is not because Britain is an island. The conclusion is, as we have said before, because of the formation and development of the old empire, which the Labour leadership supported.

#### THE FIGHT OF THE MASSES AND THE ELECTIONS

The working class even if it receives and pays for the consequences of the attitude of the Labour leadership, in all the processes in Britain, are advancing and the elections will give immense opportunity for a great revolutionary political advance of the British masses. The Labour leadership is doing nothing to ensure victory. All its propaganda is passive, the same as it was with the FRAP (in the recent Chilean elections the FRAP—a Socialist-Communist party alliance lost to the Christian Democrats after failing to wage an anti-capitalist and anti-Imperialist campaign. —Ed.)

The Labour leadership carries out no agitation, on the problems of Britain

in relation to the rest of the world, it does not unify the strikes, it does not stimulate the class actions of the masses, but tries to profit from criticising the conservative government because capitalism does not have any way of responding to the problems of the masses, and tries to attract and orientates itself towards the criticisms of the government, by the petit-bourgeoisie. Its policies are directed in this direction because it has no interest in agitation among the working class. The worker masses support the Labour party without discussion. What is in doubt is a sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The proletariat is not going conservative, any more than it is going to cut off its hands and feet; the proletariat votes Labour. This is not the worry of the Labour party. The question is to attract a million and more voters from the petit-bourgeoisie. This is why Wilson talks as he does. The policy of Wilson is not going to be directed at the working class, but at these.

A way for the masses to express themselves was the recent Trade Union Congress. But it was a deformed way, because this Congress is not carried out with proportional and direct representation of the masses. All this stifles the masses, harms the working class. There are delegates who represent a million votes; and who elects them?

They are not genuine representatives of the class. A Congress in which a million vote for one, five for another, etc., and those who go on unofficial strikes can be expelled are all the traps of the bureaucracy. So that this recent Congress of trade unions is not a legitimate or approximate expression of the fighting will of the working class. But even so without being a representative congress the resolutions which were adopted give an orientation of the enormous pressure which it received. In the same way that when Khrushchev spoke to capitalism saying "the war is the end of you" is an expression of the enormous pressure of the communist masses of the world and the need to defend the workers state.

When in this Congress they talk of reducing hours of work, etc.—this is aimed at the British masses. When they block a demand for the removal of Polaris bases—this reflects a response to Imperialism. The multilateral nuclear force discussion is aimed at competing with the Yanks.

#### FOR A SINGLE TRADE UNION CENTRE

But if before the elections the proletariat began to strike and win—as with the postmen—and began to attract and mobilise thousands and thousands in strikes, in the next stage after these experiences of the masses, they are going to augment their activity independently. We are not in 1945, when there was only the Soviet Union, the colonial revolution recently commenced, the European proletariat had not yet organised or constituted the mass CPs, and though pushing forward after the war, to power, the proletariat was still not organised or constituted for putting on pressure.

The triumph of the Labour party in Britain will be an enormous stimulus to the development of the struggle for socialism in Europe, even if not immediately, in a very short time. And in a very short time we must expect an impulse to the tasks of the revolution in Europe. The task of the construction of the United Socialist States of Europe is posed permanently. This experiment of capitalism, the EOM (European Common Market), has shown that it is very limited. Production and productivity has risen in all the capitalist states, but it has not developed unification between the capitalist states, nor their social stability and on the contrary, the one thing that has increased is the centralisation of the big financial corporations. This is the form which the united capitalist states of Europe acquires, with the exclusion of Yankee Imperialism.

The Germans intend to play their own game to re-animate German Imperialism. They are not resolved to do it now, but they intend to do it. The visit of Adenauer to Khrushchev was one of the aspects of this.

From now on the revolutionary cur-

rent in Europe, not only our British section, but the currents within the Labour masses—and we invite the pro-Chinese to do the same—must call for the programme of the United Socialist States of Europe, on the basis of the unification of Europe with the programme of nationalisation of all property. Out with the Imperialist bases! Out with nuclear arms! Plan the economy of Europe! Concretely for Britain: nationalisation of all the property, collectivisation of agrarian property. To those properties which are very small, aid and support through co-operation. Expropriation of the big agrarian properties. An appeal for unconditional support for the colonial revolution. Complete freedom for the colonies! Down with the monarchy. For the Soviet Socialist Republic of Britain!

If the Labour party developed such a programme not only would it triumph, which is not doubted, but it would have an enormous influence in all of Europe. We call upon the Chinese to intervene in the British elections, with such a programme—and that its group in Britain carry on such a campaign.

In the Trade Union organisations of Britain, in a single factory there can be 20 unions. Federations exist which represent thousands, but at the same time they are super decentralised so that they lose all effectiveness. There is on the other hand an attempt now on the part of the bureaucracy to organise in a centralised way so as to impede the individual movements in each factory, so that these do not escape their control.

Among the slogans for Britain one must incorporate nationalisation of the principal forces of production, the creation of a single trade union centre for all the country decentralised in its turn in federations, workers control, the planning of the economy now as in a workers state. It is necessary to make a planned programme for the Labour government, as if it was a workers state, of nationalisation of all the economy, of all the property; planning the economy, workers control, monopoly of foreign trade, elimination of trade union officials.

This is the programme which we put forward and must put forward for the Labour government. And once in government, if it wins, such a programme must be carried out which destroys the juri-

(Continued on page 4)

#### World Trotskyist Press

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# British Elections

(continued from page 3)

dical apparatus of the capitalist system, of the capitalist structure, to destroy it in order to be able to apply this programme. This is the revolution. It is not possible to do this without being clear that it is the revolution. And for this, the armed militia is necessary, above all for the first phase, because presently the armed militias are aided with the organisation of soviets and communes.

In Britain, the most important task is to combine at the same time the drive for the victory of the Labour party, with the organisation of revolutionary tendencies. It is necessary to work consciously for the organisation of these revolutionary tendencies. At this stage there will be a favourable pressure for the organisation of revolutionary tendencies. All the policies of the Labour party if it wins the elections, will tend to confront the masses, and the strikes. The masses will tend to push forward the strikes when there is a Labour government. At this point one must launch the slogan for the organisation of a revolutionary tendency even at the cost of splitting the Labour party. Not today. Today the struggle must be for the triumph of the Labour party, while at the same time fighting for the programme. With the victory of the Labour party the fundamental demand is the organisation of the revolutionary tendency. Without the organisation of the revolutionary tendency the process is going to much more slower.

## TOWARDS THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEADERSHIP

What the Chinese are doing is criminal. The first obligation of the Chinese Communist party is to push forward, to unify and support all the forces which are fighting for a revolutionary programme. And the Trotskyists are the only ones who have a revolutionary programme. When they call the Trotskyists 'Bucharinites,' agents of Imperialism, adventurers, etc., why don't they say what is 'adventurous' about the programme? Already they are giving up the argument over Brest-Litovsk. The Trotskyists have a revolutionary programme; the fight to overthrow capitalism, the organisation of the masses in an independent form, the programme of revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle, workers control, the nationalisation of the economy, the general strike to overthrow capitalism. These are points of the programme of the Trotskyists in England, France, everywhere. What do the Chinese oppose in this? To say 'they are adventurers' means nothing. What do they propose in order not to be adventurers? Conciliation with whom? With the Labour Party? Conciliation with the Communist party? Conciliation with the small pro-Chinese groups, who have a programme similar to that of the Communist party, or conciliation with capitalism? What do the Chinese answer to these questions?

It is necessary to organise a revolutionary tendency in Britain. This is going to have a great reception in the development of the struggles of the British masses in the next period. In order to be able to stimulate, encourage and raise the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, it is necessary that the Chinese intervene and support it. That is support from every point of view; be it with money and material means, be it with appeals, be it with propaganda

and agitation. One must organise the revolutionary tendency in Britain in order that before and after the election, it is developed for the fight with the Labour party in power, for the suppression of capitalism. The same in France as in Britain. The first obligation of the Chinese is to support all the revolutionary tendencies, and the Trotskyists are until now the first and only revolutionary tendency. The Chinese spend more time attacking Trotskyists than impelling and supporting the revolutionary movement. We hope for the opportunity to be able to discuss with the Chinese, in order to persuade them, to correct their position. But until such a time, one must criticise them energetically. Their policy is going to tend to impede and to oppose, in Britain, the organic action of a revolutionary tendency, for the sake of their commercial arrangements with Britain. Britain is not going to impede the organisation of the counter-revolution and the nuclear war against China; in exchange the revolution in Britain is going to be impeded.

The IV International is still numerically weak in Britain partly because of the same historic and concrete reasons which have up till now hampered the exploited masses of Britain from breaking with their trade union and political leaders at the service of capitalism. But the process pursues its dynamic and revolutionary course, in spite of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary objective common front between the Labour leaders and leaders of the Communist parties and the workers states, Khrushchev, etc. Due to these historical conditions, it has been difficult and complicated for the proletariat and British revolutionaries to constitute the revolutionary tendency to lead the socialist revolution in Britain.

Even starting from concrete historical conditions and situations in Britain, the relation of world revolutionary forces are very favourable to the masses and to the tendencies and groups who are putting forward the organisation of the revolutionary tendency in Britain. In the next step the fundamental task of the groups and sectors, of the revolutionary tendencies, will be to organise the bases and the organisms for the organisation and functioning of a revolutionary Marxist leadership. This is the principle task of the Revolutionary Workers Party British section of the IV International.

It is necessary to make appeals and to direct activities and policy to influence, to orientate and stimulate, to seek out the revolutionary groups and tendencies, tendencies within and outside the Labour party, to seek a common front with the tendencies in and around the Labour party and the pro-Chinese.

The Labour leadership, taking power with the Labour party, supports, is fused with and in a common front with the capitalist state and feels itself all powerful. But history shows, by means of the actions of the masses, that the most powerful apparatus of history, is overthrown by the social revolutionary power of the masses. Capitalism, the monarchy and the leadership and the bourgeois apparatus of the Labour party will be overthrown by the masses in the next period.

Sept. 1964.

(Further extracts in next issue)

# THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION DEMANDS THE WORKERS STATES MILITARY AID

With the American elections over and the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy in full spate, with no possibility of any serious healing of the Sino-Soviet split, new stages on the road to the final encounter between the workers states and Imperialism are making themselves felt.

The Johnson administration is concerned to extract what advantage remains to be extracted from peaceful co-existence, but the violent progress of the permanent revolution has called the whole basis of this policy into question—furthermore the fall of Khrushchev is a warning to the Pentagon that the process of the political revolution has reached a high level of maturity in the USSR. The electoral collapse of Goldwater—a failure to rally social support for a hard line—means little in itself but it shows clearly that a section of the Pentagon wishes to abandon peaceful co-existence and launch the war without delay because the balance of world forces goes constantly against Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy is a broken reed in the face of this process despite all their manoeuvres and powerful apparatus. The fact that about 45 million Americans did not bother to vote reveals the degree to which large sections of the American masses are fully conscious of the meaninglessness of voting in a country where all decisions are made by the gangster cliques of the most centralised capitalist and financial dictatorship in the world.

Despite their anxieties in relation to the world situation the fantastic decomposition of world Imperialism hardly allows any but transient interventions by Imperialism. Thus in Bolivia the army, direct agent of Imperialism, hastened to dispose of Estenssoro but are no further advanced in attempts to restrain the workers centre established in the miners region. Similarly the murderous attempts to intervene in the Congo via British aid and Belgian troops will not restrain the heroic masses of the Congo—despite the absence of massive military aid from the workers states. The spectacular overthrow of the

military clique in the Sudan and the foiling in Zanzibar of an Imperialist plot to overthrow the new regime brings out the quickening pace of the African revolution. The renewal of guerilla activity in Mozambique as part of this process is a warning to world Imperialism that time is running out and the war is a pressing necessity in the attempt to survive.

The violent advance of the world revolutionary process further reflects itself in the NATO alliance where now British, French and German Imperialism are all endeavouring to exert pressure on American Imperialism for their own particular benefit. The victory of the LP in Great Britain, the electoral tendency towards the social democrats in Germany, the massive social weight of the Italian proletariat expressed in the tremendous gathering in Rome for the funeral of Togliatti, make it clear that whereas the masses centralise themselves around their existing organisations the forces of Imperialism throughout the world decompose and cannot rally any serious social support for themselves.

The process of the world revolution develops rapidly but empirically—it still lacks a centralised world centre to act as a leadership directing consciously this process. The effects of this lack is shown in Vietnam where the refusal of the Chinese to aid the Viet Cong has materially, in practice, held back the struggle despite the incredible disintegration of the South Vietnam government and its military forces backed by American Imperialism. Nevertheless the world centralisation of the struggle will come about particularly from the intervention of the IV International in the struggles of the masses in Latin-America, its intervention in the Sino-Soviet dispute—which has already alarmed the Soviet bureaucracy—its interventions in Europe and Africa. The spirit of Trotskyism corresponds to the spirit of the masses and the victory of the world socialist revolution approaches.

## 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 20% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the

- building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

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# ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

(continued from page 1)

can socialism,' since no one has been able, in my opinion, to say what 'African socialism' consists of. We do not acknowledge, speaking for ourselves more than socialism or capitalism. More than two roads cannot exist, and only two roads, and we have opted for scientific socialism. An African revolution can transform itself into a socialist revolution and this is exactly the process which is unrolling in Zanzibar. We state that if another revolution is in-

stalled in some other part of Africa, above all in such countries as Mozambique, Angola and South Africa, it cannot be other than a revolution such as ours. It is evident on the other hand, that only by the armed struggle is it possible to conduct these people to their real emancipation. From the moment the masses decide to take up arms, it is already impossible to contain the revolution midway; that it will advance to socialism is our conviction, basing itself on our own experience.

# The Significance of the British Elections in the Struggle for Workers Power in Europe

(Extracts) J. POSADAS

SEPTEMBER  
1964.

The British elections have very great importance and are going to have very great repercussions in the course of the class and revolutionary struggle in Europe, throughout the world for the overthrow of capitalism. The one country in the world in which the proletariat can take office in a country—not take power—but take office by electoral ways, is Britain. For a series of historic reasons and events, the British proletariat is a particularly concentrated proletariat with a great social influence over sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie, gained and influenced in a historic stage when capitalism was not able to gain subordinate layers of the petit-bourgeoisie. Britain has a trade unionist movement and socialist tradition going back to the early 19th century. It has a tradition of class struggle and of class organisation such as no other country. Britain was the first country where the working class concentrated itself as a powerful class movement. The country of the industrial revolution, the country of “reforms of structure” so dear to the communists of today, permitted the very important development of the working class, of the petit-bourgeois, of the exploited sectors of the population. And this influence remains and attracts large sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. Britain is a country where a peasant influence does not exist.

Thus the composition of votes for the LP is in part proletarian with a sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The Labour vote can be about 12 million votes and that is sufficient to win. It is the only way the masses can express themselves. Outside Britain the only country where this could happen—if all those could vote over the age of 18 and the illiterate were allowed to—is Chile.

The Chilean proletariat would have gained the elections if the illiterate and all those from the age of 18 could vote—it had the weight to do this. Outside these two countries there is no way of gaining this position. In Argentina the proletariat gains but not as proletariat, not as a workers movement, but as Peronism. In this it certainly carries great importance but not as a class—it is through the Peronista party. But in Chile it is FRAP with the programme of the FRAP. And in Britain it is the Labour party with a Labour programme

in which in the elections of 1945 there was an important series of nationalisations. But as have said Marx and Engels and with them Lenin and Trotsky, historical experience has made clear that it is possible that the proletariat of these countries may win elections and take office, but to take office is not to overthrow capitalism. To take office does not mean to take power. What follows depends on the policy which is followed—to go towards the overthrow of capitalism or towards accommodation with it.

## IT IS NECESSARY TO SMASH THE STATE APPARATUS

It is not the first time that the British LP is in a position to win the elections. It has won others. At these times they have acted in a capitalist manner—the programme of the LP. They took office electorally, and capitalism without the military means to prevent the taking of office, finally leading to the overthrow of capitalism, tried to exercise its social, economic and political pressure to adapt the party to the norms of capitalism, to the structure of capitalism. If it is not able to do this capitalism acts in its own defence. We have seen in Chile prior to the elections that Imperialism and the Latin-American bourgeoisie were prepared—Argentina, Peru, Bolivia to intervene in Chile directly or indirectly. If having taken office the proletariat does not immediately destroy the capitalist machinery, the bureaucratic apparatus of the country, the military and political apparatus, it leaves open the way for the organisational bases of repression for capitalism to intervene. Unless the policy of expropriation is carried out, the judicial apparatus smashed, the bourgeoisie has the means to apply pressure against the policy of nationalisation and statifica-

tion against any anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist policy.

The power to take office by electoral ways can only be conceived in conditions of social crisis. Without social crisis the proletariat cannot assume office by legal means. Because by itself, by its own legal force the proletariat has no social weight of itself to decide—it is only one half of the population. It may reach 40%-45% of the population in countries where it has force but it is never more than half the population. Under these conditions its social effect is much greater—in Latin-America it is much inferior. The proletariat has a power to attract, but to exercise such a capacity of attraction it must show before the sectors of the population who are not proletarian but exploited that it is capable of deciding and resolving the social problems which these sectors of the population cannot solve and which is not capable of solving.

Only in a situation of social crisis can this circumstance arise. When the situation is otherwise the other sectors of the population do not look at the proletariat, do not respond to its weight.

The fundamental conclusion for the proletariat which has achieved an electoral victory is that if it carries out a policy of nationalisations but leaves at the same time the structure of repression, juridical, military, police, capitalism can reduce the statifications to its service and can reverse them within a short time. But if in realising the statification of property the force that is going to direct the new property are not organisms that accord with the conscience, the necessity, the interest of

socialist development and the masses do not intervene, control or determine—even if the bases of capitalist power have been eliminated a sector of the society which is the bureaucracy will be created and profit.

If it is impossible to prevent the functioning of the workers state generating these organisms—the bureaucracy—it is possible to prevent the evils which bureaucracy generates. The means for this is workers control. But if workers control is not related to the independent objectives, the functioning of the proletariat it can finish by distorting, by strangling proletarian intervention, becoming a bureaucracy itself and creating a new sector of self-interested officials. It is not a union bureaucracy but the bureaucracy of workers control. If workers control is not supported on the independent movement and the independent exercise of the political activity of the class, if it lacks this means of impulse stimulus, vigilance and elevation from the activity of the class its source of power, it becomes corrupted. This occurs as much in a workers state as in a state which goes towards a workers state.

### THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

If in Britain there are elections and the Labour party wins, one of the richest phases of the last stages in the history of world capitalism is developing. The triumph of the LP can produce, is going to produce within a not very distant stage a great stimulus to the revolution in Europe. Not through the intention of the LP leadership but through the conjuncture of the world situation. The ends and objects of the leadership of the LP do not differ from British Imperialism. They diverge in methods but in particular the bureaucracy, the administrative structure of LP is a true apparatus of the state which has interests in competition with the interests of the administration of the Conservative party.

The social base of support of the LP is the proletariat and sections of the petit-bourgeoisie. To sustain this support it must respond in part to the demands and to the will and social and economic interests of the exploited population. Thus it enters in competition in partial form with the Conservative apparatus, with the mechanism of the capitalist structure of Britain. The leadership of the LP has developed the party as part of the organism of the capitalist structure. It is a constitutive part of the capitalist structure of Britain. Of all the organisms of the socialist and communist parties the LP is the most difficult to penetrate. The ideas, the pressures and the influences, the will to revolutionary struggle of the working class, meets an iron, solid resistance and barrier. But even admitting to this resistance when the exploited masses succeed in a remote way in its

desire for an anti-capitalist struggle, it is because the conditions for the revolution are mature in every way.

The LP considers the British Queen as part of the apparatus as someone in whom trust must be placed. The LP bosses reverence the British monarchy. The monarchy is one of the most retrograde signs of the social legal structure. It is a basis for attack, against British Imperialism and a peculiarly sensitive one. It is a means of agitation and of the organisation of the struggle against British capitalism. But the LP leaders neither propose or mention opposition to the monarchic regime. To do so it would attract a greater number of votes, the electoral and social support of the petit-bourgeoisie. Joined to its decadence and decomposition, the British monarchy is losing its support, over numerically and socially important sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. The LP leaders do not agitate, do not mention the struggle with slogans against the monarchy, because such a struggle would lead inevitably to pose the problem of what social and political regime will succeed the monarchy. The struggle against the monarchy would pose before the masses the necessity to struggle for the socialist republic. For this the LP leadership eludes utilising an important and decisive means of agitation, even electorally.

The British proletariat has one of the longest traditions of struggle in the world—from the earliest notions of an organised socialist movement of the Chartists. From then the British proletariat has made enormous efforts as in the General Strike of 1926 to smash capitalism. The proletariat has shown a capacity for class concentration and centralisation as no other European proletariat. Neither in France nor Italy, the two countries of great proletarian concentration, have the socialist parties or

unions achieved the degree of concentration as in Britain.

The British proletariat showed an enormous development of its class consciousness and organisation and tried in 1945 exerting pressure for an anti-capitalist government through its intervention in the elections to push into power the LP leadership. They triumphed, made a series of nationalisation measures of a limited type but the LP leadership immediately parried further advance. And in place of supporting themselves on the masses who put them in power to dislodge capitalism, they utilised the support of the masses to stabilise capitalism. And at that time capitalism had no force or capacity to stabilise itself. They could not impede the proletariat attacking capitalist power; it was necessary to contain it but at the same time they had to concede somewhat. The capitalists could only do this with the LP leaders. They made a united front with the LP leadership which helped them to restrain and fetter tendencies towards the General Strike. During the war Churchill had appeared as a saviour. The old fellow was the one who said that—Never had

so much been owed by so many to so few. He thought this was a historic statement. The workers replied "Get out stupid" and they voted for the LP. If the bourgeoisie effectively had gained authority in the second world war, the LP would not have won. The masses did this after years of political inactivity because this was denied them. In four years of war there was a paralysis of activity, union and political, not because this could not have been pursued but because the LP leadership impeded this. The arrangement between the bourgeoisie and the LP leadership blocked

the proletariat. Nevertheless the proletariat which had no union organisms had no party by which to express themselves to raise a class activity came through the war and massively voted for the LP.

### THE WORKERS MAINTAIN THEIR UNITY

The LP got 13 million votes which were not proletarian votes only but contained a large wing of the petit-bourgeoisie which submitted to the proletariat. They were anti-capitalist votes. At the end of the war which impeded political life this represented the influence in the last instance of the victor of this war—the USSR. They saw the anti-capitalist triumph. Similarly the German masses after 10-12 years of Hitler terrorism, placed red banners on the buildings. Hitler said: "communism is smashed" and as soon as they could the masses paraded red flags. It is clear the masses have suffered from bayonets, tanks, artillery, but in consciousness, in will, in decision, they had not been destroyed. If the masses had been checked they would not have reacted in the way they did.

Similarly as the German and the British proletariat, the proletariats of France and Italy wished to take power. In the liquidation of military power in France the French CP became the centre of the reorganisation of the class to take power. Thorez, Togliatti exercised the role of security guards of Imperialism, handing over the arms to the military to the police to guarantee stability to capitalism.

In Britain when the Tories won in 1951 this was not because the proletariat withdrew or because the British economy flourished and blocked the necessity for the revolutionary taking of power. The Tories won because the LP leadership had not overthrown capitalism and in consequence an important

sector of the petit-bourgeoisie deserted the proletariat. Between a government of socialists and a government of conservatives based on the same capitalist bases, the petit-bourgeoisie are not attracted towards the proletariat.

It was not the working class which fell back in Britain. The working class won 12 million votes, but it lost the support of the petit-bourgeoisie. And this loss meant a blow at the working class. But the working class maintained itself intact. The other election which the conservatives also won, did not mean a falling back of the Labour party,

which maintained its proletarian votes, but did not exert any influence over the petit-bourgeoisie and sections of small farmers. In fact, the decomposition of the conservatives expresses itself by the growth of the liberals, but the liberals are relatively very small—supported by the big bourgeoisie and the wealthy petit-bourgeoisie. Britain is one of those countries where there is a large composition of wealthy petit-bourgeoisie and farmers. There is nothing similar in Latin-America or France where there is a large number of really poor farmers. The proletariat and the poor petit-bourgeoisie of the cities have a crushing social weight in Great Britain.

### THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE DECOMPOSITION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Even though the British proletariat has not been able to capture the mass support of the petit-bourgeoisie in order to overthrow capitalism, it keeps intact its class unity. All the policies of the conservatives have not managed to crush, to separate, to discourage the class centralisation of the proletariat. This is maintained intact. But at the same time as it keeps itself intact, its interventions in international problems, in the international class struggles is of little importance. The British proletariat is one of those which intervenes least in the world, in the international class struggle.

The bourgeoisie, through the Labour leadership, managed to create a current of support for Imperialist power from being a great country; now this power has shrunk to no more than an illusion; the lion doesn't even have claws.

The social weight of the British proletariat cannot be measured, its determination cannot be measured except through its action, but in the international class struggle it is one which has intervened least, not because of its incapacity for action, but because the leadership intentionally prevents it.

In order to exert such an influence, the leadership of British Imperialism has rested on a certain historical tradition and an historical weight of Imperialism. It is the Imperialism which once led the world industrially, the first big Imperialism, the first which modernised the apparatus of production, centralised production, centralised the state, and did this under the monarchy, a constitutional monarchy.

### LABOUR PARTY—A CAPITALIST APPARATUS

The workers bureaucracy, which has its organisation through the Labour party and the trade unions, confers with the Queen, forms part of the political structure of the kingdom and is inseparable from it. There are differences between the Communist and Socialist parties of Britain and those of France and Italy. The French and even the Italian are not a constituent part of the regime; the Italian is approximating to it. Of this, it is important to notice that Amendola is going to present a project

to reorganise the Communist party, in order to make it more 'agile,' to give it more freedom of movement in relation to the bourgeoisie. But this did not suit Khrushchev—or his followers—because even when without doubt, it goes against the masses, it goes also against the Soviet bureaucracy. Since the Communist party has its own interests it wants to be free. And then it would truly become a state apparatus.

The Labour party is integrated with the regime; forms part of it. When a Labour leader thinks and reasons, he thinks and reasons as a British capitalist. The communists and socialists of

the other countries reason not so differently to the way the Labour leaders do, but the workers aristocracy was not constituted as in Britain. In Europe there are two parties which the working class support, and the workers aristocracy which supports the communists and socialists receive the pressure of the other workers sectors, this has still impeded their being incorporated completely. For example, Guy Mollet is no different to the British socialists. With respect to Algeria, he was Minister of Colonies, and held that position for three years. The same with Lacoste and all the others. But they do not have the same structure as in Britain, and they have the possibility of being influenced more, and because of this they are in crisis.

### THE WORKING CLASS IS INTACT

The British working class is intact. The capitalist class has not managed to drag behind it the British population nor the immense majority of the petit-bourgeoisie. The way to measure this is simple: the demonstrations against the atomic bomb. Even though from the social political, revolutionary, point of view they are of little importance, from the point of view of the activity of the petit-bourgeoisie which wants to struggle, it is demonstrated in this way.

The trash who emphasise 'Mods' and 'Rockers'—and they do it constantly—have a clear intention, which it to pretend to show that there are no conditions for the revolution, to make the people lose interest, to be disheartened. They do not emphasise the last strike of the postmen, the first for 40 years—40 years! This was a strike of postmen against the will of the leadership which tried to prevent the strike but the workers struck anyway. The British worker is very punctilious, very orderly, strikes in an orderly way and the bureaucrats say: you must respect the discipline, the resolutions, you must not strike. The workers rejected this—they went out on strike. And the bureaucracy had to

hear it.

The unofficial strikes, strikes which are launched repeatedly against the leadership, are daily in Britain, constant and massive. This is the reality of Britain, the struggle of the masses which constantly has grown, is growing and will grow.

The leadership of the Labour party, which is integrated with the apparatus of capitalism of the country, does not base itself on this spirit in order to prepare the elections. It does not promote such strikes, wanting them to win, it does not go forward with the spirit of the masses, stimulating strikes, organising them and preparing for the general strike.

It is indubitable that the lack of intervention by the British proletariat in the international class struggle is a very serious and important deficiency, because it impedes a greater maturation and a greater possibility for the development of a revolutionary leadership in the British working class. In this sense, the British working class is certainly reserved. Even though they are interested in international problems, they do not have the effect upon them that they have on the rest of the world, and in the conditions of the rest of the world. It is not because Britain is an island. The conclusion is, as we have said before, because of the formation and development of the old empire, which the Labour leadership supported.

#### THE FIGHT OF THE MASSES AND THE ELECTIONS

The working class even if it receives and pays for the consequences of the attitude of the Labour leadership, in all the processes in Britain, are advancing and the elections will give immense opportunity for a great revolutionary political advance of the British masses. The Labour leadership is doing nothing to ensure victory. All its propaganda is passive, the same as it was with the FRAP (in the recent Chilean elections the FRAP—a Socialist - Communist party alliance lost to the Christian Democrats after failing to wage an anti-capitalist and anti-Imperialist campaign.—Ed.).

The Labour leadership carries out no agitation, on the problems of Britain

in relation to the rest of the world, it does not unify the strikes, it does not stimulate the class actions of the masses, but tries to profit from criticising the conservative government because capitalism does not have any way of responding to the problems of the masses, and tries to attract and orientates itself towards the criticisms of the government, by the petit-bourgeoisie. Its policies are directed in this direction because it has no interest in agitation among the working class. The worker masses support the Labour party without discussion. What is in doubt is a sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The proletariat is not going conservative, any more than it is going to cut off its hands and feet; the proletariat votes Labour. This is not the worry of the Labour party. The question is to attract a million and more voters from the petit-bourgeoisie. This is why Wilson talks as he does. The policy of Wilson is not going to be directed at the working class, but at these.

A way for the masses to express themselves was the recent Trade Union Congress. But it was a deformed way,

because this Congress is not carried out with proportional and direct representation of the masses. All this stifles the masses, harms the working class. There are delegates who represent a million votes; and who elects them?

They are not genuine representatives of the class. A Congress in which a million vote for one, five for another, etc., and those who go on unofficial strikes can be expelled are all the traps of the bureaucracy. So that this recent Congress of trade unions is not a legitimate or approximate expression of the fighting will of the working class. But even so without being a representative congress the resolutions which were adopted give an orientation of the enormous pressure which it received. In the same way that when Khrushchev spoke to capitalism saying "the war is the end of you" is an expression of the enormous pressure of the communist masses of the world and the need to defend the workers state.

When in this Congress they talk of reducing hours of work, etc.—this is aimed at the British masses. When they block a demand for the removal of Polaris bases—this reflects a response to Imperialism. The multilateral nuclear force discussion is aimed at competing with the Yanks.

#### FOR A SINGLE TRADE UNION CENTRE

But if before the elections the proletariat began to strike and win—as with the postmen—and began to attract and mobilise thousands and thousands in strikes, in the next stage after these experiences of the masses, they are going to augment their activity independently. We are not in 1945, when there was only the Soviet Union, the colonial revolution recently commenced, the European proletariat had not yet organised or constituted the mass CPs, and though pushing forward after the war, to power, the proletariat was still not organised or constituted for putting on pressure.

The triumph of the Labour party in Britain will be an enormous stimulus to the development of the struggle for socialism in Europe, even if not immediately, in a very short time. And in a very short time we must expect an impulse to the tasks of the revolution in Europe. The task of the construction of the United Socialist States of Europe is posed permanently. This experiment of capitalism, the EOM (European Common Market), has shown that it is very limited. Production and productivity has risen in all the capitalist states, but it has not developed unification between the capitalist states, nor their social stability and on the contrary, the one thing that has increased is the centralisation of the big financial corporations. This is the form which the united capitalist states of Europe acquires, with the exclusion of Yankee Imperialism.

The Germans intend to play their own game to re-animate German Imperialism. They are not resolved to do it now, but they intend to do do it. The visit of Adenauer to Khrushchev was one of the aspects of this.

From now on the revolutionary cur-

rent in Europe, not only our British section, but the currents within the Labour masses—and we invite the pro-Chinese to do the same—must call for the programme of the United Socialist States of Europe, on the basis of the unification of Europe with the programme of nationalisation of all property. Out with the Imperialist bases! Out with nuclear arms! Plan the economy of Europe! Concretely for Britain: nationalisation of all the property, collectivisation of agrarian property. To those properties which are very small, aid and support through co-operation. Expropriation of the big agrarian properties, An appeal for unconditional support for the colonial revolution. Complete freedom for the colonies! Down with the monarchy. For the Soviet Socialist Republic of Britain!

If the Labour party developed such a programme not only would it triumph, which is not doubted, but it would have an enormous influence in all of Europe. We call upon the Chinese to intervene in the British elections, with such a programme—and that its group in Britain carry on such a campaign.

In the Trade Union organisations of Britain, in a single factory there can be 20 unions. Federations exist which represent thousands, but at the same time they are super decentralised so that they lose all effectiveness. There is on the other hand an attempt now on the part of the bureaucracy to organise in a centralised way so as to impede the individual movements in each factory, so that these do not escape their control.

Among the slogans for Britain one must incorporate nationalisation of the principal forces of production, the creation of a single trade union centre for all the country decentralised in its turn in federations, workers control, the planning of the economy now as in a workers state. It is necessary to make a planned programme for the Labour government, as if it was a workers state, of nationalisation of all the economy, of all the property; planning the economy, workers control, monopoly of foreign trade, elimination of trade union officials.

This is the programme which we put forward and must put forward for the Labour government. And once in government, if it wins, such a programme must be carried out which destroys the jur-

dical apparatus of the capitalist system, of the capitalist structure, to destroy it in order to be able to apply this programme. This is the revolution. It is not possible to do this without being clear that it is the revolution. And for this, the armed militia is necessary, above all for the first phase, because presently the armed militias are aided with the organisation of soviets and communes.

In Britain, the most important task is to combine at the same time the drive for the victory of the Labour party, with the organisation of revolutionary tendencies. It is necessary to work consciously for the organisation of these revolutionary tendencies. At this stage there will be a favourable pressure for

the organisation of revolutionary tendencies. All the policies of the Labour party if it wins the elections, will tend to confront the masses, and the strikes. The masses will tend to push forward the strikes when there is a Labour government. At this point one must launch the slogan for the organisation of a revolutionary tendency even at the cost of splitting the Labour party. Not today. Today the struggle must be for the triumph of the Labour party, while at the same time fighting for the programme. With the victory of the Labour party the fundamental demand is the organisation of the revolutionary tendency. Without the organisation of the revolutionary tendency the process is going to much more slower.

### TOWARDS THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEADERSHIP

What the Chinese are doing is criminal. The first obligation of the Chinese Communist party is to push forward, to unify and support all the forces which are fighting for a revolutionary programme. And the Trotskyists are the only ones who have a revolutionary programme. When they call the Trotskyists 'Bucharinites,' agents of Imperialism, adventurers, etc., why don't they say what is 'adventurous' about the programme? Already they are giving up the argument over Brest-Litovsk. The Trotskyists have a revolutionary programme; the fight to overthrow capitalism, the organisation of the masses in an independent form, the programme of revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle, workers control, the nationalisation of the economy, the general strike to overthrow capitalism. These are points of the programme of the Trotskyists in England, France, everywhere. What do the Chinese oppose in this? To say 'they are adventurers' means nothing. What do they propose in order not to be adventurers? Conciliation with whom? With the Labour Party? Conciliation with the Communist party? Conciliation with the small pro-Chinese groups, who have a programme similar to that of the Communist party, or conciliation with capitalism? What do the Chinese answer to these questions?

It is necessary to organise a revolutionary tendency in Britain. This is going to have a great reception in the development of the struggles of the British masses in the next period. In order to be able to stimulate, encourage and raise the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, it is necessary that the Chinese intervene and support it. That is support from every point of view; be it with money and material means, be it with appeals, be it with propaganda

and agitation. One must organise the revolutionary tendency in Britain in order that before and after the election, it is developed for the fight with the Labour party in power, for the suppression of capitalism. The same in France as in Britain. The first obligation of the Chinese is to support all the revolutionary tendencies, and the Trotskyists are until now the first and only revolutionary tendency. The Chinese spend more time attacking Trotskyists than impelling and supporting the revolutionary movement. We hope for the opportunity to be able to discuss with the Chinese, in order to persuade them, to correct their position. But until such a time, one must criticise them energetically. Their policy is going to tend to impede and to oppose, in Britain, the organic action of a revolutionary tendency, for the sake of their commercial arrangements with Britain. Britain is not going to impede the organisation of the counter-revolution and the nuclear war against China; in exchange the revolution in Britain is going to be impeded.

The IV International is still numerically weak in Britain partly because of the same historic and concrete reasons which have up till now hampered the exploited masses of Britain from breaking with their trade union and political leaders at the service of capitalism. But the process pursues its dynamic and revolutionary course, in spite of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary objective common front between the Labour leaders and leaders of the Communist parties and the workers states, Khrushchev, etc. Due to these historical conditions, it has been difficult and complicated for the proletariat and British revolutionaries to constitute the revolutionary tendency to lead the socialist revolution in Britain.

Even starting from concrete historical conditions and situations in Britain, the relation of world revolutionary forces are very favourable to the masses and to the tendencies and groups who are putting forward the organisation of the revolutionary tendency in Britain. In the next step the fundamental task of the groups and sectors, of the revolutionary tendencies, will be to organise the bases and the organisms for the organisation and functioning of a revolutionary Marxist leadership. This is the principle task of the Revolutionary Workers Party British section of the IV International.

It is necessary to make appeals and to direct activities and policy to influence, to orientate and stimulate, to seek out the revolutionary groups and tendencies, tendencies within and out-

side the Labour party, to seek a common front with the tendencies in and around the Labour party and the pro-Chinese.

The Labour leadership, taking power with the Labour party, supports, is fused with and in a common front with the capitalist state and feels itself all powerful. But history shows, by means of the actions of the masses, that the most powerful apparatus of history, is overthrown by the social revolutionary power of the masses. Capitalism, the monarchy and the leadership and the bourgeois apparatus of the Labour party will be overthrown by the masses in the next period.

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