

SPECIAL ISSUE - SPECIAL ISSUE - SPECIAL ISSUE - SPECIAL ISSUE

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 26

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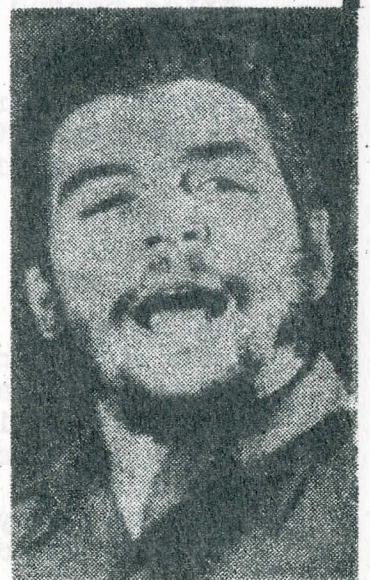
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**Complete Text
of Castro's Attack
on Trotskyism,
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**WHERE
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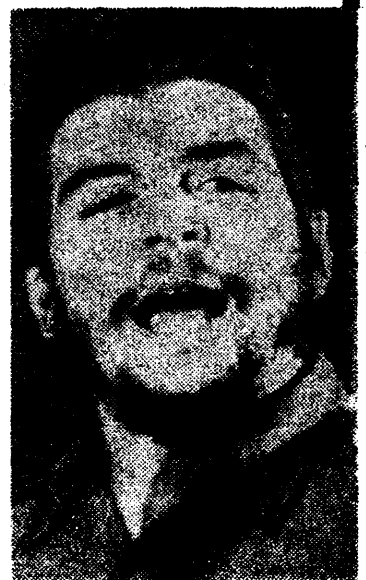
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CASTRO ATTACKS THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Why Castro Slandered Guatamalan Revolutionaries and Trotskyists and Openly Joined Forces With Moscow at Tri-Continental Congress

Fidel Castro opened the Tri-Continental Congress with a speech in which he denounced the Chinese. He closed the Congress with a speech in which he openly attacked in the crudest terms the leadership of the Guatamalan revolutionary movement and in the same breath slandered the Trotskyist movement. Thus spoke a man who only a few months earlier had declared his "neutrality" in the Sino-Soviet dispute and his disdain for polemic in general, stating that Cuba would devote itself to bringing about "unity" of the anti-imperialist forces.

What is the real role Cuba played at this congress? What political line is Castro now supporting in the colonial countries? What really happened to Guevara? What is the significance of all this for the revolutionary movement throughout the world? These are questions to which we will seek some answers in this article, for certainly a serious turn is taking place in Cuba today which will have its deep impact on future struggles not only in Latin America but throughout the world.

We must begin with the political significance of the Tri-Continental Congress itself. Representatives of hundreds of political parties from the underdeveloped countries gathered in Havana. Included in these ranks was a wide spectrum of political tendencies from openly bourgeois nationalists, through opportunists of the Jagan and Allende stripe, to the CPs, the USSR, China and some of the guerilla activists from Latin America. Absent and excluded were any representatives of the political forces Castro was to attack in his concluding remarks--the Guatamalan revolutionaries headed by Yon Sosa and the Trotskyists.

In declaration after declaration all these diverse forces declared their unqualified opposition to imperialism and their support to armed struggle against the reactionary regimes in the colonial countries.

A Step--But in Which Direction?

It was this latter aspect of the conference which led the Militant to declare in its January 31st issue that the Conference represented "a step forward for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America." This of course is understandable from the SWP for that political party has been declaring for years that the central division between the revolutionary and reformist camps is the question of "armed struggle." Cuba was seen as leading the revolutionary "armed struggle" camp while the USSR was seen as leading the counterrevolutionary "parliamentary road" camp.

The problem posed by the Tri-Continental Conference is that here we have Cuba and the USSR arm-in-arm, hand-in-hand

supporting "armed struggle". What does it mean? Has the USSR suddenly seen the light and embraced the "revolutionary road" under the pressure of Cuba and the colonial peoples? In its February 7th issue, the Militant reprints an article from World Outlook, the organ of the international tendency the SWP supports, which also seeks to grapple with this problem. While considering it "possible" that the USSR has handed over Latin America to the Cubans to conduct the struggle there according to their line, it also suggests another "possibility": "the revolutionary language at the Tri-Continental Congress was phrasemongering deliberately aimed at covering up a fundamental turn in a less revolutionary direction so far as actual practice is concerned. This possibility cannot be excluded a priori, but it must be recognized that up to now there are no tangible facts to indicate that this is the real alternative chosen by Castro."

The Militant and World Outlook are dead wrong! The Tri-Continental Congress represented a step backward for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and elsewhere and there are "facts" that are very "tangible" indeed to back up this assertion. To begin with armed struggle never was and is not now the main dividing line between reform and revolution in Latin America or any place else. Armed struggle is a method which can be and is incorrect and wrong or necessary and correct depending on the conditions of the given country. Whenever it is possible to conduct the struggle by legal means then it must be done that way. When such means are barred, as is true in much but not all of Latin America, then armed struggle and underground activity in the cities is necessary and essential. But that is only the beginning of the question. The real question is the nature of the political line to be implemented either by armed struggle or legal means.

Let us remember that history is full of examples of petty bourgeois formations which have launched adventurist armed struggles removed from and in opposition to the working class of their country. Was this not the case with the Narodniks in pre-October Russia? Today the situation has deteriorated in Latin America to the point that the more "leftist" national bourgeois formations on this continent have come to realize that even for their limited objectives they may have to consider armed, illegal activity.

The real question is whether this armed struggle is to be carried forward by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry or whether the proletariat (to the extent it is involved at all) and the peasantry are to be tied to the national bourgeoisie. This is the central issue in the colonial countries today and Castro and Moscow have made it clear where they stand.

Castro and the Guatemalan Revolution

The most significant political act at the Congress was Castro's intervention in the dispute now going on among Guatemalan revolutionaries. It was this intervention which makes clear how it was possible for the Tri-Continental Congress composed of bour-

geois nationalist elements as well as more radical formations to come to unanimous decisions on the anti-imperialist struggle and why both Moscow and China supported these decisions.

In the May and June issues of Monthly Review Adolpho Gilly gives a clear picture of the political outlook of the Guatemalan guerilla movement, MR-13, led by Yon Sosa. Despite its many limitations, MR-13 has made a break with the national bourgeoisie in Guatemala and is seeking to make an alliance with the urban proletariat. It also recognizes the necessity to relate its own struggle in Guatemala to the struggle elsewhere in Latin America as well as in the advanced countries. MR-13 has emerged as a new center for the political regroupment of revolutionary forces in Latin America around a proletarian program. This is clearly the danger which supporters of an alliance with the bourgeoisie see in the Yon Sosa movement.

The growth of MR-13 could not have come at a more propitious time. Years of guerilla war isolated from the urban masses has led only to defeat and annihilation of some of the most audacious young revolutionaries on the Southern continent without seriously threatening imperialism's grasp on the region. Even the SWP belatedly has had to recognize this. In our January 31st issue we quoted Joe Hansen, a major SWP leader, as writing: "And yet five years have gone by with no real victory. In fact a very grave defeat was suffered through the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat that brought Gen. Castelo Branco to power in Brazil in April, 1964.

Since the time of the Gilly articles, Moscow has engineered a split in MR-13 led by Luis Turcios. This minority group combines armed struggle with seeking an alliance with the national bourgeoisie. It collaborates with the Stalinist party in Guatemala and it was this minority which attended the Tri-Continental Congress as the sole representative of the Guatemalan movement. Turcios's participation was played up by Granma (January 7, 1966), Castro's personal political organ.

Castro's concluding address to the Congress contained a strong denunciation of Yon Sosa as a dupe of Trotskyism and the leader of a movement (MR-13) in the service of Yankee Imperialism. Thus Castro intervened to attack the main group in Latin America which has clearly broken from the national bourgeoisie and to support the minority group which upholds collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This shows the political nature of the Havana-Moscow line for underdeveloped countries: armed struggle if you must, but collaboration with the bourgeoisie at all costs. It is thus no accident that the Congress's main resolution on armed struggle comments on "the place of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the work for peaceful coexistence."

It is within this political context that we must view Castro's foul slander stating that "Trotskyism has become a commonplace instrument of imperialism and of reaction." These slanders are not a matter of unprincipled concessions to Moscow. Rather

they are necessary in order to insulate Latin American revolutionaries from revolutionary working class ideas. They are intimately related to the Havana-Moscow revisionist line of a bloc with the national bourgeoisie just as much as similar slanders by Stalin were related to Stalin's counterrevolutionary politics.

The Internal Regime

It is clear that Castro is today committed to a revisionist international line. This raises immediately the question of the character of the internal regime in Cuba. Foreign policy and domestic policy are always intertwined. And so it has been with Cuba.

It is necessary to go back briefly to the origins of the Castro regime. In 1958 and 1959 the United States decided that the Batista regime was an impediment even to capitalist economic development of Cuba. Thus they removed their military aid from the Batista regime permitting Castro to come to power. After Castro had established his regime they sought to come to terms with him. Castro, however, could not compromise on the question of the sugar industry without undermining his popular support in Cuba. The U.S. gambled that if they cut off sugar importation and instituted an economic blockade of the island they could force the Castro regime to compromise on this central question.

The alternatives before Castro at this time were three:
1) to turn towards the working class in Cuba and internationally and on this basis launch an all-out struggle against capitalism at home and imperialism internationally; 2) to come to terms with the U.S. even if it meant a loss of popular support and the stagnation of his revolution; 3) to seek to maintain his group, firmly rooted in the government apparatus independent of both the U.S. imperialists and his own working class through an alliance with the Soviet bloc countries. It was this third policy he "chose", or more accurately drifted into because he could not seriously consider the other two alternatives.

Thus an alliance was formed between the governmental bureaucracy of Cuba and the Soviet bloc countries which allowed this formation to maneuver with relative independence from both the working class and the imperialists. This alliance was not unlike that between the USSR and the Chinese bureaucracy and between the USSR and the bureaucracies of the East European countries. It did, however, have certain differences, which in time could prove qualitative in character.

First and most important is that the relationship of the USSR with buffer countries to its East and West was an essential one, as the Kremlin saw it, to the very defense of the USSR itself against imperialism. The Cuban relationship undoubtedly had its origins in a different need on the part of the USSR - that of bolstering up "neutralist" bourgeois nationalist regimes in

colonial countries in a futile attempt to prevent the total isolation of the Soviet countries in a world dominated by the wealthy capitalist countries by this method. That the Cuban development went further than Egypt, for instance, was in most likelihood not due to the conscious wishes of the Kremlin but rather to the logic of the situation once the U.S. had embarked on a policy of seeking to break Cuba.

The second difference is that while in East Europe and in China there was a fusion of petty bourgeois and bourgeois forces in the state apparatus with the Stalinist forces, the Stalinist parties from almost the beginning dominated the state. In Cuba, after the Escalante purge, the petty bourgeois national group around Castro maintained its dominant control of the state and the Stalinists were forced into a more subordinate position.

These two factors mean: 1) that a return of Cuba to the capitalist camp would not seriously endanger the defense of the USSR in the eyes of the USSR's leadership and 2) a return to the capitalist camp could be accomplished in Cuba with less changes in the state apparatus than in Eastern Europe or China.

It should be clear from this analysis that at no time in his career did Castro ever embrace the working class. He maintained his governmental apparatus independent of control by the working class and substituted for this control an alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. When Castro declared in 1961 that "I am Marxist-Leninist and will remain so to I die", this declaration no more made him a Marxist-Leninist than Stalin's eulogies of Lenin made him a Leninist. It was rather an ideological reflection of Castro's dependence on the Soviet camp and his commitment to the policies and program of Stalinism, not Leninism.

Should any of our readers have any doubt on this score we urge them to read Adolpho Gilly's article which appeared in the October, 1964 issue of Monthly Review under the title "Inside the Cuban Revolution." While Gilly lacks a clear theoretical understanding of Cuba, he tells enough of the reality of internal Cuban life--based on his own experiences in the country-- to make crystal clear the nature of the internal regime. It is not without reason that Castro should attack Gilly before the Tri-Continental Congress.

Gilly described clearly how the trade union movement in Cuba became completely absorbed into the government and was transformed from a tool of independent struggle by the masses into a tool for the policing of the class. He also describes how the Castro regime set up a political party--not to control the state--but rather to assist the state in controlling the population.

The Guevara Affair

More recent developments related to the disappearance of Guevara and the split with China fully confirm this analysis. We can understand Castro's rather deep resentment against anyone

on the left who raises questions as to the Guevara affair. There is something foul in this affair that has yet to come to light and Castro deeply fears the impact of the truth when it does, as it must, come to the surface.

The Militant in its Jan. 31st issue prints an article on the Guevara business reprinted from an Argentine magazine Estrategia, edited by one Manuel Moreno (a character to whom we shall have occasion to return later on). This article is held up as "typical" of the statements made by their international tendency and we will take it as such. We quote: "First, against the campaign of the writers in the pay of imperialism and the exploiters, we reject any insinuation that Guevara was 'purged' by the Cuban regime and its undisputed leader, Fidel Castro. In our opinion as we characterize the regime and its leader, the persecution of revolutionary militants, of leaders, whether Cubans or foreigners, is excluded."

But what are the facts? Is it not true that Castro purged the Escalante group in Cuba without giving this information (we in no way condone its ideas) a chance to express its side of the affair? Is it not true that Castro has denied the right of the Posadas tendency (a break-off from the Trotskyist movement) to publish a printed paper in Cuba and has harrassed and jailed its leaders? Is it not true that Guevara enunciated a more radical line during his trip through Africa and solidarized himself with China; and upon his return to Cuba not a word has been heard of him until Castro's speech revealing that he had left the country? Is it not true that Castro today is denouncing the Chinese for--distributing their literature within Cuba?

We agree with Moreno that the purging of opponents without any public discussion, the suppression of small oppositional groups, the attacks on a worker's state for doing no more than making its position known to the Cuban people-- that such conduct is inconsistent with an assessment of "Fidel and 'Che' Guevara as the greatest victorious revolutionary leadership-- speaking morally and politically--that history has given us since the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky." We suggest to Moreno, Hansen and Co. that it is not the facts that can be denied, but rather their own assessment of the nature of the Castro leadership which has been so rudely denied by the course of history

WHERE IS CHE?

The Fourth International demands to know what happened to Che Guevara. Where is he? Why did Guevara relinquish his Cuban citizenship? Why did he 'free Cuba from all responsibility' in his last message?

What was the nature of the differences between him and Castro?

Is Castro prepared to allow entry to an independent labour delegation to inquire into and verify the truth about Guevara's disappearance?

Since Castro evades these questions, we are free to draw what inferences we can.

--Feb. 5 Newsletter, organ of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

itself.

We, of course, have no idea where Guevara is or whether he is even living. We do know that his removal from the political scene in Cuba is definitely linked with Castro's decision to throw in his all, and without reservation, with Moscow. However Guevara was removed; he was removed for political reasons and Castro has refused to discuss these reasons openly before the world working class public or before his own working class.

If we were to take an educated guess we would be inclined to think Guevara went the route of Escalante--he was shipped off in a Soviet jet to Czechoslovakia or some other "safe" area while his wife and children remain in Cuba as extra insurance that he remain quietly out of the way. We tend to feel that if he were in some colonial country working with a guerilla movement this fact could not long be kept from notice (you will note Castro did not specify that he was in a colonial country or doing guerilla work). If he were in jail in Cuba, or shot, this too would leak out.

Two Counterposed Lines on Cuba

The SWP's position on Cuba is certainly clear. In 1961 it declared in its document "The April 17th Invasion and its Aftermath" an addenda to its major resolution on the character of Cuba:

"The leadership which organized the overturn of capitalist property relations, established the workers state, and which is conducting the defense of Cuba against imperialist attack, will naturally be accepted as the bona fide leadership of such a mass revolutionary party at its formal organization, a responsibility to which they are entitled by their record and performance. The Trotskyists in Cuba, now functioning as a propaganda group concerned in advancing the tradition and unbroken continuity of revolutionary socialist theory and practice, should take their place, we believe, like all other political tendencies supporting the revolution, within the new revolutionary party upon its formation."

Thus the SWP and its international cothinkers view their role as part of the Castroite government party in Cuba and not as independent of and in opposition to this party and this government. Thus when Moreno, in the same article quoted earlier, announces that they are "proud to count ourselves a part" of the Castroite ranks he is speaking for this whole international formation including the SWP.

Our organization has its origins in a common struggle with the group now publishing the Spartacist against this view within the SWP. We held and hold today that the Castro bureaucracy must be broken up and replaced with a government subordinate to the working class in Cuba. This, we have always maintained, can be accomplished only through an independent struggle for the creation of an independent party of the proletariat in Cuba and democratic forms of proletarian rule. The Castroite state needed and needs to be smashed from top to bottom and be replaced with a totally

different form of state such as existed in the early days of the October Revolution. Recent events in Cuba have fully confirmed our assessment of the Castro leadership and thoroughly repudiated the "government party" outlook of the SWP and its international collaborators.

Revisionism and International Decay

This Cuban line of the SWP's is intimately related to the growth of revisionism within the ranks of the Fourth International. It is about time an assessment was made of the evolution of the revisionist camp headed by the SWP.

In 1953 the Fourth International split into two international tendencies. One was aligned with the International Committee, which the SWP then supported, and the other with the International Secretariat, then headed by Michel Pablo. The Pablo camp had given up an independent working class line and had substituted for the working class the petty bourgeois forces which, on the surface, appeared to dominate revolutionary developments in that period and today. The SWP never really struggled against Pabloism after 1953 and by 1961, under the impact of its analysis of Cuban developments sketched above, urged its supporters within the IC to affiliate with the IS. In 1963 the pro-SWP forces within the IC merged with the IS, creating the United Secretariat. The SWP, though barred from affiliation by the Voorhis Act, gave its political and moral support to this unification.

However, this fusion came at a time, not of growth and development of the revisionist camp, but of disintegration and splintering. This disintegrative process has its roots in the very character of revisionism itself--its dependence on intermediate class forces such as the Soviet bureaucracy and the petty bourgeois nationalists. These petty bourgeois formations lack any real cohesiveness and are constantly splitting and dividing amongst themselves under the impact of the main protagonists in the modern world--the working class and the capitalist class. This splintering process could not help but have its reflection within the ranks of the revisionist hangers on of the petty bourgeoisie.

First to split away was the Posadas tendency which controlled the Latin American Bureau of the old IS. The Posadas tendency, which broke away prior to the pro-SWP fusion, had a perspective for revolution only in Latin America. Incapable of relating the struggle on the Southern continent to the development of a class struggle in the advanced countries, Posadas evolved absurd theories of "War-Revolution" in which he saw the advanced countries "revolutionized" by being annihilated in nuclear warfare. Not patient enough to wait for such annihilation to take place at its own pace, so to speak, he urged the Soviets to start the thing by blowing up the capitalists first. Lately New York City seems to be his favorite target. More recently Posadas has added to this outlook an adaptation to the bureaucracy of the Chinese workers state.

No sooner had the fusion of the pro-SWP forces with the old IS taken place than a new struggle broke out between Pablo on the one hand and Germain-Frank-Livio on the other hand. These latter

Europeans received the wholehearted support of the SWP. The Pablo group was suspended in 1964 and finally expelled late this last fall. Contrary to the picture the SWP paints of the affair, Pablo took with him substantial United Secretariat forces which have seriously weakened it in France, and all but annihilated it in North Africa and a few other countries where small groups existed.

The split between Pablo on the one hand and the European-SWP coalition on the other hand is a classic example of the way in which fractures within the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucratic forces in the world reflect themselves in the camp of the former-Trotskyist revisionists. Pablo had adapted to the Algerian regime of Ben Bella and was holding down a government post. The Algerian regime in turn had adapted to the bureaucracy of the USSR. Pablo thus evolved a position of support to the USSR in its polemics with China.

The European friends of the SWP on the other hand supported China in the polemic, hoping in this way to get close to the pro-Chinese dissidents in some of the European CPs. For example, the already quoted article from World Outlook attacks the Russians for their support of the reactionaries in Indonesia and for Boumediene in Algeria. No mention is made of China's primary responsibility for the PKI's support of Sukarno in Indonesia nor China's role as the first country to recognize the right wing Boumediene regime in Algeria.

Of course both groupings share in common not only their method of adapting to these intermediary forces but a specific adaptation to Castro and the Cuban bureaucracy.

The Splitting Will Continue

The remaining pro-SWP United Secretariat group has by no means emerged from this splitting process with a cohesive international formation. Pablo quite correctly charges the "Frank-Germain-Livio-Joe" group with being held together more by opposition to Pablo's group (and we may add the IC) than by any internal cohesiveness (Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International, Internal Bulletin, No. 1, January, 1966). Blind as these revisionists are to their own weaknesses they often see quite clearly the weaknesses of their revisionist opponents, thus performing about their only useful function.

Pablo's group comments: "When has the present leading group dared to criticise the Americans who have published in their organ the telegram of sympathy their Party sent Jacqueline Kennedy after the assassination of her husband, and something worse still when has this group ever dared to say to the Americans that it is insufficient now to be tailing the pacifist movement in the Vietnam War, and that it must practise a policy of revolutionary defeatism?"

While no doubt the SWP's adaptation to the bourgeois state here and to petty bourgeois formations in the peace movement

ORGANO DEL PERONISMO
OBRERO
REVOLUCIONARIO

palabra obrera

BAJO LA DISCIPLINA DEL GRAL. PERON
Y DEL CONSEJO SUPERIOR PERONISTA



Castro and Peron appear side by side in issue after issue of paper associated with Moreno, SWP's "typical" Trotskyist. Note masthead of paper declaring acceptance of Peron's discipline.

disturb their European friends, there is much in the activities of the Europeans and other allies of the SWP internationally to disturb the SWP. Germain adapted in a most flagrant way to the Renard section of the Belgian labor bureaucracy during and after the general strike in that country (1961-62). More recently he has been an apologist for the Flemish nationalists in his country who turn their backs on their less developed Walloon brothers in a disgracefully chauvinist fashion.

Meanwhile Livio Maitan tails the pro-Chinese Stalinists in his own country, Italy. In the United States both because of an internal pro-Maoist faction and because of its competitive position with Progressive Labor, the SWP has been forced to take a harder line on the Chinese. Now that Castro has broken so emphatically with China we can expect this attitude to deepen and the SWP's relations with the Italians that much more strained.

In Latin America the SWP's major ally is this Moreno whom we have quoted earlier. This scoundrel, who is so happy to be considered a Castroite, has for years with equal pride proclaimed himself to be a Peronist! For years Moreno has been associated with a paper called Palabra Obrera published by the Peronismo Obrero Revolucionario. Each week on its masthead this publication announced it was published "under the discipline of Juan Peron" and Castro and Peron's pictures appeared side by side.

Peron is a national bourgeois demagogic operator of the most dangerous sort and not one step of progress can be made by the Argentine working class until they break from his counter-revolutionary influence. Where does the SWP stand on its Peronist

friend whose publication it cites with pride as "typical" of the "Trotskyist" press the world around. Is not Moreno's adaptation to Peron a reflection of the same political method which led the SWP to adapt to Castro? Does the SWP membership know the nature of its major supporter in Latin America?

And then there is the LSSP (R) in Ceylon. This party continues to maintain relations with the pro-SWP United Secretariat despite the ignominious role this leadership played in the Ceylonese events which led to the split of the LSSP (R) from the reformist LSSP which is now engaged in leading communal pogroms in that country. A large section of the LSSP (R) is learning from the experience of the last few years in the International and feels itself in essential solidarity with the International Committee. This relationship of the LSSP (R) to the United Secretariat, too, cannot last for long.

Thus we can see that the remaining pro-SWP United Secretariat is an unprincipled conglomeration of opportunists who are held together only by a mutual agreement to overlook each others betrayals. Resting on an intermediate social formation which is being fractured and splintered as the fundamental classes in the world collide, it, too, cannot help but fracture and splinter. Today these revisionists have thrown up three "Internationals." Tomorrow there will be four, five, six until the fracturing process is complete.

International Committee Grows

In contrast to this is the growth of the International Committee forces. Here we see progress towards fusion and growth rather than splintering, stagnation and shrinkage. In the United States the political supporters of the IC plan to fuse the American Committee for the Fourth International with the Spartacist to produce a healthy and viable national organization which will serve as a rallying point for militant workers, minority peoples and students. In France, the IC forces grouped around La Verite are experiencing a general growth and deepening of ties with working class militants in the trade union movement while the Pabloites of the United Secretariat are hardly more than a group of intellectual commentators. In Great Britain, our Comrades in the SLL and the Young Socialists are in the forefront of the rank and file trade union opposition to the proposed anti-union legislation of Wilson's "labor government." While the SLL is building a revolutionary party based on youth and workers which is the most significant Trotskyist force in the world, the forces of the United Secretariat do not hesitate to help the right wing police the Labor Party against the Trotskyists! This is indeed the inevitable logic of Pabloite revisionism.

This growth and cohesiveness is the result of the International Committee's determination to base itself of the proletariat, a social class with cohesiveness and a historic mission to perform in overthrowing capitalism. All those who wish to be Trotskyists have a responsibility to leave the fracturing swamp of revisionism and join with the IC in re-building the Fourth International. Perhaps in the process they will discover that the working

class is a mighty force which will make the Castros, Ben Bellas, Brezhnevs and Maos look like the midgets they really are.

TEXT OF CASTRO'S ATTACK ON REVOLUTIONARIES

(The following is in its entirety the section of Castro's speech of January 15th dealing with Guevara, the Guatamalans and Trotskyism. The speech was given in what has become Castro's customary fashion--at the end of the Congress so that no one was able to answer him. In any event he and his cohorts had made certain that there would be no representatives of those he attacked attending the Congress.

(To make his argumentation even easier Castro has chosen as representatives of "Trotskyism" persons and positions most vulnerable to attack ignoring the real political positions of Trotskyism. He quotes a Mexican by the name of Felipe Albaguante, of whom nobody seems to know anything. La Battalla, which he calls a Spanish Trotskyist paper, is the publication of the POUM, an organization which has never been Trotskyist and against which Trotsky held a rather bitter polemic in the late 1930's. The other publications quoted are put out by the Posadas tendency discussed earlier in this issue.

(We state this for the sake of political clarity and not, as is the case with the Militant, to try to prove to the Castroite bureaucracy that we are "good guys." We have an honorable record of struggling for the defense of Cuba against imperialist attack despite our differences with the Cuban leadership. We feel our record is just as honorable in advocating the replacement of this bureaucratic leadership with a genuine working class leadership as an essential step in the defense of the revolution. As we have discussed earlier, the Militant's record on this score is far from honorable. Thus, we fully expect that Castro quite correctly classifies us among his enemies.

(We would like to make one concluding point about Castro's method of argumentation. The Trotskyists, Castro argues, ask where is Guevara and refuse to take Castro's word on the matter. The imperialists are also curious about Guevara. Thus, we conclude, the Trotskyists are agents of imperialism. But Castro does not stop there. He uses the same "logic" against the Chinese. The Chinese are accused of distributing their literature within Cuba, so Castro claims their methods are "exactly the same as the ones used by the U.S. Embassy in our Country," (NY Times, Feb. 9th). This is, of course, an inversion of the McCarthyite and Birchite logic so familiar to us in this country. The "communists" are for equality for the Negro and so is CORE, SNCC, and NAACP, So therefore CORE, SNCC, NAACP are "communist". It is the dishonest logic of Stalinism and does nothing more than discredit its user. Perhaps the most shameful thing of all about this speech is the blatant way Castro seeks to utilize the prestige of the Cuban Revolution to advance the ends of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This man is a dangerous demagogue and the opponent of the world working class.)

The Yankee imperialists not only have used the economic blockade against us, not only have they used armed aggressions, not only have they mortally threatened us under certain circumstances, not only have they carried out against this country all kinds of sabotages, infiltration of spies, and pirate raids, but Yankee imperialism has employed more subtle weapons against our country, such as the weapons of propaganda and slander. In addition to this, Yankee imperialism and its agents have tried to destroy the prestige of the Cuban Revolution; they have tried to picture the Cuban Revolution as alien to the revolutionary struggles of this continent, and have tried to discredit the Revolution in a most vile and slanderous manner. They have availed themselves of all means, of all events, of all weapons.

Of course, the imperialists would like a detailed discussion of these problems; an irresponsible person, a charlatan, a puppet of any sort, does not mind making any kind of irresponsible charge or uttering any sort of calumny.

It is well known that only the enemy is interested in the way this word, called solidarity, is carried out in practice, not only among the revolutionary peoples of this continent, but those of all the world (Applause).

But what has happened? There is a fact I am going to mention, as an example showing how imperialism and its agents work, and it is extremely interesting. I refer to the campaign carried out by imperialism and its agents with regard the the departure of our comrade, Ernesto Guevara. (Applause).

I think this is a matter which has to be taken by the "horns" (laughter) in order to make some things clearer.

A few revolutionaries in this country, and some few outside of this country, know when comrade Ernesto Guevara left, what he has been doing all this time; and of course the imperialists would be most eager to learn, in every detail, where he is, what he has done, how he is doing it.

Of course, apparently they do not know it and, if they do, they conceal it.

But naturally, these are matters which in time when circumstances allow it, will be clarified. (However, for us, revolutionaries, these clarifications are not necessary) it is the enemy who tries to use these circumstances in order to scheme, to create confusion and to slander.

Comrade Guevara joined us during our exile in Mexico, and always, from the very first day, he clearly expressed the idea that when the struggle was completed in Cuba, he would have other duties to fulfill in another place, and we always gave him our word that no State interest, no national interest, no circumstances would lead us to ask him to remain in our country, or hinder him from carrying out that wish, that desire. And we fully and faithfully kept that promise made to comrade Guevara.

Naturally, if comrade Guevara was going to leave the

country, it was logical for him to do it secretly, it was logical for him to move secretly, it was logical for him not to be in contact with journalists, it was logical for him not to give any press conferences. It was logical for him to act as he did, because of the task he proposed to undertake.

And, yet, how the imperialists have tried to derive profit from this circumstance and how they have used it!

That is why I have brought some papers with me. Don't be alarmed, thinking that I am going to read all of them. I am merely going to read several things, for here is what all imperialist and bourgeois papers have written with regard to the case of Major Guevara, what the newspapers in the United States have written, their magazines, their news agencies, the bourgeois newspapers of Latin America and those of the entire world. And let us see who, precisely, have been the main spokesmen in the imperialist campaign of intrigue and slander against Cuba in regard to the case of Comrade Guevara. To begin with, certain elements have been used constantly during the last decades against the revolutionary movement.

And so, if you will concede me a little, time, I will look for a very interesting item among a great many.

Ah, I found it. (Laughter and Applause.) This is a UPI cable dated December 6, 1965, which reads: "Ernesto Guevara was murdered by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro (Shouts) following orders from the USSR" (Shouts) "declared Felipe Albaguante, leader of the Mexican Trotskyites, in a statement made to El Universal. He adds that Che was liquidated because he insisted on aligning Cuba with the Chinese line." (Shouts.)

This, naturally, was in tone with a campaign that Trotskyite elements began to launch everywhere simultaneously.

And on October 22, the weekly Marcha published an article in which a well-known Trotskyite theorist, Adolfo Gilly, stated that Che had left Cuba because of differences with Fidel arising from the Sino-Soviet conflict, and that Che could not impose his opinions on the leadership. He said that Che, in a confused manner, advocated extending the Revolution to the rest of Latin America, in opposition to the Soviet line; that the Cuban leadership is divided between a conservative wing, including old leaders of the Popular Socialist Party and the followers of Che and Fidel, with his team in a central oscillating and conciliatory position. He added that Che had left Cuba because he lacked means to express himself, and that Fidel was afraid to face the masses and explain Che's case.

This same Trotskyite theorist on October 31, 1965, writing in the Italian publication Nuovo Mondo in an article branding the Cuban leadership as pro-Soviet and accusing Fidel of not having explained politically to the people what had happened to Che. He says that Major Guevara was defeated by the Popular Socialist Party and the Castroite team; he criticises Che for not having taken his struggle to impose his own political theory to the masses, and finishes by saying that the Cuban state, paralyzed by its policy,

did not openly support the Dominican Revolution.

And I am going to refer to this a bit more fully a little further on.

In the issue of October 1965 of the newspaper Batalla, organ of the Spanish Trotskyites, it was stated that the mystery surrounding the case of Che Guevara ought to be cleared up. It said that friends of Che supposed that the letter read by Castro was false and ask themselves whether the Cuban leadership tends towards submission to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

On approximately the same date, the official Trotskyite organ in Argentina published an article affirming that Che is dead, or in prison in Cuba. It said "...he entered into conflict with Fidel Castro because of the operation of the Trade Unions and the organization of the militia."

It added that "Che was opposed to the Central Committee being composed of the favorites of Castro, especially the army officers, followers of the Moscow right wing."

But one of the dirtiest, most insulting and most indecent writings was that by the leader of the Latin-American Political Bureau of the Fourth International in the Italian publication Lotte Operaia. From this article, extremely long, I shall read only three paragraphs.

It begins by saying:

"An aspect of the deepening of the worldwide crisis of bureaucracy is the expulsion of Guevara. Guevara was thrown out now, and not eight months ago. The discussion with Guevara lasted eight months, which were not spend drinking coffee; they have fought rigorously and perhaps there have been deaths; perhaps they discussed at gun point. We cannot say if Guevara has been killed or not, but the right to suppose that they have killed him exists. Why does Guevara not appear? They have not shown him in Havana, fearing the consequences, and the reaction of the population. But, after all, hiding him produces the same effect: the population asks why Guevara does not come out, does not appear. There is no political accusation; he is politically praised.

"Why have they not shown Guevara? Why has he not spoken? How is it possible that one of the founders of the Cuban worker's state, who a short time ago travelled throughout the world on behalf of that worker's state, should suddenly say: I have grown weary of the Cuban Revolution; I will make revolution elsewhere?

"On the other hand, they do not say where he has gone, and he does not show up. If there is no divergence, why does he not appear? The entire Cuban people understand that there is a tremendous struggle, and that this struggle is not over.

"Guevara was and is not alone. If they take such measures against Guevara, it is because he has great support. And besides this great support, there is enormous concern among the people.

"Not long ago, the Cuban Government published a rather severe decree: all arms must be returned to the State. At that moment, the issue was a bit confused. Now the objective of that resolution is clear: it was against the Guevara faction. They are afraid of an uprising."

Another paragraph: "Why have they silenced Guevara? The Fourth International must carry on a public campaign in this respect, demanding the appearance of Guevara, the right of Guevara to defend himself and discuss, appeal to the masses, not to trust the measures adopted by the Cuban government, because these are methods of bureaucrats and maybe murderers. They have eliminated Guevara to silence his struggle; they have silenced Guevara, despite the fact that his position was not consequent from the the view point of a revolutionary, because it tried to harmonize his positions within the revolutionary trend."

And further on it says: "This demonstrates, not the power of Guevara or of a pro-Guevara group in Cuba, but the maturity of conditions in the rest of the workers' states so that in a short time these positions will bear fruit. Bureaucracy is not deceived by procedures and methods of this kind. To bureaucracy, the elimination of Guevara means an attempt to eliminate a base for possible regrouping of revolutionary tendencies which continue to develop World Revolution. This is the basis of Guevara's elimination; and not only for the danger this represents to Cuba, but because it includes the rest of the Latin American Revolution.

"Guatemala is on Cuba's side, with the program of the Socialist Revolution. And notwithstanding its strength and the speeches of its leader, Fidel Castro, Cuba has not been able to prevent the transformation of the "13th of November" Movement into a socialist revolutionary movement which fights directly for socialism."

It is by no means a coincidence that this gentleman, leader of the Fourth International, mentions here very proudly the case of Guatemala and the "13th of November" Movement, because precisely in regard to this Movement that Yankee Imperialism has used one of the most subtle tactics to liquidate a revolutionary movement, that is, the infiltration of agents of the Fourth International in it, who brought it to adopt--on account of the lack of political knowledge of the principal leader of this Movement--this discredited thing, this anti-historic thing, this fraudulent thing which emanates from individuals so known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, as is the program of the Fourth International.

How did this happen? Yon Sosa was, undoubtedly, a patriotic officer. Army officer--as a movement of a group of Army officers--as a matter of fact, the mercenary troops who later invaded Giron took part in the crushing of this movement--and through an individual who was a merchant, who took charge of the political part of the movement, the Fourth International arranged matters so that this leader, lacking knowledge of the profound political and historical problems of revol-

ionary thought, (allowed that agent of Trotskyism--who we have not the slightest doubt is an agent of imperialism--to take charge of editing a newspaper in which the program of the Fourth International was copied head to tail.)

What the Fourth International thus committed was a true crime against the revolutionary movement, to isolate it from the rest of the people, to isolate it from the masses, by corrupting it with the stupidities, the discredit and the repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics. (Applause) For if Trotskyism represented at a certain stage an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas, Trotskyism became in later years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction.

These gentlemen reason in such a way that, for instance, with regard to South Viet Nam, where a vast revolutionary front has united the immense majority of the people and has closely grouped different sectors of the population around the liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, to Trotskyites this is absurd, it is counterrevolutionary. And these gentlemen have the incredible effrontery to express themselves in this way when faced with the facts and the realities of history and of the revolutionary movements.

Fortunately, the revolutionary movement in Guatemala was saved. And it was saved because of the clear vision of one of the officers who, together with Sosa, had started the revolutionary movement, and who, on understanding that folly, that stupidity, broke away from the "13th of November Movement" and organized, with other progressive and revolutionary sectors, the Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala. (Applause).

And this young officer, who had such a clear vision of the situation, is the representative of the revolutionary movement of Guatemala in this Conference, Major Turcios (Prolonged Applause). Major Turcios has to his credit not only having been one of the first in the armed struggle for the liberation of his oppressed people, but also the merit of having saved the Guatemalan revolutionary movement from one of the most subtle and perfidious stratagems of Yankee imperialism. He raised the revolutionary flag of Guatemala and its anti-imperialist movement, (rescuing it from the dirty hands of mercenaries in the service of Yankee imperialism.)

And we hope that Yon Sosa, whose patriotic intentions at the beginning of the struggle are not in doubt, and whose condition as an honest man is not in doubt--although we do have very serious reservations about his attitude as a revolutionary leader--will not take too long to separate himself from those elements and rejoin the revolutionary movement in Guatemala, but his time under another leadership, under another leader who demonstrated, in moments such as those, clarity of vision and the attitude of a revolutionary leader. (Applause).

This position adopted by the Trotskyites is the same as that adopted by all the newspapers and news agencies of Yankee imperialism; the same as that adopted in the case of comrade Ernesto Guevara by all the imperialist press in the United States, by its news agencies, by the Cuban counterrevolutionary press, by the bourgeois

press in all the Continent and in the rest of the world. That is to say, this campaign of slander and intrigue against Revolutionary Cuba in the case of comrade Guevara made all the reactionary and bourgeois sectors of the imperialists, all the slanders and all the intriguers against the Cuban Revolution, coincide exactly.

Because it is unquestionable that only reaction and only imperialism can be interested in discrediting the Cuban Revolution, in destroying the faith which the revolutionary movements have placed in the Cuban Revolution, in destroying the confidence the peoples of Latin America have placed in the Cuban Revolution, in destroying their faith. And that is the reason why they have not hesitated to use the filthiest and most indecent weapons.

This same Gilly, who once in a while poses among U.S. intellectuals in the Monthly Review, a magazine of the United States, was villainous enough to write the following paragraph, which is well worth analyzing, on the crisis of the Dominican Republic. This is what he said:

"The culminating point of this crisis must have been the Dominican Revolution, where the State of the Cuban workers was paralyzed by its own policy, without openly supporting the Revolution, although in Cuba there was tremendous internal pressure for a policy of active support. If this crisis was previous to that of the Dominican Republic, undoubtedly the Dominican Republic hastened the revolution."

This person had the vileness to accuse the Cuban Revolution of not having given active aid to the Revolution in the Dominican Republic. And while the imperialists were accusing Cuba, while they were trying to justify their intervention with the pretext that leftists and Communists, trained in Cuba, were heading the uprising there; while imperialism was accusing Cuba and presenting the Dominican Revolution, not as an internal question but as an external problem, this person accused the Revolution of not having given active aid.

And what does active aid mean? Did they expect that Cuba, whose weapons and resources are well known, could stop and should stop the landing of U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic? Cuba has weapons to defend itself and has these defense weapons in an infinitely inferior number with relation to the imperialists. And these gentlemen are so despicable, so shameless, that they blame Cuba for not having prevented... Because what else does active support mean? Because all that Cuba could do under those circumstances, all that it could have done, and should have done, it did. To ask Cuba to prevent the landing is like asking Cambodia in southeast Asia to prevent bombings of North Viet Nam, and to prevent occupation of South Viet Nam by Yankee marines. (Applause.)

Unfortunately, the forces of Cuba are limited. But to the extent of these forces, in the best way possible, and in the most decided manner, as well as the most adequate in the circumstances, Cuba lends and will lend its maximum support to the Revolution.

To those who believe that this country is afraid of the imperialists, to those who believe -- with a spirit of superiority or with insolent deliriums of superiority over everybody -- that this country is afraid of the imperialists -- it would have been worth their while to have lived a few hours, here, in this country, during the October Crisis, when for the first time a small people like ours saw itself threatened with a massive attack of nuclear weapons on its territory, and to have seen the attitude taken by this people and the attitude taken by the Revolutionary Government. (Applause.)

A lot of nonsense, a lot of nonsense, a lot of foolishness is written, above all by irresponsible people, when certain documents cannot be published.

But some day mankind will know, and some day mankind will learn all the facts. That will be the day when the villains will see that comrade Guevara was not murdered; each of his steps will be fully known. They will also know then the position taken by Cuba in those difficult days, and how serene this people was. When that day comes there will be nobody, no matter how insolent, no matter how provocative, who will dare to doubt the feeling of solidarity of this people and the valor of this people -- that valor demonstrated by its conduct. Despite the fact that this is a country ninety miles from the imperialist metropolis, over whose head tremendous danger will hover during the coming years, to the same extent that the revolutionary movement grows -- the revolutionary movement that grows following, above all, the example of the Cuban Revolution -- the growing revolutionary movement, that increases because of the example of Cuba, because of the victories of Cuba, because of Cuba's posture before the enemy.

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