

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
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Down with the
criminal attacks on
the political prisoners
in Lecumberri

Prepare the way for a General Strike to unify all the demands of the masses on wages, hous- ing, education, transport, workers control

The success of the great general strike in Italy on the 19 November and the mass meeting of the engineering workers in Rome on the 28 are irrefutable evidence of the readiness of the Italian masses to take power and the total inability of Italian capitalism to find a stable capitalist solution to the social and political problems of Italy. Attempts as with the bomb outrages in Milan and the provocations of the fascists to open the way to an authoritarian regime, only reveal the hesitancy of Italian capitalism in face of the massive concentration of the masses, and the feeling that a new situation is developing in the Italian Communist Party, so that the old type of conciliation with the CP no longer has historic viability. No doubt Italy is the weakest link in the capitalist chain in Europe, but the fundamental aspects of the Italian situation are true for all Europe whether it be Spain, France, Germany or Great Britain, that is a capitalism, which is inert and crumbling, which is constantly losing social authority, which finds it impossible to continue except on a hand to mouth basis, surviving not from its own strength, but from the weakness of the leadership of the Workers States and the hesitations, conciliations and lack of confidence in the leadership of the workers organisations.

Similarly on a world scale, the confusion at the Arab Summit at Rabat is the result of the limitations of the Arab leaderships, particularly in the case of Nasser, who does not feel confident to break resolutely with the feudal sectors of Saudi Arabia etc., though he does form a front with Libya and Sudan, defined by the leadership of the IV International as "installed Workers States". Nevertheless Imperialism pours arms into an increasingly aggressive Israel, which poses more and more the need for a leadership in the Arab states committed to a revolutionary anti Imperialist, anti Capitalist programme. Although conditions vary from country to country, the fundamental problem remains as Trotsky defined it, the problem of the leadership to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism.

Superficially Great Britain appears to have a greater resilience than the puny force of Italian capitalism. The structure of British capitalism is firmer than that of most capitalist countries. It has a large and prosperous middle class and a large aristocracy of labour, and the workers organisations lack any serious political life, but despite these advantages for capitalism, the British and Irish masses have succeeded in administering two massive defeats against British imperialism. They have created a permanent crisis in Ulster, which is going to release all the suppressed revolutionary forces in Great Britain itself, and they have thrown back the attempt to fetter the trade unions and impose a wage freeze. All this erodes the capacity of capitalism to renew its authority before the masses, and the ability to cut a figure on the International plane has long since been eroded by the advance of the world socialist revolution. It is all the more absurd then that, although the masses constantly endeavor to take advantage of the weaknesses of capitalism, they find only a modest, not to say trivial response in the leaderships of the class organisations, particularly the trade unions.

Despite all the chatter about an improved balance of payments, the fact remains that capitalism is not capable of an increasing or even a stable rate of growth, which can meet all the necessary demands of the masses. Housing, education, social amenities of all sorts lag behind hopelessly the needs of the masses. Figures which are produced to show that expenditures are constantly rising in education, the health services etc., mean nothing, when it is conspicuously obvious that all social services are deteriorating

in relation to the demands of the situation. Capitalism has not even the capacity to meet a flu epidemic, it has to pretend that it was not an epidemic, whilst the USSR has taken the necessary precautions. Underground transport fares in London are to be raised a 100% on the minimum fare, with no prospect of improving services or reducing congestion in the city. As for education no one can argue that the mass of people have the best that education can offer, only a small minority proceed to further education. Capitalism cannot cope with a conception of education being a continuous process for everyone in all age groups. Thus the workers organisations have the obligation not merely to demand higher wages—which should AUTOMATICALLY RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING—but put forward demands, which unify all the needs of the masses, which demand a systematic social planning of production to meet these needs.

We appeal particularly to the middle cadres in the trade unions to campaign for a comprehensive programme to be put forward in the trade unions. It is important when underground and other transport workers organise to protest at the reduction in transport services, and the increase in fares, and when the secretary of the TUC objects to the fantastic increases in fares in London, but it is necessary to ORGANISE on a national scale to defeat these and other measures. IT IS SCANDALOUS TO ALLOW THE TEACHERS TO FIGHT CAPITALISM BY THEMSELVES. Transport workers, power workers, farmers, etc., all show a desire to combat capitalism, to defeat its wages policy, to impose their will against the will of capitalism, and the objective situation demands the organisation of a general strike, if necessary of unlimited duration to impose a solution to all the demands of the masses. One of the unifying factors in the Italian general strike recently, was the demand for much greater expenditures in relation to housing.

We appeal to the trade unions to take up firm positions on fundamental political issues, to wage a struggle in the Labour Party against the reactionary objectives of the government, against the policy over Vietnam, against the NATO war alliance. It is criminal to remain quiet on these issues, to adopt a policy of wait and see. The silence over Ulster is criminal. What right have British troops to be there? What right has the reactionary judicial

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Intensify the campaign for the release of the Trots- kyists and political prisoners in Mexico

There has been news from Mexico of a criminal attack against the lives and safety of the political prisoners in Lecumberri. On the 1st of January some criminal prisoners led by the prison director, Andres Puentes Vargas, armed with knives and iron bars, attacked the political prisoners wounding at least 10 of them, four of them seriously. These criminal elements were still roaming at will through the prison by Friday afternoon (2nd Jan).

The prison authorities issued a communique saying that the political prisoners were responsible for the trouble which had broken out.

Only a massive reaction by world progressive public opinion can stop these outrages and guarantee the safety of the prisoners. We appeal to the workers vanguard in the Unions, in the Labour Party, in the CP, to the Young Socialists and Young Communist League, to the student organisations, to Amnesty International, to progressive and socialist lawyers organisations to condemn this attack and demand that the Mexican government guarantees the safety of the prisoners.

Address letters and telegrams to Diaz Ordaz, Government Palace, Mexico, DF Mexico

or send to the embassy here.

The Ambassador, The Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Sq., S.W.1.

The demonstration of the metal workers in Rome on the 28th of November and the intervent- ion of the Trotskyists

PARTS OF A LETTER OF THE P.C.R.(T)
ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The terrorist assassinations in Milan have shown just to what lengths the Italian bourgeoisie will go to try to defend itself against the mass movement. It uses criminal methods, methods of civil war to protect its threatened power. The guilty ones are the police, the agents of bourgeois repression, and it is among their ranks that the people responsible for the Milan bank explosion must be sought and found.

The objective of such a crime is to try to diminish the pressure of the big strike movement, to reinforce the role of the police, giving the excuse for it to act against the organisations of the left, and to create the conditions for the intervention of the army, for a military dictatorship.

Some minutes after the crime, the fascists distributed leaflets calling the army to intervene. The police profited from the situation to repress some of the small leftist groups, but its weakness was shown in the fact, that it could not attack the CGIL, the PCI, the communist vanguard. In the areas where the police tried to take advantage of the effect produced to attack communist organisations, the intervention of the communist masses in work stoppages was immediate.

The big struggle, which is developing in Italy, is not between the police and the leftist groups, but between the peaceful, conciliatory, parliamentary reaction of the leadership of the Italian CP and the enormous pressure of the base, of the communist vanguard, to organise the struggle for a PCI-PSIUP-PS-Left Christian Democrat government, based on the trade unions and the factory and area committees.

We publish below large extracts of a letter of the Italian comrades on the big mobilisation of the engineering workers in Rome on the 28 Nov., which shows where the true centre and the true reasons for the insoluble crisis of Italian capitalism is to be found.

The concentration of the engineering workers of the 28th November in Rome grouped together some half a million people. It is the third most important, as far as numbers are concerned, demonstration since the war, after the demonstrations of 48 reacting against the attempt on Togliatti's life, and 64 for the burial of Togliatti. This demonstration has shown the immense force and decision of the proletarian classes of the country, and the whole of the masses to advance towards power.

If the general strike of the 19th November expressed this decision on a national scale, the concentration of the engineering sector, has raised this decision and made it advance in a programmatic and organic way. Through the engineering workers, the masses of the country, all

the exploited sectors of the countryside and the towns, all the petit bourgeoisie, have not only shown their decision to advance in general towards power, but they have made a veritable mass execution of power. The demonstration really functioned as an organism, not a soviet.

The factories have not only brought their combative decision, but also their slogans. The diversity of the slogans was immense, from the most elementary, which expressed the hatred of the class for the bosses, and those, which poked fun at the government, up to those which expressed the political maturity of the class "contract and power" "We will exert all our strength for power", "This is only a beginning, we want power".

If the placards of the masses, and of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The discussion of the preventative war in the Soviet Union, and the unequal and combined process of the World Socialist Revolution

J. Posadas 8. 10. 67

The document which we publish below appeared in No. 484 (No. 19 in clandestinity) of Frente Obrero of Uruguay. The introduction and the title of this document are by the editorial board of Frente Obrero.

INTRODUCTION

We are publishing this article by Comrade J. Posadas written almost 2 years ago, which is fully confirmed today by the discussions, which are being developed in the Soviet Union, as the declarations of the Soviet Vice Minister for Defence Krilov express in a limited way. He declares that imperialism is preparing for the atomic war, and that it already has a centralised command to launch it at any moment. He also says that, contrary to what the Imperialist ideologists assert (when they say that the nuclear war will not have either victors or vanquished), "This is false and against the laws that determine to progress of history. In the event of a nuclear war, in the case of it being launched, the victory will belong to the socialist world and to all progressive humanity."

It is the historic and dialectical dominion of the multiple forms of the process of the political revolution in the Workers States, of the counter revolutionary and contradictory historic nature of the bureaucracy (although not antagonistic to the Workers States), which permits comrade Posadas through a simple press agency telegram—which we publish below, to analyse the depth of the discussions, which are being held within the Soviet Army on the preventive war. These discussions arose two years ago in a very limited way on the surface and were the distant expression of the political revolution, which is going on in the Soviet Union. It is the understanding and the elaboration of Marxism in this state of history, which enables Comrade Posadas to foresee the general course of events, as the role of the Soviet Army, which joined to the defence of its bureaucratic interests, has to foresee even though empirically, future events and defend the Workers State. This line is imposed by the historic nature and structure of the Workers State, the Soviet proletarian vanguard and the masses of the Workers States. This is what happened with the intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia, and which is expressed today in the declarations of this Soviet Marshal (Krilov). We appeal to the communist militants, to the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard of the country to discuss and study this document, the documents of comrade Posadas and the IV International, which are the basis, the instrument for the dominion and understanding of this unequal and combined process of the world socialist revolution, in which today, as Comrade Posadas has analysed in documents previous to this article, it is the combined aspect, which determines and permits the unequal aspects to be compensated for in the objective course of the world socialist revolution.

The problem of the preventative war is being discussed in the Soviet Union. Basically, they are discussing on the one hand, the preventative war and on the other, how not to let themselves be taken by surprise. Otherwise the discussions, which the papers have announced about the expulsions from the Soviet Army in 1941, and about the invasion of the German Army would not have any sense. The discussions at the present time in the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union are about how it was that they had not foreseen the onslaught of the capitalism, that capitalism was going to fall on them. And it is the same thing today! They are discussing that capitalism is preparing to fall on them.

In that period, there was only one Workers State, now there are 16. If they are discussing this way today, it is because they have drawn conclusions, they have appraised that they cannot let themselves be taken by surprise. A tendency exists which does not want to let itself be taken for a ride. It justifies itself with the statement of the Soviet marshal who says; "We have the nuclear arms to take the initiative, and liquidate North America." And on the declaration of UNITA, the organ of the Italian CP some 20 days ago, a Soviet military leader said more or less; "We said that war was possible". It is a lie. These people have always said that the war is nonsense. But now they say on the contrary; "We have never said that the war was impossible, but that it was possible." It means that they are discussing and see what is coming.

All this indicates that in the Soviet Union, layers still at the top, are discussing and drawing conclusions. This is the military sector, which is the most sensitive to this understanding, because it sees the Yanks and their preparations. They draw the conclusion that such preparations are to be launched against them. This is the way in which one of the bases of the political revolution is developing. It does not begin by a discussion of democratic rights, of political rights, of right of tendencies, of proletarian democracy or of soviets. They are not discussing this. But they are discussing aspects, which are

today absolutely necessary to the progress of the Soviet Union and its constitution. That is why they are preparing for the war. In this sense, the military team which one or two years ago published a book in which they posed that they had at their disposition enough arms to liquidate the Yanks, was well in advance.

The political revolution is not only based on, nor depends, on the restitution of soviets. It is very certain, that this is the centre. But one of the conditions of the Political Revolution is that the Soviet Workers State plays its role in history, which is to prepare itself for the nuclear war, not to let itself be taken by surprise and be crushed.

The bureaucracy has a panic fear of the world nuclear war, just as it had a panic fear of the preceding war. Trotsky said referring to the Hitler-Stalin pact; "The essential historic cause of this pact is that Stalin has a panic fear of the war, and his task and actual policy it to wish to prevent the war". For them it was death. One can find this today in all the texts of Trotsky; the bureaucracy has as much fear of the war as Imperialism. It fears the war more than capitalism, which can hope to survive, but not the bureaucracy. It is crushed between the revolution and capitalism.

The fact that today a tendency emerges, which poses basically the problem of the preventative war, indicates that we are no longer in 1939; that is to say that the weight of the 16 Workers States; the weight of the masses, their pressure and the advance of the world revolution in every way, penetrates the Soviet Union and forces, even in a limited fashion, these people to foresee and prepare themselves for these events.

All this is going in the sense of preparing the soviet people. It is the same thing in this film "If you love your home" (see the press agency report, which we produce below), which signifies a preparation of the soviet people according to the newspapers. It is an expression, still only minimal, of the Political Revolution.

The Political Revolution is developing in an unequal and combined way; in China in one way, in the USSR in an-

other, in Syria in a third. The permanent Socialist Revolution needs to advance, but it does not have a harmonious point of support, which directs it, profiting from the best occasions. If it could advance with all the force which it has, it would have already destroyed capitalism. It advances in an unequal and combined way.

In as much as there is not a centre, not a programme, not a revolutionary leadership, which leads this struggle, the Workers State makes its pressure felt in every way. This is why it is unequal and combined. The film "If you love your country" has an immense importance. This is the preparation of the Soviet people for the war. "We will not let ourselves be taken by surprise"; this is the basis of the question.

Why do they condemn Stalin now for not having foreseen the invasion? Why? To condemn the past? It is absurd. They do it because they are preparing for the present. The discussion puts this clearly into evidence. It is of immense importance, and confirms the meeting of the historians of the Academy of Military Sciences in Moscow of which the review "Sinistra" of Italy carries a report.

The report made of the public discussions confirm that anti-Stalin groups have existed in the army and continue to exist. This was said at the moment of the sackings of Shelepin, Semichastny and Iegorichev. Their anti-Stalinism was not abstract, but because they saw the rotten role of Stalin, his incapacity to see the German invasion. Today these people say that they do not want to allow this to be produced again. This is what they are discussing. At the very moment where Kosygin seeks contact with world capitalism, gives over the factories to the autonomy of enterprises. This film, these discussions are going against all this. This process is still not expressed politically.

These discussions, this film seeks to respond to the preoccupations which exist in the soviet masses. Otherwise, they would not come out to combat it now. Why do they come out? They come out with the view of establishing contact, in this empirical form, between the military wing, the intellectual wing and the masses, the advanced cadres of the proletarian, peasant, student vanguard, who are equally conscious, and are concerned that the Yanks are preparing to launch the nuclear war, and that it must be faced. Such a film would not have any sense if there was not an interest, a concern for the problems of the world revolution, if there was not an interest to intervene. To whom is this film directed? It is a film with a purpose, a film of a tendency which wants to respond to this concern. This is why it is important that it should be projected now, even if it has not been shown recently. They wish to profit from the discussion on the events of 1941, from the present events of Syria and of the Middle East. It is necessary to demand why they have not shown this film before?

It is necessary to intervene on the rhythms, the delays with which Syria is developing. Our consciousness is not abstract nor unconscious. It is on the contrary very conscious. We understand very well all the risks which exist; very well. The risks, for example, of a coup in Syria, and of a retreat. This is possible, but it will only last a cock's crow. The level already reached by the revolution forces the bureaucracy more and more, in spite of its alliances with the Yanks, to pay attention to what is happening in Syria, to the alliance with Syria. It is forced, because Breshnev and Kosygin don't want to do anything. There are not many possibilities left for the Yankees. And moreover, it is necessary to count on the forces which are rising up within the USSR, and which are rapidly going to find the interest of defending Syria openly.

The Generals, Admirals, Air Marshals who today are present in the Soviet Union are those who say "We must intervene in Syria now, we must throw out all the military people who are agents of feudalism." This goes against the Yanks interests. There is a more and more profound contradiction between what is convenient to Kosygin, and in part to Breshnev, and

that which is convenient to the interests of these, in the preparation of the nuclear war. They wish to cut this process, and they think that they must cut it militarily. Today it is under this form, which the needs of the Workers States are expressed. Tomorrow it will be under the form of the revolution.

There is not any theoretical unity of any leadership of the Workers States in this process of the revolution. Fidel Castro says one thing, the Syrians another, the Chinese another, the Soviet Union still another. Faced with this lack of theoretical unity, we are the centre of such a unity in which they cannot understand anything of what is going on, and without which understanding they cannot advance consciously to organise the forces.

We are not so naive to believe that we are a theoretical organising centre with a material and organic power. We do not have this strength. But history shows that in certain, determined stages of the movement and the historical process, when the material forces ripen and are ripe for fusion, they is no progress if there is not theoretical understanding, which allows this welding.

We have this understanding, and the maturity already exists. The catalyst of which Pablo spoke when he was still in

A FILM AGAINST STALIN HAS BEEN SHOWN IN MOSCOW

Moscow (A.F.P. October 1957)

All the Russian commanders of the military districts were shot during the summer of 1941, when the German invasion of the Soviet Union occurred. This information was disclosed for the first time in the Soviet picture "If you love your home", which will be officially shown in Moscow on October the 20th on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution. It was presented yesterday evening privately, and reports on "The Battle of Moscow" in the winter of 1941, according to the principles of a documentary: unpublished newsreels with bold commentaries, and a permanent effort to reach pure objectivity.

Before the showing, the film gave rise to passionate debate and provoked ferocious opposition. In practice finished last year, the film went through the last barriers of censorship, and will be officially presented in Moscow on the 20th of October in some 20 cinemas. Made by Vasil Ordinsky for the "Experimental Studio", which Vladimir Pozner directs, with scripts by Constantine Simonov and Evgeni Vorobiov, the film has three principal stars, who in the opinion of the producers "are going to make the screen explode". They are the marshalls Jukov, Kon'ev, and Rokossovsky, who were filmed and interviewed last summer on subjects that have been "taboo" up to now; the Battle of Moscow, the reason for the German advance, the role of Stalin, the definition of the true nerve of the Soviet people, the lack of preparation of the Soviet army for the war, the naivety of Stalin in the face of sure indications that announced an imminent German aggression, and a negative affect produced in the Red Army by the repression of the high command. The film evokes and comments on subjects still considered improper judging simply by the violent attacks, which the historian Nekrych has just been subjected to.

The discussion of the preventative war...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the IV International, taking up a word of Engels corresponds to this idea, which we have just expounded. Engels posed that communism was the centre, which liberated the immense forces of humanity. Communism permits them to liberate themselves. Engels said "humanity will come back to a primitive communist form, but with abundance." It is a good image. In the stage of primitive communism there was no reason for bad intentions to exist. There was no individual interest. And humanity will come back to this stage, but instead of living materially as it lived then, it will be the stage of abundance, a stage where life will be dominated.

The revolution is unifying itself on a world scale, because there is a natural necessity for this, but still there is no centre to unify and harmonise it. And every leadership reacts in a different way. The military sector of the Soviet bureaucracy, who say "we must support Syria, and throw out all the military agents of imperialism", go against the alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism. They are saying this, even while the alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism is convenient to the military; convenient because they are people who are going to oppose the revolution. These are the contradictions between them, but they are not solely contradictions between bandits. They are contradictions which in a very indirect, tortured and disfigured way, express the needs of the Workers State.

This is why Trotsky defended the Soviet Workers State, when it invaded Poland. He said, "In spite of Stalin's intentions, the Workers State forces him to invade Poland, before it can be seized by the Nazis. They must invade Finland, before the Nazis can do it." That is to say, the Workers State should extend its territory to prevent the German invasion. In the worst moment, Trotsky put the principles into action. Now there is Syria as a result of this principle.

Moreover, why is Trotsky discussed in the Soviet Union? Why? Trotsky said in 1938 "In ten years the programme of the IV International will guide millions". In 1948 there were millions; there was China, Korea, Central Europe. There were millions! He was not wrong, absolutely not. His historical foresight was correct. Trotsky didn't see the form, that is why he didn't give a policy. Trotsky gave the programme not the policy, he couldn't have given any, because the policy correspond to the form in which the historical events develop. Besides he didn't say millions would follow the IV International, because he didn't know what was going to happen to the IV International.

This military sector in the Soviet Union who defend the preventative war, is playing the same role that was played by the sector that decided the invasion of Poland and Finland. This we have already stated.

This is a very unequal and combined process. Without that theoretical understanding it is not possible either to follow or understand this process. It is important to understand this! No matter what happens we will fight and triumph in the revolution. Half of the literature of the world is concerned with the revolution, about Vietnam, Cuba, Syria, and China. Half of it! The other half is addressed 25% to the bourgeoisie, 25% to the petit bourgeoisie. The novel has disappeared. The novel is in the revolution. The novel is there if you want it, look at Vietnam. That is where the fellows who used to write the great novels are going now, to Vietnam, China, Cuba. They write about that. Fellows who used to write novels are expressing instead the relationships of the people and the way of life, they explain Cuba, China, Vietnam. In fact they don't explain it, they just say what is happening there. That's enough.

The concentrated and centralised weight of the Syrian political situation is preparing another great leap forward, because it is preparing a "sui generis" world united front. As we have said, there is already an anti imperialist world united front, and a mass communist international in the consciousness, and the heads, and the actions of the masses. The masses are already functioning still on an unconscious level, but the consciousness is coming. Syria is a great step, so also is Fidel Castro.

Therefore we must pay attention in the International to those cadres who advance in this understanding and basing ourselves on these. Not on those who live submitted to the petty tasks of domestic progress. We repeat, we are fond of all the Trotskyist comrades, but we are fonder of mankind. This is the reason why we struggle

and exist there. We are based on this. We must act on this.

The discipline of the Syrian masses of the Syrian revolution proves that the centre is there concentrating all the revolutionary will for progress. This has to be the norm for the International, all the International must as well be submitted to this.

This example is equivalent to an important point of the political revolution. This example has been made by the bureaucrats, who try to defend the bureaucracy, but this issue is more related to the masses than to Kossygin and Bresnev. This is the unequal and combined process and the contradictory nature of the bureaucracy. There is not a single bureaucratic sector that could go so far, not even the sector, sensitive to and influenced

by the revolution, the middle sector. As a rule it advances a little, then a little more, then one sector and another sector, until a nucleus is formed to be swept afterwards by the revolution. That's why it is important what is happening now, long ago you needed 30 years to get this. And now it is happening in one month. In one month! When a film like this is made obviously the discussion is not over Stalin, but over the strategy of the Workers State in face of the capitalist world. This is the point at issue.

These are the fundamental problems of the political revolution, which strategy will enable the Workers State to survive and triumph. They are not discussing the criminal attitude of Stalin, but what strategy they should carry out. When they raise issues like that, saying that

they must not be repeated, in fact they discuss the strategy for the future. As they don't have conscious revolutionary interests, they discuss in such a way. That is why inspite of what is happening, the unequal aspect is still more important. The centralised and concentrated process should have arisen in the USSR or in China, but it has arisen in Syria. It is because the revolutionary processes are so powerful that they surpass them all. But the combined aspect pushes forward now. It is such a small revolution in Syria, with such a small internal force and geographical importance. But of such historical weight, it takes the most advanced points of the revolution, and is open to receive the influences of the world revolution.

J. Posadas

8. 10. 1967

THE RECENT SPEECHES OF BOUMEDIENNE SHOW THAT ALGERIA IS CLOSE TO BECOMING A WORKERS STATE

(TATEN FROM LOTTA OPERAIA. PCR(T)) ITALIAN SECTION IV INTERNATIONAL)

The leadership of the Algerian revolution advances more and more within the area of a Workers State. Boumedienne in his last speeches, in which he accentuated his intervention, making public declarations one after the other, shows himself obliged in this way to respond to the rising internal process. Boumedienne and the leadership of the revolution show themselves as sensitive, to changes on the internal plane as much as changes on the world scale (see his speech to the ambassadors).

More than at any other time in the previous period the conditions are in full open development for the united front; giving an impulse for the united front at all levels, for the revolutionary policy and programme so that the socialist revolution can advance. The process towards the Algerian Workers State is accelerating immensely.

In his discourse on the meeting of the cadres of the FLN, Boumedienne is posing the problem of the party, apparently extolling the old FLN against every other formation including the UGTA(*) and the trade unions. In reality it is a new formulation, which he is making, and not because he was or is prepared today. It is the internal and world process, which is making itself felt in the country, which forces him to respond. It is a new formulation of the FLN, which is being made which he repeats in part in the speech in the Congress of teachers ("a single party—in whose ranks we must be militants—and according to the principle of recall by the base..."), or in the speech to the diplomats ("It is necessary that all the militant political cadres integrate themselves in the vanguard party").

These statements in relation to the party are united to critical considerations regarding the bureaucracy. In the speech he does not mention directly the bureaucracy, but the reference is extremely clear. Boumedienne referring directly to the cadres of the FLN says "In the course of the struggle for liberation, there has been a unanimous adhesion, but socialist and revolutionary education has given rise to and still gives rise to contradictory opinions among the cadres", or "The revolutionary understanding of cadres is not perfect", or "Problems at the level of

the workers, peasants and the masses in general, have not been posed at all", or "Things show themselves to be complicated only at the level of the cadres".

He is drawing conclusions regarding the weight and the problems, which the bureaucratic sectors create. And he is making an appeal to the masses, to the workers, to the peasants, or he is preparing to make an appeal to the masses. This is very important, because it is indicating fundamentally that the internal process of contradictions, which is accumulating is very profound, and is opening the road more strongly, than before, during and after the 3rd Congress of the UGTA. We record what Posadas analysed on that assembly of last year, that by itself it was utilising a programme. The right wing, bureaucratized wing, conciliatory with imperialism and also with the Soviet bureaucracy, in part also pro capitalist in sectors, has totally failed in its attempt to disorganise the mass movement, beginning with destroying the centres of decision which existed and exist in the trade unions and the UGTA. This force is not, and can not be liquidated even if now it cannot make itself felt openly. Boumedienne adds: "The administrative link in itself does not answer to the demands of the revolution. It is necessary to seek new political links which unify the cadres around the party".

A NEW PHASE OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION HAS OPENED

All the forecasts of Posadas, particularly of the 8th World Congress, and in a more general way before and after the fall of Ben Bella, have been confirmed once more by the actual course of events. But the confirmation of today has an immediate force of projection and an infinitely greater profundity; it is a question of a new phase of the Algerian revolution in the global process of the revolution in all the Arab countries, a phase which is also the phase of the fusion of the IV International and of Posadas, directly with the Workers States.

In Algeria this phase is maturing. The most important thing, (because it is the social and organic force, which will decide, which will stabilise in the first place the full continuity and fusion with the programme) is the Algerian vanguard.

(*) Algerian TU centre.

indispensable problems; the party, the invitation to "all the militant political cadres to integrate themselves in the vanguard party", the soviet (on the agenda throughout all the political work). In the programming of articles, in the initiative to make advances in the trade unions, in the UGTA, in the organs of the press of the revolution, is the line of Posadas on Soviets, Communes, socialist democracy, control of the masses in worker militias, full liberty of all the levels of the life of the country, trade unions role as the class organisations of the proletariat without submission to the party nor to the state—the constant struggle against bureaucracy against privileges, the necessity for the revolution, for the cadres, for the representatives of the Algerian revolution abroad to live as the masses live.

The oldest cadres of the local union of Algiers and of the UGTA maintain their vitality, and even if now they appear deprived of great initiative, they make themselves felt and put themselves in communication with the new vanguard, with the cadres who are arising. This old vanguard must feel the attractions of these positions, which Boumedienne is launching. These positions and the role itself which the leadership is playing in the revolution are determined, have been prepared by the whole structure of the revolution, which could not be destroyed, and which has maintained its own vitality, its own empirical functioning, its own internal dialectical relations between the masses, the vanguard, the city, country, intellectuals, students, army, sectors of officers sensible to the leadership of the state and the revolution. Consciousness is opening the road. The correct ideas of Posadas are imposing themselves; yesterday in the sectors of the vanguard, today also Boumedienne must express this. The apparent passivity of these cadres can and is determined by the fact that they themselves do not understand everything that is changing in the leadership (the temporary separation of Kait Ahmed has not been accidental), which is a process of complete renovation. But at the same time it is a process which is still contained. If the moment of the necessary leap is near, and the best forces, which must stimulate it, are restrained, it is because they are not organised and do not have the necessary security. But the force which comes from the world revolution (Boumedienne says to the ambassadors: "The world situation has changed sensibly), the force which elevates itself throughout all the Arab countries, at the level of the programme, and the organisation of the revolutionary party, the concentrated force in Algeria itself, is immense. Boumedienne is behind this. This in spite of his function, is important.

Boumedienne speaks under the pressure of a henceforth uncontainable contradiction; the conscious function and weight

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The recent speeches of Boumedienne . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

of the masses and resistance of the sectors of the bureaucracy and of what remains of capitalism. It is the progress of the critical phase which demands the dialectical leap towards the completion of the Workers States. In the speech of the ambassadors, he made reference to the fact that the leadership of the revolution does not forget that part of the land is in the hands of the big landowners. Although he does not give an immediate solution to this, he does not make promises, he indicates a disposition to prepare changes in this sector, which are decisive to fulfill the leap towards the Workers State. The same when he speaks of international capital, and declares himself against economic exploitation through foreign trade. Here he is certainly declaring measures to complete the mechanism of the monopoly of foreign trade. And in these days firms dealing with imported machinery have been nationalised.

In the army there is in development a wing which is stimulated to make the socialist revolution advance. This wing must be one of the determining elements, together with the revolutionary trade union cadres and the pressure of the masses, in the most decisive changes in the leadership of the revolution, in the preparation to prepare a leap, in the most elevated programmatic struggle against privilege, against bureaucracy.

To the ambassadors Boumedienne says that they must live like the people, demands an austere life from them so that they are not merely diplomats, but militants of the social revolution. And he concludes saying to them that from the meeting must begin a true revolution. It is one of the most elevated indications of the process in the internal elevation of the Algerian revolution.

All the speech to the ambassadors is on the same line of introducing the Algerian revolution into the area of a workers state, but Algeria is defending itself, at the same time, from the bureaucracy, that is to say the Soviet bureaucracy. And this has a dual importance, first because it does not reject the process itself of maturation and seeks for a conscious solution to the present contradictions within the bureaucracy; secondly because in this way it predisposes itself to influence the Workers States themselves, elevating the condition for its communication with the best forces of the political revolution in the USSR. It is a formidable phase of the Algerian revolution. All

THE ALGERIAN LEADERSHIP MAKES AN APPEAL NOT TO SUBMIT ITSELF TO THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY WHILE IT ELEVATES ITS ANTI-IMPERIALIST POLICY

In all this speech Boumedienne places the accent on the struggle against imperialism, on the role of the exploitation of colonialism and neo colonialism, against "co-operation" (it is a preface to measures against French imperialism). He says "We have need of a co-operation free from every form of exploitation". And he demands at each step the Algeria, which has chosen the road to socialism, socialist education, socialist revolution.

That is, the Algerian leadership is making the appeal not to submit itself to the Soviet bureaucracy, while it elevates itself in the decision to appeal to the masses ("to go to the base" "to restructure the party" etc) and to make them intervene (the appeal to the students to "Organise themselves to defend the socialist revolution") not only in relation to the struggle against Israel, which it feels imminent, but also in the tasks of how

the emphasis, which the speech makes on "impeding every foreign power—whatever it might be—weighing on our political decisions" can be a way of placing conditions on the Soviet Union not to subordinate Algerian foreign policy, above all in relation to Israel, to the Soviet policy of conciliation and fettering the armed struggle against Israel and its imperialist control. It is interesting to record the example of the Syrians, who some months ago received a refusal from the Soviets for new concessions of arms, turned to the Chinese, who gave them armoured vehicles and missiles, and after that the Soviets also gave arms to the Syrians.

to construct the Workers State in the country, the socialist revolution. It is a contradictory process without a totally conscious decision of Boumedienne and of his team, but one which will have a great effect on the masses and on the vanguard of the country, and also in the Arab countries. A leap is being prepared while it advances in a more elevated way in the preceding period in the fusion with the Workers States, stabilising links or preparing to stabilise links with the process of the political revolution in the USSR and in the other determining centres.

Confronting the problem of Israel, this line becomes more clear: "we have sought to negotiate, to wait, and reality has shown that the way was different and an armed way". "The struggle is inescapable and it is indispensable to enter into battle". In general a great part of this

speech was dominated by the danger which Israel and imperialism represent and in relation to this the problem of the Maghreb; without this being correct, this is explained as in other cases of the Arab leaderships through the nature itself of these leaderships save for exceptions in their present phase. The struggle to throw out Israel not only does not condition the development of the revolution, but it is possible to win in a short stage and at no great cost.

And the speech is elevated in the resolution of help to all the peoples who struggle in Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin America. "The situation has changed considerably—he says—we are far from the years of Bandung and Belgrade". Other factors have appeared in international politics, which render sterile the policy of neutralism if this does not rest on new bases".

In the speech to the educators, he speaks of the role of the teachers: "The social base on which the socialist revolution supports itself", "To create the new man convinced of the socialist policy as the inescapable way for development in all aspects". The same when he refers to the students: "In so far as the students remain disorganised, they will remain totally at the margin of the historic popular battle". "Revolutionary power does not demand anything from the students save their participation in, and their full adhesion to socialist policy." It is necessary to give adhesion to the organisation of the students and to their integration as a tendency in the UGTA with the programme of the socialist revolution. All this elevates the subjective and objective conditions for the rapid progress of the Algerian revolution and its construction as a Workers State.

THE DEMONSTRATION OF THE METAL WORKERS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the factories, indicated proletarian opinion, worked out in the centres of concentration of the class, in the marches towards the big demonstration, in the demonstration itself, the level of the slogans was raised a thousand times through the numerous initiatives of the masses. This was expressed in the shouts, the slogans hammered out; the improvisations were incredible. Together with the shouts of the demonstrators there were the drums, and the other different instruments to make a noise. The attempt of repression prepared and in part applied ever since the general strike of the 19th, was strangled in the throat of capitalism.

In all the previous course of the struggle demanding new work contracts, a whole network of factory committees, of area committees, developed side by side with the functioning of assemblies, which imposed themselves on the trade union leaders. In the last days United Front Committees of the three trade union centres have been formed by the side of the councils of workshops and section delegates. All these forms of organisation of dual power were expressed in the demonstration of the 28 in Rome.

This demonstration has immensely raised this consciousness of power of the masses which is being imposed to develop the tasks towards the seizure of power. Among the factories represented has been FIAT of Turin, with a immense banner 20 metres long and a strong group of workers. This sector arrived on the square running and to the shout "the working class must direct everything".

This engineering demonstration did not signify merely a struggle for demands of a category or sector of workers, but through it the whole of the masses of the country have expressed, be it by their presence, be it by their combative reflection, the decision to unite the immediate demands with the political perspectives of the class, to give a solution to the social and political crisis of the country.

Faced with the impotence of capitalism to respond to the aspirations and needs of the masses, their desire for a dignified life, the masses demonstrate once more, that they are not disposed to put up with the crisis of capitalism, not dispose to pay for this crisis. They are still advancing in a fragmentary way, because of the indecision of their political and trade union leaders, in the exercising of power, but they are preparing to take power.

The party intervened with strength in this concentration. It was the only workers party to intervene as a party.

The CPI intervened solely through its trade union cadres of the union apparatus.

us. Since the general strike of 19 Nov. its line has been to yield faced with the sharpening of the objective course, which demands a class and political solution. Our party intervened with two placards, one four metres long, carrying the emblem of the hammer and sickle, the name of the party followed by the slogans "FOR A PCI-PSIUP-PSI-LEFT CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT BASING ITSELF ON THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE NETWORK OF COMMITTEES AND ASSEMBLIES, WHICH ARE BEING ORGANISED IN ALL THE COUNTRY" and the other said "WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT! OUT WITH NATO FROM ITALY AND EUROPE". The welcome received in the course of the demonstration and during the march has been very great. Many workers and leading cadres came up to salute the comrades, who distributed 5000 leaflets and sold 200 LOTTA OPERAIA, all they had brought with them. Many communist workers came running up to buy the paper saying "Come, join the party".

...When the comrades came into the

square with the demonstration carrying their enormous placards, a leader of the trade union said to them through the microphone from the speakers platform "We salute the comrades of the IV International". This has an immense importance, because it shows not only the authority of the International, but the existence of a whole current in United Front with the IV International, indicating that the immediate perspective is to give a more elevated form, more consistent organisation to this current by making it intervene more dynamically to influence the middle cadres of the CPI.

This demonstration has not only been made by the engineers. It has attracted a whole sector of the class and the population who have expressed through this their decision to march towards power. This is the class and not a sector, which is expressing itself. It is for this reason that the trade union leaders themselves have spoken, elevating their understanding, showing that it is not a question of a purely trade union struggle, but of a political struggle. It is necessary to pass from this generally correct formulation to

the necessary programme in relation to the perspectives, which the proletarian vanguard and the masses are seeking, and to put them into practice. It is necessary to use all the immense force of the masses to win all the demands.

...It is necessary to prepare the perspective of power, capitalism is powerless to resolve the problems of the masses and prepares a coup. The intervention of fascist, gangster groups, the violent struggle within the Christian Democracy shows the sharpening of the social crisis, which the country is living through. Capitalism is not going to let it go on; it seeks to retard the decisive confrontations in as much as it understands the immense force of the masses. The engineering demonstration has increased the fear and the impotence of capitalism on one hand, but has elevated on the other its decision to intervene for it sees that all the containing walls, which the conciliatory leaderships used to constitute, are cracking under the pressure of the initiative and offensive action of the masses.

29 November 69

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EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

apparatus to condemn Bernadette Devlin to imprisonment? The TUC should take a position on Ulster, calling for a plan of production, to meet all the pressing needs of the Irish masses, to eliminate unemployment by a programme of public works. And it is necessary to openly support the struggle of the Arab masses against Israel, to attack the reactionary elements in the Labour Party sympathetic to Israel.

Everywhere the masses of the world are struggling to take power from capitalism, impeded though they are by a lack of their own organisations, factory committees, Soviets etc. Their struggles inter-influence each other, and it is not possible to isolate the struggles of the British masses from those in France, Italy, Vietnam etc. On the contrary, it is necessary for the revolutionary current in the Unions and the LP to base themselves on the successes of the international socialist revolution, not to allow discussion of major issues in the LP and the Unions to be confined to conference time, but to impose a discussion with bulletins etc. And in this we re-emphasise the fundamental role, which the communist militants can play, particularly in the unions. They are among the vanguard of the British working class, a pro-

longation of the Workers State in Great Britain, even if the British CP is small and containing a big proportion of middle class conciliators. The worker basis in the CP enjoys the prestige of being a representative of the Workers State, and as such can irradiate an influence far superior to its numerical basis. All this activity in union branches and trades councils can stimulate the political life in the unions and the LP, the absence of which allows the right wing to continue.

We reiterate our appeal to all the Labour Party militants, and the union militants to invigorate the discussion in the LP and the unions, to isolate the reactionary elements, as they are being isolated in Italy, to take advantage of the action of the masses, which constantly weaken capitalism, and weaken the basis of the right wing in the LP. It is the sluggishness of the internal life in the LP and the unions, which allows capitalism to continue. We appeal to Tribune and the journals of the unions to allow the force of the world revolution to enter their pages to abandon the habits of insularity, to realise that with the events of Ulster a new stage is preparing for the whole of Great Britain. The spirit of Belfast and Derry is silently maturing throughout Great Britain. And to stimulate the

struggle to call for a GENERAL STRIKE, it is necessary to put forward the anti-capitalist programme in the unions and the LP, with demands for the planning of production to meet the social needs of the masses, all wages to rise with the cost of living, rents to be decided by tenants committees, all profits of automation to the workers, workers control of the process of production, worker student teacher government of the universities and colleges etc.

EUROPEAN
MARXIST
REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:

All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

Editorials by J. Posadas
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With the Party we
are everything.

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by the proletarian
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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 106

25th January, 1970

Price 6d.

**FOR A NATIONAL STRIKE
IN THE CAR INDUSTRY
BASED ON THE FORD MOBI-
LISATION.
FOR THE ORGANISATION
OF A GENERAL STRIKE.**

We salute the decision of the Ford workers, shop steward committees, and union officials on their decision to strike on February 2nd for a £10 a week pay rise. It shows in a very concentrated way the advance of dual power in the country. It is not just a struggle for parity of wages with Rates important though this is; this is only the economic form in which the anti-capitalist content is expressed. Thus is shown in sector after sector who strike or threaten to strike for demands which are 7, 8 or 10 times more than what the Labour government tries to lay down as a maximum permissible increase, by the development of organisms which permit in a limited way at least the intervention of the rank and file in the organisation and leadership of the struggle, and by the advance in all the organisations of the class, of those militants and leaders who are sensitive to the pressure of the rank and file. The teachers who have embarked on unlimited strike action, the northern bus men who are demanding 60% the seamen demanding 50% are indicating how the whole of the class and exploited masses are going forward together, and how an elevated demand in one sector is immediately generalised to others.

The vanguard must discuss what is the significance of the Ford strike and what role it can play in the class struggle, both in the organisation of the general strike and in the development of the new revolutionary leadership in the unions and Labour Party. The Ford strike last year signified a leap forward in the class struggle and a decisive shift in the balance of forces in the unions in favour of the working class. The strike now can mean a similar leap. This time the union leaderships have made the strike official even before it starts (unlike last time when the strike was organised by the Shop Stewards committee and only afterwards approved by the leadership) and this in itself is an indication of the advance of the middle cadres (the regional and local officials linked to and responding to the base). But in order that this strike should develop a maximum influence among the working class and exploited masses, playing the role of a centre for the organisation of a national strike in the industry which in turn can be the centre for a general strike, it must have the organisms in which the masses can function freely, the factory committees and the programme. And the programme must be such that the rest of the exploited population see that the car workers are not just fighting as car workers but as a sector of the exploited masses putting forward demands for all of the exploited masses. Thus it is necessary to add to the demand for £10 a week, extra demands, for the guaranteed wage, all wages to rise with the cost of living, an extra

Contd on page 17.

LIST OF CONTENT

Editorial	PAGE	PAGE 1
Affectionate Relationships within the Party.	J. Posadas, July, 1962	PAGE 3
An Extract from "The Revolutionary", a paper from S. Yemen entitled; Leninism: A world wide Revolutionary Strategy and Tactic		PAGE 6
Campaign for the Release of Francisco Cuadrado		PAGE 8
Free the Trotskyists and the Political Prisoners in Mexico.		PAGE 9
Letter from Adolfo Gilly in Lecumberri Jail, Mexico D.F.		PAGE 10
Wage a Political Struggle in the Labour Party to defeat the Pro- Zionist Wing.		PAGE 12
"El Manifiesto" The Political Struggle inside of the Communist Party, the Right of Fraction, and the Necessity of the Revolutionary Leadership.		PAGE 13

Affectionate Relationships

within the Party. J. POSADAS.

JULY 1962.

INTRODUCTION

This document of Cde. Posadas, is given as part of the Bolshevik conceptions of the IV International of a revolutionary communist morality, preparing and building the militants for the historic tasks at hand in the final settlement of accounts with world imperialism, that of fusion of the IV International with the revolutionary currents and tendencies of the revolutionary and communist masses, based on the conceptions of human relationships, human affection in a socialist society which exist today in the collective fraternal sentiment of the world revolutionary masses.

The life in the Party, its harmonious functioning, the political preoccupation and elevation of the cadres of the Party in the moral discipline and collective harmony are a fundamental part of a conscious ability of the comrades of the Party to unify themselves with the communist feelings of the masses in the world socialist struggle for a superior human life and relationship.

The Party must be capable to act with the greatest concentration of will, to give the best ideas to make the programme, revolution and consciousness advance and this needs the most elevated climate of collective intervention, harmony and moral purity. It enables the Comrades and the couples in the Party to overcome the demoralising pressures of a crumbling bourgeois society and its culture.

Human affection and security develops in the collective strength of the Party which is a synthesis of the immense force of the world revolution, and, as this document shows, is a conscious struggle for socialist relationships as part of a militant's preoccupation and contribution to history in the overthrow of capitalism and laying the basis for world communism.

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Our conception of love is not abstract. Feelings are not a thing aside from the bolshevik line, the dialectical line of our life. There does not exist abstract amorous inclinations. One of the most important qualities of our formation consists in the education and development of our feelings and affections in a pure form, directing and orientating them in a conscious and pure manner and in an homogeneous way with our struggle and objective. The impulsion of sex is enormous. But we have the bolshevik education and we live in a bolshevik manner, concentrating all our attitudes under the conscious direction of the purity of our actions. And, in this manner we do not allow that feelings, excitations, sensations which dominate and drag us to miserable attitudes, whether sexual or sentimental, or political, are woken in ourselves and developed. We succeed in rejecting all the political, social, cultural pressures, that are rotten, thanks to the party, but not through acting in thin air, but by leading a life of constant education, of discipline by imposing on ourselves the discipline of life that allows the elevation of our self security, in all the actions and to the maximum possible, in order that they be orientated normally, purely by our pure conception of life.

The problem of love - as one normally calls it, in the majority of the amorous cases - is simply a state of sexual exitation, of sensualism. In depth, it is corruption. In the social relationships of the capitalist society, at the top of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and of the bureaucracy of the capitalist countries, in the leaderships of the socialist parties, there exists an unfettered sexual drive and a tendency to be dominated by it, defeated by it. In the final analysis they reflect all their lack of perspectives, their own absence of future. They are defeated by these sensations that lead them to perversion and to corruption. The pressure on our movement is powerful too. In the stage of collapse, of final assault of the masses against capitalism, the tendencies that express despair express

themselves in many ways. The most eloquent and the most perverse is the sexual tendency, the sexual vices, the drugs etc. The Teddy boys are only a reflection of this tendency. Basically it is the search for sensations that are, by their conception and their origins, individualist and which they cannot find in the struggle for human progress (also they express class interest although the teddy boys do not represent the layers of the bourgeoisie, or the petit bourgeoisie). The consequences are perverted action, dominated by individualist inclinations of sexual or criminal sensations. In every teddy boy there is potentially a criminal. All these people are in search of victims, they enjoy themselves by the thought of their crimes, they enjoy themselves in their search of victims. They not only enjoy it at the moment of the action, whether sexual, or drinking, or drug addiction, or gambling, etc. they excite themselves and enjoy secretly the excitation which the thought of what they are going to do, provokes.

In our Party there does not exist such problems; this is certain. They do not exist under the perverted form of tastes and criminal sensations, but they exist under another form of individualism, personal taste, of a search for a complement to the struggle. The fall of imperialism, the visible advance of the Workers States, and of the colonial revolution, all this attracts humanity powerfully and attracts thousands of people into the ranks of the revolution, not only the workers, but some petit bourgeois and even bourgeois. These like the workers, come and develop their activity under the constant pressure of the decomposition of capitalism, of the decomposition of the communist parties, of the leaderships of the working class, and of the Workers States. And they carry into our movement, at the same time as the healthy desire to struggle for socialism, the influence and the reflection of the decomposition of society and of general public opinion, that stems and appears from that very situation. They believe that it is permissible to unite the struggle for the revolution and socialism, with the duplicity of the search of amorous sexual sensations. And these influences that exist can weigh and be a hindrance in our party, a force of resistance that prevents the militants from developing all their forces and all their qualities. These amorous or sexual tendencies divert them from the concentration of thought, of will and of revolutionary decision. And in the same time, they consciously open the way to inclinations, preoccupations sensations that dominate, undermine their will power and prejudice their mental activity, to their political activity or to their practical activity. They leave wide open the door to the possibility/or the development of feeling and inclinations of all sorts, individualism, arrogance, pride, etc. But not

only this type of pride, of arrogance. These are not the most dangerous. Pride, intellectual arrogance, lead as well to the satisfaction of urges, of amorous acts, of seeking satisfaction in periodical sexual relationships, that can affect and introduce themselves in the midst of the relationships already installed between other comrades. This introduction, is possible when there is some basis of insecurity or dissatisfaction in the already installed relationships. In these cases the inclination to look for love or being loved is only an action of abominable sexual excitement. Miserable. The duty of any comrade is to intervene in order to give some basis to re-establish the comprehension and the reciprocal attraction.

To be inclined to act amorously alluring, or to attract a married comrade with the intention that is not to elevate the militant activity of the comrade, in the purity, and in the pure relationship of the party is a miserable action, of bad feelings. This does not always mean the formation of bad feelings, but it is certainly a concrete action of bad feelings. It means to be in search of a comrade with the purpose to feel either sensation, whether of a sexual type or of a personal type, which, even if there has not ever been any actual sexual relationship, it still exists as such in the mind. And, in depth, it is the same thing. This attitude is the same as the one who, in place of correcting a comrade, inclines himself to impel the other in doing wrong to the party. The harmony of the militant life, must be complete. Even if the comrades were not living together in a harmonious way, effectively, (the married comrade and his companion) and even in the case when it was necessary for them to become separated, they must never do so before a period of direct intervention of the Party in order to help them to overcome it has past.

I reject with all my convictions any comrade who seeks to allure or

contd on page 5

any comrade who seeks to allure or tends to provoke matrimonial separations. One of the essential bases of the militant formation is the search for equilibrium, unity, of the feelings, affections, subjected to the consciousness and the militant bolshevik will. Among this is the conscious sexual need. The search for sexual satisfaction must be a conscious action determined by the necessity of harmony between sexual necessity, the amorous one and the construction of the militant will, consciousness and the militant spirit. To seek for sexual satisfaction or 'love', outside this equilibrium and this unity, is to tend to break the harmonious unity of our life. And, it is consequently, the contradiction which hinders and perverts.

For the young comrades - young by their age that is limited, but adults by their political and militant maturity - the problem of love takes place on this line. Human will power builds itself, elaborates itself consciously. It structures itself on the base of the internal activity of the thoughts, that regulate the functioning of the mind and of the feelings with the activity of the party, the study in the incessant process of the exercise of noble activity, in the militant life and in the family and in matrimonial life. There does not exist anything like love in abstract. The social relations and the party relations are taking place on the base of the activity that determines the base for love. Outside these milieux, there exists the ambient milieux of the bourgeoisie. We, for the sake of our education, always firmly take the resolution of never abandoning any struggle without making sure that all the means of triumphing, or advancing have been exhausted. So, the party builds itself, in the security of the fact that from its own activity depends the development of history and of the party. Once a definite action is undertaken, one must lead it up to its end in order to impose it or to make it triumph. Otherwise, the militant will power, the self confidence, and the confidence in the Party yields before the disadvantages, the effects of the contradictory factors and the struggle of the enemy. And then, the militant does not build himself in the security of his own firmness and militant will but but in indecision, irresolution and the lack of security and confidence.

When in our Party a couple does not function well, our task, mainly if the comrades are young, is to tend firmly in order to act in a way as to maintain the unity of the relationship, but on the basis of the political, militant elevation, while ameliorating the relationship, while intervening in order to guide and impel the harmonisation of their relationship. Comrades come into the Party, marry each other, all this while bringing together with them, the education, habits, customs, influences that they daily receive from capitalist society. Lack of harmony, disagreements, that present themselves, in the majority of cases as a lack of 'love', are, for the major part a complete absence of life, of comprehension, of previous spiritual development. The Party can, and must be this conscious bridge, in order to elevate the lives of the comrades. One must at least try, consciously, for a long length of time otherwise the Party gives up the struggle and leaves the causes and reasons of relations between comrades. to be determined by sensuality.

Love is having a basis, either made of attractions, or inclinations of a physical, material type that reflects the different degrees or levels of comprehension of sensations, and of human consciousness. And also the different degrees of formation

and dominion of the will by the revolutionary consciousness. In the case of marriage between young comrades an absolute demand of responsibility in their relationships is particularly required, the process of elevation of their relationship, and in the conquest of the sort of love based on the life with and for the Party. Under the influence of the capitalist decomposition, the marriage of young ^{people} inside the Party are influenced by the perverted relationships of the capitalist system. And they bring problems, in a dramatic or acute way, when finally there is never any serious attempt and no particular effort to establish a relationship of love that would be based on militant activity and mutual respect and behaviour of affection and tenderness in the perspective of the socialist struggle. Concrete perspectives of activity and daily struggle. The spirit, the behaviour can be educated and are the consequence of a conscious activity dedicated to elevate one and the other. If one does abandon this, mainly young comrades, to develop their sense of responsibility in marriage, one educates the comrades in negligence, in the fragility, and the insecurity, and lack of firmness and of responsible security in the activity. Sooner or later, the insecurity dominates the activity or the security defeats and overcomes the amorous problems, the problems of a sentimental type etc.

We reproduce below an extract of an article published by the Central Committee of the NLF of South Yemen in "El Sauri" (The Revolutionary) which expresses the scientific comprehension and pre occupation of this leadership of the problems of the Arab revolution, the world revolution, socialist construction and the application of Marxism-Leninism, the conscious revolutionary guide to action.

We salute with all our fraternal revolutionary joy the Comrades of the NLF and all the masses of S. Yemen who form part of the enormous leap forward taken by the Arab revolution, in their more and more elevated application of a revolutionary programme, policy and political and theoretical comprehension of the construction of socialism. Their expositions on these questions, on the intervention of the masses in the SOVIETS, on Leninism, and the tactics of the world revolution, show as Cde. Posadas has said, that a situation of WORLD OCTOBER exists today, and shows the immense authority and unification in the Arab revolution of the programme and ideas of the IV International and of Posadas - the Leninism of this period.

Sth. Yemen: Leninism: A world wide Revolutionary Strategy and Tactic.

The influence of socialism in the course of world events, and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialism depend to a good degree on the solidarity of the socialist countries and the unity of their actions.

The principle of "Internationalism", as Lenin saw it, was the unification, not the separation, of workers interests in the struggle against capitalist slavery and meant and will always mean unity of correct principles leading to reciprocal relations between socialist countries and communist and workers parties.

Lenin was always reminding his readers of the need for a decided struggle against nationalist sectarianism which the bourgeoisie tries to use to divide workers of different nationalities and to encourage hatred and distrustfulness among them, in this consolidating its dominion. Lenin made it clear that the Communists, who struggle against nationalist sectarianism, would increasingly take on first place importance when the task of transforming a national proletarian dictatorship, existing in one single country, into an international proletarian dictatorship in several countries became more demanding. This international proletarian dictatorship, even when only encompassing a few countries, would be able to exert a decisive influence in world politics.

The contradictions created in the course of the development of socialism in several countries are not antagonistic in character, and can be completely overcome by the achievement of unity and solidarity between the socialist countries. Thus the divergencies in the points of view of the socialist countries are not linked to the nature of socialism, but are due to the fact that those countries have gone off the course laid down by the principles of Marxism, Leninism and the proletarian internationalism. Lenin foresaw that the movement of humanity towards socialism would be accompanied with many difficulties, that the road to socialism would not be straight forward but very complex. Therefore he gave decisive importance to the fact that Communist proletarian parties, which concentrate the vanguard, leading it in the struggle for socialism, must be solid, well prepared theoretically and politically, and able to lead the whole population towards socialism, showing it the shortest and best way to victory. This demands firmness, sacrifices, revolutionary consciousness and sincerity of the proletarian vanguard. It must have the ability to keep closely linked to the masses and carry through the correct policy, strategy and tactics to fit the radical interests of the population.

Lenin insisted that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined struggle against the forces and habits of the old society, for those forces and habits, which belong to millions and dozens of millions, are a most powerful thing and it is only possible to lead a victorious struggle against them when there is a party which is trusted by every honest member of the working class and the working masses.

Contd page 7

Lenin appealed to the Communist Parties to learn, with all this word implies generally and in particular, to understand how to organise the state of mind, method and content that are part of revolutionary action, making use of the national peculiarities and qualities of each country in the achievement of one single world task, to overcome opportunism and "infantile left tendencies" inside the workers movement, overthrow the bourgeoisie and lead the working class in the taking of power.

The victories made by the world revolutionary movement show that Lenin's theory is becoming a reality in life. The world conference of brother parties, (The Moscow Conference of Communist Parties) declared that, "The revolutionary movement, under the banner of Leninism, has risen to a new level in the majority of countries, revolutionary parties are being founded or strengthened and the world socialist movement has been transformed into an original world wide political force which has the greatest authority in the present epoch."

The conference recognised, in complete accordance with the sentiment and principles of Leninism, that the most important condition for the increase of the contribution of the social and workers parties in the solution of problems facing the different nations, is the raising of the unity of the socialist movement to a higher level. The solidarity of the Communist and workers parties is the most important factor and a necessary condition for the unification of anti-imperialist forces. The basis on which such a solidarity can be achieved, is that provided by the principles of Marxism, Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Each proletarian party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and also to the world proletariat at the same time. The two responsibilities, the national and the international, of each communist or workers party are not separated. This is the position expressed by the world conference of the brother parties on the question of internationalism.

The communists are in the first ranks of revolutionary movements for democracy and liberation, struggling against imperialism and guarantee the victory of their cause. They give very great importance to propaganda for the ideas of scientific socialism amongst the masses, defending their principles fighting opportunist tendencies who put forward extreme left or right theoretical positions, fighting the policy of revisionism and for the prevention of ideological stagnation or left adventurism.

The present epoch is one of the transition of humanity from capitalism to socialism. However great or complicated the difficulties are in the struggle for the total victory of socialism in the whole world, this victory is inevitable in the final instance.

As Lenin expressed it, socialism will "arise" firmly from all aspects of social life and its forces exist everywhere. Thus "the communists must know that the future is theirs anyway."

The Communists hoist the banner of Leninism ever higher in the struggle for the revolutionary renovation of the world, incorporating more and more new revolutionary sectors under it, and carrying out Leninist ideas, which is a reflection of the urgent need for the

Development of humanity along progressive lines to victory. Lenin made use of the immense revolutionary experience of the Russian working class and the theory it formulated to help world revolutionary movements. Several Communist parties - those of Germany, Austria, Finland, Hungary and Poland - were set up as the result of this. And in 1919 Lenin launched an appeal to the European and American workers to build the III International. In that same year it held its first Congress in Moscow. In this Congress a report was made on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the basis of the experience of the Soviet government in Russia, it was confirmed that there is no more democratic government than the power of the workers exercised by means of Soviet Councils. Because if the soviets were in power and there was a dictatorship of the proletariat, the soviet people were able to overcome the counter-revolutionary/imperialist invasion and class enemies inside the country.

During the Congresses held from 1920 to 1922 Lenin put the revolutionary experience of the Soviet Union at the service of the victory of socialism. He spoke a good deal of the peasant question, of nationalities, the position to take with colonial peoples living in

LENINISM: A WORLD WIDE REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTIC contd from page 7

oppression, and the role and tactics of the proletarian Party in destroying this basis of oppression and the development of a socialist state. He showed how the Party must show up the falsity of the images presented by colonial powers and the bourgeoisies, kept alive by them with the intention of chaining up colonial peoples to prevent them from launching forth in the construction of progress.

Lenin's ideas have not been kept in deep freeze. The Soviet working class has continued to follow them and struggle for them. More than 50 years after the victory of the Soviet workers and the installation of a socialist society, the workers of the U.S.S.R. are on the side of the internationalist, anti-imperialist struggle. They fight the falsity of the picture cultivated by bourgeois forces amongst the masses.

Fusion is what the Socialist Revolution means to the national liberation movements of peoples that aspire to the building of socialism. It is an essential thing that confirms the ideas of Lenin put forward by him during the span of a militant life.

The recent Congress of the Communist and workers parties in Moscow has settled on the question of the unity of socialism and the struggle against imperialism, confirming the need for a united strategy amongst world socialist and liberation forces to open the road to them to the adoption of correct tactical methods, and the achievement of their objective of the elimination of their imperialist, colonialist and reactionary enemies.

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF Francisco Cuadrado, SENTENCED TO 8yrs. in Barcelona.

We make once more an appeal to the workers vanguard in the Unions, the Labour Party, the Communist Party and to the students and anti-imperialist organisation to protest against the sentencing of Francisco Cuadrado of the POR(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International to eight years imprisonment by a military tribunal in Barcelona.

The regime of Franco and the Spanish bourgeoisie is powerless to stop the process of organisation of the new revolutionary leadership in Spain. The strikes in the engineering industry and in the mines indicate that the Spanish working class is receiving all the influences of the world revolution and that it is not intimidated by the repression which the feeble shell of Spanish fascism is still able to carry out. This imprisonment of Francisco Cuadrado will not stop the development of the vanguard, the development of the IV International in Spain nor its United front with the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist vanguard.

The Spanish bourgeoisie can and must be made to release comrade Cuadrado and this can be done if there is vigorous campaign launched by the workers, students, and petit bourgeois. in this country as part of the campaign which the International is waging throughout the world.

We appeal for the • sending of telegrams to

Capitan General Perez Vineta,
Gobierno Militar de Cataluna,
Barcelona, Spain

and to the Mexican Embassy, 24 Belgrave Sq. London. S.W.1.

Free the Trotskyists and the Political Prisoners in Mexico.

DEMAND THAT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES THEIR SAFETY AND RELEASES THEM!

We make an urgent appeal to all our readers to re-impel the campaign for the release of the Mexican Trotskyist and political prisoners in Mexico. The Diaz Ordaz regime cannot sustain any further pretexts of 'legality' for the imprisonments and so tries to resolve the continual political elevation in the activity of the Trotskyists in jail through a last resort to assassination, indicated in the letter of Cde Adolfo Gilly (on page 10).

Organised violent intimidation by warders and thugs more and more are a preparation for an attempt at a wholesale murdering of our comrades and other political prisoners in Lecumberri.

Therefore we once more appeal to the workers vanguard, to the political and trade union movements, the students, intellectuals, artists; to the left, socialist, communist, and revolutionary groups and organisations to send letters, telegrams, etc. demanding a guarantee of safety and immediate release of our Comrades and all political prisoners in Mexico, as part of an avalanche of world support for this campaign.

The addresses to send telegrams, resolutions, petitions etc are.
Diaz Ordaz, Government House, Mexico City, Mexico D.F.
The Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Sq. London. S.W.1.

We publish below the text of a resolution sent by the Central Committee of the Mineworkers Internationale, care of 16 Abbeyfield Rd. Dunscroft, Doncaster, Yorkshire,

Mexican President,
Gustave Diaz Ordaz,

Copy sent to Mexican Embassy

We of the Central Committee of the Mineworkers Internationale, and the International Board of the Mineworker official organ of this militant and revolutionary miners group, protest most strongly and emphatically at the dictatorial attitude and measures of your government. The imprisonment of socialists, students and trade unionists, because of their active opposition shows to the world in very clear terms exactly what kind of regime the working class of Mexico are living under.

In the words of the old saying "as you sow, so shall ye reap" you will do well to learn from the history of governments such as yours and take warning! Remember Battista the Cuban dictator and his fate, their plight will be your plight.

We the spearhead of the Mineworkers political vanguard demand the immediate release of all political prisoners in Mexico, but particularly Roberto Iriarte, Oscar Fernandez Bruno, Adolfo Gilly and Teresa Confreta. Our deepest and most fraternal feelings are also expressed to all political prisoners in Mexico City Preventive prison in dormitory M in their courageous hunger strike which could well end in the death of all or most of those comrades engaged in it. Once more Diaz Ordaz the blood of our brave Mexican brother workers will be on your hands. The world knows of these things and they will be kept informed with the help of all our resources and those of fraternal organisations and political fractions the world over, until our demands are met.

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS YOU NOW HOLD.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY DETERMINATION OF THE MEXICAN MASSES

Signed. D. Noble, convenor, Mineworkers Internationale; D. Douglas, editor Mineworker; Fred Higgins, editor Link Up, (militant Doncaster miners paper); D. Weighell editor, New Link (rank and file yorkshire miners paper).

LETTER OF ADOLFO GILLY, SENT FROM LECUMBERRI
JAIL, MEXICO CITY

2nd January, 1970.

Dear Comrades,

This letter is very urgent. Yesterday evening there was a provocation of the government against the political prisoners to provoke a massacre. It was a special occasion - New Years Day - and visitors were allowed in. At 7.p.m. the end of visiting time, the visitors were not allowed to leave. At 8.30p.m. we prisoners heard the screams of women and children. We immediately knew that the authorities had not allowed the visitors to leave. The prisoners of cell blocks M. C. and N. tried to send their representatives to talk to the prison governor. But no one was allowed to leave the block. Those of M. block got furious, broke the locks and left the block to see what had happened. The same happened in the N. block and even in C. block. The wardens didn't intervene. They let them out of the block whilst they could have stopped them. We saw the provocation, we understood it was an organised massacre, but it was impossible to convince the other prisoners.

When all the political prisoners arrived in the central corridor of the jail they saw coming towards them several hundreds of common prisoners armed with iron bars and knives, led by drunk and drugged prisoners, these latter are 'trusties' working in alliance with the wardens. The prison governor led the whole group. The comrades who understood the provocation began to shout that it was necessary to return to the cells. But the clash came. Using their fists, iron bars, bottles and knives, they made us retreat. The prison governor (an ex army general) who was acting in a lunatic way took his pistol and shot into the air. The action excited the common law prisoners and the general then gave the instruction for them to attack the political prisoners.

We entered our cell blocks followed by bottles thrown by the common prisoners and by the shots of the wardens who were standing in the turrets and supporting the attack. We shut ourselves inside the blocks. They tended to assault the N. block, but they saw that they were meeting a tough resistance, and after a confrontation during which bottles and bars were thrown at the political prisoners, the assailants retreated and assaulted M. block, where the defence hadn't been organised (many of the M. block prisoners took refuge in block N.) and the common prisoners ransacked the block. They took everything with them. In the same way they assaulted Block C. and those trying to stop them from behind the bars were shot by the wardens. A political prisoner fell wounded with a bullet in his back, another one was knifed through the bars. Other political prisoners were wounded and they took refuge in their cells. The common prisoners entered the blocks massively, under the orders of the prison governor and ransacked everything. The political prisoners were pushed aside and everything was stolen. We saw the robbery from behind the bars of the locked doors. It lasted for more than an hour and the common prisoners took everything into their blocks. There are two comrades who are very badly wounded one from a bullet and the other from being stabbed with a knife. Ten or fifteen have very bad concussion.

We of N block are almost all well. Now we are concentrated inside. It is rumoured that we may be attacked again, we don't believe that this will happen but it may. It is midnight and, while I am writing this, even now there are criminal prisoners circulating with iron bars.

The main point is that it has been a provocation organised by the government, a punitive expedition to provoke a massacre of the political prisoners using the common prisoners. We saw the wardens opening the doors of the common prisoners and we saw large numbers of common prisoners who refused to be used against us. But naturally some hundreds have allowed themselves to be used. Everything had been prepared and organised previously and unfortunately the comrades fell into this provocation. Now we are discussing this, and are highlighting the fact that the government has attempted to assassinate us. This has to be denounced all over the world.

In the middle of a ferocious tendency struggle inside the government and the bourgeoisie about the question of the political prisoners, one of those tendencies has gone so far as to launch this attack, against the sector of the bourgeoisie who have supported the hunger strikers, but in

contd page 11

Wage a Political Struggle

in the Labour Party to defeat the Pro-Zionist Wing!

As Comrade Posadas analysed immediately after the 6 Day War in June 1967, although the war was a military success for Israel, socially, it was a victory for the Arab masses. Since the war the revolution has advanced in the Middle East by leaps and bounds. The coups in Sudan and Libya, the formation of revolutionary governments, with the nationalisations, the taking away of the bureaucrats privileges and the formation of trade unions, the new land reforms in Egypt and Iraq, the recent nationalisations without compensation in South Yemen and the setting up of popular councils throughout the country, all show the concrete forms of the process which goes rapidly from the nationalist revolution to the Workers State.

The authority and following which El Fatah and the Democratic Popular Front of Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) have throughout the occupied territories and all the Arab countries, is an indication of the determination of all the Arab masses to overthrow the Imperialist base of Israel. And now unlike before the war the slogans are not "to throw the Jews into the sea." But are "for the creation of a secular democratic state." This point was either misunderstood or completely ignored by the two Labour M.P.'s Moonman and Booth, in their recent article in "Tribune", where they go to great lengths to pose a peaceful solution to the problem in the Middle East, supporting Israel.

It is not possible for the situation in the Middle East to be settled peacefully. As the Italian Section of the IV International analysed, in the document they produced on the Peace Conference at Palermo (see Red Flag No. 104) it is not possible to have peace while capitalism exists. The masses of the world will always be repressed, hungry, living in inhuman conditions, unable to lead a full and satisfying life while capitalism exists and they will always struggle violently against it. And this is what we can see expressed clearly in the Middle East, and also in Vietnam. All the time the moves made by the Arab masses are progressive, the masses intervene directly in the process impelling their leaderships and forcing them to advance.

All that imperialism, using Israel as a base can do, is viciously attack this process. The influence of the Syrian Workers State has been enormous, and with Sudan, Libya and S. Yemen approaching Workers States imperialism daily becomes more brutal in its efforts to stop the process. The enormous social triumph of overthrowing the monarchy in Libya for instance, has been a great impetus for the masses of Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, the appeals by the S. Yemen government to the Saudi masses not to enter into the war of the Saudi government with S. Yemen but to overthrow their monarchy, and nationalise the property in Saudi Arabia for instance shows the level of the revolution there. And Moonman and Booth say nothing of all this.

And so it is clear that the Arab masses are carrying out on a wide scale economic and social measures which are sought by the working class of this country, and which are even a part of the programme of the Labour Party. In spite of this there is a sector of the Labour Party and Government which is openly pro-zionist, and against the Arab revolution. This has been most clearly expressed in the past period, by the article of Moonman and Booth in Tribune, (who say that El Fatah are a threat to humanity), the visit of George Brown to the Middle East, and the attempts to remove Mrs. Mackay the L.P. member for Clapham from her seat in parliament. The article published in Tribune, expresses not only the sentiments of the two writers, but also shows that among the Tribune group of Labour M.P.'s certain of these obviously agree - at least in part - with the line of the article, otherwise it could not be published. We appeal to the Tribune group of M.P.'s to publish a correction in Tribune, to stress the

Continued on page 16

"IL MANIFESTO"

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE INSIDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE RIGHT OF FRACTION, AND THE NECESSITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The process which led to the separation of the members of the revue "Il Manifesto", of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), does not only interest that Party, but the whole international communist movement, more particularly the French Communist Party, that finds itself equally confronted with the possibilities of the struggle for power.

A very great internal discussion, impelled and animated by the communist vanguard, exists inside all the communist parties in the capitalist countries. It is transmitted by the political and trade union middle cadres and reaches the leaderships themselves. The rightist tendencies, conciliatory and reformist, are in retreat, in almost all the CP's, and the centrist sectors of the bureaucratic leaderships tend, more and more, to ally themselves to the left sectors and to impose themselves in the communist parties.

This process is very clear, in the French CP. The struggle of a sector of the leadership, of the apparatus, against Garaudy, the publishing in 'L'Humanite' of his positions indicates new conditions for the discussion and the intervention of the base, of the communist vanguard, and of the left sector, are being opened up.

The discussion in the PCI on the experiment of "Il Manifesto" led by some members of the leadership of the central committee has, in this framework, a deep influence in the discussion which is taking place in the French C.P., around the problems brought out by the Moscow Conference. In fact, the revue "Il Manifesto" was more a criticism of the positions of the communist parties and particularly the Italian C.P., rather than an alternative way on the programmatic road. The leaders of this revue were all members and partly, leaders of the PCI, and among them, Natoli, secretary of the Communist Federation in Rome, Pintor, member of.....P.T.O.

VIVA THE PUBLICATION OF THE
EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW
IN ARABIC!

the secretariat of the Federation in Sardina and Caprara of Naples.

All of them have a certain activity and weight in the communist base. Some others, like Rossana Rossanda, and Luigi Magri, who appeared as the editors of the revue had no real links, nor any authority with the base of the IPC. Their intellectual origins and their lack of contact with the life of the IPC, make them unknown to a large part of the base and of the communist vanguard.

Among all these promoters, there has never been any homogeneity, nor any harmony, neither in the objectives that they were proposing, nor in the means that they were utilising. The only thing that was unifying them was the abstract defence of the right of expression of an independent position inside the IPC, but this defense was based on an erroneous tactic.

The members of 'Il Manifesto' made themselves known as a group during the XIIth. Congress of the IPC, in Bologna, in June 1969, when the first number of the Revue appeared, it contained articles from some members of the ICP, but also from people remote from the international communist movement, like Enriquetta Pischel who characterises the Soviet Union as "State Capitalist". The whole of the first issue, its contents, its conception, were already showing that we were not faced with an attempt to constitute a left fraction inside the ICP, in order to struggle politically, but faced with a conglomeration of individuals, without any homogenous line and whose meeting point was an attack on the policy and the leadership of the ICP, on the positions of the Moscow conference, and the condemnation of the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

So, 'Il Manifesto' represented from the day of its publication, an attempt to intervene in the discussion inside the ICP, and inside the international communist movement, but, by means of placing itself far away from this movement, going as far as an alliance with some non-communist sectors going as far as to make publicity in its columns for Sik's books, and to publish the theses of the counter-revolutionary Congress of the right of the Czechoslovakian CP, of the 22nd. of August, in Prague.

At the same time as the taking of these positions, that put them on the sidelines of the concentrated and centralised preoccupation of the communist vanguard to advance from the ICP to the taking of power, the members of 'Il Manifesto' were presenting other positions that were correct, on the right of expression, of a position contrary to the one of the leadership of the ICP, concerning the objective conditions of the phases which Italy is going through, demanding the discussion of the revolutionary road, for the struggle for power, and the abandoning of the reformist and parliamentary road, the necessity of organising factory committees as instruments for dual power, etc.

The reaction at the base and of the communist vanguard, in front of 'Il Manifesto' has been neither acceptance, or rejection. In actual fact, 'Il Manifesto' launched not one single appeal to the communist base, never addressed it. It appeared at every turn more as an intellectual revue, (even its name rejected this tendency) rather than an organism of political struggle inside the Communist Party of Italy. Without condemning it, the communist vanguard did not support it. It used it, in part, in order to make the political discussion advance inside the communist party.

The reaction of the communist vanguard indicates that this vanguard is disposed to use any sort of means to advance, but, inside of its party. As Cde. Posadas says, the vanguard uses all the means and instruments at hand that its needs. It is in this sense that it has used 'Il Manifesto'.

On the contrary, the leadership of the ICP wanted to contain the discussion inside the apparatus. It tried to prevent the discussion at the level of the whole party, by imposing a bureaucratic discipline. It is in this way that the measures of seperation from

the ICP, of members of 'Il Manifesto', is the culminating point of an administrative and bureaucratic attitude, before a process that it is not disposed to answer with the programme, the measures and the objectives of the revolution.

'Il Manifesto' has never been a left fraction inside the ICP. Its objectives, the content of its political positions, the measures that it carried forward, the very presence of non-communist sectors in the revue, nothing of this corresponds to a left fraction. It was an heterogeneous set of correct and incorrect positions. Some positions that were, in part, of the left, were along side some positions contrary to the centralised preoccupation of the communist vanguard and of the real left of the ICP, remote from the real process of discussion, and of internal political struggle that is developing at a great pace inside the ICP.

'Il Manifesto' placed itself in a position that is contrary to the anti-imperialist positions, and anti-capitalist positions of the Moscow conference. It neither followed, nor understood that a new stage inside the communist parties had been opened, and inside the ICP particularly, in which the right was progressively defeated and where the communist vanguard was pressing on the centre (In Italy on Longo and Berlinger, in France on Leroy and Marchais), in order to push it forward, towards the left, to ally itself with the left, and orientate itself in the organisation of the taking of power against the rightist policy of alliance and co-existence with capitalism.

In the actual phase of crisis, of revolutionary growth, of political revolution, through the form of 'interior entrism' analysed by Cde. Posadas, the communist vanguard is in process of struggling for the taking of power inside the communist parties. The right of fraction inside the communist parties is not alien to this process.

A fraction is conceivable in the frame-work of democratic centralism, only if it corresponds to the centralised preoccupation of the base, and of the communist vanguard, only if it corresponds to the necessity of the stage, to the role of the party, with a programme and some revolutionary propositions, only if it maintains itself inside the party, by making the base intervene with the objective of building the revolutionary leadership that struggles for the programme of the Socialist Revolution. 'Il Manifesto' did not answer to this necessity. It did not even pretend to !

This is why it did not win any authority in the communist base, or in the vanguard. Not having been the instrument of a necessary struggle inside the communist movement, 'Il Manifesto' did not respond to this necessity. Its existence in the history of the ICP, and in the communist movement has been ineffective. It could have been a conscious and necessary instrument, but, it placed itself from the beginning in the margin of the preoccupation and of the centralised discussion of the base and of the communist vanguard.

The measure of separation taken by the leadership of the ICP in its last central committee, shows all the lack of confidence that this leadership has in the Party, in its vanguard. It lacks confidence in the capacity, the predisposition, the comprehension of the base to oppose any attitude that would endanger the centralisation of the Party. It maintains the lack of confidence, educated over ten years by Stalinism, in the force and capacity of the party to combine critical discussion and action, that is in a real application of democratic centralism. It is for this reason that it confronted this problem with an administrative and bureaucratic measure, by yielding also to the pressure of the right of Amendola.

This measure goes along with the fact that in the central

committee, a clear answer, of revolutionary communist leadership has not been given to the working class, a socialist answer to the situation of dual power which has opened in Italy. The fundamental and predominant aspect of the process that the ICP is undergoing as much as the communist parties in general, is neither 'Il Manifesto' nor the measures taken against it, but the open discussion inside the Party and the intervention of the vanguard.

All the actual discussion inside the ICP, the publication in 'Rinascita', theoretical revue of the central committee of the ICP, of a letter from the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), Italian Section of the IVth. International (which will be published in the next issue of 'Lutte Communiste'), the statements of Longo on power, all this indicates that the roads, and the measures for the anti-capitalist struggle in Italy, are opening up a similar situation, although at an inferior level of maturity, which the intervention of the communist vanguard in France. With the open struggle against the right, against Garaudy, a new stage began in the French Communist Party (FCP) which is rapidly going to assimilate the process that took place in the ICP. We must support ourselves on this objective situation, and not on the statements of Marchais or Seguy - the remote reelection of the process at the base - in order to develop the revolutionary tendency in the FCP and in the communist movement in France.

It is by taking as a point of support all the gains of 'entier entrism' in the world communist movement and particularly in the ICP that the communist vanguard in France, in united front with the IVth. International, will elevate its conscious and organic struggle in order to take over the leadership of its party, to struggle for the anti-capitalist programme, for the Socialist Revolutionary answer to the crisis of capitalism.

X-X

WAGE A POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN THE L.P. Contd from page 12.

similarity of the Arab struggle in the Middle East, to the struggle of the British working class here, and to pledge the support of the Labour Party and Government to the Arab masses in the Middle East.

The visit of George Brown, the Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, to the Middle East, has achieved nothing. But it has shown by his conciliatory attitude towards Israel, his friendly discussions with the Israeli government, and the reactionary statements he made to the Arab delegates from the occupied territories with whom he spoke, that he has no sympathy for the revolutionary struggle they are waging. His visit to Nasser was an attempt to strengthen the conciliatory elements in the Egyptian government who are prepared to allow the existence of Israel. Although this was not an official government visit, George Brown goes to the Middle East with the authority of the Labour Party and the British class struggle, but he reflects nothing of this. We appeal to the Labour Party and Young Socialists, to the T.U.C. and the trade union movement as a whole to pass resolutions rejecting the visit and the statements of Brown, and to pledge their support for the new social and economic measures taken in the Middle East, and for the guerrilla groups such as El Fatah, D.P.F.L.P. etc.

It is necessary to organise discussions in all the organisms of the Labour Party in order to discuss the political implications of the process in the Middle East, and to discuss the lessons that the working class in this country can profit from, the wave of nationalisations, the sharing of the land, the appeals to the Saudi Arabian masses to overthrow their feudal government, the setting up of popular councils throughout S. Yemen. These successes of the Arab masses are closely linked to the programme of the Labour Party.

It is necessary to wage a political struggle against all those in the L.P. who are against this process.

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weeks holiday, workers control of the speed of the track, hiring and firing etc. nationalisation of the industry under workers control and without compensation, etc. In this way the car workers can put themselves at the head of the whole class.

This strike if it takes place, is going to prove a powerful stimulus to the left currents developing in the Labour Party and unions, and the C.P. The Ford strike must be discussed in the Labour Party and Young Socialist branches, the trade unions and the Communist Party, and resolutions taken in support of the strike and concrete actions taken to support it. The Labour Party Young Socialists have submitted a whole series of anti-capitalist resolutions to their Conference, including the demand for a united socialist states of Europe, and the number of resolutions calling for nationalisations of many sectors of industry. It is the expression of the advance of the left not just in the young socialists but also the Party itself and it is the result of the constant struggle of the working class against the pro-capitalist policies of Wilson. In the unions this advance is seen still more clearly, with the statements of the TGWU leaders that they were going to make that union the most democratic in the world, and by the statements of Roberts of the AEF who says that before the workers can take control of industry they must take control of their own organisations, and he also made an attack on the right wing of the union leaderships. This position is in fact not correct because the two struggles go hand in hand, one does not wait for the other by the fact that he expresses it in this way is a response to the pressure of the rank and file for democracy in the unions. Also the Ford negotiations themselves illustrate this process, where the leaders of the TGWU and the AEF have taken a hard position against the management and where it was reported that the TGWU representative had in front of him all the reports of the successes of the car workers in all parts of the world from Sweden to Australia; and this together with the determination of the base is a factor which influences favourably his behaviour in front of the employers. All these processes are going to be immensely impelled by the Fords strike.

This strike raises very sharply the need for a constant control by the base over all the negotiations, for it is the intervention of the base which is the guarantee of the success of the strike. The base have intervened by picketing the meetings of the negotiations but a more concrete control is necessary. A delegate from the base must be present on all the meetings and all decisions have to be ratified by mass meetings.

The Ford strike is going to take place in a national and international situation in which the revolution in all its forms is advancing and the two main obstacles to human progress, imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy are showing that they are incapable of stopping the process. Nixon's latest speech which ignored all the major world issues indicates that imperialism while preparing for the war, tries to give the impression that it wants peace, tries to deceive the world masses and Workers States, in order to take them by surprise.

At the same time as there is this process within Imperialism, the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy increases. The economic reforms introduced in the Soviet Union as an attempt to increase the social support of the bureaucracy have (as Cde. Posadas foresaw in his document on the Soviet Economic Reforms of 1965) introduced chaos into the Soviet economy and drastically cut the rate of economic growth. Bresnev's speech calling for a strengthening of the centralised state plan and at the same time for greater labour discipline, indicates in a very clear way the crisis of the bureaucracy, the end of the united front between the tendencies of the technocrats and the CP bureaucrats, and the incapacity of the bureaucracy to solve the problems in an administrative way. All the conditions are favouring the advance of revolutionary tendencies in the communist, socialist and nationalist parties and the development of revolutionary tendencies in the Workers States themselves, particularly in the USSR put pressure on the bureaucracies making them prepare for the final settlement of accounts preventing that imperialism takes them by surprise. This is the situation, together with the advance of the nationalist revolution to the Workers State in South Yemen, Libya, Peru, Bolivia, Congo Brazzaville (which now calls itself a Popular Republic and adopts the Red Flag and the hammer and sickle as its symbol and the Internationale as its anthem), the advance of the

workers struggle in France and Spain which is weighing on the consciousness of the British working class vanguard and giving the confidence to strike for demands which put in question the very functioning and existence of capitalism.

In front of the process of advance of the masses the capitalist class and the right wing leaders of the Labour government can do nothing. The tory party is in crisis over Powell, and does not present in parliament any real criticisms of the government or any alternative because they have no more ideas on how to run capitalism than Wilson has. There is a paralysis in front of the masses and the government yields to all the demands of the masses hoping only to gain a certain amount of time. While the government does not put through any anti-capitalist legislation does propose measures which interfere with the running of capitalism and are an inconvenience to it at a time when it wants to be allowed complete freedom to concentrate and centralise itself. The new Commission for industry and manpower which Mrs. Castle is proposing is an example of this interference for it proposes to examine price increases and pay increases and also look into monopolies and investigate and block mergers 'in the public interest'. Although this board does what the P.I.B. and the monopolies commission did before, now the emphasis is on prices and there will be no fixed ceilings on wages. It is a crushing defeat for capitalism which has been incapable of resisting the demands of the masses, and it will further increase the social, political and economic crisis of Imperialism.

We make an appeal to the vanguard of the Ford workers to see this strike not just as a strike against an employer but as a centre of the struggle against capitalism. It is necessary as a centre of the struggle against capitalism. It is necessary to make the strike with an occupation, running the factory with the permanent functioning of factory committees with all representatives subject to instant recall, making appeals to all other sectors of workers to support the strike by applying the same methods for the same or similar programme.

We appeal to the vanguard in the L.P., in the Unions, in the C.P. to organise discussions in the branches to discuss the significance of the Ford strike, and to organise support for it, by strike action and other means.

The Ford strike will signify a leap forward in the class struggle and a hammer blow against capitalism. All the sectors of the exploited masses must profit from it in depth using it as a centre around which to organise their own struggle, pushing forward the construction of organisms (the factory committees) raising their programmatic demands and imposing them by means of strike occupations and workers control. In this way the Ford strike will open the way to the General Strike, which in turn can put on the agenda, the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the Workers Government.

FOR A NATIONAL BASIC MINIMUM WAGE TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING!

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN, WOMEN AND YOUTHS!

FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE TRADE UNIONS, ALL ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO BE SUBJECT TO INSTANT RECALL, AND TO BE PAID THE AVERAGE WORKERS WAGE!

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!

FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES ON EACH JOB AND WORKERS COUNCILS IN EACH LOCALITY ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME!

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE OF EUROPE AS PART OF A WORLD FRONT OF SOCIALIST STATES!

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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J. POSADAS. FEB 1966

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 107 10th FEBRUARY 1970 PRICE 6d

Impel the construction of the Revolutionary Leadership in the L.P. the C.P. and the Unions with the National Strike in the Car Industry

In face of the deepening and extension of dual power throughout the world, and the rapid advance towards the creation of new Workers States, Congo Brazaville, South Yemen etc., the process towards the final encounter between the world masses and the Workers States on the one hand and the forces of imperialism on the other is greatly intensified. Yankee imperialism, rotted, although it is with the spirit of defeat, pretends that it will follow a line of isolationism, whilst in fact its policy of arming and encouraging Israel shows that it is ready to launch the war at any moment, and on the other hand the warning note of Kosygin shows that conciliation is almost at the last gasp. The reorganisation of the Warsaw pact armies with a firmer centralisation around the soviet military command also indicates that the Workers States are constantly taking steps to counter those of imperialism, and as has been discussed before by the IV International and Posadas a tendency developing with greater strength in the Soviet Union wishes to take the initiative by launching the preventive war.

As the forces of imperialism weaken on a world scale, as British imperialism disintegrates, it finds itself powerless in front of the victorious advance of the British masses, and through its direct spokesmen in the Tory Party can only mutter about the need for "law and order" (and spokesmen of the police immediately say that they don't want to be involved with political problems). At the moment the proletariat finds its most dynamic centre for class mobilisation in the car industry, particularly around the proposed strike at Fords for a 38% wage claim, although in fact the whole car industry has seen a state of tremendous anti-capitalist combat in all the main plants. The pressure of the worker and petit bourgeois masses has reached an extraordinary level during the last few months showing a complete awareness of their own strength and the feebleness of the class enemy. Postal workers reject a 10% offer, the NAS says the teachers should revise their wage claim and ask for a much larger one, textile workers formerly one of the muted sectors of industry demand a 25% increase, farmers mobilise with a profound anti-capitalist spirit. This combativity is fundamentally designed to get rid of capitalism, but it finds itself fettered by the lack of a formed leadership in the organisations of the masses, the LP, the CP and the trade unions to respond to their wishes. A new firm leadership is required with the programme to take power. The principle obstacle, as Posadas has explained and elaborated on various occasions, is that the LP leadership and the trade union leadership is unresponsive to the pressures of the class and through the historic weight of the aristocracy of labour the absence of political life in the Labour Party has made it difficult for the pressures of the masses to find a response. Similarly in the trade unions, although the masses develop their own organisms increasingly, and force the leaderships within certain limits to conform to the wishes of the masses, that leadership is unresponsive to the necessity for a revolutionary programme, meeting the desire of the workers to take power. While the masses want power, the leader of the NUR is knighted and the leader of the TUC is awarded a 40% wage increase. Nothing can be expected from these people or their opposite numbers in the LP, but it is essential to construct the new revolutionary leadership on the basis of the groups and tendencies within the Labour Party, who do feel the pressure of the masses and inevitably find that the way to answer the needs of the masses is to find the programme and the methods to take power.

The necessity for the revolutionary programme is imposing itself despite all the obstacles of historic inertia contained within the Labour Party. This has shown itself most clearly in the programme of the Labour Party Young Socialists. Their programme registers an historic defeat for the right wing tendency in the Labour Party. In the past the right wing have been able to expel, to eliminate the opposition, now the basis for authority of the apparatus among the youth has been removed. All this is an indication that the pressure of the world socialist revolution plus the tremendous force of the united front of the petit bourgeois and proletarian masses is opening the way for the discussion and implementation of the revolutionary socialist programme to take power from capitalism. It is necessary that this programme, an openly Trotskyist programme, is discussed in the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the unions, its demands include nationalisations under workers control, the planning of the whole economy, the unification with a Socialist Republic of Ireland, the United Socialist States of Europe. Its appearance at this stage is a pointer to the need for the new leadership in the Labour Party and is a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary currents in the LP, the CP and among the labour, left intellectuals, student sectors, who inevitably discuss the programme and perspective to smash capitalism.

The structure of capitalist parliamentary government is now posing the possibility of an election this year or next—that is if the war does not intervene. An election campaign is being mounted by the parties in a period where the process runs way beyond the solutions of parliamentary government. The mood of capitalism can be judged by the programme of the Tory Party, where it speaks in righteous tones about the need to secure 'law and order', the need to control the unions etc., all of which shows that the Tories regard themselves as besieged, and the only way out is to concentrate their own class forces against the revolution which is coming. The Wilson apparatus, on the other hand, has to respond in limited ways to the pressure of the Labour masses, and would like to mobilise simply a vague "agitational" campaign against the Tories. However, the rich situation developing in this country, allows the revolutionary wing in the Labour Party, the revolutionary wing in the Communist Party, the middle cadres in the trade unions, to push forward the revolutionary programme, to struggle for it, to find a response in the masses, which

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Statement of the Italian Section denouncing the attack made on the house of some Militants of the PCR(T)

A new and grave unjustified act of intimidation has been committed by the police in the framework of the vast campaign of repression launched throughout the country in these last weeks. Yesterday on the 11 January, a group of agents of the PS from the Commissariat of Trastevere, led by an inspector, entered a private house, in which they found some militants of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist)—Italian Section of the IV International.

On the authorisation of a warrant signed by the acting procurator of the republic Dott Cecere, they declared, that they were seeking arms and explosives and they then extended their warrant on the basis of a second authorisation, again allowed by Dr. Cecere, to the confiscation of printed political and ideological material, including notes, letters and other materials, which could have no connection with the absurd, initial motivation of the search. They naturally concluded the search without finding anything.

In front of this absurd as well as useless manoeuvre of intimidation against the PCR(T), which follows thousands of charges and dozens of arrests made in recent weeks, and the vain attempt to create a climate of persecution in a public opinion, much more mature than that assumed by its vulgar presumptuous persuaders, our party invites all democratic and revolutionary public opinion, and above all the workers parties, the trade unions, and all the democratic organisations to pursue and intensify the line of condemnation, and of mobilisation, to smash the increase in repression, not simply by defending, but attacking. The deepening and the extending of the mass struggles for trade union and political objectives, for the improvement of the standard of life and the advance of workers power, united to the imposition of respect for the democratic rights of the masses, is the best response to these actions, whose ambitions are far superior to the strength on which they are based, and therefore so much the more desperate, and in some cases dangerous. "We will not allow the Italian workers movement to be eaten leaf by leaf like an artichoke", declared the last central committee of the PSIUP. This is correct; for this reason it is necessary to pass over to the offensive. Each charge that we permit against whatever organisation and grouping, whatever its strength and its institutional representation, gives hope to the enemies of the working class, gives a possibility that we allow them to organise more.

Having said this, it is hardly worth pointing out, that the historic traditions, the ideological conception, the present political practice of Trotskyism and the IV International (as of the rest of the whole communist movement) leave only to the mad or the maliciously inclined, the possibility of considering, that the Trotskyists, in whatever way are linked to the events in Milan and to any type of terrorism. We Trotskyists feel ourselves as part of the masses, part of the best of the masses who are communist. We Trotskyists, feel ourselves to be victorious, to be on the offensive, feel we are millions. We have no need of the desperate measures, which are used by those who are terrified, and seek to defend themselves. The bombs of Milan are the bombs of the defeated. In a country in which the workers movement can mobilise any time it wishes millions of people, in a country in which millions of workers for months have defeated and besieged (and it is not the last and most important defeat) the nucleus of exploiters, who still claim to govern Italy, according to their interests, it is the nucleus of people and not the masses of millions, who resort to bombs. We Trotskyists struggle with the masses and for the masses, and like all the communists we have always left the use of indiscriminate terrorism to the provocators. For this reason we confirm, what the whole workers movement has affirmed; the events in Milan are criminal in their effects and objectives; and today as always, in Italy as in the world, criminal objections and actions have a single political source. To slaughter so casually sixteen people, who were not entering into the class struggle, could only be perpetrated by those who are used to kill daily in the factories, in the colonies, in countries, in wars of oppression. If they want arms and munitions, and above all if they want criminals, the police can find them in establishments other than those of the Trotskyists or of other militants of the workers movement. If on the other hand what they wish to eliminate are not arms and munitions, but ideas for the progress of society, revolutionary ideas, then let them search the houses of all the millions of communists and workers, who struggle in Italy. Even the sons of the police can live in a better world, which can only emerge from the ashes of the world their fathers defend. But they should remember that these millions of men can be found very easily in the squares, when warrants and intimidatory charges are of no value.

12/1/70

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The Organisation of the Revolutionary Party, of Soviets, of Communes, and the building of the Libyan Workers State

REPRODUCED FROM LUTTE COMMUNISTE PAPER OF PARTI COMMUNISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE (TROTSKISTE) FRENCH SECTION OF IV INTERNATIONAL

It is obvious that capitalism cannot live and develop any longer; but it still has an influence on the new anti-imperialist, revolutionary leaderships. It can still weigh to the extent that these do not yet understand the functioning of capitalism, and the way a Workers State is built. So, they often take a series of measures that they mean to be revolutionary, but that are capitalist ones in their functioning. They favour the appearance, the development and the survival of elements that are capitalist or that impede the process towards the Workers State.

So, the organisation of the Revolutionary Party and the undertaking of measures of organisation for the development of Revolutionary Tendencies are the essential basis for the progress towards the Workers States. We must intervene by giving a thousand ideas, a thousand initiatives, starting from literacy plans, to plans for the development of culture, to the organisation of the population in order to lead the revolution forward, up to concrete plans for meetings, assemblies and demonstrations. One must push into discussion all the cultural and revolutionary problems, the economic problems, taking the rapid elevation of the world process as the point of support.

WE MUST TAKE THE WORLD EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKERS STATES TO BUILD SOCIALISM IN LIBYA

We must combine the need for diversifying agricultural production, taking into account the problems of the soil, the scarcity of equipment, of fertilisers. The Workers States must send all that is necessary. But this, independently of the necessity of the building of Communes. It will be the Communes that will be capable of resolving all the problems—as in China—with, or without the aid of the Workers States. The communes, before anything else, permit the organisation of all aspects of the daily life as the most elevated means to triumph over all difficulties.

For example, aid valued at millions of dollars from China or Cuba in food, or fertilisers, can solve the problem for one month. And then? With the communes, it is possible to solve definitely all problems. In the beginning, it is quite possible that production will be one for one a pure self-consumption, but very quickly, thanks to the intervention and the utilisation of all the forces and energies of the peasants, and their families, productivity rises from 1 to 3, then to 10.

In order to attain these results technicians are necessary; tractors, fertilisers, knowledge of agriculture, of climates, of rain seasons, of harvesting etc. A plan of production, taking all these elements into account, will be able to envisage the diversifying of agriculture. In this aim, one must utilise the oil income to impel agricultural and industrial development together with proletarian democracy, with the control over and the elimination of all military or political power, and their replacement by the formation of organisations that give power to the masses.

We must expect an ascension of the revolution, of cadres, of groups, of tendencies, and be prepared for the consequences, that is, the war with Israel, the internal crisis inside the Arab States of which the recent failure of the Rabat Conference is only a partial expression. The revolutionary sector clashed violently with the counter-revolutionary one, and the conclusion of the Sudanese representative has been that it is necessary to create a new Moslem summit, but a revolutionary one. The Moslem religion is taken as a pretext. The struggle is very deep and this is indicated by the private initiative of Nasser immediately after the Rabat Conference, in favour of a meeting with a part of the most advanced sector of the Arab revolution; Lybia and Sudan.

We must support ourselves on this perspective of rapid development of the Arab revolution, of the process of Arab unity on the basis of the Socialist Revolution. The sectors that had been able to conciliate up until today, who still want to conciliate will be left aside, to the benefit of those who are advancing into the uncompromising struggle against imperialism, against capitalism, for the conscious programme of the Socialist Revolution, like South Yemen, like the larger and

larger sectors of the Palestinian Movement for Liberation, like some Syrian and Iraqi sectors.

One must discuss much about the Cuban and the Chinese experience, in the light of the theoretical analysis of the International, of Comrade J. Posadas. One must show that the Chinese and the Cubans could advance and prevent the formation of a bureaucratic regime. They did not prevent the formation of a bureaucratic administration. They prevented the formation of a permanent bureaucracy as a political leadership. Because even if it is in a limited way, they created some organisations that allowed the population to intervene and weigh. In China, there are the communes, and partly, the cultural revolution.

The process in China and in Cuba is a still in a limited way, a form of the political revolution. The Libyan Revolution can, from the very beginning, start from the highest level ever attained in China and Cuba, even if we do consider the economic difficulties. One must utilise the whole capital coming from the oil for the development of the production and the financial aid to the struggle of the revolutionary masses of the Middle East. At the same time, one must call for the spreading of all the measures of unification throughout the Arab world, and call on all the Workers States to plan between themselves.

The absence of planning between the Workers States is the reason why they do not progress more, why they may even sometimes go backwards in different fields of the economy, in the relationships with capitalism, with the abandoning of the state control of foreign trade. But we must underline that this is not the consequence of the existence of the Workers State, but of the existence of its bad leadership, of its bureaucratic leadership. Such is the concrete characterisation of this phenomenon.

Leaderships such as the one of the Libyan Revolution have some guidance, in the understanding of these problems. They see how the policy of the USSR is still largely conciliatory with Imperialism. Certainly, this policy cannot have the same effect as before in the extent that the basis for it no longer exists, or is very small, but, it still remains that the bureaucracy tries to exploit and utilise out of this conciliation, all what it possibly can.

All the new revolutionary leaderships are preoccupied with the course of the revolution in their own country, in the Workers States, and in the world. But they have neither the experience, nor the tradition. One must intervene to explain, orientate, analyse, and particularly respond to one of their principal preoccupations; how to structure the economy, the production, the power. In Libya, for example, it shows a great boldness by expelling the British and American bases. Boldness is not what is lacking. The main lack is the absence of cadres.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE IS RELATED TO THE NEEDS OF THE REVOLUTION

Literacy, cultural development, are not measures that have their end in themselves. Literacy aims at the elevation of the population's capacity to intervene on the problems of the country. So, one must teach, and teach how to read and write on the problems of the Revolution. One must teach how to read, write, and think. To teach how to think, how to organise thoughts, discussions and to orientate. Personal example is one of the major forms to learn from, how to discuss, which has a fundamental importance because it means, to learn how to use the authority of ideas.

Discussing what is necessary to advance signifies not to discuss in abstract, not to praise the harmonious entity of the Revolution, but to discuss the problems that are to be solved: economy, politics, programme, planning, co-operatives, communes, enterprise, committee, factory and trade union committee, necessity of the Party, of the alliance of the United Front with the Workers States.

One can then choose at any moment what fundamental subject must be discussed always with the objective of influencing the organisms of the Revolution, the Revolutionary United Front. Such a discussion leads to this comprehension, gives security, and self confidence. The conclusions are neither fixed nor rigid. Economic plan and united front in political action constitute a whole, because in both cases it is a matter of a plan for the advance of the Revolution. Even if they are separated in the form, they aim at the same thing. The Libyan Revolution must discuss with this consciousness and with this confidence.

The struggle of all the Workers States leads to the organisation of the Revolutionary Party. A certain sector of the leadership is going to try to hinder, to put a brake on the process, but will not be able to prevent anything, because one cannot create the programme of the revolution inside an administrative apparatus, one cannot call on the people to intervene, and then, tell them to stop it, and not to form any organism. In any case they will function as a party.

So, one must foresee that, alongside with limitations and retreats, the logical necessity of functioning as a party is going to impose itself. In actual fact, all the needs of progress of the Libyan Revolution lead to the functioning as a party, whether in a caldestine, sui generis, way, or, in complete openness.

At the centre of the discussion there are also the problems of the Arab revolution, of its unification and planning. All this will have to be discussed sooner or later.

One must intervene with a concrete programme of literacy, teaching of Marxism, a part of this programme must be practical teaching, the analysis of the Workers States, the process from capitalism to the Workers State, and to socialism. The analysis of the comparison between Workers States, gives confidence to dominate, to have a vision and an understanding of the Workers States, of their situation, of their internal struggles, of the bureaucratic regime, of the lack of revolutionary democracy.

This analysis allows the understanding that all this situation is not the consequence of the Workers States, of the Bolshevik Party or of Marxism, but of their bureaucratic and antagonistic utilisation which is the actual functioning of the Workers States, who influence the Arab leaderships that are opposed to the conscious utilisation of Marxism.

The revolution shows, however, that it compensates for the bureaucratic and arbitrary attitudes of the leadership of the Workers States, and of the Communist Parties. It is in this way that the Marxist programme is in the head of the leadership of the Baath of Iraq, of a part of Syria, of Cuba, and also, of the Libyan leaders! They, start from a very elevated position, do not assimilate Marxism and the bureaucratic leadership of the USSR, and even without understanding they seek for a reasonable way of applying themselves, at least in their statements. Their statements ought to be made concrete.

The programme of literacy must be

based in its application, its teachings, its courses on the socialist revolution, and the tasks that are to be achieved in Libya. The basis of the teaching must be to unify together, the necessity of conscious organisation with the necessity to know how to read and write in order to be capable then to utilise consciously their knowledge.

Together with teaching, one must organise some regular courses of small conferences of discussions of explanations for the masses: "Why don't they know how to read and write? Why is there no teachings? Why also couldn't they be bothered to learn?" In this way, it is also possible to discuss all the problems of life and to solve them. They, the masses, will see the imperative necessity of knowing how to read and write in order to transmit, express to weight and discuss.

Teaching in the capitalist system, is a necessity for this system in order to exploit people. It is for this reason that these are losing interest, seeing that this teaching is of no use to them. And the people do not demonstrate any will to learn something that they feel is no use to them socially. In the Workers States, once formed, or in process of being formed, it is all the contrary.

The interest of the population in Libya, is already considerably developed, in the way to read and write. Capitalism, the bureaucracy, have no interest in stimulating, encouraging the intervention of the population to think, to give advice, to decide, control and judge. It is possible for the whole population to become literate rapidly, taking Cuba as an example. One must combine the cultural development with the teaching of how to read and write, with the teaching of mathematics, geography, economy, and the history of the world-wide class struggle, and of the Workers States.

One must also have general ideas in medicine, physics, architecture, geometry. Posadas has already proposed the same thing for Cuba. A simplified programme of knowledge helps much to give confidence to the masses for their intervention. This knowledge is obviously not aimed at remaining static, but is aimed at serving their intervention. Hence, the necessity of combining the plans for teaching with those of discussing all the problems of the country.

So, the teacher appears to be also the pupil, and inversely. He is a pupil who has more coordinated thoughts, and more knowledge, than the others, which stimulates the intervention of the others, by stimulating that essential part of knowledge that is called: drive to know. This is the consequence of the feeling of the utility of one's intervention, and that one's knowledge is serving the building of society. It is quite possible to do this.

One must establish simple programmes of geography, physics, in relation to a simple general scheme, but, also, taking the traditions of the country into account. Study combines itself with productive work, which helps to concentrate more interest for it, to assimilate more. To this one must add the communal life, that stimulates

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE COMMISSION OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS OF LECUMBERRI IN MEXICO

On the first of January at the moment when the visiting families of the political prisoners were leaving, the visitors, composed entirely of women and children—the men had already left—were detained by the leadership of the prison, who prevented them from leaving, and made them wait, practically kidnapping them, in the corridor of the prison. Round about 10.30, the political prisoners began to hear the cries of women and children. It was our relatives who were asking for permission to leave.

When our representatives of cell blocks C, M, and N tried to have an interview with the authorities to resolve the situation, they were not allowed to leave the cells. They did not receive any response from the director or from his subordinates who kept the visitors in the jail.

Worried by this situation, the political prisoners left the three cell blocks to demand an interview with the director, and in order to know what fate was reserved for their families, whose shouts they continued to hear.

When we all met up in the central corridor of the prison, onto which all the doors of the cell block opened, we found our way blocked, not by the corps of jailers, who did not intervene at all at this moment, but by some hundreds of criminal prisoners, for whom the authorities had opened the doors of their cell block, led by brigadier general Andres Puentes Vargas and by a group of hirelings of the leadership, the ones called "superiors" and "commandants" from the cell blocks of the criminal prisoners. All were armed with iron bars, knives, knuckle-dusters, and the "trusties", who were leading them, were in the main drugged and drunk, completely outside themselves. According to the accounts of those present, the door of the cell block was opened personally by the deputy director of the prison, Major Bernardo Palacios Yanez. We have testimony that the jailers, under the orders of the director and in his presence, opened the door of cell block E and incited the prisoners to attack us. The majority of the prisoners refused to go out at that moment.

The comrades who walked at the head of a group of the political prisoners, warned that it was a provocation to massacre us, called immediately for a retreat, shouting, denouncing that it was an organised criminal provocation.

In this situation, general Puentes Vargas in person, refusing to listen to the political prisoner comrades, who were trying to speak to him, pulled out a pistol and fired several shots in the air to excite the criminal prisoners whom he was leading, and ordered them to attack us. This order was heard by all the comrades present.

The political prisoners fell back towards their cell block, trying to avoid a clash with the criminal prisoners and in particular with the agents of the leadership who were at their head, drugged and drunk, and who would not listen to voice nor reason. While we were withdrawing we were attacked, beaten, struck by blows from iron bars, clubs, knives etc. by the hirelings of the prison who were leading the attack. This aggression was at the same time accompanied by shots from pistols and rifles fired from above, from the walls and the roofs occupied by the jailers, shots fired not to restrain the aggression, but to compel the political prisoners to retire in a stampede to permit assassination of individuals. If there has not been several killed in these conditions, it is thanks to the calm, which the majority of the political prisoner comrades conserved, understanding that it was a question of a provocation and retiring in good order.

The three cell blocks of the prisoners were immediately assailed by some tens of criminal prisoners, led by "trusties", that is to say by the selected corps of criminals which the leadership of the prison has organised among the prisoners themselves to maintain the criminal prisoners in a state of terror, and to protect its commerce in drugs, drink and other things.

These elements entered cell block M and beat the comrades they found there. They also attacked cell block C. When some comrades tried to defend the entrance, they were fired at from the walls by the jailers, and others were struck with fists by the attackers. It was at this moment that Jose Luis Nunez was wounded by a

bullet and Rafael Luis Nunez by stab wounds. Both of them are in a grave state.

Once they had occupied the cell blocks, the leadership opened the doors of the other cell blocks of the criminal prisoners and authorised them to sack C and M cell blocks. These were methodically sacked by the criminal prisoners headed by the prison leadership and helped by the guards. They took away absolutely everything which belonged to the political prisoners; clothes, radios, beds, mattresses, kitchen utensils, personal objects, absolutely everything. They burnt several hundred books.

These same elements tried to enter cell block N, in which the comrades of this cell block and some others from C and M were barricaded. The assault was supported by strong rifle volleys—for the second time—against the prisoners of cell block N. Behind the door we were able to repulse the attack, even though several comrades were injured with blows from bottles, rocks, iron bars. When the assailants retired to continue their sacking of cell blocks C and M, the injured prisoners in cell block N were the object of another attack on the part of the jailers who from the roofs of the neighbouring cell blocks unleashed a third and most violent fusillade against our cell block, whose walls now carry the marks of the impacts of mauser and pistol bullets.

Then the attacks stopped. The attention of the leadership of the prison and the prisoners they led were concentrated in methodically sacking cell blocks C and M, which lasted approximately two hours, during which the assailants under the eyes of the jailers, carried away all the objects they found.

At the moment of bringing out this communique, the corridors of the prison have permanently, for the last 24 hours, been roamed by bands of criminal prisoners, armed and organised by the prison leadership, threatening to attack the cell blocks of the political prisoners. The jailers, content themselves with watching the spectacle and waiting for orders to give their support to the assailants, should the authorities decide on a new attack.

The political prisoners of cell block N and a great number of comrades of C and M taking refuge amongst us, received during all this time constant threats of a new attacks by bands of criminal prisoners organised by the leadership with the view of doing to cell block N what they had done to C and M. Cell block N was besieged. They let nothing enter, neither food nor visitors, save one of the lawyers. In these conditions and faced with these threats, we have maintained ourselves in that state of alert and permanent vigilance, which had been organised from the first moment.

All the facts related above show without a shadow of a doubt that it is a question of a criminal provocation against the political prisoners with a view of perpetrating a massacre and of presenting it as an "incident" with the criminal prisoners. An action on such scope could not have been realised under the sole responsibility of the prison director. It is a question of a terrorist political act against the political prisoners, their families, the students and the masses in general, led by the government, to reply to the growing campaign for the liberation of all the political prisoners, which is developing in the country and in the world. If this provocation has not led to a veritable massacre, it is because a great part of the political prisoners have acted with sufficient calm to prevent that the authorities go to the extreme of their criminal objective.

The political prisoners have already denounced on previous occasions, the murderous intentions of the government against them. This denunciation has been taken up by the workers and student organisations, by the intellectuals in the entire world and acted upon. The present provocation has been prepared for a long time with a campaign of newspaper reports against the political prisoners, which was printed under the pretext of a hunger strike, which a numerous group of comrades of cell block C and M have been carrying out for weeks. Only two days ago, the paper 'La Prensa' published a communique, said to be in the name of all the criminal prisoners, but only signed by the heads of the cell block, the hirelings of the leadership, who have been

at the head of this aggression under the direct orders of brigadier-general Andres Puentes Vargas. In this so-called communique, they attacked the political prisoners. This was the immediate preparation of the criminal provocation which followed. It is one of the numerous proofs of the premeditation with which it was organised. During all the attack, general Puentes Vargas and his subordinates did not at any moment lose control of the situation. Each action of the criminal prisoners was made under their orders, from the aggression up to the sackings and to the provocations of the last 24 hours.

This attack was also prepared by a press campaign by journalists of the Presidency, like the policeman Ernesto Julio Tessier who wrote in "Novedades" an entire column of slanders and lies and threats against the political prisoners. In this moment the leadership of the prison is in the hands of general Renato Vega Amador, chief of the preventive police of the Fed-

deral district. He maintains the hands of criminal prisoners armed and free to roam throughout all the prison. The prison is surrounded by the "granaderos" and the other forces of repression.

The political prisoners do not ask for any protection from the government, which has executed the massacres of Tlatelolco, who daily represses all the Mexican people by means of the most infamous methods, which threatens us constantly with the murder of our families (as the threats received from the so-called red berets of Netzahualcoyotl testify). We ask nothing of this government, which has just shown itself capable of reaching the stage where it bases its repression on criminal bands of prisoners—the same who maintain the majority of the prisoners of this prison under terror—and of putting at the head of these bands, a general of the nation. We expect nothing from a government

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Class, Party & Leadership in this phase of the World Revolution

J. POSADAS APRIL 1967

The following short text of comrade Posadas has been taken from the April 1967, course on the Workers States of the first school of cadres IV International of April 1967. In a very concentrated and clear form in this fragment, comrade Posadas makes a didactic and profound analysis of the relation between the class, party and leadership in this phase of the world revolution, developing the thought of the preceding masters of marxism on this problem. We make an appeal for the study of this brief text and the application of its teachings in relation to the present tasks of the class and revolutionary struggle in Britain and the world (the title is that of the editorial board).

The difference, the similarity, the fusion between class, party and leadership is a function of the phase of the class struggle. The party is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history. The leadership is the force which organises and directs this consciousness, directs it as an instrument. The class orientates itself and seeks the solution of history in an empirical way without organism, without party. From their experience in daily life, but particularly and fundamentally through their function in the economy, the class is acquiring the ideas about, and security in collectivisation, and from this the base of communist consciousness arises. The worker mass is won to communism through its function in society and in the economy, feels the mutual dependence, collective dependence in production, which gives its collective consciousness of production, which is the centre of life. To the extent that the class struggle increases, extends, elevates itself, to the extent that the masses participate, lead and direct, and resolve, and take power, they increase their power of understanding, historic power and organisation. Then their capacity for intervention in history increases, they take consciously under the most elevated forms, the aims and objectives of history, and this abbreviates the distance between the conscious leaderships and the masses, acting unconsciously. For this reason the distances between class, party and leadership, between the instruments of the masses and the class struggle is diminished. And the class struggle requires scientific organisation of the struggle, which demands also specific activity. This means dedicating oneself to the specific tasks of daily activity, to understand all the phenomena to organise action. This is indispensable for a whole historic period. But while before, this capacity was remote from the rest of the masses, today the two elements draw near, historic distance is reduced, convergence is elevated and in consequence the process of fusion accelerates, dynamising the process of history.

This is the essential reason for which there is a concentrated and centralised process. It is not the crisis of capitalism, which produces this; it is only one of the causes. Basically it is the historic elevation of the masses who learn daily from the revolution, daily concentrate their capacity, extend it, place themselves in communication by means of the experience of the class struggles, and thus gradually shorten the distances between class, party and leadership.

Between class, party and leadership there exists an identity in the conclusions and the objectives (even if the means are not the same). It is the identity of aims, which places in communication class, party and leadership. And so that the party might have an influence over the class, the militant, the cell, the functioning in the places of activity, of life and work is necessary. Then the party influences the masses, elevating its confidence, organising it, not elevating the combative will, but elevating the consciousness of how to act, of how to organise their strength. And the party receives from the class the ineradicable will to struggle, its capacity for action, its dynamism, its capacity to intervene in time. Thus historic links are established in that the distance between class, party and leadership, without its being suppressed, is reduced. In the same way that in China automatically, they are eliminating in the army, the difference between soldiers and officers. It is the beginning of the coming together between class, party and leadership. Previously this condition did not exist, it is not an automatic, identical or rectilinear process. But now this process exists in history.

News of the campaign for the prisoners in Mexico, from France and Britain

We repeat our appeal to the British working class, to the students and intellectuals to continue and to intensify the campaign for the release of the trotskysts and all the political prisoners in Mexico. We publish below certain very important declarations by workers and students organisations in France and Britain. As the report, which we publish from the Commission of the Political Prisoners states, the government is preparing new attacks against the prisoners after the failure of its last provocation. Only the world force of the revolution, the organised action of the world masses,

the world campaign of the IV International, has prevented their murder up till now. It is necessary to act as the students of Mexico acted, after the attack on the prisons became known; tens of thousands of students all over the country struck for several days, making the government feel the strength of the opposition, of the Mexican exploited masses, to the murderous plans of the government backed by the CIA. It is necessary to take resolutions in all the organisms of the class and students, and send them to Diaz Ordaz, Government Palace, Mexico.

TELEGRAM FROM THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE TO PRESIDENT DIAZ ORDAZ

WE PROTEST ENERGETICALLY AGAINST THE VIOLENT PROVOCATION WITHIN LECUMBERRI PRISON. WE DEMAND GUARANTEE, SECURITY AND IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

TELEGRAM FROM THE FRENCH CGT TO DIAZ ORDAZ

The Confederation Generale du Travail expresses the emotion of the French workers following conditions of 91 trade unionists and democrats compelled to hunger strike since the 10th December, and demands the immediate liberation of the prisoners.

L'Humanite, the organ of the French CP in its 17th of January issue commented on the trip of the lawyer Jacobi from the league of the rights of man to the trial of the Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno and Teresa Confrera, mentioning them by names and saying they were trotskysts.

FORMATION IN MEXICO OF "CTTEE FOR LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS"

A national committee of struggle for the immediate liberation and unconditional liberation of all the political prisoners, has just be set up by intellectuals, priests, workers and students, on the 15th of January at a meeting held at the University City of Mexico.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE AND TELEGRAM FROM LAWRENCE DALY OF THE N.U.M.

On the 1st January 1970, a number of visitors were allowed into Lecumberri Prison in Mexico City to visit workers, including Socialists, Communists and Trotskyists, and others who had been imprisoned for political activities. At the end of visiting time, the visitors were not allowed to leave and, at about 8.30 p.m., the prisoners heard the screams of women and children.

When all the political prisoners arrived in the central corridor of the gaol they saw, coming towards them, a mob of common prisoners armed with iron bars and knives, led by drunk and drugged prisoners working in alliance with the wardens. The prison Governor led the whole group and gave the instruction for an attack on the political prisoners. The common prisoners entered the political prisoners' cells, in which they had sought to take refuge, and ransacked the cells and assaulted the prisoners. Two of the political prisoners are badly wounded and several of them have very bad concussion. These men are afraid that this kind of attack will be repeated and I wish therefore, in my personal capacity, to protest publicly against the maltreatment of these prisoners, and to demand the release of all political prisoners in Mexico, and the granting to them of full democratic rights.

In addition, I call upon all those who believe in political and civil liberties to protest to the Mexican Ambassador in London and to the President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico.

Lawrence Daly,
Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers

To: President Diaz Ordaz,
Government Palace, MEXICO CITY.

Strongly protest attacks against political prisoners Lecumberri Prison 1st January this year. Demand release of all political prisoners and grant full democratic rights.

Lawrence Daly,
Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN

LECUMBERRI. Cond. from page 3

which resorts to methods of assassination and sacking, to intimidate us and through this the Mexican people. This government must know that it does not intimidate us, that we are continuing our struggle and that it is responsible before the people of Mexico and before the world for these crimes and these methods, similar to those with which they daily repress the masses of the country, beating, murdering, and sacking the places of the workers and peasants.

The political prisoners of Mexico address themselves to the workers, students, peasants, housewives, to the workers of all the countries of the world so that they denounce these criminal proceedings. We denounce the fact that this provocation has been solely a general rehearsal, and that new attacks are being prepared. We denounce the preparation of a massacre silently organised and of new measures of repression against the political prisoners of Lecumberri. We denounce the government and the President of the Republic himself as the exclusive organiser. We denounce in this massacre the prolongation

of the trial and the monstrous and fraudulent sentences by which they have kept us arbitrarily in prison. Before the failure of this trial and sentences whose objective was to terrorise the masses and the political prisoners themselves and because we have continued the struggle, they prepare now a collective murder as a means of intimidation against all the Mexican people.

We appeal for a denunciation of all these facts by every means, through all the worker, student, peasant and popular organisations of Mexico and the world. We appeal for mobilisations in defence of the lives of the political prisoners of Mexico, to stop the constant aggression and provocations and to demand the immediate and unconditional liberation of all the political, trade union and peasant prisoners of the country.

The commission of the Political Prisoners of Cell Block N
Victor Rico Galan, Francisco Colmenares,
Eduardo Fuentes de la Fuente, Fabio Barbosa, C Catalan
Lecumberri Prison 2 Jan 1970

LIBYA: From page 2

ates considerably the pre-occupation. The masses see teaching as collective, their elevation and application also as collective. This combination of work and study elevates the intervention, allows those who want to talk, to work.

One must combine teaching and analysis, with the conclusions and experiences of the revolutionary struggle, with the class and revolutionary struggle, with the history of the working and revolutionary movement, with the masses' struggles against capitalism and feudalism, and the peasants' struggle against the big landowners, the history of the organisation of the Workers States. These two teachings go together, cannot be separated. So, the masses can see its immediate and practical utilisation. Assimilation is rendered more rapid thanks to participation.

Then, literacy combines itself in a natural manner with direct intervention in the class and revolutionary struggle, in order to solve the problems of the soil, of production etc... Then, the masses understand rapidly how their 'right' is the consequence of their struggle, how 'democracy' is only a temporary stage of history. They see how it is possible to organise the economy and society in order to answer all their needs, starting from the fraternal feelings, from consciousness,

which are the bases of human relationships.

It is possible to attain all these objectives and the Libyan masses are in process of imposing some measures in this direction.

The axis of this intervention is the struggle against private property, which is the source of all struggles, of economic backwardness, of lack of confidence, that the masses can have in the future. In fact, the regime of private property, of private distribution, prevent from gaining such a confidence. It leaves everyone alone with a feeling of helplessness. It creates a feeling of dependence, of insecurity in the days to come, because everyone depends on himself, and not on the strength of all.

One must show how the creation of feelings, ideas, the level of consciousness, are the result of social relations and, one must show the limitations of the human capacity by private property, in order to dominate history and life. There are thousands of examples to give to show and make this understood, and in the same time, how in Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam, and, today, in Libya, and in the Middle East, the revolution, the communist purity and morale are irreplaceable instruments for the triumph over all this inheritance from the past.

EDITORIAL CONT FROM PAGE 1

before did not exist, because neither on a world or national scale were the conditions for the world socialist revolution so advanced as now. It is possible to do this now. The Young Socialists show quite clearly the objective need for the new programme and the new leadership. The fundamental basis for the cadres in the Labour Party, CP etc. is to realise that the world socialist revolution changes all the traditional relations in the unions, LP etc., there is no need to be afraid of fights and struggles in the LP. On the contrary, the emergence of a fighting revolutionary wing in the LP, the conduct of a strenuous battle in the Communist Party on the basis of a revolutionary programme, to expose and defeat the right wing, will not confuse or decentralise the masses, but encourage them, and in turn the revolutionary current will gain in authority and confidence and prepare the way for the taking of power. In the usual run of electoral combats, the capitalists would hope to give credence and authority to the parliamentary game, so that no serious issues are discussed and all is safely held within parliamentary limits, but now the masses are intervening massively to take power, and it is possible to turn the electoral struggle into a struggle of ideas, methods, serious programmes, not simply attacking the class enemy outside the Labour Party, but the class enemy within the Labour Party, such as those who support zionism, support American imperialism in Vietnam, and putting forward the alternative anti-capitalist programme. And it is necessary that the developing revolutionary currents in the LP and the CP act not as an opposition in the LP, which is well behaved, but an opposition, which only regards the LP as a class instrument, and are prepared to appeal to the masses directly and fearlessly. But to do this it is necessary to understand the world situation as it is, to understand that what is happening in Ulster, that is the road to civil war and the overthrow of capitalism, is the consequence in part of the struggles of the British masses, and that Northern Ireland is as much the spirit of the British masses as of the Irish masses. All this facilitates the tasks of the revolutionary current in the Labour Party.

And to encourage the development of the revolutionary current in the LP, we appeal to the shop stewards meetings and the mass assemblies at Fords to elevate their programme of demands, to insist not only on their wage demands, but to im-

pose workers control, at Fords, to extend the struggle towards a national strike in the car industry, if necessary to secure their demands by occupations, appealing for the preparation of a general strike which can unite all the oppressed masses around a programme to meet all their demands for better conditions of life, education, housing etc., but above all to appeal to the LP, the CP and the TUC to discuss the need for a revolutionary programme on the lines of the young socialist resolutions. This really means to take full advantage of the strikes of the masses to impel the revolutionary sectors in the LP and the CP, so that a leadership is formed, which basing itself on the strength of the worker masses of Britain and the whole world, prepares the way for the taking of power. And we reaffirm our appeal to the young socialists, and the young communists, and the groups and sectors of Labour intellectuals to stimulate the current in the LP and the CP by raising all the problems of the revolutionary programme and methods, the unification of demands such as trade union democracy, all wages to rise with the cost of living, workers control, with demands for the expropriation of all the principle private sectors of the economy; the planning of the economy; which mean the taking of power, soviets, workers militias, workers government.

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:

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With the Party we
are everything.

TROTSKY

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the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
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LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

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VIVA THE
ADVANCE
OF THE
REVOLU
TION IN
LAOS

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 10° 25th February, 1970 Price 6d.

THE LESSON TO BE DRAWN FROM THE REJECTION OF THE FORD STRIKE, IS THE NECESSITY FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

The recent strike of the Ford workers shows clearly the present level of the class struggle in this country. The masses are objectively trying to impel the taking of power, to get rid of capitalism, and to instal a workers government in Great Britain. The masses show by their constant strike actions, demonstrations, mobilisations, the mobilisations of the petit bourgeoisie, the uprisings in Ulster, that they want to finish with capitalism, as they are showing in the whole of Europe. But they still do not have the leadership, the organisms, and the programmatic demands to unite the whole of the working class to carry this out. Undoubtedly the Ford workers have won a great economic victory gaining increases of between £4 and £5. 15. Od. a week, but the failure to strike was due to the lack of a programme which should have been put forward by the shop stewards which would have linked the vanguard sectors in Swansea and Halewood, with the rest of the Ford workers throughout the country, and which would have linked the economic demands being made, with demands for more control of the industry, the control of hiring and firing, control of the track speed and rhythms of work, a complete guaranteed wage, holidays on full pay, and the nationalisation of the car industry under workers control and without compensation.

The demand which the shop stewards were making for £10 a week and parity with Rootes could not have been won simply by strike action alone, and when the workers were offered 15% from the management without the need to strike the mass of them accepted this even though a great number didn't. The demand for a wage increase of £10 a week although economic, purely by its amount, takes on a revolutionary character; but the methods being posed to achieve it did not correspond. It was necessary to pose the occupation of the Ford factories, to keep the factories running under workers control, to open the books and to appeal to all the other car factories in the first instance, to come out on similar actions. All this would have lead inevitably to a raising of the programme beyond the economic issues.

Already the workers at Vauxhall have demanded new pay talks, to bring their pay up to the rates of the Rootes plant at Ryton, Coventry. And the strike of the Ford workers and their economic victory is and will be taken up by all the exploited sectors of the population in their fight for a better standard of life. Already

Con.d on page 11

LIST OF CONTENTS

	Page
EDITORIAL	1
GARAUDY, THE IDEA OF THE 'HISTORICAL BLOC' AND MARXISM	3
MEXICO: FOR THE SENDING OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY	6
THE PROGRAMME OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS WILL IMPEL THE STRUGGLE IN THE LABOUR PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE UNIONS FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP	7
LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND YOUNG COMMUNISTS OF BARCELONA	9
TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM SENT FROM THE P.O.R.(T) PERUVIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT ADDRESSED TO THE NATIONAL RADIO AND TO THE PAPER 'THE PERUVIAN'.	13

GARAUDY, THE IDEA OF THE "HISTORICAL BLOC" AND MARXISM.

This is a document written by the French comrades as a contribution to the discussion in preparation for the XIX Congress of the French Communist Party. The removal of Garaudy from the Central Committee of the PCF at the Congress shows the search by the leadership for a better contact and support from the Communist base against all the petit bourgeois and conciliatory pressures, of which Garaudy was an expression.

The position that Roger Garaudy defends in relation to the 'Historical bloc' is profoundly erroneous. There exists no 'historical bloc' and to talk of bloc is to consider the proletariat and the intellectuals as two different classes, each of them having a force, a capacity, a weight, an importance and social function that are identical or comparable, which is not the case; hence there cannot be any 'bloc' between the proletariat and the intellectuals. The latter are a tiny layer of the population.

When Garaudy speaks that way, he suggests that the proletariat brings the strength, and the intellectuals the intelligence and that, in consequence, the pair of them unite. The Party represents the proletariat, and the intellectuals can form with the Party a 'bloc'. So, the intellectual sells or bargains with his capacity. All this is totally false.

If an intellectual is won to the party and the revolution, he is no longer an intellectual, but an individual who is won to the ideas, the methods, the programme and the objectives of the proletariat. He ceases to be what class society calls an intellectual, and if the proletariat does not win the intellectual to itself, he (the intellectual) is lost. On the contrary, it is possible for the proletariat to make fronts with sectors of the exploited masses on such or such a precise objective, with some trends of the petit bourgeoisie for example. The intellectuals are part of this petit bourgeoisie, but Garaudy presents them as a layer having a historical, social, weight. He then makes the function of the intellectual what Burnham made it in the 'managerial society', that is to say, a specific function capable of determining socially, over the head of the class struggle.

In this way, Garaudy, does not see what the proletariat signifies: programme and methods of revolution, organisation and objectives of the revolution. He loses sight of the revolutionary methods starting from which the other layers must follow the proletariat, if they are to triumph. He diminishes the historical role of the proletariat which he supports only in speech. But, to say that the proletariat is the leading class and not to say which programme, which policy, which objectives can attract the rest of the exploited social layers behind it, has no value.

Contd. over

THE INTELLECTUALS HAVE NEITHER CONSCIOUSNESS NOR PROGRAMME OF THEIR OWN

Garaudy tries to elevate the intellectuals to the rank of 'class' and, for this reason, he speaks of 'bloc' implying that the intellectuals have a consciousness of their own. Elevating them to a category of 'class', he can then, put them on an equal plane with the proletariat for a common action, where they bring their capacity and intelligence, as a sector of the forces that decide in history. And it is for this reason that he writes that by "their own conviction, they reach comprehension". There is no such thing as this. The comprehension which the intellectuals reach, stems from the proletariat's struggle which attracts them, influences them, and consequently, wins them over to the revolution.

Garaudy develops all this theory in order to negate the independent revolutionary action of the Party, and his 'historical bloc' aims at lessening the historical confidence in the objective revolutionary role of the proletariat and in the objective necessity of the Revolutionary programme and of the revolutionary functioning of the Party. So, he wants to attenuate the subjection to the class struggle. However, the latter remains inexorable, and no 'historical bloc', no 'peaceful way' no semi-peaceful way of co-ordination of agreement with sectors of capitalism is of value for the taking of power. The taking of power is the result of an uncompromising class and revolutionary struggle.

Garaudy makes a defense of the category 'intelligentsia' that is a defense of himself. He wants to negotiate with the proletariat the inclusion of the intellectuals in the struggle for progress. This is why he speaks of 'bloc' or 'new bloc'. Nothing such as this exists.

If the intellectual does not follow the proletariat, if he does not allow himself to be guided, if he does not support himself on the revolutionary policy of the proletariat, what programme of his own can he offer? What are the objectives of the intellectuals in society? They are aware of their belonging to the exploited class, but how does this justify the existence of a 'bloc'? Can we imagine the teachers, who also are aware of belonging to the exploited class, demanding a bloc with the proletariat? It is absurd. All these layers of society have no fixed role in production. They are not the ones who decide in production. How can we then make them appear with an independent role? If in this stage the intellectuals see themselves engaged in some more energetic class actions it is due to the sharpening of the class struggle.

Can the intellectual use a particular method, different from the one of the proletariat? Which one? Absolutely no. When they want to advance, they must use the methods of the proletariat they must follow it, if not, they fail and stop.

Garaudy wants to make of the intellectuals a category, having an independent class weight, and which, on this basis would unite itself to the proletariat. He does not even refer any more to a layer between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but to a new exploited category! There does not exist any new category of that sort. The intellectual has always been exploited but an exploited one originating from the very roots from which exploitation begins, because he himself does not produce in a direct way. His role in the economy is not production. He intervenes in a certain aspect of production, just as an employee does. It is not he who decides the production. So, his attitude is a semi independent one. It has always been such.

GARAUDY, THE IDEA OF THE 'HISTORICAL BLOC' AND MARXISM Contd.

One must analyse his (the intellectuals) role in production, and it is not enough to say: "he is exploited in the extent in which he does not possess his own means of production". In this way, a factory manager is also an exploited person, he is paid to maintain the discipline for capitalism to work. He is a wage earner, he does not possess the means of production. The important thing is to define the role of the intellectual in the economy, because it is this which determines the existence of classes and which decides too the leading role of the classes.

The intellectual is an exploited individual in the extent where his capacities are exploited, even if his appears in an independant manner, even if his qualities are applied in an independant manner. The proletariat, on the contrary, in order to develop its qualities, must do it in the factory, in the collective functioning. The intellectual develops himself, acts in an individualist way, which gives to him the consciousness of his own capacities, whilst the workers do not develop other than collectively. This is said, by a certain Karl Marx, a certain Lenin, and also, Leon Trotsky.

A CONCILIATORY POLICY OF ADAPTATION TO CAPITALISM

One must be Garaudy to say such stupidities, to present the intellectual as a new category. The aim of this operation is to justify his action between the necessary revolutionary policy of the Communist Party, and its conciliatory policies with capitalism. It is, in the final analysis a conciliation and a gesture of adaptation to capitalism, all this is completely false.

The attitude of Garaudy on this problem is the same as the one he adopted regarding Czechoslovakia, and the independence of Czechoslovakia. He invents societies, categories, and also, new historical functions like in the case of Czechoslovakia. Independence from what? It is so many lies! No Workers State is independant.

The Soviet Union utilises this historical necessity of life, which is the unification and inter-dependance of all the Workers States. But they utilise it in a bureaucratic manner and for their own profit. The historical basis is nevertheless correct. THERE DOES NOT EXIST ANY THING LIKE AN INDEPENDENT WORKERS STATE. If China was living independantly from the other Workers States, if the other Workers States did not exist, China would not exist either. The problem is not to utilise this need of inter-dependance. In the trade unionist movement, there is mutual support, solidarity, the support of the class. For the Workers State this must mean the same thing through planning. It is not a sector any more, or a category, a trade union or a party but a State. History starts from centralised forms, and in this way the unification on a world scale is realised.

The type of Garaudy's discussion stems from the conception of a new type of conciliation with what is left of capitalism which they call 'detached from imperialism' and with which it is possible to discuss and advance on some progressive considerations from the capitalist point of view. Such is their conception: a revolutionary conception in order to reach socialism. Such is the form that evolutionism takes today, a mere adaptation and reformism. This is why Garaudy speaks so much nonsense about the intellectuals becoming a new category.

When one speaks of classes, of social sectors, one must speak of their function in the economy. What is the function of the intellectuals? Under which form does the intellectual sell his production to capitalism. In the Factory? No. In an independant manner. The more intelligent he is the more valuable he becomes. The workers, on the contrary cannot do that. He is subjected to a given factory, and a given product goes through the hands of hundreds of workers. In the intellectuals

THE PROGRAMME OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS WILL IMPEL THE STRUGGLE IN THE LABOUR PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE UNIONS FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP.

It is not by chance that the resolutions for the Labour Party Young Socialists at the Morecombe Conference are Trotskyist in character and are posing the need for the revolutionary programme to overthrow capitalism. The struggle of the British and Irish masses is designed to impel the revolutionary sectors in the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the unions to take power. For a whole period in strike after strike, the masses have vanquished capitalism forcing it to make enormous wage concessions and thereby throwing its whole functioning into disorder. But still the struggle has remained on the level of industrial conflict, although in fact the extent and depth of the struggle to improve the conditions of the masses, the defence of the rights of the unions is clearly one aimed at the overthrow of the whole putrefying social order. It is inevitable that the tremendous struggles of the masses more and more demand a clear and comprehensive programme, a more and more elevated political consciousness among the vanguard to open the way to overthrow imperialism and capitalism.

Among the resolutions of the Young Socialists are posed all the basic demands for the expropriation of the capitalist economy and the establishment of a Workers State. These demands include the nationalisation of industry, nationalisations of banking and insurance, nationalisation of the land, wages to rise with the cost of living, education to be placed under the control of the masses, work sharing without loss of pay, workers committees to inspect the books, workers control of the nationalised industries, elimination of private interest in the health service, withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland, organisation of workers defence committees in Ireland, a programme of public works in Ireland to meet problems of unemployment, housing etc, for a socialist United Ireland, for a United Socialist States of Europe, for a Socialist International. Resolutions also show an awareness of the impact of the world socialist revolution, referring to the significance of the emergence of the "Alliance for Labour" in the USA, etc.

The emergence of this programme shows all the weakness of capitalism in this stage and entirely confirms the analysis of 'interior entrism' made by Posadas and the IV International. In the past the Labour Party apparatus has conducted a long struggle against Trotskyist ideas and has been able to take advantage of the sectarianism and misunderstanding of the old ex-trotskyists teams but such is the weakness of the apparatus now that it cannot take measures against the appearance of these ideas at the base of the Labour Party. And they appear when all the relation of forces is against the line of capitalism and the Labour Government.

We appeal for a full discussion of this programme throughout all the organisations of the masses, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the trade unions, the shop stewards committees,

THE PROGRAMME OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS Contd

and a discussion of the methods to be used to implement this programme. It is imperative that the struggle within the organisations of the class, particularly the L.P. and the Trade unions and the Communist Party is seen to be dialectically inter connected with the course of the struggle of the masses in the factories, the struggle of the masses to improve their standard of life. And to impel the struggle for power, to impel the revolutionary leadership in the L.P. the trade unions, and the C.P. it is necessary that the great struggles of the masses are brought to fruition with the organisation of general strikes, factory occupations, imposition of workers control, organisation of factory committees and mass assemblies which impose dual power in the factories. And all these revolutionary methods must be accompanied by appeals for the imposition of the programme.

Programme and methods cannot be isolated. But for this enormous process to be brought to a conclusion it is necessary to impel a fighting leadership in the L.P. the unions and the C.P. The problem as analysed by Trotsky and now Posadas, the continuator of the ideas of Trotsky in this epoch is that of the development of the conscious leadership to take power.

The Labour Party is notoriously inert when it comes to ideas, programme, methods. British imperialism over a long period has tried to emasculate it, preventing the free discussion of ideas but the relations of forces no longer allow imperialism to play this role. Similarly for example in the French and Italian Communist Parties, the life that the policies of Stalinism imposed led to a dead hand of inertia and routinism, but now the objective conditions external to the party and the weakening of all the conservative forces of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy allow the opportunity for a renewal of the organisations of the masses. The subjective conditions clearly lag behind the objective necessities of the situation, nevertheless the programme of the Young Socialists announce a new process at work in the Labour Party. And the struggle for the revolutionary programme is the way to replace traditions of organisational routinism. A dynamic programme inevitably conditions a dynamic organisational activity, a renovation of the Labour Party, and Communist Party organs etc.

We appeal to the Young Socialists to develop a dynamic and vigorous activity to impel the programme they have put forward for the Morecombe Conference, and to impel a struggle for this programme in the Labour Party, to develop publications which fearlessly put forward the programme of the revolution, and explain the relation of this programme to the whole course of the world socialist revolution. And we appeal to the Young Socialists to stimulate the Communist vanguard in rebellion against the Communist Party leadership and in addition impel discussions among the intellectual and student sectors all with the idea of developing the new leadership in the Labour Party. The world and national process is concentrating itself more and more, the imperative necessity is to meet this concentration with a new leadership which will respond to the needs of the masses to take power.

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We are publishing below, an article taken from LUTTE COMMUNISTE organ of the P.O.R. (T) French Section of the IV International, on the United Front between the P.O.R.(T) Spanish Section of the IV International, and the Young Communists of Barcelona:-

LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND YOUNG COMMUNISTS OF BARCELONA

We salute with immense revolutionary joy the formation of the United Front of the P.O.R.(T) Spanish Section of the IV International, and the Young Communists of Catalonia acting together for the overthrow of the capitalist regime, and for the struggle based on the programme of the socialist revolution.

It is the result of a historic process that is going on throughout the world, and the elevation more and more of currents and sectors within the Communist Parties who are for a communist revolutionary policy and the struggle for socialism, creating the conditions, for a bringing together for a United Front, for a common functioning with the IV International. In Italy, in Argentina, in Uruguay, very many actions have already taken place, in the United Front between the Trotskyists and Communists. In France the United Front with the vanguard of the Young Communists is maturing rapidly.

We salute the incessant action which is being developed by the Spanish Section of the IV International for the socialist revolution in Spain, inspite of all the repression, and the conditions of clandestinity.

We demand the immediate release of Francisco CUADRADO condemned to 8 years in prison. Liberty for all the Trotskyist and Communist militants, and for all of the political and trade union prisoners in Spain.



TO ALL THE WORKERS
AND THE PEOPLE OF
BARCELONA.



In different parts of Spain and principally among combative Asturian people, there is developing a conscious workers struggle, for concrete demands, for amnesty and for a Socialist Democracy. In Barcelona also assemblies are being held, workers at the S.E.A.T. are making strikes; and the workers of Maquinista have been repressed for their courageous struggle by massive dismissals. There have also been the struggles of Pegaso, different struggles in Indo, Vanguard, Cispalsa, on the railways and in other sectors of industry.

Contd page 10

The working class is struggling together for a minimum wage of 350 pesetas a day, for a 40 hour week, for a class trade union, for the election of delegates by the workers in mass assemblies, for free speech, and for a socialist democracy.

WE APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRIKERS! Economic and political solidarity through militant actions in the factories; through work stoppages, collections of funds to help the families of prisoners, and for bail, for demonstrations.

In order for the vanguard to push forward the solidarity we appeal for assemblies to discuss the forms of solidarity, to form commissions where everything is decided on the basis of democratic elections, with the right of immediate recall. We appeal for solidarity with the strikers for these demands:-

For a 50% increase in all wages,
A sliding scale of wages
For 48 hours pay for 40 hours work
For an ending of overtime without decreases in wages
For workers control of the speed of work
For the incorporating of bonuses into the wages
For the right to hold meetings in the factories
For a class Trade Union
For democratic rights
For liberty for all political and trade union prisoners!

WE CALL ALL THE PEOPLE OF BARCELONA TO THE STRUGGLE!
FOR A CLASS TRADE UNION! FOR AN AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
FOR AN END TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF FRANCO AND HIS SUCCESSOR JUAN CARLOS!
FOR A SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY!
AGAINST SACKINGS, LOCKOUTS, THE WAGE FREEZE. PEOPLE OF BARCELONA ALONE WE ARE NOTHING, UNITED WE ARE ALL!

IN THE FIGHT TILL THE FINAL VICTORY.

Barcelona 23.1.70

The Young Communists of San Martin District,

P.O.R.(T) Spanish Section of the IV International.

LONG LIVE THE SPANISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!
LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE TROTSKYISTS, AND YOUNG COMMUNISTS!

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the teachers on strike are comparing the gains of the Ford workers to the amount which they are demanding, and as after the Ford strike of 1969 which led to an enormous spate of strike actions throughout the country, so this economic gain of the Ford workers will impel more and more sectors to come out and confront capitalism. The clerical workers in the Post Office, the seamen who have rejected 15% all will base themselves on the Ford workers gains, and will bargain with capitalism, knowing that capitalism is weak now. To give between £4 and £5.15. a week increase is not a sign of strength from capitalism, but it is sign that they were desperately afraid of the consequences of a strike throughout the industry, and made a last desperate attempt to buy the strike off. For a time they have succeeded but the workers from Swansea and Halewood, only returned on the basis that the management regard this payment as a downpayment towards parity with the Rootes workers. All this shows a change in the balance of forces between capitalism and the working class, where now the workers can get a wage increase of 15% without strings, and still not be satisfied, and the management have to agree to the talks on parity. This is the same situation all over Europe, from the French Revolutionary General Strike where the masses gained both economically and socially from the hundreds of strikes and occupations, to the latest round of strikes and demonstrations in Italy, where the workers have been on strike for new pay contracts, capitalism is weakening, it is rapidly losing the remains of its social base and more and more the working class is taking the initiative, impelling the advance of a new political leadership in the Communist Parties.

As after the Ford strike in 1969, when there was a great crisis inside the unions involved, when middle cadres and some leaders who had refused to support it were pushed from positions, so now again this process will take place. There was obviously much discussion throughout the whole union apparatus, on the question of the strike, from the rank and file who turned out at mass meetings to vote for or against the strike, through the middle cadres up to the executive committee of the unions, who whilst congratulating and supporting the strikes at Swansea and Halewood, did not make the strike official (this was the position of the AEF). This process obviously went on in the T.G.W.U. which was itself urging the Swansea workers to go back to work. The position which the union leaderships take over the mass meetings is weak and gives no lead to the masses. It is true that the masses have won the right and are now able in the biggest unions to hold mass meetings to decide whether to strike or not, but the role of the union leaders now is to give clear orientations at these mass meetings, not only putting the positions of the management, and the unions positions, but putting forward a perspective of what could be gained by an offensive by the working class, by putting forward points of the anti-capitalist programme.

It is necessary to wage a discussion in the shop stewards committees, in the union branches, in the trades councils, in the local and district trade union organisations, in order to make a balance of the Ford strike. And in order to see the way forward more clearly in the next round of confrontations between capitalism and the working class. There is a tremendous lack of any Marxist tradition in this country, where there is almost no political discussion in the branches of the Labour Party, and where most of the discussion in the Trade Unions branches are centred on purely economic matters. It is necessary for the National Shop Stewards Committee of the Ford workers to organise meetings to discuss the way forward now, seeing that the economic gains they have won will soon be consumed by the increasing cost of living, and that the only way for the masses to gain a better standard of living is to finish with capitalism and install a Workers State. But how is this to be done? A programme is needed to take the struggle at Fords from the economic to a political plane, disputing with the management the rights of who owns and controls inside the factory, disputing with capitalism and putting forward an anti-capitalist

programme, for a better standard of life, better housing, better education for the children of the working class, (not just to teach them sufficient to be of use to capitalism, but to educate them for the benefit of humanity), for a better public transport system, a better health service. All these are problems which must be discussed: the discussions must pass from the factories to the trade union branches, to the Labour and Communist Parties. Already in the Labour Party Young Socialists many of these essential problems are being discussed and class solutions are proposed in the Resolutions to the Y.S. Congress. (Dealt with more fully in a separate article). And we appeal to the Shop Stewards Committees of the Ford factories to read these resolutions, to discuss with the Y.S. militants of the Labour Party, to organise discussions at the T.U. branches with Y.S. members who support the best of the resolutions, - resolutions which are completely anti-capitalist - in order to spread the programmatic level reached in the Y.S. through the whole of the Labour movement.

This situation in the Labour Party where a whole sector of the youth of the party is pushing forward a trotskyist anti-capitalist programme within the Party, is similar to the position in the Communist parties of France and Italy, etc. and has been analysed by Cde. J. Posadas as "interior entrism" where parts of the transitional programme, and anti-capitalist demands of the Trotskyists, are taken up by sectors of the mass parties and are fought for within by their own members. This is what is happening in Italy, and France with enormous discussions going on in the Communist Parties, with a differentiation taking place between the rightist sectors of the parties, and those sectors who respond more to the needs of the masses, and in the near future we will see this taking place more clearly in the Labour Party.

The whole world situation is advancing rapidly towards the final settlement of accounts between world imperialism and the Workers States and world socialist revolution. This is seen most clearly in the Middle East, with the new aggressive attacks of the Israelies, as a base of Yankee imperialism in the Middle East, bombing Egyptian workers, and with the attempt of King Hussain to regain control in Jordan. But the replys of the Egyptian masses after the bombing demanding that Nasser take reciprocal actions against Israel, and the mass uprising in Jordan, where for three days the guerrilla groups were in complete control of Amman shows that the masses are not terrorised by these acts but that in fact they feel impelled by these to push forward the struggle even faster and in a more harmonious way, all the time seeing the struggle in Vietnam, Latin America, the Middle East as linked together in the same process. At the same time U.S. Imperialism becomes more and more desperate to regain control in the heart of US. Imperialism. The fact that enormous sectors of the population completely ignore, dispute and do everything they can to disrupt, and smash the capitalist system, could be seen recently in the trial and judgements made in the cases against the "Black Panthers", and their lawyers.

It is in this situation where the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, and of the masses on a world scale are confronting capitalism with ever increasing confidence, that we appeal to the Labour movement in this country to discuss and adopt a programme for the overthrow of British capitalism. At the moment when the question of the British entry into the Common Market is again under discussion, it is necessary to oppose this entry which is only to strengthen a sector of capitalism, by proposing an alternative, the socialist unification of all the countries of Europe, beginning with an anti-capitalist European Trade union centre, and with a unification of the workers struggles throughout Europe.

struggles throughout Europe.

We make an appeal to the masses in the Labour Party, in the T.U.'s in the Communist Party, to make a discussion on the basis of the resolutions to be put to the Y.S. Congress. These resolutions cover the majority of the needs of the masses, health, education, transport, unemployment, a basic living wage,

We appeal to Tribune, to give these resolutions publicity by publishing them in the paper, and allowing Young Socialist members to write on these resolutions in Tribune.

We call for discussion throughout the Ford factories, on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, linking the demands of the workers in the factories, to the resolutions of the Y.S. and the discussion which is going on in the Labour Party for the anti-capitalist programme, and the leadership which will push it forward.

TELEGRAM FROM THE P.O.R.(T)

PERUVIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENT ADRESSED
TO THE NATIONAL RADIO AND
TO THE PAPER 'THE PERUVIAN'

"We reject the campaign organised by the oligarchic imperialist press against the nationalist movement of the country. We support the common declaration of the unions of 'EXTRA' and 'EXPRESSO' on the statute on the liberty of the press. We call for nationalisation of all the press, radio, television under workers control. For a united anti-imperialist front, for a single class and revolutionary T.U. centre and for a workers party based on the trade unions.

Revolutionary Salutes,
Editorial Committee of Vox Obrera
Organ of the P.O.R.(T).

(This text has been read over the National Radio in the course of all its broadcasts during several days.)

OUR PROGRAMME

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

ON SALE NOW :-

THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS, THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYISTS, THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS DURING AND AFTER THE NUCLEAR WAR."

J. POSADAS.

12.4.65.

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 109

10th March, 1970

Price 6d.

IMPEL THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WING IN THE LABOUR PARTY BY THE FULL DISCUSSION OF THE PRO- GRAMME OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The centraliation of the forces of the world socialist revolution and those of the world counter revolution is demonstrated by all the most recent events. The extension of the war in Laos, the intensification of the war in the Middle East the visit of Pompidou to Nixon - trying to strengthen the war alliance despite the chronic contradiction between French and American imperialism particularly in the Middle East - all show that despite the game of conciliatory gestures, the inexorable process leading to the final encounter advances and concentrates itself. The attempt of Brandt and sectors of German capitalism to develop relations with East Germany, the attempt to balance between Imperialism and the Workers States, has no perspective in itself but shows up the defeatism which overtakes sectors of capitalism in this stage of history, the lack of a consistent centralisation within the camp of imperialism. German capitalism is not able to break from NATO.

The context of the world disintegration of the imperialist and capitalist system shows the significance of the crisis of imperialist "defence" policy debated by the leaders of the Tory and Labour Parties. These discussions show all the fears of Imperialism and all the impasse of capitalism. The Tories try to exert a pressure for a policy of more and more men, other sectors, even conservative sectors in the Labour Party show their fears of all the implications of immediate nuclear war, with no possibility of containing this. And on the other hand a solid block of Labour M.P.'s voted against the nuclear policy. The discussion over nuclear policy taking place as it does against the background

Contd page 12

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LIST OF CONTENTS

Editorial	1
The Development of the Trade Unions, their Function and the Right to Strike, in the Development of a Workers State and the construction of Socialism J. Posadas. 22.10.68	3
Letter from a Peasant in Doffar about the Peoples Liberation Front of the Arabian Gulf	15
Greetings to the new Ecuadorian Section of the IV International	18
The C.P. and Y.C.L. must support the resolutions of the L.P.Y.S. to impel the Revolutionary Wing in the Labour Party	21

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE UNIONS, THEIR FUNCTION, AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WORKERS STATE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. Posadas. 22 Oct '68

The right to strike should not be lost in a Workers State. It should be retained, except in war-time; but this is a rule made by the masses - when the Soviet Union was at war they did not strike.

Lenin always kept to the position that it was necessary to retain the right to strike in a Workers State. Trotsky, on the other hand, said that if the trade unions could become an obstacle during a certain period, then they should stop functioning as such, when this situation arose. Lenin said, "No, never" to this, "It would strengthen the bureaucratic tendencies". Workers in a Workers State sense when is the moment to strike and when not to. Moreover, a strike in a Workers State is an absurdity. The bureaucracy has to make concessions immediately; there is no reason why a strike situation should be reached. But the right to strike must be retained. If not, why should the trade unions remain in existence?

Trade unions should exist in a Workers State as the means, an instrument, of argument with the bureaucracy over the distribution of the national income. And as one of the fundamental bases on which the Workers State is built.

As I have said in other texts previously which refer to Ota Sik, he is someone who has gone to rot, who does not believe in the Workers State and who was not a founder of the Czech Communist Party; he is a technocrat who was incorporated into the Party later on. This man represents the height of the planners in the bureaucracy. He was trying to constitute a group, a tendency, that participating in the process of the economic development of the Workers State, would become the axis of the economy. This tendency planned to make use of the nationalised property, but extending its use, in the same way as occurs in the Kolkhoses but more extensively. It wanted to make far wider social use of state-owned property, for which there would have arisen inevitably, if the tendency had been successful, the need for forms of private property. It required a very long period to do this for regimes are not built according to the whims of people but as the result of their economic structure; only under socialism will there be conscious construction. This man was the expression of a tendency that is trying to go back to capitalism. And it can't, for the structure of a Workers State does not allow it to slip back to the legitimate forms of capitalism. But this tendency cannot just remain where it is, so it is trying to find an intermediary form of existence. Thus it tries to use state property in a looser way. It takes as a basis the examples of "self management" and the Kolkhoses. Its members have the bureaucratic mentality of those who seek to make use for themselves of the productive forces and the strength of society. But it is not possible to make use of state property for private purposes for a long period without provoking consequences in the State apparatus.

The Kolkhoses have not caused this reaction yet because they are not an essential centre of the economy. The State remains the buyer of their products. If this were not so they would have become a great pressure for private property. Their dependence on the State apparatus prevents this, for the capitalist cycle consists of investment, production and then commerce. And commerce cannot operate properly without free pricing. It is part of the capitalist cycle, and officially in a Workers State there is no free-pricing. It is allowed to occur for the individual production of the Kolkhosian finds its way on to the black market or is sold to the highest bidder. It goes to he who can pay most, and even though this occurs on a small scale, it is due to this circumstance that the bureaucracy has made certain free competition the accepted thing. This is why the problem of the Kolkhosian who is more interested in looking after his personal plot than in the general work of the Kolkhos has arisen. The big Kolkhosian is

Contd page 4

kind of capitalist, through not a real one because he cannot fully exploit the Kolkhos land for he cannot accumulate capital for himself. On a small scale he can accumulate, buying himself a car and a house - and household goods are accumulated property. They cannot be used as a currency that circulates, as the capitalist cycle requires. They cannot be used as a capital accumulation that can then be re-invested. But this in itself, though on a small scale if it is handed on as an inheritance is a form of circulating capital. They cannot hope to reach capitalism from this beginning, but this is a form in which the bureaucracy makes concessions to capitalism

The right to strike in the Soviet Union must be upheld intransigently. This does not mean that any strike is justifiable, but the right must remain intact. The reasons for a strike must be considered, to decide if it is justifiable. For example if in any factory the wage system is worked out by the manager in the last instance, there is a justifiable cause for a strike. Why should the manager say who earns what? The workers must discuss the matter, decide on the measures to be taken and fix a period of time by the end of which they must be observed. If they cannot strike they have no form of protest. To strike is one of the highest forms of protest. But in contrast with a strike in a capitalist state, in a Workers State it does not go against the economic structure of the state. Equally as the Political Revolution does not go against the economic structure of a Workers State, nor against the state-owned property relations. Such a strike does not intend to register dissent with the regime of nationalised property or its economic relations, but to share out the product of those relations better. The intention is not to overthrow the regime, or gain positions with this aim in mind, but to encourage its progress, by getting rid of the managers and planners and constituting Factory Committees. Thus these strikes are meant as an encouragement. The same thing can be done better in the medium of the Party.

This is what Lenin said when he discussed this point with Trotsky. Lenin spoke well of Trotsky's position but showed that it was an impossible one, for it allowed the bureaucrats - the State to make the decisions. Thus the State would be at the service of the bureaucrats and against the workers. For this reason it is necessary to preserve the independence of the trade union movement in the Workers States. This has never been modified, and there won't be any reason to modify it. Quite to the contrary. From the time of Lenin up till now the need for trade union independence in the Workers States has grown. The proximity of the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the revolution does not eliminate the need of such a relationship, but accentuates it instead. The need for the intervention of the trade unions is more pressing.

In the Workers States there is no Party with an organic life, a political life and publications. There is no real political life in the Party, and the proletariat tries to use the trade unions as a means of intervention. In the case of a strike the need not to damage the Workers State has to be borne in mind by the trade unions. If the Workers State is at war, for example, it is not the moment to strike. The proletariat does not go on strike at such a moment because it has far superior forms of encouraging the Workers State at hand, for it is at war against imperialism and capitalism. But in the case of an economic dispute, if harm is done to the state apparatus and it becomes paralysed, if it causes transitory effects that are of certain damage to the economy, the bureaucracy and not the proletariat is responsible.

The proletariat does not do anything - it does not take measures, demonstrate or make claims - that go against state-owned property and centralised planning of a Workers State, only against those who direct this. It is a very simple fact: the masses are not prepared to rise against a Workers State. Under the capitalist regime they are prepared to go against the state, as they do in Germany, France and Italy. The masses become more and more anti-capitalist in the strike there and form organisms that dispute the power with capitalism. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, only the national income and the administrators come into dispute in the strikes. Out with the managers! Out with planners! Out with administrators! This is what the strikes are all about. (When this man, Ota Sik supported the strikes it was because he used them as a means of interbureaucratic struggle which could be favourable to his tendency.)

This is not a new problem. The Trade Union Federation (Communist orientated world affiliation of trade unions) brought it up a long time ago. And the French trade unionists put forward the view that one has the right to strike

in any circumstance. We are against this. We said that in a Workers State the workers should go on strike as the means of bringing the distribution of incomes into dispute, but nothing more. Under capitalism they can always strike because it is one more means of overthrowing the capitalist system, but this is not applicable in a Workers State. This is Lenin's position. And his position is as valid now as in the epoch when he formulated it.

If proletarian democracy has been conquered there is no need to strike because things don't reach the strike stage. Proletarian democracy means that the functioning of the soviets solves the problems. The right to strike is retained without this meaning that it has to be used, for there are other forms of protest. In Lenin's time, even though the soviets functioned, he supported the independence of the trade unions and the right to strike. This was so even in his times. The right to strike should be retained as long as it is one of the ways of disputing with the bureaucracy the distribution of incomes. In the capitalist state the strike is a means of disputing the distribution of incomes, but also the means of organising the masses to overthrow the capitalist system. The first thing that the masses do is to build organs to dispute the private use of property. This is not so in a Workers State. It is simply the income that comes into dispute. The masses are not against the regime of nationalised property, a planned economy, a monopoly of foreign trade, of anti-imperialist policies. If proletarian democracy were in existence then soviets would be functioning. Thus strikes would be unnecessary. Everything would be settled through the soviets. But even in such a situation the right to strike should be retained. Why? Because the state apparatus, due to its functioning and structure linked to the capitalist system always tries to segregate and separate itself from the functioning of the rest of society and act as an instrument on its own. Strikes are a means of defence against just this; they are a defence against Party and state bureaucracy. This is why Lenin proposed that the trade unions should be independent of the state. The French, Italian and Belgian Communist trade unionists were all against this position, saying they were for the right to strike without discussion. And yet when there were strikes in the Workers States they were against them. They had not the education, experience, criteria nor formation of Marxist thought to judge. The texts of Lenin when the whys and wherefores of trade union independence were under public discussion in the Bolshevik Party must be read to understand. It was one of the richest and most beautiful discussions in the entire history of Bolshevism. Confronting a whole current that had the majority in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party which proposed the elimination of trade union independence and consequently of the right to strike, Lenin said, "No." "Independence for the workers movement and the right to strike". And he made fun of Trotsky and called him petit bourgeois. "Trotsky has taken a petit bourgeois position of protectionism of the Workers State." "Trotsky" said Lenin, "Is undoubtedly led on by revolutionary intentions wanting to encourage the Workers State. But to take the position he suggests is to accomplish exactly the opposite of his intentions and to favour the plans of the bureaucracy, when we are already committed to struggle against bureaucracy."

In normal conditions a strike does not present obstacles to a Workers State or hold its development back. In time of war a strike that is against the anti-imperialist policy of the workers state or now, against help in Vietnam for example, is a reactionary strike. But if the strike is about the distribution of incomes it does not have the same effect; This can be substantiated by the very successful strikes that have occurred in the Soviet Union. There have been strikes of thousands upon thousands that have forced the bureaucracy to free imprisoned workers, not to sack workers and to pay more. This was particularly so 6 or 7 years ago with the Vorkuta strikes which were an immense success and they had to re-admit all the workers and pay the wages they hadn't wanted to concede.

THE TRADE UNION AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE ARE PART OF THE WORKERS STATE IN TRANSITION

The sectors of the Communist Party bureaucracy of the Ota Sik type and capitalism try to make use of the right to strike in the Soviet Union as a means of blackmail. The workers have never done this. They have only used it to bring pressure on the bureaucracy and argue with it over the distribution of incomes.

But the problem has a different aspect: what is the aim, the objective pursued by the trade union in the Workers State? Why are there trade unions in the Workers State? Why are there trade unions in the Workers States? If there were no right to strike, what would the trade unions be for? The trade union is not a mass organisation in the abstract, for the defence of a sector or a group. It is an organisation that is part of the struggle for the Workers State.

In the dispute with the bureaucracy what instrument would the trade unions use to bring pressure on it. The strike? In a capitalist state the workers go on strike - and the right is all theirs - to advance their dominion over private property, to overthrow the capitalist system. And they prepare for this. In the Workers States the workers go on strike - if they are able to - to advance in the elimination of bureaucratic leadership and consequently in a relationship of dual power to the bureaucracy with the aim of imposing soviet functioning. If they were not to do this, how would the Political Revolution be carried through? If the bureaucracy were to just go and allow proletarian democracy or 'socialist democracy' - as Lenin called it - if the bureaucracy could be made to leave, then Political Revolution would be unnecessary. When the Political Revolution is necessary it means that in a determined moment there will be an armed confrontation. This is more important than a strike. If the Communist comrades believe that the strike is unnecessary in a Workers State, then the Political Revolution must seem to them unnecessary too for it has a more disrupting effect than a strike.

The Political Revolution is necessary and it can take place even just before or during the atomic war. Its form changes, and can change during the war, but the Political Revolution is always a forceful insurrection against the bureaucracy. In the different Workers States the span of the insurrection is different, but the Political Revolution can only be carried through with insurrection. This insurrection will have the sharpest political character, whether or not arms are used, whether or not blood is shed. It is very possible that in all cases blood will be shed, for the bureaucracy will defend itself. It has less and less means, but it will try to defend itself. And just as the Political Revolution is necessary so is the strike as part of the struggle for the Political Revolution.

When Lenin upheld the need for the independence of the trade unions and the right to strike, he did not speak of the need for a political Revolution because the proletariat still had not been expropriated of its historical function which gave it even more important possibilities. The question is how a strike is used. Up till now the Soviet masses have shown that they use it enough. Fascism could not draw a single inch of use in its benefit out of the Soviet masses. Within their legitimate rights the Soviet masses had accumulated a series of great historic and concrete claims against the bureaucracy when war broke out between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, and in the face of the Nazi invasion, the Soviet masses switched all their attention to defending the Workers State and crushed the Nazis. In this moment the historic capacity of the working class was demonstrated as never in any strike. In Vorkuta, on the other hand, it went on strike. And won. And not only there but in another 10 or 15 strikes. We are against the intellectuals' strike however. Their is not a legitimate or progressive strike. It is a strike for a reactionary right. We are against it and we have condemned it already elsewhere.

We also condemn the right for the intellectual to write what he likes. We are against this. Freedom of thought in a Workers State does not mean that one can write against the Workers State as such. The freedom of thought starts once the defence of the Workers State and the development of socialism have been accepted. With this in mind anything one likes can be written, though in a revolutionary way. Once this is accepted, it would be fine if 20,000 works were written! For thus it is possible to make a comparison of ideas, as Lenin says, and ideas of benefit to the Workers State result. These idiotic intellectuals want bourgeois freedom of thought to write what they like. This is why we are against this strike, and in our texts on Bratislava and later on Czechoslovakia we have condemned all this. Meanwhile there is a worldwide capitalist chorus that defends these intellectuals. In the same way we are against Evtuchenko and Padilla and we have criticised the Cuban Workers State for allowing Padilla to remain there. In full revolution there's a writer who writes of the life of a couple of petty bourgeois! Of what value to humanity is this life of a couple of petty bourgeois? It would be alright if it were the life of two petty bourgeois won for the revolution, being of use in showing how the force of the revolution wins over the petty bourgeoisie. But

even from the literary point of view this type of work is not necessary. Life is greater than what this man writes of. He has written the life of a hesitating, vacillating petty bourgeois full of doubts. He has written this in a Workers State! What has it got to do with the progress of the revolution? This is for those who are outside the reaches of the revolution.

More important than the defence of the right to strike in the Workers State is the right of the trade unions and the soviets to function independently of the state. There must be proletarian democracy or socialist democracy - really the word is "proletarian" and not "socialist", for socialism has no need of democracy. Democracy is a relation determined by the use of property. When people are no longer tied by the use made of property, the economy and its products, what democracy will be necessary? What rights will there be? A man has rights according to his relation to other humans. His relation to other humans is fixed by his position in the economy, the economy of a property regime and the objective development that this reaches - free trade, liberalism, imperialism, monopolies, dictatorship, war and then socialism. All this is determined by the economy. The regime, its ideas and relations - whether they should be democratic or socialist - are governed by this conclusion.

More important than both trade union independence and the right to strike is proletarian democracy and the functioning of the soviets, without which trade union and striking rights cannot be obtained. The demand to make then is "proletarian democracy and soviets". Thus the problem of the right to strike gets settled, for there is no need to strike any more: the workers have better means of advance.

Intervention in the Communist movement where discussion of these problems is under way must be made with our texts, in which we deal with trade union independence, the right to strike and proletarian democracy. To understand all these problems the fact that the Workers State is a contradictory organism must be considered to start with. Its historic contradiction is that although its structure, regime and economy are fundamentally based on nationalisation, which consequently makes possible the elimination of capitalism - of capitalist reproduction and development - and gives it the fundamental element destructive to the capitalist system, the functioning of this same state that suppresses the capitalist does not suppress the force to reproduce capitalism which is the wage system. In a Workers State there exist social relations determined by the wage system. It is not just the wage system but all the constant reproduction of capitalism that the wage system brings with it. What system of defence must be adopted to gradually eliminate the capitalist reproduction from this contradiction and put the Workers State firmly on the road to socialism. The answer is organisms with a social functioning. And what are these organisms? Soviets; and in the soviet the element that makes the soviet work: proletarian democracy. Different sectors of the population (which is still grouped together according to the function of each person in the economy) must have the opportunity to bear weight and enter in the decisions taken through the functioning of proletarian democracy in the soviets; this is why trade unions are necessary.

Contd page 8

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The contradictory character of a Workers State is not purely nominal; it is socially contradictory aspect of the state that brings about a constant reproduction of capitalism. But when there was only one Workers State is was one historic condition, and now that there are 16 Workers States it is another. This contradiction has not the strength now to lead to a return to capitalism. The historic conditions have been created by now that show that capitalism cannot take back what it has lost any more. But it can still generate conditions and forces that make the attempt to go back to capitalism, going against and tending to annul the existence and structure of a Workers State. This is what Ota Sik was doing. Capitalism cannot hope to recuperate what it has lost now, but it can produce an Ota Sik. In this capitalism is trying to find a new form of economy empirically, for capitalism neither knows or understands what is to come.

The economic structure and property regime of capitalism are the result of complete empiricism, just as all the laws of development up until the establishment of a Workers State are completely empirical. They are momentary and transitory results and actions which are not pre-conceived. Not even the great French philosophers were able to conceive of what was going to happen, for they worked out a series of principles, elements and social relations in which the deciding factor was reason and this reason fitted in very little with later economic developments. This is why the French philosophers lasted only a short time. The objective development of humanity is empirical, and the system of capitalist production is equally empirical and anarchic. It creates empirical relations. Everything is empirical and processes occur that no capitalist imagined beforehand. Capitalism produced the law of value and organises its distribution in this way. It is co-ordinated and connected by a structure that is the product of periods of a thousand arbitrary unconscious and empirical years. Thus the organisms that capitalism produces correspond to this need and the reproduction of this need - which is a private reproduction. But a Workers State is consciously conceived from the moment that its property is nationalised. And its contradictory character makes it necessary to create organisms - trade unions - that guaranteed that the weight is felt of the most advanced sector of its society - the sector that cannot capitulate, or turn traitor, and cannot annul or avoid its historic function, the proletariat - it is not just the problem of the distribution of the national income. The trade unions do take part in this discussion, but this does not exempt them from other functions, as Lenin recognised. Lenin said "The trade unions are the fundamental sector in the construction of a Workers State". The trade unions organise and group together the firmest sector of society - an element and uninterruptedly firm sector. It is the key sector of society. For this reason all new revolutions, naturally and in a spontaneous way tend to consolidate in organic form in the trade unions. Why? Because they group together the sure and firm sector of society which transmits its security to the rest of the population. The rest of the population is linked to the economic apparatus of society in a weak and superficial way.

This is not the case with the proletariat. It is the strong arm, the centre, for in any country in the world even when the proletariat has the most minimal representation in society, it is the axis of the country. This is so because it is the centre that determines the economic life of the country. And it is there as well that Communist consciousness grows. As Marx said, "The basis on which the proletariat assimilates Communist ideas is the organisation of a collective life, its function in the collective structure of society and its collective dependence on production." If this were not so the proletariat would not assimilate Communist ideas. Trade unions and workers parties are able to exercise a part, certain elements of this collective function. This is the function of trade unions in society. In the later development of society when the struggles increase, the proletariat expresses programmatic influences through Communist parties. The programme, theory and policy of a Communist Party should express in a concentrated, systematic way the power of the proletariat. In a Workers

State the function of the proletariat goes on being the same as in a capitalist one. This is the reason why we put forward the slogan of a Revolutionary Marxist Party Based on the Trade Unions for the Cuban Workers State. The centre that groups the proletariat together is the trade union. There is irrefutable and unquestionable proof of the value of this slogan in the works of the Cuban writer Padilla. This is a writer who has received prizes and praise from the Cuban Workers State and he is writing against the Cuban revolution! He doesn't actually say that he is against the Cuban revolution but all that he says is deceiving about the revolution. In the meantime "Verde Oliva", the organ of the Cuban army says, "How can a writer see tragedy, sorrow and pessimism in Cuba? He has no right to see this; he only has the right to see the development of the revolution." This publication is taking up our arguments but applying them badly, for the army wants to impose this vision of Cuba on Padilla. We are against such an imposition. We are against Padilla but we are also against imposing on him what he should write. But if he can be persuaded it is a different matter.

And how to persuade him? Talking to him personally? Perhaps, but if he is persuaded by the functioning of organisms - soviets and trade unions - then he will see the power of society and be attracted by it and thus he will see the optimism of the revolution. At the moment he cannot see this because he only sees individual relationships.

ORGANISMS, LIKE THE TRADE UNION, DISAPPEAR WHEN THEIR SOCIAL FUNCTION IS REPLACED BY THE POPULATION

The trade union in a Workers State exercises the function of orientator, defender and acts as a nucleus of the forces that will develop the Workers State. It is not the chief organism concerned in this; the chief one is the Party, but if the trade unions are done away with, the Party has no centres of support through which to direct itself to the rest of the population. The trade unions are an axis of communication with the rest of the population. They are not just for disputing the distribution of the national income; this is a fundamental reason for their existence but not the only one. This is why Lenin appealed and we appeal for the trade unions to fulfill the function of controllers in the factories through Factory Committees.

In this context it is interesting to read what the Chinese have to say on the problem and the function of the trade unions in China. In their unequal and combined development they have become organisms of dual power. In China a trade union takes hold of an administrator and says to him "We are against such and such a plan, it's bad". "The way you've planned means that we will have to work longer hours, producing at a lower quantity, costing more and earning a lower wage" "We've discussed the point and we've decided to eliminate you". The result is a lowering in the number of hours necessary to do the work, an increase in the quality of the products and consequently an increase in what the population gets out of the system for it has a product of better quality that lasts longer. Lastly, "We want better wages, but we're not going to give you a penny" - and they throw out the administrator. They throw him out! The Chinese make an example of this with legitimate pride. The factories where it has occurred are several, not just one. They are liquidating the administrators, managers and planners.

There are other examples in China, of which we have spoken on other occasions, in which the administrator has been won over by the workers and incorporated into their ranks. They have shown him that his function as an administrator is of no importance or value. "We can do it better than you can, and what's more we share out the wages well for we are not seeking wage increases fundamentally but increases in the benefit of the production to the population. What we want is to lower the cost of production so that the population has to pay less for the products. "And they manage it. "Peking Review" states that workers that could have had wage rises said no, that they had no need of more than they

already had. "We don't need any more. What we want is to make it so that our brothers - the population - pay as little as possible. This is our aim." And the trade unions are responsible for this. Were there a good Communist Party functioning then this trade union function would remain the same but would not have the same importance, for the Party would plan. In that case the Party would be leading but Chinese experience shows that the trade unions can exercise this role.

When the disappearance of the trade unions is spoken of it must be correctly formulated. It is a true and correct centre of pre-occupation, however. The trade unions disappear as organisms, but when this occurs it means to say that the function that they exercised as trade unions is no longer necessary. When this happens it means that bureaucracy has come to an end, there is unequal distribution no longer, and there are no more dreadful planners. In this sense, what the Chinese are doing is interesting. Some of the criticisms that the Chinese make of the Soviets are correct and should be read. When they speak of how the bureaucracy plans in the Soviet Union they talk of "new Tzars" and all the senseless things that the Chinese say, but when they criticise they do it well, saying, "Who do you think of when the planning is worked out? When you make alliances with Imperialism it is to make things comfortable for the leaders." This is what "Peking Review" says and the criticism is not incorrect basically. The aim of the criticism is incorrect, because this is made to appear as an unavoidable evil of a Workers State when it is the bureaucrats that must be liquidated. But the criticism they make isn't bad.

Organisms disappear when their functions are replaced by the population. This is what Engels says. The state apparatus, the peoples' commissions that carry out the distribution, how do they disappear? This occurs when there is no longer any need for them to exist. The army is necessary for a long time because it is arms that decide in the defence of the Workers State, but the other organisms won't be needed. These organisms then will disappear and be replaced by the population. What need have the factory administrator or manager to go on existing? They are part of a coercive organism. Once a territorial militia is established even the army disappears in its political function and there remains a necessary instrument. These organisms disappear gradually because society replaces them of its own. And the same thing happens to the trade unions.

Whilst there is still discussion of certain problems and struggle, organisms are necessary. Thus it is that militias that discuss as organisms are necessary. In the time of Lenin this was achieved by the political commission. Political commissions are not needed in the Soviet Workers states now, but the function of the political commission still needs to be carried out. This function is that of a cell, a Party cell. The Party militants, the militants that arise out of the population need to discuss what should be done with the Commandants, with anyone who commands whatever he is called. They need to discuss amongst other things one of the first measures taken by the Workers State which was the elimination of the military salute. They have restored it now when it was one of the first things done away with. And what about the medals that Breznev flouts? It's unworthy of a leader of a Workers State to go around covered in medals. It would never have occurred to any Bolshevik to wear a medal. They would have said, "He's mad, shut him away!" The greatest pride of a Bolshevik was that a comrade should say to him, "You've done well." This is the greatest honour for a Bolshevik, as Lenin said, "The best medal that exists." Or if a peasant, soldier or worker were to defend a position and not give way. Chapaev stayed at his post up til the last minute and then he flung himself into the water because he did not want to leave his gun behind. By taking time to move the gun he gave the enemy time to shoot and they killed him. If he had left the gun he could have escaped, but he didn't want to leave it.

Contd page 11

Organisms disappear when they are replaced by the population. Until this time they are necessary. The trade union as an organism is necessary due to the inequality at the time of establishment of a Workers State in the distribution of the national income. Those who can get more than their fair share out of a Workers State are the bureaucracy or aristocratic sectors. It is true to say that there can exist aristocratic sectors in Workers State for example, the "stakhanovites" in the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia there exists a whole layer of workers aristocracy which supported the planners. But these layers and sectors can only bear weight and make the decisions when the trade unions and soviets are not functioning. If the soviets, proletarian democracy and the trade unions are in action they bear no weight, for it is no longer a question of position in the economy but of the fact that the organisms makes the decisions, and there socialist interests which are against unequal distribution privilege and arrogance, are represented. In as much as the organisms do not function, the workers aristocracy can get more than its fair share and does so. This exists because there are no soviets or proletarian democracy or an independent work of the trade unions. If it existed all this would disappear. For example Tito who handed over all his forces to the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy needed the support and the alliance of the workers aristocracy and the trade unions. It stimulated and developed the workers aristocracy. But these sectors to draw benefit from production find an obstacle in the functioning of nationalised property and they are attacking this function. Tito yielded and allowed the direct alliance of Yugoslav enterprises with world capitalism. Tito hoped to be able to control this. Tito did not understand Marxism he did not know what to do and he had a protectionist attitude towards the revolution.

At the beginning he behaved like this, afterwards he acted in a consciously bureaucratic way. But the phase arrives in which this form of functioning no longer serves these sectors and they have to eliminate the Party which defends nationalised property. And then there begins the battle to disintegrate the Party and to carry forward political forces within the Party who accept the change which they call the "New Course". And that is to eliminate collective property and adapt it to the interests of individual usufruct.

Tito was the centre of these sectors because he had the confidence of the Party which he used as a bridge to contain the Party. But the strikes the student mobilisations, which are strikes, have forced a change in the relations in the Party and now force Tito to contain the bureaucracy. This is the result.

What was the position of the Czechoslovakian trade unions? If the czechoslovak trade unions had not shown their opposition to the new course there could be no doubt that this course would have gone forward; but the trade unions were against. The leadership of the trade unions no. A sector of the trade unions led by Polacek were in favour, the masses were against. And they showed clearly that they were against they didn't hold any meetings or assemblies, nothing. And on the other hand when the soviet troops entered the Czechoslovak masses who could have found in the form of expression of national sentiment a reason to rise up, didn't say anything. They said simply to the soviets, "what have you come to do here." It is a concrete expression of the fact that the masses did not see in the attitude of the soviets anything which could harm the interests of the Workers State. In Czechoslovakia they had made strikes and they had won. In Brno they went on strike and conquered. For this reason now the Soviets have prevented strikes and demonstrations. Not only from the right but from the workers, the Soviet base of the trade union movement; the Soviets feel that these can produce movements that say to them "Well thank you for throwing out the right win but you can go now and we'll have soviets". For this

of the continuous offensive of the British masses during the last period demands not just a simple rejection of nuclear policies as is done by the Labour M.P.'s but a deeper discussion of all the implications of an anti-capitalist policy and programme. To organise resistance to the policies of capitalism, to take advantage of the weakness of capitalism, it is not sufficient simply to oppose, to say no, it is necessary to discuss in a comprehensive way the total crisis of imperialism and capitalism, to understand the reaction of the masses in this phase, to lean on the masses, to develop a programme which unifies the masses and stimulates a new leadership in the Labour Party to open the way for the total overthrow of capitalism.

The masses have inflicted major defeats on capitalism over the whole of the last period. The Ford workers extracted enormous wage concessions and whole bodies of car workers continuously impede the functioning of this vital sector of the capitalist economy, eroding the authority of capitalism, interfering with its whole structure and even with the many concessions made by capitalism, capitalism has no guarantee of peace. On the contrary the Ford workers still maintain their original objectives for equality with the highest rates in the industry and in the struggle against inflation, the masses are not going to allow themselves to be the victims. After strenuous efforts by the government to resist the demands of the teachers, it has had to give way almost completely. This in itself is a defeat of considerable social significance because capitalism tries to resist the demands of the teachers in as determined a way as possible, it tried to isolate and overawe a sector peripheral to the functioning of the economy and it has failed completely. The reanimation of the students movement with the occupations of university buildings attacking the political files on students, although it shows no advance from the programmatic point of view, confirms the profound and growing social crisis of capitalism, its total inability to mobilise solid points of support for itself.

All these crisis and tensions around the policy of nuclear war, the impasse in the policies and leadership of the Labour Party, the defeats which the right wing leadership in the Labour Party have sustained, the preparation for a general election in an atmosphere of defeat and demoralisation for capitalism, create the ideal conditions for the development of a real opposition, a revolutionary wing in the Labour Party. Time and again opportunities are missed for combating the pro-capitalist wing in the Labour Party. Thus in relation to the social policy of the government, when some of the left M.P.'s speak of a socialist budget and when this comes down simply to a wealth tax, this is insufficient to stand by itself. Ultimately it is impossible to have a socialist budget, a socialist distribution of resources, a genuine planning of the economy without a policy of expropriation of the key sectors of the economy, without the imposition of workers control, without in fact a revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. Capitalism will not allow a policy of tax inroads unless it is imposed on them. We do not rule out of account of course a transitory phase before the total planning of the economy when for example slogans proposing heavy taxes to be imposed on the great capitalist enterprises to meet the expense of a whole programme of public works, with a corresponding diminution of the expenses of the war budget can be put forward. But to achieve demands such as these the independent mobilisation of the masses is necessary, appeals to the masses and the development of a leadership, a revolutionary wing in the Labour Party prepared to lead the masses forward to the taking of power.

In developing a serious struggle against the line of the present Labour government, it is necessary to have confidence in the successes of the struggles of the masses, to realise that we are in a stage when the relations between the masses and their

organisms have fundamentally changed. Just as the trade union leaderships have to support in a fairly consistent way the struggles of the workers and open the way to mass assemblies to discuss wage claims, so the Labour Party is now accessible to the pressure of the masses in a way inconceivable in a past period. The proof of this can be found in the programme put forward in the resolutions of the Young Socialists at Morecombe. We appeal to the Left M.P.'s the revolutionary current in the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the trade unions to lean on this programme to discuss it, to use it as the means to renovate the Labour Party, to make it more open to the pressures of the masses and the militants in the Young Socialists. The Labour Party organisms appear to the masses and the vanguard as an inert institution, as something that shows signs of life during election time and then relapses into apathy. Hence the vanguard of the workers has tended to concentrate its forces in the factories where it feels it can win direct victories. But in order to renovate the Labour Party and to make it a fighting instrument of the proletariat to take power, it is necessary to raise the level of political consciousness to push forward the anti-capitalist programme, the alternative to capitalism. Only in this way will it be possible to give a greater dynamism to the Labour Party, to impel within it the formation of a new leadership prepared to take power, and all this is going to pose the question of a workers paper that meets the needs of the Labour masses. It is absurd that they have no satisfactory organ to discuss and orientate the struggle. Similar problems are posed in the great mass Communist parties. In Italy the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is not prepared ideologically or organisationally to take power, but the centre and left sector of the leadership become sensitive to the pressures of the vanguard and actively seek the anti-capitalist programme and the ideas of the IV International led by Posadas. In France the expulsion of Garaudy signifies the necessity of the Party to finish with the wings which tend to conciliation. Nevertheless within all the Communist Parties, what is decisive, remains the struggle for the anti-capitalist programme, the acceptance of this is decisive for the functioning and strategy of the big mass parties and organisations of the class.

On a world scale the masses develop their organisms at different levels of dual power. The process of dual power has shown itself in Great Britain, in Northern Ireland and in the trade union rejection of the capitalist attempt to fetter the unions. The masses exert a tremendous pressure to impel the taking of power. In Italy before the huge strikes and actions of November, there has been Orgosolo, and Battipaglia violent explosions but nevertheless the masses are not impatient, they look to their leaderships, they await the programme and the leadership with which to take power. However tempestuous the forces of the British masses, they await and expect a leadership and they look to the Labour Party to provide it. On the basis of the successes of the masses in encircling capitalism, demoralising capitalism, we appeal to the revolutionary wing in the L.P. the wing in the Communist Party which rejects support for the tendencies of Dubcek in Czechoslovakia, to support the programme of the Young Socialists. We appeal to the left M.P.'s to discuss this programme to elevate the opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of Wilson, the pro-capitalist line on the Common Market, with the programme to unite the masses of Europe around the United Soviet Socialist states of Europe.

The demands put forward in the programme of the Young Socialists provide answers to all the basic needs of the masses. They demand nationalisations of all the principal industries, workers control, seizure of luxury properties to meet the housing needs of the masses, wages to rise with the cost of living, for a United Socialist Ireland, for the United Socialist States of Europe etc. But we appeal also that this programme is discussed in relation to the advance of the world socialist revolution

that it is related to the revolutionary methods necessary to impose it, factory occupations, development of mass assemblies in the workers areas, factory committees, organisms of dual power etc. And for this we appeal to the Left M.P.'s and the revolutionary wing in the Labour Party to give full support to the Conference of the Young Socialists, to support its programme, and similarly we appeal to the revolutionary sectors in the C.P. and the Y.C.L. to intervene in this Conference to support it, and thereby impel the revolutionary current in the Labour Party which is the main historic task of this phase to lead the way to the taking of power.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE UNIONS ... Contd from page 11

reason the Soviet forces made the resolution at the same time also against the left. And still they warned against both the danger from the right and from the left. The case of the Czechoslovak masses is clear, categorical.

And in Poland what was the movement of the masses when they made strikes against the soviets? If in 1956 the Polish masses had not made the General Strike the Soviet army would have entered. And the masses made a strike. And the strike was around a much more important problem than that of wages. It was made against the entry of the Soviet army. It was against the Soviet occupation. And also in Poland they released Gomulka from prison. Gomulka came out of prison and went to the meeting still bearing the signs of torture. The Soviet leader said to him "Just think that I sent you to prison and now we are discussing at the same table". And then Gomulka had the courage to say "We are not discussing I have been forced to discuss with you". Gomulka already felt a little stronger and then an agreement was made.

The function of the trade union in the Workers State is and must be always, right up to the moment in which it will disappear, unalterable. They regulate their own functioning. If there exists a good functioning of the Party, if there are soviets, if proletarian democracy exists the function of the Trade Union diminishes. Because now the Soviet an organ superior to the trade union can exercise the function which now the trade union exercises. But even in this case the soviet does not annul a concrete discussion of a factory, an enterprise, a sector. It does not annul, it simply diminishes the function of the trade union. But at the same time this function is taken over by the Soviet, and the soviet exercises the function which before was exercised by the trade union because the soviet works as a function of the interests of all the population whose most elevated and important interest is the democratic and socialist right to discuss, resolve, decide, lead. Still it is necessary to realise that the disappearance of the trade unions is not determined by the development of soviet forms of the organisation of the Workers State. An advance in the equality of wages, for example elevates the consciousness and eliminates the bureaucracy. Since a Marxist leadership does not exist development is unequal.

It is necessary to be concerned not with the fact that the trade unions will disappear but with the function that they exercise today. The bureaucracy seeks now to eliminate and avoid by speaking of the future, discussion over the function and the role of the trade unions now. It is necessary that they function now with all the force of the Workers States. They will have a very great very important weight in the process of elevating the development of the intervention of the masses to achieve socialist democracy.

J. Posadas. 22nd October, 1968.

Popular Front of Liberation of the Arabian Gulf

LETTER FROM A PEASANT IN DOFFAR ABOUT THE PEOPLES LIBERATION
FRONT OF THE ARABIAN GULF.

February 1970

The struggle began in Doffar in 1965. The Doffar Liberation Front of 1965 was formed by the amalgamation of elements that entered directly in the Front with the League for Social Solidarity and the Organisation (a movement among the Iman's soldiers). At this date mass movements began along with the preparation of a revolutionary army. The government found out about the plans to form the Front before it could be fully organised and arrested 70 of its leaders and 500 cadres who are still in prison. The chief prisoners were sent to a murderous prison on an island. In spite of this the movement organised and 2 months after this blow the first Doffar Congress was held. In that Congress 2 tendencies became apparent: one which put forward that it was necessary to wait to organise better, and another - which won - which put forward that immediate action was necessary to prevent the encouragement of doubts and loss of confidence.

The struggle began on 9th June and lasted 3 months. The majority of the peasants were not politically conscious. They thought the guerrillas were a band of robbers or invaders like the Iman's propaganda made out. The revolutionaries were able to understand the masses and unite with them because they came from their very heart, but at that time the leadership of the Front was tribalist, regionalist and ignorant. The Saudi Arabians and the Egyptians took advantage of this to break up the Front. The cadres and rank and file of the movement were more advanced than the leadership. They fused with the masses and won part of the army over to their side and then appealed for a Congress to be held.

Everyone was against the Front. Britain tried to isolate its members with some success. The bourgeois Arab governments collaborated with a campaign of silence. The Congress was held on 1st September 1968; it allied Doffar with the world revolution. The Front declared itself for scientific socialism and Marxist-Leninism. The objective changed, moving on from the original one which was the liberation of Doffar to considering that Doffar formed part of the world revolution.

The revolutionaries of Doffar want to establish relations with all the revolutionary forces in the field of battle. Today the task is to unite the Front with the masses. For this the tasks are: the elimination of illiteracy, the development of the Liberation Army, the formation of militias. The Front controls 90% of Doffar now. There is political organisation and peoples militias hold schools for the defence of the revolution. There is an agricultural programme, co-operatives. All the land is owned collectively by the Front. Men and women work and struggle together.

Contd page 16

The problem is not one of trying to gain the enthusiasm of the masses; they are already enthusiastic. The arms needed to conquer and to arm all those who ask for them must be found. A military strategy that cannot be beaten is in operation. The British and the Sultans have an army of mercenaries in Doffar and the sultan of Dabbi sent a 500 man strong reinforcement. The Liberation Army killed 400 of them and caused the rest to flee. The British and the sultans are preparing a decisive attack. The Front responds to this by preparing the extension of the revolution to other sultanates.

Imperialism (the Iman, United States, Britain etc) wants to create a Federation to crush the revolution in the zone and put it to the service of the oil exploiters interests. They would like this Federation to be recognised as a State and affiliate it to the Arab League. The Front has brought out a manifesto condemning all those who recognise this puppet state. It appeals to revolutionaries the world over to condemn this manoeuvre. Britain says she will withdraw after the establishment of the Federation but she does not say where to. She is thinking of going to Oman and Muscat and of creating an atomic base on an island there. Mazziera - which is uninhabited. The Front is preparing for a long and bloody popular war with guerrilla action. This is why a wide united front including the poorest masses of the area on a clear class ideology class ideology is necessary.

The danger point has already been passed. The revolution has fused with the masses because they are the ones who lead it. United front alliances must start off from the objective and subjective conditions of the area. This phase in the struggle for national liberation makes an alliance between several different classes necessary. But the problem is who leads the alliance and on what programme it is made. The poor must dominate. Imperialism wants to create ruptures. If the Federation triumphs, Britain will have a base in Muscat and Oman. She is trying to support liberal reform with this in mind. She also wants to create the State of Oman, naming the sultan of Doffar's brother as chief. The Front does not accept any division of the area and responds with armed struggles.

South Yemen is a solid rearguard for she has a peoples leadership. Relations with other Arab states are bad. Relations with Syria are beginning now and we hope that they will come off well. Iraq has made promises never kept to various delegations. Aid has been asked of Algeria and we hope that it will be given. Egypt has police control of the office in Cairo and paralyses it to the extent that the only contacts are made at student and diplomatic summit level. Now we are hopeful of working with Libya or Sudan. Relations with China are good on a world scale. A delegation has been sent to Moscow recently. Relations with East Germany, Cuba, Albania and some Communist and Socialist Parties are good.

We feel the need of a United front of all the world revolutionary forces and form part of the progressive Arab revolution and the world socialist revolution. We suggest that the need for wide anti-imperialist united front on a world wide scale exists. The Arabian Gulf is a sea of oil which is made use of by imperialism against the world revolution and for zionism today. The Gulf is an area of essential importance in world strategy. Everyone must understand that to support the Front. Its victory will prevent imperialism from using the oil against the revolution.

A number of journalists have been to Doffar. They have seen the struggle and by transmitting it they help in breaking the wall of silence. Sinhua, Pravda and the Algerian papers have already spoken of it.

The economic situation is simple; it is^s consumer economy. We import food from the coast which is occupied by the sultans and which prevent the peasants from going into the towns and people from coming out. Each family is limited to a certain amount of food each day. They are trying to break economic ties with Yemen

and link the economy to Muscat which they control. They cause famine, and the aridity does not help. A large number of animals have died which costs a loss to a population whose livelihood depends on them. But the people are decided. There exists immense fraternity amongst them and they have a great combative spirit. Wives and children go 3 days without eating to keep back the food for the guerrillas who arrive hungry. The participation of the women in the Front is a decisive thing. The Front holds six months' cadre schools to politicise them in full combat. It tries to raise the level of consciousness and culture. There is a high scientific level. The guerrillas and cadres read everything - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Kim Il sung, Mao Tse Tung and many other world leaders. But we don't apply all this mechanically for we are not "ideologically frozen".

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO.2.

We are producing this issue of RED FLAG in a duplicated form in order to concentrate all our forces on the rapid production of the Second Edition of the European Marxist Review.

We make an appeal to all our readers to contribute financially towards the cost of producing the Review which will be of tremendous importance in giving theoretical security and confidence to all the revolutionary leaderships which are developing in this country and throughout the world.

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The Organisational Report of the VIII World Congress of the IV International. J. Posadas.

Editorial.

Documents on the Soviet Intervention into Czechoslovakia J. Posadas.

Documents on the Coup in Libya and the process in the Middle East.

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RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE PERUVIAN SECTION
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST NUMBER OF

Communist Fight ORGAN OF THE
Revolutionary Communist
Party (Trotskyist)
Ecuadorian Section of the
IV INTERNATIONAL

Lima, 14th February, 1970

Dear Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party
(Trotskyist) of Ecuador.

Dear Comrades,

In the name of the masses of the country, of all the proletarian, communist, nationalist revolutionary vanguard in the name of all the Party, we salute you with infinite, with profound emotion and revolutionary joy for the appearance of the first number of "Communist Fight" and for "Communist Vanguard" your organ of the student fraction.

The public appearance of the periodical of the Ecuadorian Section, as of the student fraction, is an irreplaceable point of support for the advance and progress of the masses of Ecuador, it is a starting point, a conscious and central base for the construction of the MARXIST POSADIST LEADERSHIP IN ECUADOR, not solely for the taking of power but to construct socialism as a part of the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics of Latin America. Because of this we send with all our joy this unending embrace and we feel that acknowledgement of the role of comrade Posadas is contained in it and at the same time the centralised dynamic monolithic will to fuse with Cde. Posadas, the irreplaceable basis on which to elevate, develop, harmonise and construct the highest CONSCIOUS FORMS OF HUMAN FRATERNITY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

We salute you as a part of the impetuous development of the International throughout the world, as part of the most elevated forms in which Cde Posadas has constructed and developed the IV International with planned, scientific and conscious leadership. 'Communist Fight' as 'Communist Vanguard' and the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Ecuador are not historical accidents, but are an expression - though one that is limited organisationally in comparison with our political theoretical and programmatic force - of the capacity, the security and the HISTORIC NEED WHICH THE WORLD POSADIST TENDENCY EXPRESSES in the Workers States, in the nationalist revolution advancing towards Workers States in the Middle East - in Syria, South Yemen, Libya, Sudan, Iraq, Egypt, in France, Italy, Belgium, Britain, in the bastion itself of capitalism, Yankee Imperialism, and in Latin America.

We salute you feeling that the planning, construction and elevation of this advance in history, is the result of the need

Contd page 19

GREETING TO THE NEW ECUADIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
Contd from page 18

for human progress towards socialism, and this is expressed consciously in the texts, work and capacity of the world leader of the revolution, Cde Posadas. Because of this "Communist Fight" comes out as if it was just one number more of hundreds which have already been edited and is incorporated into the struggle of the masses, not from above or superficially, but in a centralised and conscious way, as a part of the LEVEL ALREADY REACHED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN ECUADOR. The task of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Ecuador and its organs "Communist Fight" and "Communist Vanguard" is immense and, at the same time, beautiful. The masses of Ecuador, have shown in the history of their struggles that they have already elevated their experience their capacity and political decision to smash, capitalism and construct socialism, and the organ of your party, like the constitution of the PCR(T) expresses this force and security at its highest level.

As Cde J. Posadas has taught us, the outside political life of the Party, is a very close synthesis of its internal life, even in conditions of great repression and clandestinity. The outside life expresses our internal forces. The forces of the Posadas International show themselves externally, on a world scale drawing attention to its immense capacity by the publication of the newspapers of the sections of the International throughout the world, which are an expression of an organised Marxist revolutionary force. The leap which you have made by bringing out this paper is a demonstration of a change and a dialectical leap in quantity and quality in the activity of the Party. NECESSITY FINDS THE FORMS TO EXPRESS ITSELF openly and with a force that develops.

We salute the comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Ecuador, we salute the leadership, the Political Bureau, we salute the sympathisers and friends of the Party, and we salute the masses of Ecuador, who sustain and support this dialectical leap which the functioning and public appearance of the PCR(T) of Ecuador and of its organs, "Communist Fight" and the student "Communist Vanguard" mean. The activity of the section and the newspapers we have received show that in the Posadist Communist International of this stage of history, the IV International, expresses the unequal and combined development of the world socialist revolution, because the section is starting out in the same way as the masses are doing on a world scale, by raising the highest level reached by the process to go forward advancing the best, not starting out from the lowest level but raising the highest achieved yet, political assimilation which the masses are making on a world scale, but which their leaderships are still not making. The section like the masses is learning from the best, and raising it to a higher level in dialectical leaps as part of a world process which is already in intense development.

Dear Comrades, to end this little salute in the name of the masses of our country and Party, we want to reiterate our intense joy, which is a part of the life itself of the masses of the world and in our blood, and as Cde Posadas says, for we fuse ourselves to the flesh and blood of the revolution, to the flesh and blood of the world process which is Posadist. Because of this we live this joy joined with all the sections of the IV International joined with the Italian, French, Brazilian, Argentinian, Mexican sections etc. and we feel like they all do, like the International leadership must feel, a harmony, not the individualist and sectarian harmony of a person who is happy because he has got what he wants, but the human joy of the socialist revolution with which our masters, and especially MARX and today Posadas build and develop the International which is human fraternity. Human fraternity is THE IRREPLACEABLE BASIS OF SOCIALISM and of development of society, and it is with a sense of this that "Communist Fight" and "Communist Vanguard" are written and come to life when read by the Communist, proletarian vanguard in the nationalist

revolutionary anti-imperialist movements, trade unions, factories, the banana plantations, the workers areas, the universities, and amongst anti-imperialist sectors of the army, the professional workers, intellectuals artists etc. And this dialectical leap of the class struggle in Ecuador will be expressed in a short period in the organisation and construction OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT as a part and the basis of the struggle for a SINGLE NATIONAL CLASS AND REVOLUTIONARY CENTRE AND THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS, in the fight for a Workers and Peasants Government, for a Workers State in Ecuador.

VIVA THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (TROTSKYIST) OF ECUADOR!
VIVA THE HISTORIC CAPACITY AND STRENGTH OF OUR MASTERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM - MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY AND TODAY CDE J POSADAS WHO EXPRESSES IN THE HIGHEST WAY THE EXAMPLE AND LIFE OF CDE MARX!
VIVA ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL!
VIVA THE WORLD TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM!

Lima, 14th February, 1970
Political Bureau of the
Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Peru.

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE
OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND ALL THE
POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MEXICO

We appeal to all our readers, sympathisers etc. to contribute to the financial campaign of the Party, to send an M.P. to Mexico with the delegation which the International is organising from Italy, France and Belgium.

The lives of the prisoners in Mexico are still threatened, and we once again ask that all student and workers organisations send resolutions of protest, lists of signatures etc. to the Government in Mexico City and to the Embassy in this country, demanding the safety and immediate release of all the political prisoners in Mexico.

FOR THE 100% NATIONALISATION
OF THE DOCKS
ADVANCE FROM THE TOKEN STRIKE
TO IMPOSE WORKERS CONTROL
IN THE DOCKS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE YOUNG COMMUNIST
LEAGUE MUST SUPPORT THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE
LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALIST TO IMPEL THE
REVOLUTIONARY WING IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The article in the 'Morning Star' (March 10th) on the resolutions to the Labour Party Young Socialists Conference was a very limited one which failed even to mention the most important resolutions, let alone make any analysis of their significance. As these resolutions (not all of them but about a quarter are anti-capitalist) represent the highest programmatic level reached in the political organisations of the working class, the press of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must devote much more space and attention to them, giving them the widest publicity.

These resolutions are the expression of a revolutionary process going on within the Labour Party, the advance of the base and certain officials on local and regional levels who are fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and see the Labour Party as the instrument for this overthrow. The demands of the Young Socialists went from basic but necessary demands like the minimum wage, wages to rise with the cost of living, through demands for improvements in the social services, housing, health, education, transport etc. to the very elevated demands for nationalisations without compensation and under workers control of key industries, for the unification of Ireland on a socialist basis, and for the socialist unification of Europe. These are the resolutions that the 'Morning Star' and 'Challenge' - far more advanced than any position that they put forward - should have given space to, calling for a discussion on them in the columns of the two journals.

It is the revolutionary duty of the militants, cadres and leaders of the Communist Party and Young Communist League to intervene in this process going on in the Labour Party. It is necessary to open a discussion with members of the Young Socialists and the Labour Party including the Left M.P.'s who support the resolutions, posing the necessity of a United Front to fight for the adoption of the best of the Y.S. resolutions as Labour Party policy, as a part of building a new revolutionary leadership in this country. The Y.C.I. and C.P. militants must intervene at the Conference of the L.P.Y.S. in Morecambe on the 28th 29th of March, participating in the Conference if possible, supporting all the revolutionary anti-capitalist resolutions and proposing the United Front with all those forces, including the IV International, who are prepared to fight for these resolutions.

In this year of the Centenary of Lenin's birth, we appeal to the Communist Party members to celebrate this historical occasion not in an abstract way by attending discussions, reading articles etc. but by putting into practice all that Lenin stood for, by linking up with all the Labour masses in this country in order to organise for the violent overthrow of the capitalist system, to be replaced by workers democracy in Great Britain.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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J. POSADAS.

12.4.65.

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of the political
prisoners in Mexico**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 110 10th APRIL 1970 PRICE 6d

The political strike of the dockers opens the stage of the revolutionary class struggle to expropriate Capitalism and Imperialism in Britain

The influence of the world revolution and its expression in Britain have meant that the class struggle has entered a new and more important stage here, particularly made clear by the dockers' politically motivated strike, the passing of the Young Socialist' almost entirely Trotskyist programme at its Morecambe conference, and the results of the South Ayrshire bye election.

There is greater polarization of the world forces of imperialism and the revolution as the final settlement of the accounts between them draws nearer. Sihanouk's regime in Cambodia, trying to balance between the two, is a casualty of this process of concentration. The Pentagon sector of American imperialism cannot afford to just watch the rising extension of the anti-imperialist struggle throughout Asia, or to just look on whilst other sectors of imperialism itself lose confidence, and are pressed by the anti-war public opinion into finally bringing to trial some of the perpetrators of its appalling crimes of repression; the Pentagon has to react, and hence its part in engineering a right wing coup in Cambodia. But the revolutionary response to this has led the revolution to an even higher level: Sihanouk has been forced to give voice to much more left positions, and evidently a whole revolutionary tendency in Cambodia is using him as a transitory centre of concentration. This process is accompanied by the establishment of a Czech-Arab Committee of Friendship to recruit volunteers to fight in the Arab revolutionary forces, volunteers are being sent from the German Workers' State and Poland as well, and Soviets pilots are already at work in Egypt. The rise of the Political Revolution in the Workers' States is increasingly forcing the bureaucracy to intervene and ally the revolutionary strength of the Workers' States with the world revolution, albeit still in a limited way.

The CIA has intervened in a whole series of countries, where the revolution is advancing in leaps and bounds—Sudan, Congo Brazzaville, Chile and South Yemen—supporting reactionary sectors in an attempt to put through a programme of action to extend its bases in preparation for the atomic war. On each occasion it has met with an overpowering revolutionary response—in Sudan thousands demonstrated supporting the revolutionary council against the Iman, in Congo Brazzaville workers' militias have been set up consolidating the response at the level of organised mass participation in the defence of the revolution and in South Yemen, Al Chaabi, after being implicated in the attempted unsuccessful right wing coup, has been tried by popular tribunal and shot. When a group of Japanese students are able to hijack a plane and make it necessary for a government minister to offer himself as a hostage, their audacity can only be explained by the fact that they feel that the whole world process is working in their favour.

The confidence of the dockers in calling a strike for a more complete nationalisation of the docks under workers' control is the product of the influence of the world relationship of forces as well as a whole series of victorious struggles of the working class in Britain. The Irish August, the fight put up by the TUC against the "penal clauses" that it won, and the enormous number of wage increases gained by all sectors that are way beyond the Government norm, are all evidence of how the class struggle is preventing the capitalist apparatus from functioning and disputing its power unceasingly. But the demand for which the dockers went on strike raises the class struggle to the new revolutionary level of the directly anti-capitalist programme. It shows how the working class is making use of its trade unions, functioning there politically, and great deal more than in the past. There is a continuous anti-bureaucratic struggle in the trade unions and the tendency to establish real trade union democracy with trade union leaders made subject to the wishes of the

rank and file, expressed in mass assemblies, is growing. The same anti-capitalist spirit as the dockers have formulated programmatically was present in the meeting of 14,000 air-port workers in Brentford, for one of the basic issues under discussion at the time was whether a privately owned firm should be allowed to service aircraft at Heathrow. The fact that Jenkins has openly supported the taking over the BUA by the nationalised BOAC shows the pressure of the workers on him for such a move.

The centralisation of the working class in the trade unions and around the Labour Party cannot be used by the bureaucracy of those organisations to their advantage any longer, for it is accompanied by a whole series of combative strikes, which are strongly anti-bureaucratic (like the miners' strike), and by the political mobilisation of the workers imposing their will on the bureaucrats. The dockers' demonstration in parliament was a far superior affair to their previous lobbyings of MPs. They were in an open confrontation with Labour's pro-capitalist policies, there in force to make sure that the Labour Party's social base was felt by the Labour MPs, and prevent them from going back on its programme of nationalisation by parliamentary manoeuvring. The revolutionary class struggle is deciding and not "parliamentary democracy". And the Labour MPs are being forced to try to justify their actions to their social base. Hence the appearance of Russel Kerr at the Brentford meeting, when in a previous period he would have ignored the fact that the meeting was being held.

The break in the pattern of abstentions in bye elections as was marked by the South Ayrshire bye election is of the greatest significance. Labour voters can register their disgust at the pro-capitalist policy and activity of their party leaders by abstaining, meanwhile keeping up the struggle through strike action, but abstention is not the best form of combat for it gives the enemy a certain advantage. But as a possible General Election draws nearer, when class will be confronting class, the working class and the

large sector of the petty bourgeoisie, that is attracted to its side, are beginning to intervene actively to assure a victory for the Party that can serve as an instrument to them. And, within the framework of the whole rise in the revolutionary process, increased intervention in the Labour Party, means the creation of more favourable conditions for the construction of a revolutionary tendency and leadership, and a tightening of the control of the rank and file over the present leadership.

Activity in the Labour Party branches is growing at a time when the Young Socialists have just passed a programme which is based on the Trotskyist transitional programme, the dockers are demanding more nationalisation under workers' control, and the municipal workers have proposed a resolution to call a one day strike if the Tories win the General Election. This means to say that the power to implement the anti-capitalist programme,

those who have the power to make it the programme of the Labour Party, are intervening in the Labour Party, and in the process of being attracted to it at the same time as that programme is being clearly stated and accepted in an important sector of the Party. The Labour masses are going to intervene in their Party on a greater and greater scale in the coming months with a profoundly critical anti-capitalist spirit and with the intention of renovating the Party.

The pressure of this programmatic rise of the revolution, the maturation of the revolutionary tendency and the anti-capitalist struggle of the Labour masses are being felt more and more severely at the top of the Labour Party. The left-wing sector of the leadership is attempting to find the means of surviving this phase by taking up even more leftward positions; thus we see a "Socialist

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SOUTH YEMEN

Discussion on the necessity to construct a Bolshevik Party to build Socialism

INTRODUCTION

We publish below a very important article from the theoretical journal of the N.L.F. of South Yemen, where they are discussing the fundamental problems of the construction of socialism. They are Trotskyist, Posadist positions being discussed; the necessity for the Marxist Bolshevik Party, and the need for Soviets. We urge the Labour and Communist and T.U. vanguard to discuss this article and all the process of revolutionary nationalisations in South Yemen as a means of accelerating the formation of the new revolutionary leadership in the political and T.U. organisations of the British working class.

The phase of democratic nationalist revolution, through which our country is passing, demands that the NLF be organised in keeping with the democratic progressive vision to develop it as the party of the vanguard, which has definite class positions and a clear ideology, and to strengthen its capacity to lead an alliance of workers, poor peasants and soldiers towards the realisation of their objectives. This can only be achieved by the practical application of clear organisational measures and the confirmation and development of fundamental principles. We want to state this task clearly; we will be concentrating on it within the framework of the general line, which we feel has to be developed.

1. The revolutionary organisation must follow a revolutionary theory in order to carry out the tasks of the revolution in such a way that they are useful to the progressive cause of the revolution. It must adopt the revolutionary ideology of 'scientific socialism', the ideology of the workers, poor peasants and soldiers, putting it into practice by exercising it daily. This is the real testing of the decision to adopt the ideology. Scientific socialism is an exercise, and each practical step taken is worth a dozen programmes. But what are the means of exercising scientific socialism? Applying democracy widely in the organisations which must exercise it, respecting the collective discussion of all

problems that arise, and with audacious use of criticism and self-criticism without any consideration of whether he who is criticised has a leading post or not, thus correcting the course of the revolution and using the principle of collective leadership to strangle and crush any bureaucratic or opportunist aspirations that could hinder the struggle.

2. To guarantee the correct application of scientific socialism and proletarian behaviour it is necessary to make sure that young people and the masses receive permanent and methodical education in scientific socialist culture and that a living dialectic relationship between theory and its application is developed. For this same reason, the revolutionary organisation set up must lead the most revolutionary elements amongst the workers, peasants, radicalised intellectuals and poor soldiers. The majority in the leading ranks of the organisation must originate from the poor classes and have a proletarian formation; their culture must be progressive and their orientation marxist.

The organisation must affirm its permanent relations with the masses by giving them the right of daily self-determination. Any vanguard that gives itself the right to protect and represent the masses is really either a bureaucratic vanguard or dominated by petty bourgeois sentiments. And in the absence of popular

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

THE MORTAL CRISIS OF PROCESS OF DOWNFALL

J. POSADAS

All big inventions in the forms of organisation of the revolution have been the result of a process of inter-influence, of inter-organisation between the party and the masses. We are talking of the forms of organisation created in the course of revolutions—not in the course of the organisation of the Party—that make the revolution advance, defend it, and make it function. All the great boosts in the advance of the revolution have stemmed directly or indirectly from the masses. The most complete form of this is when the masses influence the Party, and when the Party gives them consciousness in return. It is then that the consciousness raises the organisational capacity of the masses.

If the Party functions well, it receives the influence of the masses and expresses this in a conscious manner. All the creations of the masses in the course of the revolution are the product of former experiences that they have got in the organisation of their lives of solidarity and co-operation. That is the historical origin of the organisms that emerge. In both Russia and China when the masses had had no political life in the Party, their forms of organisation—soviets and communes—originated from their previous life, when it was based on the mutual help of each other and co-operation. It was in these organisms that a consciousness of the possibility, the necessity and the use of the collective functioning and mutual aid, matured.

Forms of mutual help in the proletariat have a peasant origin. Soviets grew out of this. The revolution inspired the peasants to organise soviets, which afterwards took on a superior form, thanks to the intervention of the Bolsheviks, in them. Bolshevik influence in the life and the forms of mutual aid amongst the peasants, due to the contact between the Bolsheviks and peasant, meant that the peasant could contribute more to the soviet, and supersede the limited vision of the form of co-operatives that existed in Russia at that time.

Big permanent forms of organisation like the factory committees, are of proletarian origin, coming from the direct experience, and decision of the masses, created to defend themselves from the bureaucrats, from the boss, and for the imposition of working class policy. They are organisms of direct power, that do not stem from the conscious preparation of the Party. However, the Party has deep roots in these organisms, through its militants who work there, developing greater capacity for persuasive and continuous action and thought amongst the masses. The Soviets arose as the result of the very empirical initiative of the masses, of the peasant masses, and they became a superior form of collective organisation for power, and for the exercise of power under the stimulus of the workers and the Bolshevik militants.

A soviet is not really a historic "invention", even nature itself does not invent. Soviets are empirical creations, but not inventions: they have their origin in the scattered facts and factors that it is necessary to gather together. Nature has a thousand ways of bringing about unions and channeling things together. They are all empirical and static ways and the changes that result are very limited. But in the Party and mass organisms, the changes become conscious ones, even if their point of support is the spontaneous initiative of the masses. This spontaneity is not the same as empiricism, but means that a fact appears that was not previously prepared for and which bursts on to the scene. This spontaneity is made possible, however, thanks to the previous existence of the intention, the exercise of the intention, and then the application of that intention.

The Party must intervene in order to influence and weigh in the problems and thousands of initiatives arising inside the Communist Parties, and outside them. It must give the slogans, propose the measures, say what is to be done, say what sort of policy must be put forward for the advance of interior entrism, to influence the Workers States, and to organise the life of the Party, making it progress.

It must be clearly understood that the structure of entrism is in process of changing in relation to Trotsky's times. The differences between the entrism and united front of his time, and the entrism and united front today, is not the result

of a change in objectives—because ever since 1905 the objective of taking power and building socialism has remained unaltered, but of a change of form. Any change of form means a change of structure, that is to say, a change in the relationship between the masses and their leadership.

Trotsky found his strength in the masses of the Communist Parties, and used it to argue with their leadership. Today, we find our strength in the Communist masses and use it with the objective of impelling their Party forward. This shows that it is a matter of a change in structure, in form, but that the objectives remain the same. In this stage INTERIOR ENTRISM means impelling the Communist Parties to take power, impelling the masses to take power. In Trotsky's time it was necessary to separate the leadership of the Communist Parties in order to organise the Communist International.

Today, the function of the IV International is to impell the organisms that exist, bearing in mind the fact that there isn't the historic time to change them for others. These organisms cannot achieve their historic objectives without this, our intervention is irreplaceable for a whole historic period. Eventually the Internationals will all disappear, but, for a whole historic period, our function is irreplaceable, because it means the formulation of the ideas, the maintenance of the continuity of Marxism, of real historic confidence, and orientation on the precise and necessary forms of organisation that will keep the action of yesterday linked with the action of tomorrow. Even if entrism still has the same objectives before, its form, and its structure are changing. Structure depends on the life, understanding and sentiments that the Party chooses to promote, (for sentiments are also part of the structure of power.) What did the Communist-Trotskyist militant want in 1943? To separate the Communist leadership from the masses. What does the Trotskyist of today want? He wants to impel the Communist masses to take power in the Communist Parties. The structure of the action changes, and consequently its form is different. Moreover, today it is not simply the matter of the Communist Parties, but of the existence of 16 Workers' States. And we must act so that the masses take power there too. We cannot take power for them: it must be they who take it. The structure of taking power is different from what it was 35 years ago. It demands qualities and an understanding that are greater than those required 35 years ago. There must be more than an administrative proclamation of the programme, of the truth. Such proclamations are not the instruments for action any longer.

The truth must organise, and if it does not, the revolutionary who states it, is simply entertaining himself with the self satisfaction of making statements like, "socialism is inevitable, power must be taken, soviets must be organised". Thus he is content with limited ideas, statements and objectives, or possibly he develops in a sectarian manner, feeling himself superior to the masses and the Communist leadership. It is partly legitimate that we should feel superior to the Communist leadership, to the extent that we are called upon to provide for the need, for a programme, policy and objectives. Our programme, policy and objectives are necessary. This is a reason to feel superior to the Communist leadership. But it is not legitimate to feel superior to the Communist masses, because it is they that we must organise and impel. And in order to act at this stage, the instrument, the Party must be superior to what it was before.

In a previous period, this instrument was of use as a general broadcast of the truth, the programme, policy, principles, and objectives, in a struggle to win a base and establish fractions and tendencies. Today the communist masses must

be encouraged to take power with us at their sides. This requires qualities different from those required in the past. Where can we give historic examples of what it is possible to do, and in what form to organise the struggle for power.

NEW CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AND IMPERIALISM

We are both subject and object in history, but we are more subjects than objects in as much as it is the human being who makes history. So we make history. But whilst we are subjects, we go through the process of drawing conclusions objectively. This shows that the element of prime importance in our relationship to history is consciousness which makes foresight possible. This makes the organisation of forces possible so that advance can be made that is greater than what simple arithmetic calculation would forecast.

The conscious forces of history are always in a small minority. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, taught us this principle, and above all, Lenin: a small group can play a conscious leading role, be the centre of the conscious leadership to the extent that it knows how to interpret, and foresee consciously what is still the unconscious course of the revolution, still unconscious in its form. Consciousness means raising the programmatic conception, the need for the programme and a revolutionary policy determined by the programme. This is the role of the Party in relation to the class. It is what we are in relation to the Workers States. It is the same historic relation of forces. This means that we, just as the Bolshevik Party in its time, must raise and concentrate our qualities as never before in history.

The stage we are dealing with is the stage of the final settlement of accounts, of the socialist revolution, and of the political revolution. To understand all this, fully, we must deepen our comprehension of classes, of the bureaucracy, of its sectors and of the historical conditions they live in.

It will be remembered how in June 1967 we drew out of an apparently distant fact, conclusions on the "beginning of the collapse of the Soviet bureaucracy". It was at the time of the "6 Days War". At that time, we defined the concepts "the masses defeated the Soviet bureaucracy, imperialism and Nasser." The liquidation of the bureaucracy as a caste began at that moment. The masses showed then that they are superior to the apparatuses—the Soviet military apparatus, and that in Egypt, they weigh and decide.

After a military defeat we were the only ones to draw conclusions that were other than military from the behaviour of the masses. This was rapidly confirmed by events afterwards and, today, the social victory of the masses is quite clear.

From this moment, a new crisis in the relationship between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism appeared. But a crisis in the relationships between the bureaucracy and countries going towards being Workers States also appeared. This crisis is favourable to the rise of the revolution; imperialism was not able to invade Syria, Iraq or Egypt as it wished, in spite of its interest in doing so.

Apart from this, the bureaucracy has to act as never before. It has to yield and take positions that are favourable to the revolution. This, however, is one single aspect of the question, so that this process can develop. One must also count with the crisis of the capitalist system and its internal contradictions.

These contradictions, the rise of an inner panic, prevents capitalism from co-ordinating and harmonising its forces, in order to confront the Workers States in every way. The most conservative layers of the bureaucracy on the other hand, might appear to have a better field of support. But they are losing that apparent support faster and faster, and moreover, must confront the situation that is developing in the Workers States. The crisis of capitalism along with the advance and rise of the political revolution

in the Workers States, are the two irreplaceable elements in the process of the collapse of the bureaucracy, beginning with its more conservative layers.

It is not enough to talk of the pressure of the masses in the Workers States, in the abstract. It must be said how this pressure is being exercised. There are no assemblies, no meetings, no trade union life. But we can see that public opinion is being constantly expressed through the discussions in the factories, at home, at the theatre, in the army. All these discussions exist, but their weight is very limited.

So that these discussions and life have a more important weight, a dialectical co-ordination between the development and the collective structure of the Workers State and the advance of the revolution is necessary. This co-ordination would be opposed to the regressionist forces, and impose the advance of a collective world structure, with its weight in the Workers States, where in some, like Cuba, and partly China, a conscious leadership is already developing.

The advance of the revolution, of the struggle of the masses, the constant programmatic progress of the revolution of the colonial countries, or those with colonial, or semi-colonial origin, cannot find in capitalism, economic or social answers to their needs capable of keeping them in the capitalist system. Capitalism is reduced to the use of weapons in these countries, but the masses show that they are not afraid of weapons, and they accelerate the disintegration of the capitalist system even more, making its incapacity to co-ordinate itself, as a system, on a world scale, more acute.

This is the reason why all the developed capitalist countries are more and more dependant on Yankee imperialism and its atomic weapons, although these weapons are not successful in giving them a feeling of security. The proof of this is in the fact that in the American Army some army leaders—champions in planning an atomic war—have proposed a reduction of the atomic weapons, a pact with the Soviet Union, a policy of de-escalation. It is obvious that this is partly directed to holding the American petit bourgeoisie in check restraining its protest against the immense costs of the war, which is unproductive, and against the lack of investment in production itself, and in better social conditions.

This policy is also aimed at holding back and calming down a bourgeois tendency, which sees war against the black people on the way, together with the revolution of the black and white masses. This tendency is conscious, of the fact that the student unrest in the universities is not just questioning the professors, and the curriculums, but the whole capitalist system. And it fears the co-ordination, which it can see coming, between the objectives of the negroes, which are still empirical and those of the white students. It fears the appearance of a co-ordination and identity of objectives between those who are "against the war in Vietnam", "for the improvement of the living conditions of the American masses", "for the independence of the working class movement". They fear a fusion between the struggle of the black and white proletariats, united to overthrow the capitalist system and oppose the war in Vietnam.

The opposition to the war in Vietnam, is acquiring a programmatic character. The opposition does not only stem from fear, but from the fact that it is an unjust war, a war of oppression. The world revolution, is helping the American masses to find an explanation and the road forward; they cannot find it in the United States, and the Workers States do not provide it either.

Because capitalism is disintegrating, a

CAPITALISM AND THE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

5. OCT. 68

series of countries in the world must, in order to gain more authority and develop themselves, resort to economic and political measures, which even though they do not put these countries outside the capitalist camp, create the conditions which disintegrate the economic, social and political power of the capitalist system there. This exerts a great weight on the Workers States too.

These are historical conditions that the

THE BUREAUCRACY MUST CONFRONT A REALITY THAT IS BEYOND IT

In the process of the development of the Workers States and the revolution, the bureaucracy has found itself forced to make inventions, like the Moscow Conference in 1957, and then the one in 1960, two meetings that presumed to have the meaning of Communist International meetings, but which did not function as the Communist International. Their objective was simply to co-ordinate the Workers States with the Communist Parties, and it was for the first time since the war, the first time since 1924, that the Workers States met with the Communist Parties of the world to combine their actions. In those meetings it became apparent that the bureaucracy had to confront a reality that it couldn't cope with, that it no longer controlled. This fact was very soon to be expressed politically, socially and in a revolutionary way.

The empirical bureaucracy could neither foresee the course of history nor be sensitive to its full meaning. It went into the war in this condition, without any idea of what it would mean, without any idea of the revolution and its coming development in the midst of the war and afterwards. It did not foresee the revolution or the constitution of the new Workers States. It has no programme, policy, or texts. It did not produce any articles foreseeing that the revolution would come after the war. Even if the bureaucracy did have the strength to prevent the revolution in the Middle East, in central Europe and Germany, it did not have strength to prevent the triumph of the masses over the capitalist system. It is in this way that the sui-generis Workers States of Central Europe were formed.

The bureaucracy was helped in its efforts of braking the process by historical circumstances that still made it possible for the capitalist system to recover after the war. Although the bureaucracy was able to gather strength with the development of the new Workers States, the industrial developments that followed their establishment, meant a development of the Party and of the weight of the proletariat, and for that reason the development of new problems for the bureaucracy.

In this stage the bureaucracy cannot act as it did before. It is confronted with a collapsing and disintegrating capitalist system. It is confronted with preparation for the atomic war, which means to say, its own end. It has tried to elude the fact that this means its own end, by presenting the war as "the end of the world". It feels that this war will mean revolution which will eliminate the bureaucracy as a ruling power. But it sees that imperialism can liquidate it with the war as well, so it is answering imperialism back through the military apparatus. First of all it manufactured weapons, weapons with which to answer weapons back. Today, the Soviet Union still manufactures arms, but the bureaucracy has to encourage the revolution as well, even if it does not want to.

The very fact that the Soviet bureaucracy suppressed the pro-capitalist wing in Czechoslovakia is a stimulus to the revolution. Formerly, the bureaucracy was capable of finding a way of reaching an agreement with capitalism as it did, for example, at the time of the civil war in Spain, with Churchill or with Hitler in 1939. Today, there is no more room for such agreements any longer. Capitalism is closing its doors on the bureaucracy and it finds that the conditions for peaceful co-existence are disappearing, obliging it to adopt a policy of armed co-existence.

bureaucracy cannot ignore any longer, it has to bear them in mind and it finds itself out of depth. The bureaucracy can retain its historic ground so long as it is possible to keep its conservative relations with the capitalist system, static. But in the process of post war development revolutionary conditions developed and matured and the bureaucracy is losing its base and finds itself reduced to trying to adjust to the new situation.

This process is accompanied by the growing consciousness of a certain layer of the bureaucracy of what its end will mean. This layer asks itself if it shouldn't try to hold this back. But the bureaucracy does not change its character, intentions or objectives. What does change,

however, is the internal composition of the bureaucracy and its structure weakens; meanwhile the capitalist system is weakening under the blows of the incredibly rapid advance of the revolution in its different forms.

Consequently, the internal structure of the bureaucracy is losing its strength, stability and self-confidence. Even if the same people are in power, they are not the ones who can decide any longer. Other internal forces are in the process of cutting a road through to the positions that give them the chance to weigh and decide. At present, it is mainly the military sectors that appear to have weight in the decisions. But other social forces, directly linked to the proletariat and the masses, are maturing, and put pressure on the military sectors.

The weight of the military sector is due to the fact that its decisions tend

to coincide with the interests of the Party and of the Workers' State, not because they are simply in the interests of the military apparatus. This sector has to act according to the conscious needs of the Workers' States, even if it is still doing so in an unconscious way, and acting in this way to defend its bureaucratic interests. In 1937, Trotsky defended the military team that Stalin assassinated, as a military team, as part of the structure of the Workers' State. He did not defend them as leaders, but maintained that none of them was either a traitor or an agent. They were military men of bourgeois origin, but won to the revolution.

By assassinating them, Stalin was delivering a blow against the structure of the Workers' State. But this has shown itself to be stronger than all the attacks CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

USE THE PROGRAMME OF THE Y.S. TO BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY IN THE LABOUR PARTY

We salute the passing, by overwhelming majorities, of the most important resolutions at the Labour Party Young Socialist Conference. The gaining of control of the paper 'LEFT' and the winning of greater independence from the LP apparatus, together with the passing of a whole number of Trotskyist resolutions relating to Ireland, entry into the Common Market, education, employment etc., which gave socialist solutions to the problems which capitalism cannot solve, mean that now the YS is in the position to play a fundamental role in the construction of the new revolutionary leadership in the political and trade union organisations of the class. The conference signifies a dialectical leap forward in the class struggle, a leap which could be made, because of the influence of the whole world revolution, in particular the French General strike, and the civil war in Northern Ireland, concentrated in the YS. Without the development of the world revolution, its constant advance in all its forms, this programme would not have been passed. And when the bureaucracy of the LP must allow these resolutions and cannot just expell militants as in the past, it indicates that there is a support for these ideas in the Labour Party itself, and the bureaucracy feels on the defensive in front of them.

But now the resolutions have been passed, what must be done? The programme, which the YS has now won, must not be left as an abstract declaration to be brought out, and dusted down at successive conferences, but must be an instrument to advance the class struggle to solve the principal problem, which confronts the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie; the lack of a revolutionary leadership. Through the columns of 'Left', by the activity of the YS branches towards the Labour Party the Communist Party, the Trade Unions and the shop steward committees, the YS programme must be given the widest possible publicity, must be used as a basis to raise the whole level of political discussion in the organisations of the working class. As we analysed in our bulletin distributed to the conference, the YS, with the programme, with a revolutionary functioning that corresponds to the programme, can and must play a central role in the task of constructing the revolutionary leadership.

It was clear from the conference that a sector of the YS base have in part at least, a consciousness of the role that they can play. The reception to the publications, and the verbal interventions of the party (notwithstanding the limitations of these interventions, which should have been more persuasive and didactic) at the conference, indicates the existence of a Trotskyist, Posadist current in the YS even if the leadership of the 'Militant' group is not Trotskyist. The YS base, the base of the 'Militant' group saw the intervention of the Party, saw that it was able to a certain degree to foresee the manoeuvres of the bureaucracy, saw that it was honest and wanted the same objectives as the YS, and that it had a clearer understanding of how to reach these objectives, and it welcomed this intervention, and used it as a point of support in their struggle against the bureaucracy. And they had this attitude in spite of the interventions against us by leaders of the 'Militant' group.

We give credit to the 'Militant' group for defending, in part, the programme of the IV International, just as Posadas has always given credit to the old trotskysts for the necessary role that they played in the past. But because this group has capitulated they cannot see the world process, the increase of the crisis of the bureaucracy, of the Workers States and the workers parties, the advance towards the final settlement of accounts, and they cannot understand the process characterised by Posadas as "Interior Entrism", where the masses remained centralised around their mass organisations, and struggle in them for the trotskyst programme. The leaders of the 'Militant' group cannot see that it is the effects of the world revolution, concentrated in the YS that has allowed the programme to be passed now, but see it in an idealistic way as being due only to their years and years of work in the YS. This lack of comprehension leads them to take a proprietary view of the programme, to see it as their property when it is an objective necessity, which the world masses are imposing more and more in their daily struggles, and which the IV International, led by Posadas, has fought for on a world scale with revolutionary class methods and with the construction of the World Party. And the 'Militant' leadership tries to make a separation between the programme and the party and revolutionary class actions, as if it can be imposed in a reformist way.

But we can also see that with the passing of these resolutions the leadership of the 'Militant' group has reached its end. This emerged clearly in all the speeches of these people at the 'Militant' meeting, and also at the meeting to discuss 'Left'; now they don't know what to do or where to go. Taaffe's speech at the 'Militant' meeting, which began with an analysis of the Conservative Party menu and continued flippantly for nearly an hour saying nothing of value, indicates this. He does not understand the significance of the resolutions, or the pos-

sibilities which exist. It was the same with the 'Left' meeting, where the meeting called to discuss the role of the paper allowed time to be wasted in a criminal manner by a speech by a right winger who had no support in the meeting, and little in the YS as a whole, who was against the resolutions and against 'Left'. It was a bourgeois conception of democracy allowing him to speak, when the criterion to apply should have been that those who supported the resolutions could speak on, how to apply the programme and push it forward. In fact the right winger was used simply as a diversion by the leadership to avoid a real discussion about what role the YS could now play.

In both the "Left" meeting and the "Militant" meeting, leaders of the "Militant" group felt the need to defend themselves and their line in front of the base, because they felt their authority threatened by the intervention of the Posadists. They had to defend their conception of a newspaper, which in the main devotes itself to reporting the actions of the class, and saying how bad capitalism is. Their paternalist conception makes them think that they have to tell the working class that it is being exploited by capitalism. Apart from comrades of the party who spoke, no-one at the meeting made any analysis of where the YS was going or what role "Left" should play. "Militant" speakers spoke of the need to unionise marginal sectors of the class like the Harrods shopworkers or nursery nurses, when the YS must direct itself to the central and determining sectors of the class like the car workers, engineers, transport workers etc., so that these sectors adopt the YS programme, and fight to impose it by revolutionary class methods. But one could see that in practice, the leaders of 'Militant' had already forgotten about the YS programme.

The RWP(T) the British Section of the International appeals to the YS to continue the discussion with us, which was begun at the Conference. We appeal for a discussion on the fundamental problems of Marxism of this epoch; the crisis of the bureaucracy, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the advance of the Political Revolution, the process from the nationalist revolution to the Workers State etc., using us a basis for these discussions the documents of Posadas, the secretary of the International, and other documents of the International leadership, which are the only ones, which give a global understanding of the process, and how to organise within this process. We are prepared to collaborate with all our strength in the historic task of constructing the Revolutionary leadership, and we make an appeal to the YS for a United Front on the basis of the programme which was passed at Morecambe, to carry on this task.

THE MORTAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3
of the bureaucracy. In 1941 the USSR became the only country in the world to re-create its General Staff without any preparation, since the previous one had been liquidated. Another General Staff was formed and reconstructed during the

CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy is going through a series of changes today in its internal structure. They are changes that have not yet found political formulation, or any important programmatic form. These changes can be of important significance only with the appearance of new events that would allow the masses of the world to weigh still more on the Soviet bureaucracy and on its apparatus, by influencing the Soviet masses. The changes and advances registered in the USSR are expressed at the level of the apparatus fundamentally, though not exclusively, at the moment. In this sense it is necessary to measure the changes in relation to the reactions that occur in the apparatus as being a very remote expression of impelling internal forces.

The bureaucracy, which is not the product of historical action or necessity, faces the demands of history that are weakening its capacity and strength. These historical demands do not make any difference to the nature and historical structure of the bureaucracy, but they progressively annihilate its force, its capacity for action, its means of thinking and imposing itself on the masses. This is less so at the level of the summits, but certainly true at the level of the lowest layers. It is enough to see the behaviour of the middle cadres and leaders of the Communist Parties at this stage, to understand this.

The bureaucracy cannot undergo a historical transformation. It is out of question to wait for it to play a role of revolutionary leadership, to construct socialism, beginning with the irreplaceable historical task of the political revolution. It is necessary, on the other hand to make use of the difficulties and limitations of the bureaucracy, which weaken its means of carrying out the counter-revolution. This is in some way the same sort of thing as is necessary with capitalism: the more the revolution advances the less damage will be caused by capitalism and the bureaucracy with the nuclear war.

The regeneration of sectors and layers of the Communist Parties, not only at

very process of the war. No capitalist system has been or would have been capable of doing this, because its whole structure answers the needs of private property. In the USSR, it answers the needs of the Workers' State, of collective property.

the level of the rank and file, but including middle cadres and leaders, is the result of a revolutionary dialectical leap. In fact the new forces of history are not just the product of previous chapters in the historical process, but come from the most recent chapters. This explains why the USSR must transform itself due to the behaviour of the masses, and not just on the basis of the advance of scientific and technical capacity.

It was the behaviour of the Soviet masses and the weakening of capitalism that were the causes of the death of Stalin. He was liquidated, because the revolution demanded and demands superior forms of social relations. And this could not fail to reach expression in the very heart of the bureaucracy.

Formerly there was an abyss between the country and the planners, between the Soviet Communist Party and the masses of the world. Today the abysses between the planners and the Soviet Workers' State, and between the world revolution and the Soviet Communist Party are closing up. This internal pressure is in process of creating changes in the way the bureaucracy thinks: Bresnev, Kosygin, and Chepelin change their positions, but to the extent that the bureaucracy does not think dialectically or rationally, it is not represented or expressed by Bresnev, or Kosygin, or by Chepelin. At this scale, others are expressing the needs of progress and the revolution more directly and legitimately. But not one of them is the conscious spokesman of necessity. To the extent that it is in the Communist Party that the decisions are finally made, this Party canalises the first stages of the changes being produced in the apparatus. The Party has to respond with direct changes to prepare for the atomic war. It is for this reason that huge political and tactical changes cannot occur at the top. The limited changes occurring at the moment are a remote expression of the world balance of forces and not only in the USSR, since the path of peaceful co-existence is closing due to the advance of the revolution. Consequently, the world objective united

front of the revolution is seeking the means of expression, even though this still might not show in a programmatic way. The bureaucracy can feel this, and tries to hold the process back, but it hasn't the allies anymore to support it in this task. In fact, its principal ally is not so much inside the USSR, but outside, in the capitalist system. Hence Trotsky said in "The Revolution Betrayed", that "the greatest dream of the Soviet bureaucracy is to make an immovable united front between itself and world capitalism". This dream is going up in smoke today.

In order to defend itself the bureaucracy tries to maintain relations with the capitalist system, and to deepen them, or at least keep them at the highest level possible. But world capitalism hasn't, for its part the means to sustain itself. It has to confront the advance of the revolution, a balance of forces progressively more unfavourable to it, and which also carries away all the bureaucracy's power.

It is this process of the world balance of forces that can explain how Cuba plays such a role, and how we can exert such an influence on Cuba. And this is only a small sample of the internal forces of the revolution and their might. Cuba's attitude is still timid, slow and backward in comparison to what is made possible by history. This slowness is also the product of the fact that the bureaucracy has no programme and no historical perspectives on which to base a programme. The bureaucratic alliance between the Communist Parties (which are the real historical supports of the bureaucracy) is daily more in danger of being cut off.

Before letting itself be liquidated, a sector of the bureaucracy will try to carry out the counter-revolution. In the recent past, it tried to do so passively by introducing laws on the autonomy of enterprise, the material stimulus, and "market socialism". These are forms that represent the counter-revolution, for they are measures that are intended to emphasise private interest, which are bureaucratic in essence, and to create the sentiment and consciousness of private interest objectively. This is counter-revolution in social relations, and in the creation of concepts, carried through by stimulating private interest, social sentiments. This counter-revolution was on the way to reaching armed execution with the aim of obtaining direct power.

It is this sector of the bureaucracy which is most retrograde, not the Communist Party bureaucracy. But, it has no power with the masses, and no need of the structure of the Workers' States, in the way the Party bureaucracy has. The Party bureaucracy makes use of this sector as a bridge to capitalism and a social base of support. This relationship of co-existence, of a united front and fusion

between the two bureaucratic sectors is, however, in process of destruction, because the planners' and autonomist sector is prejudicing the position of the Party bureaucracy, as the events of Czechoslovakia showed, by making the bureaucracy as a whole run the risk of having to face a confrontation with the masses. This is because the balance of forces between the masses and the bureaucracy is not determined regionally any longer, but on a world level. The Soviet bureaucracy has to justify its action in Czechoslovakia, not only there, but to the whole world, to the armies in the Workers' States and the Communist Parties and leaders everywhere. And they are thinking in terms of the world situation, which weighs on them and is decisive for them.

The bureaucracy has to take this into account; this is why bureaucratic sectors inside the USSR feel their capacity for action is diminishing. They still retain a weight, a function in the economy and society, but do not have the same political and social strength as they had previously. They have an ever lessening strength and social capacity. The bureaucracy feels the loss of its strength internally and tries to react.

The bureaucracy has not been capable of creating any sane literature that can represent it. Poets, writers and film directors cannot create tendencies able to maintain any continuity in their power. And if the bureaucracy is afraid of those who protest and demand more "democracy", and more "liberty" for themselves, it is because these writers etc. might spark off a movement against the bureaucracy through the communication of ideas on essential problems. The bureaucracy fears that the trade unions and the factories might just take over any democratic rights conceded for their use.

The more the revolution advances, the more the bureaucracy loses its capacity and social weight, which is profited from, in turn, by the masses in their rising struggle. And this is expressed in the very heart of the apparatus. Hence the bureaucracy is forced to go to the factories and give explanations of its actions to the workers; the balance of forces between the apparatus and the masses is in process of changing to the advantage of the masses and Communist demands.

It is not sufficient just to state that these changes are taking place and encourage the forces that are rising to make the damage caused by the counter-revolution as little as possible. We must raise our capacity for intervention, and for this, raise our comprehension, our capacity to forecast the process and the depth of our understanding of Marxism, for otherwise we submit ourselves to the life of other organisations. This is why the role of the IV International is irreplaceable.

J. POSADAS

5th October, 1968.

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Budget" full of nationalisations put forward. This sector of the leadership hopes to gain authority with the rank and file by putting forward this line; but it does not accompany its appeal for support with the organisation of the means—workers' control and extra-parliamentary mobilisation—for its implementation. The rift in the Labour Party leadership over Israel, like the position of the "Socialist Budget" sector, will help to polarise the forces and provoke a crisis leading to the progressive disintegration of this leadership. The masses, meanwhile will take up every opportunity for advance presented by this process of disintegration, making use of any advance in policy but continuing to contribute to the crisis by keeping up their anti-capitalist activity and strengthening the revolutionary tendency. Lower and middle cadres in the Labour Party, who are closer and more sensitive to the rank and file, and more likely to be influenced by the revolutionary process, can profit to rise within the Labour Party. It is at these levels that the activity of the vanguard should concentrate to some extent, accompanying this, of course, with every possible measure to encourage discussion amongst the rank and file to stimulate these cadres, and with demands for the proper functioning of proletarian democracy in the Party, making all delegates elected and revocable, subject to the mandate of mass assemblies.

The revolutionary vanguard, and the Young Socialists as part of it, can play a very necessary role in accelerating this process by basing themselves on the analysis of Comrade Posadas and the IV International to draw all the gain from the advance that the passing of the revolutionary programme by the Labour Party youth organisation and its expression by the dockers signifies. The revolutionary vanguard must use these weapons to concentrate on the building of an organic revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party. It must demand full

discussion of the programme in all the Labour Party branches and Trades Councils. The vanguard must draw confidence from the evidence of the existence of a revolutionary tendency provided by the appearance of these programmatic demands to launch a full discussion in all the Labour Party organisms round them and to impose proletarian democracy in the Labour Party to enable to implementation of the programme. The trade union vanguard must use its strength to intervene in the Labour Party and stimulate a more profound political discussion there, pouring all the conclusions of the political discussion in the trade unions into the Labour Party organisms, with the aim of generalising those conclusions more in the benefit of the whole of the exploited population. Appeals must be made for joint discussions between Labour Party and Communist militants of the programme, accompanied by study of the documents of Comrade Posadas and the IV International, which show all the potential use to which it can be put in building the revolutionary tendencies in the Labour and Communist Parties. We, the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International appeal for a United Front with these revolutionary tendencies, to push forward the struggle for a Workers' Government in Britain.

Read
Red Flag

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

committees, workers and peasants councils and popular councils of soldiers, a vanguard of this type isolates the masses objectively and in practice from the problems, however much it may speak of "the masses". Such a vanguard puts forward positions that are petty bourgeois or bourgeoisified, and is not a revolutionary vanguard.

3. A vanguard that is completely in line with the masses, encourages the country to take the road that will bring solutions to economic and class difficulties, and has a democratic relationship with the masses following the principle of "from the masses to the masses", and applies the principle of "all power to the workers, poor peasants and soldiers".

One of the tasks of the vanguard is to organise the popular initiative giving priority to the most important problems within the framework of a class perspective, which must be radical in the present stage. Any vanguard or leadership that speaks at the masses of socialism or of being at their side has nothing to do with socialism objectively or scientifically speaking; instead it is arming itself with words demagogically and erroneously, with the intention of imposing its perspectives and interests on the masses.

Bearing all this in mind the N.L.F. must move forward and we must reconstitute it, taking stock of its existing relationship with the masses with the aim of giving this relationship the most revolutionary and frank of democratic perspectives, so that all truths and secrets be laid open to the masses enabling them always to decide who are their enemies and who

South Yemen

are their friends. It must be an ideological, political and organisational relationship. The revolutionary process will be further developed in the light of the daily decisions made by the masses, which will strike at the strong hold of the counter-revolution in form and conception. The process will be orientated by a mass democratic perspective, not substituted for by the perspective provided by petty bourgeois imposition, and the construction of the scientific socialist revolutionary party will be achieved.

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With the Party we
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

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FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

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LENIN,
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE
BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE
WORKERS STATE, AND
SOCIALISM

J. Posadas

18-9-68

Introduction

We are publishing, to coincide with the centenary of Lenin's birth, a work of Comrade Posadas on the significance of the life and the activity of Lenin linked inseparably to the Bolshevik Party, to the soviets, to the Communist International. Today the Communist Parties, the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracies of the other Workers States render homage to Lenin for the hundredth anniversary of his birth by showing his personality, his image, his goodness or his ability to work. They present Lenin by his human aspects, when the 'Humanity' of Lenin, that is to say his thought and his action, is inseparable from the organism which he constructed, which he prepared consciously for the taking of power and the construction of socialism.

This is why this document of Cde. Posadas, which has already been published previously in some journals of the sections of Latin America, is a very important text which must be discussed by all the Communist Parties, in the trade unions and in the Workers States. The text is directly addressed to the communist vanguard to the world revolutionary vanguard, to the revolutionary leaderships of the nationalist countries who are going towards Workers States, and to the revolutionary, Marxist tendencies who are arising in the Communist Parties, in the Workers States and in the world revolutionary movement.

Contd page 3

LIST OF CONTENTS

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE WORKERS STATE, AND SOCIALISM. J.Posadas PAGE 1

THE DEMANDS OF THE SOCIALIST CHARTER GROUP MUST BE EXTENDED AND DEEPENED TO IMPEL THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY PAGE 5

MORE NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MEXICO PAGE 17

LETTER FROM THE EUROPEAN BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CONGO BRAZZAVILLE PAGE 18

LIST OF RED FLAG SUPPLEMENTS PAGE 19

EDITORIAL PAGE 22

Introduction Contd from page 1.

The conclusion of the historic action of Lenin; the construction of the party, corresponds today to the struggle for the organisation of the conscious world leadership of the revolution. As Cde. Posadas analyses, the crisis in the Workers States is due to the absence of the Bolshevik party. The crisis of the Communist Parties comes from the necessity for the functioning of the programme, of the policy and of the methods of the Bolshevik Party. The crisis of humanity (as great as in the epoch of Trotsky) remains the crisis of leadership. And today, as in the epoch of Lenin, the problem remains the Bolshevik Party, the soviets, the Communist International.

The document of Cde. Posadas shows above all how all the life of Lenin, his thought, his preoccupation were at all moments and at any instant functioning in relation to how to construct an instrument capable of thinking, of co-ordinating and harmonising the forces, the ability, the attention and the action of a handful of revolutionaries, united to the worker, peasant, intellectual vanguard of Russia, strengthening it in the decision to take power, to develop the organs of mass power, the soviets, the factory committees, neighbourhood committees, the trade unions to construct the Workers State and extend the socialist revolution on a world scale through the Communist International. This was Lenin; the Party, the Soviets, the Communist International, as Cde. Posadas analyses.

By publishing this document of unequal historic importance, we salute our teacher Cde. J. Posadas, all the Posadists inside and outside the International and all the world communist and revolutionary vanguard which like us, fights to apply the thought of Lenin continued by Trotsky and today by Posadas.

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE WORKERS STATE, AND SOCIALISM.

J. Posadas, 18th Sept. 1968.

In the same way as we recall Trotsky, we recall the bases of the Bolshevik revolution. Today the trotskyists and Posadas appear on all sides. One must recall the first seven years of the Russian revolution. The great historic quality of Lenin, the vital centre of his historic function is to have known how to understand the need to construct the monolithic and centralised party, monolithically concentrated in the discipline for the conscious objectives of the struggle for power, the construction of the Workers State and socialism.

LENIN BUILT A TEAM TO TAKE POWER

He knew how to create a world team, a team of professional revolutionaries who lived with the objective of preparing for the struggle to construct the Party, to take power, to construct the Workers State and Socialism. This is the great incorporation, the great historic value of the life of Lenin. His intelligence and his capacities were at the service of these ends.

He constructed the Party with texts, books, meetings, congresses, constructed communist morality before obtaining communism. He made communist sentiments and morality live in the Party as the essential basis for the circulation, development and capacity of communist ideas. The tactical and political capacity was applied later. It was secondary. All these qualities were important. Above everything came the conviction of the policy and the tactic to take power.

Lenin constructed the Party united in the iron and indestructible will of the struggle for power and with internal relations permitting the maintenance of confidence, and of fraternal life. It was in this way that ideas circulated and in which a

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

struggle was developed for ideas, sentiments, collective relations which has as a result the best ideas, the best qualities, the best capacity. This is what gave confidence to the Party and through the Party to the class.

Such was the historic genius of Lenin. The other things, even though they were considerable like his great historical capacity to formulate programme and policy, were inferior. Lenin is the historical capacity of having constructed a team to take power. He was conscious of this ability and later developed his intelligence in relation to this necessity. This is what Lenin was; it is necessary to make it known and felt. This is what humanity today is in process of taking up.

Lenin made the communist life which tomorrow would be lived by all humanity in socialist society, live in the Bolshevik Party. All the Party was a form which anticipated the communist life of tomorrow. This is what we are restating about Lenin and which gives him his historic value. He knew how to construct the necessary instrument to advance in this stage of history.

There are in each stage of history centres, needs, a programme and a policy, and definite instruments. Lenin understood that the instrument was a fundamental thing, to make the programme and the policy advance. Programme and policy were the structure of the Party. The functioning of the Party consequently allowed the development of morality, of ideas, of communist assurance in the policy, in the tactic and in the method. Such is our thought on Lenin. It is not new. It was also the thought of Trotsky even if he didn't formulate it in the same way.

Trotsky understood the historic grandeur of Lenin and one must make known the thinking of Trotsky on Lenin. Trotsky learnt from Lenin the conception of the Party and it is this which must be shown and this which we must make felt.

One cannot say "Lenin was a genius because he wrote such and such an article or such and such a policy". No, this is not where his genius resides. It is in the fact of having been able to understand what were the necessary instruments to construct history, just as Karl Marx was able to understand that the Communist Manifesto and the 1st International were necessary things and to make them. It was in this way that he gave historical security that communism was possible and realisable, and for this reason he wrote "Capital". At that moment Capital was a necessary instrument, it is not today. In the epoch of Lenin the Party was necessary and Lenin made the Party.

The essential quality of Lenin is to have organised his life and the life of the party, the militants in relation to the communist objective, making a communist life lived within it. Lenin lived and made live, the propositions, the objectives to be obtained by communism; the elimination of all forms of private use, of imposition at the expense of fraternal relations. He stimulated the qualities and the abilities of militants and leaders. He tried to see and use these qualities and abilities. He tried to use every human being for the communist objective as a public good. He acted as a public good of humanity. He did not polemicise in order to be right, to feel exalted or individually satisfied by winning an intellectual or cultural polemic. He wrote, he discussed, he polemicised to make truth and reason advance, to organise life in order to act. Lenin was the synthesis of thought and action. He thought and acted. He raised the capacity of thinking by raising the level of action. Such is his historic example. This is why his works and his writings have such an inexhaustible and constant dynamism.

Neither time, nor the progress of history, nor socialism annuls in any way the ability of Lenin. Today the tasks are different to what they were in his epoch. But the dynamism, the capacity, the fraternal communist will, the communist sentiment, the attention and will concentrated in the construction of the Party in order to raise it to the level of the taking of power,

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO THINK OF LENIN WITHOUT THE SOVIETS.

All the other authors who write on Lenin have falsified the historic nature and objectivity of Lenin, his historic role. They present him as a puppet, as an "intellectual", as a "genius". Never do they show him as a constructor of the Party, that is to say as the constructor of the human will. For the party was the centre which through Lenin was capable of organising the dispersed will of thousands of human beings to change society. He permitted their will to be united for the taking of power and the construction of the Workers State through Soviets.

Lenin is inadmissible without the Soviets. So all those who speak of him do not speak of the Soviets. Lenin is the Soviet, that is to say socialist democracy on which the dictatorship of the proletariat, the will of the masses to take power and on which the force of the Workers State is based. Because the Soviet means the will of the masses, their capacity and their development, and it means reasoning discussion and exchange of ideas and the possibility of inter-influence. In the Soviets everyone sees their possibilities and develop themselves as leaders. They learn to develop ideas to take contact with all the problems of history. The most difficult problems become accessible and simple. Things appear difficult because capitalism presents them like this in relation to its commercial interests. It invents managers, administrators, robbers. The Workers State has no need of all this. The control by the masses is sufficient.

The lack of technical knowledge can be learnt by the masses in one week. The Soviet masses, the most backward of the world, have in 51 years constructed the most powerful industry of all human history; more powerful because it has the assurance of Socialism. It is this which has developed atomic energy, atomic arms and all the actual industry in the USSR. On the other hand China has done in twenty years what the capitalist regime hasn't been capable of doing in a thousand years, and this in spite of a backward functioning, without Soviets, but thanks to the communes.

The commune is not the Soviet. It is a form of structure and functioning which is in relation to the needs of economic development. The Soviet relates to the need of political functioning, of the administration of society. Thus Lenin understood the Soviets which the masses invented in 1905. Thus he understood their historic significance. He and through him the Bolshevik Party understood the historic significance of this creation of the masses. And it is against this conception that all those who write on Lenin continue to make caricatures and to present Lenin and the Soviets as something separate. They speak of the Soviet as an organism which was good in its epoch and which now is out of fashion.

Lenin equals the Soviets. Without them one cannot speak of Lenin who understood with Trotsky their historic capacity. From 1905 Trotsky wrote on the importance of this instrument for the organisation of society which rendered possible the regulation and organisation of the will of the different sectors of society, all oppressed and exploited, with sectors who in production have certain cultural and technical knowledge so that they were all unified in the will to make society advance.

The Soviet is the self control of society, the most complete means of administration, the least costly, the most efficacious in all human history. The Soviets existed in the course of the first seven years of the Russian Revolution. That is to say; Lenin means Soviets. That is their historic interpretation.

The Soviet bureaucracy, the leaders of the Communist parties have forgotten them. They render homage to Lenin - and that has importance - because they wish to remain in contact with history and the masses of the world before they commemorated Churchill or Roosevelt who today have no importance. but they recall Lenin at the same time that they take away from him, deprive him of his essential historic quality: the communist will and capacity to be concentrated in the will to take power, with the tempered party prepared, developed in the constant practice, in the revolutionary democratic interior life, of revolutionary fraternity to develop the will to take power.

For this reason the crises in the Bolshevik party are all the crises of positions and ideas. In the stage of Lenin and Trotsky, the crises were crises of positions and ideas; in which it was logical that in that stage of history, as also even today, sectors and tendencies which incorporate themselves in the struggle for communism decline and vacillate in their will and capacity, all the previous influence, subjective, individualist, all the fear of the future of history - in this case of the nuclear war - makes them vacillate. But increasingly there are fewer who vacillate, smaller nuclei who desert.

The immense majority of the masses, of the intellectuals and of the petit-bourgeoisie are incorporated within and won for the revolution.

It is not possible to recall Lenin in the abstract. It is necessary to recall him in the stage of today. What is the Leninism of today? It is Trotskyism, it is Posadism it is the will to construct the centralised and disciplined party in the struggle for the taking of power, for the development of the socialist revolution, for the establishment of Soviets and proletarian democracy, for the installation of Soviets and proletarian democracy and to develop in consequence the struggle of the masses, of the oppressed and backward countries with the Workers States and the masses of the capitalist countries.

Today the struggle for power is necessary. It is necessary to recall Lenin, the programme of Lenin: the struggle for power can only be done arms in hand destroying the capitalist apparatus, destroying all the juridical apparatus, the juridical administrative apparatus of capitalist power. This is Lenin. And on this it is necessary to recall Lenin and unite Lenin with the tasks of today, of this stage of history which is the struggle for the Mass Communist International for the unification and planning of all the Workers States, for the appeal to the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist world united front, the appeal to the peasant masses to take the land and hand over to them the land; for the appeal to the collectivisation and for socialist co-operatives on the land, certainly according to the situation of each country but with a short stage to achieve collectivisation everywhere.

This is the stage from nationalism to the Workers State. We the Trotskyists of Posadas are the only ones capable of foreseeing this historic process; from nationalism to the Workers State, to foresee the winning, the influence of the revolution over the left Christian Democracy, the destruction of the church, the destruction of the apparatus, who were capable of writing on these themes which foresaw the process and prepared the party and the International to understand this phenomenon of history; from nationalism to the Workers State, the problem of the guerrillas, the insufficiency, the mediocrity and the secondary effect of the struggle of the guerrillas. Nothing is a substitute for the party. Nothing. All the guerrillas have failed. On the other hand the struggle for the party shows what is the vital centre of history; the party, the party, the party. Without the party there is no construction of the Workers State; but party means socialist democracy, full liberty of discussion of revolutionary ideas; full liberty means the organisation of the discussion of revolutionary ideas, of revolutionary experiences.

We write and appeal today to the leadership of the Communist parties, to the leadership of the Front of National Liberation of South Yemen, to the leadership of all the revolutionary tendencies of the world, to discuss the historic experience of Lenin, of the Russian Revolution, of the Soviets, of proletarian democracy.

APPLY THE OBJECTIVES OF LENIN IN THIS STAGE.

One cannot speak of Lenin without basing oneself on and drawing upon his experiences; to do otherwise is to utilise the name of Lenin for a policy remote from him. When one recalls Lenin, it is necessary to record his policy, his methods, his teaching and his principles which are the basis of the development of the communist revolution.

And the essential task is to struggle for the restoration of socialist democracy in the Workers States, the reestablishment of the Soviets, the functioning of the trade unions, the appeal from the unions of the Workers States to the masses of the world, for the struggle for socialist power, unification in a single world centre with the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme, with the planning of all the workers States, with the help of all the Workers States, for their obligation to help all the revolutions that are advancing as Yemen, as other revolutions, to help unconditionally without interest, through the medium of arms, of technicians, of machinery, of programmes of aid, of commercial exchange, of appeals to the masses to take power. This is homage to Lenin.

Homage to Lenin is homage to his ideas, to his struggle, to his objectives and it is to develop today what Lenin achieved in his epoch and the experiences which he left behind. To do the opposite is to make a homage, to propose a policy of conciliation, of pacification and of alliance to prevent the development of the revolution. Homage to Lenin must be homage to his ideas, to his objectives and to the experiences of the Russian Revolution which he led with Trotsky and with whom he constructed the Workers State.

All the genius of Lenin in making texts on the tactic, on the policy, on the struggle, against imperialism was secondary. The genius of Lenin was also the organisation of the Communist International. Lenin is inseparable from the Communist International and the Communist International is a prolongation of the party. It was after the Russian Revolution that the communist parties were organised throughout the world. The Communist International was the extension of the Workers State because it had the policy, the objectives, the programme of the Workers State with the object of diffusing it throughout the world, to extend the world experiences, the effects of extending the creative capacity of the world proletariat through its world centre which was the USSR. For this reason the communist leaderships today present Lenin without speaking of the Communist International, the first four congresses of the Communist International which created the bases for the development of the communist parties throughout the world, the policy and programme of the communist parties throughout the world. All the policy and the programme of Lenin on the struggle against imperialism, the economic programme, the construction of the Workers State was made on the basis of having the instrument which was the party. Without this, Lenin would not have been able to implement all the policy which he did, would not have been able to develop all his capacity together with Trotsky.

The preparation of the party was one of the most difficult tasks in all the history of humanity. And the preparation of the party meant to prepare it, to give conviction to the layer of professional workers, to the proletarian vanguard, to the intellectuals, to convince them of the necessity and the possibility to construct the party, to take power and to construct the Workers State. For this reason it was necessary to write on the economy, on politics, on the development of all the experiences of the world history of the class struggle. Lenin wrote all these texts, on the economy of Russia, on the world, on tactics, on the problems of philosophy, on physics and chemistry to give security to everyone, to combat and confront all the old intellectual activity which took one or another text of human activity unconnected with the necessity for change in society and clashing with other immediate aspects, whether in matters of physics or chemistry, or the economy. Lenin unified and harmonised experience showing how everything was submitted to the objective of the dialectical revolutionary process of history. For this reason the party was necessary, the instrument, the programme of the revolution and social and political conviction that it was possible to take power and it was possible to construct socialism. All the work of Lenin was devoted to this objective. There was no article or central argument which was superficial or lacking in transcendence: each text and each line was directed to organise the understanding, the consciousness and the will to carry out the policy.

All the life of Lenin was designed to understand, analyse and organise the will for immediate action, to understand, analyse and organise activity. For this reason the party, the Bolshevik Party was the most powerful party of action in all human history. It was a party capable of understanding and working in a country of 150 million inhabitants where there was only a handful of Bolsheviks, with little economic means decided to take power because Lenin had prepared it scientifically with the programme, with the

economic and political texts, with the texts of philosophy which at that moment were necessary, with the discussion on all the old intellectualism, showing the erroneous path of all the intellectual team which did not unite the analysis of society, of the economy, of physics and chemistry with the necessity to construct the instrument, to change society without being delayed by the partial satisfaction of criticising one or another aspect of capitalist activity. Lenin took all the aspects of experience as part of a harmonious unity to give the security that it was necessary and possible to overthrow capitalism, that socialism was superior and that it was possible to construct on the basis of the working class. The gigantic task of Lenin his essential and incomparable base - which has no equal in history - was to have made the small proletarian vanguard in Russia understand that it was capable of organising and leading the population to take power. Through the party it was able to do this. Without the party, the proletarian vanguard would not have been able to feel the security nor the organised structure to decide to undertake such a function. It was the party which proposed to do all this. Lenin based on the party, took power and constructed the Workers State, and in the first seven years of the Russian Revolution developed the structure and capacity of the Workers State to ensure all the encirclement and the sabotage of the capitalist system and three years of war and revolution. Afterwards Stalin liquidated the party in conditions favourable to the rise of a bureaucratic layer. Stalin broke the party. The other Workers States were able to form themselves in favourable conditions but never on the basis of the Bolshevik Party. For this reason they are all in crisis as with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Germany. In all the Workers States the economy notably develops through the conditions of the existence of the Workers State, the nationalisation of property, the planning of production; but none of them advance socially. Social progress has been infinitely less than economic progress. This has allowed world capitalism to arm itself with nuclear weapons to try to meet this and will reply with the nuclear war to try to survive. It is condemned to death. The triumph of the socialist revolution is inevitable but world capitalism won an advantage of twenty five years when it could have been destroyed - in part after 1914 and after 1940 it could have been destroyed on a world scale. Thus there are posed the same problems as before; the absence of the Bolshevik Party in the Workers State creates the conditions of this crisis. The lack of co-relation between socialist economic development and social development is the absence of the party, the absence of the Soviet, the absence of socialist democracy. For this reason all the crisis of all these parties express themselves in the absence of the Bolshevik Parties. The immediate historic task is the organisation of Bolshevik Parties on the base of the Soviets, Socialist democracy, the programme of the world socialist revolution. It is this programme with which the Trotskyists, led by Trotsky, afterwards by the 14th. International, afterwards by the International of Fosadas appeal to all the communist masses, to all the communist leaders to push forward as a real and worthy homage to the memory of Lenin

Every biography or recollection of a revolutionary has to serve the life of today, if not it is valueless. If not it is passive, it is an object without use. The ideas which have a perennial value in history such as Marxism, have to use constantly record and memory, and when Lenin is remembered in celebrating anniversaries, in commemoration these have to be based on what is transcendent, continuous and permanent.

What is continuous and permanent in Lenin? They put forward the figure, the great genius, the good man. No. What is important are the ideas, the capacity to organise, the historic understanding, which showed itself capable of making the instrument for the progress of humanity. Marxism already existed, it is necessary to apply it, it is necessary to utilise it as an instrument. This instrument showed that the party was necessary, a "dedicated revolutionary party" as Lenin said, dedicated with the specific activity of the struggle for the taking of power to construct the Workers State and socialism. For this it is necessary to understand the morality, the feeling, the relations of the interior communist life which will give the security to make this historic function. This was the party, this was the great historic task of Lenin which allowed him afterwards to take power.

THE IRREPLACEABLE ROLE OF THE CENTRALISED AND MONOLITHIC BOLSHEVIK PARTY.

It is necessary to feel this instrument as the most complete power of the truth and in consequence to intervene without fear whatever the consequences of the intervention, as Lenin did in 1905. He made a mistake and it was corrected, because the intervention was directed to working as a public good of history; to impel human progress. It was not an interest of the party, it was a correct instrument, applied correctly. It was a stage in which there were mistakes but the instrument was not deficient, the stage was not precisely defined, Lenin corrected the slogan on the way. He created a party steeled in understanding and utilising the truth, in not fearing the truth, in analysing the truth and basing itself on it. For this reason he created the historic condition necessary for triumph; to feel that the instrument is indispensable, and prepared, but it was necessary to know how to utilise it. History develops and escapes our chances of organising and controlling it. But yet we are able to foresee the process. The instrument allows us to foresee the course of history. The party is the instrument which sees history, not one person but the party.

They celebrate Lenin but not the Bolshevik Party. Lenin without the Bolshevik party did not exist. Lenin is the Bolshevik Party. The party prepared for an historic conclusion with this interior structure, with the morality, with the security with the confidence in history which allows it then to intervene and then to fulfill the first historic task to take power. And it was steeled in the understanding that it was necessary to destroy the bourgeois state. It gave the conviction that the apparatus of the bourgeois state had to be destroyed and a new one constructed on the base of the socialist revolution. It gave the security that this could be done. For this there had to be the structure and the life of the party, monolithism centralised with the objective of taking power, of preparing for the struggle for the socialist revolution with the revolutionary methods of destroying the capitalist system. This is the centralised monolithism of Lenin and our centralised monolithism, centralised monolithism for this historic objective. And it's not like the caricature that they want to present of Lenin and now ourselves, that centralised monolithism is one thing and "there's no more discussion". No! Centralised monolithism is that we prepare like Lenin for the struggle for power, for revolutionary socialist methods. There are no others. Whoever wants to be in this party has to accept this. This is monolithic centralism and monolithic discipline which is based on centralised functioning of the cells, of regional committees, of Political Bureau, of the interior life full of the discussion of ideas without fear of discussions.

As the objective was to take power, Lenin was not afraid of discussing or of making mistakes. Thus he corrected the error of 1905 on the way because the objective was to take power. They made a mistake but not in the objectives, only in the method, the stage, the slogan. They corrected it. It was the first historic experience but they were able to understand it, because the party was prepared for this historic objective, prepared for power. If not the party would have been destroyed. Whilst all the others were destroyed, the Bolshevik Party came out reanimated and strengthened, reaffirmed in its historic decision, because the centralised monolithic functioning of the party based on the objective of taking power, of the revolutionary struggle, of the interior life full of marxist discussion allowed it to understand that it was an error, an error of time not of conception or objectives, nor the general sense of the tactic. It was a part of the tactic; it had not incorporated the peasantry. This is all. They should have understood that it was not a stage of the bourgeoisie nor of the democratic bourgeois revolution.

Contd page 11

Long Live the Revolutionary Mobilisations
of the Masses of TRINIDAD,
HAITI, COSTA RICA and COLOMBIA!

Lenin is also the historic condition of having understood in time the significance of the Soviets and being based on the Soviets. It was a spontaneous action of the workers and Lenin saw the importance of this instrument which was necessary for the revolution, which was the necessary form of organisation which allowed the whole of the population to intervene, to decide, to control without impeding but impelling the organic and economic functioning; the Soviet.

Lenin is the Bolshevnik Party, Soviet, Third International. They on the other hand show Lenin as a genius. A great man who was a good man, who thought for humanity. Lenin is this, Bolshevnik Party, Soviets, Third International all his life dedicated to these instruments of history.

All his work was concerned with these necessities. These necessities are to affirm his work. Lenin wrote for the objective of impelling the revolution, to educate the party, to give security to the party and to elevate the cadres of the party. He never avoided a political discussion when it was necessary. The proof is that Lenin, Trotsky and the party discussed the necessary problems, the most difficult problems in history in the full course of the revolution without any fear.

Lenin never feared fractions, tendencies or the discussion of ideas. Never! This was Lenin. He was not the good little fellow that they depict him as being, particularly in the photograph where he appears as a "good chap". It is necessary to place Lenin at the tribune, in the Central Committee in the Third International. It is necessary to place Lenin there. Not the "good little fellow" which they put in the photographs, even in the communist papers. It is necessary to put Lenin at the tribunal, in the Central Committee, in the Political Bureau. Lenin in prison concentrated the attention, the will, the capacity: "It is necessary to take power, to construct socialism and to construct the organisms for this".

LENIN IS THE 3rd. INTERNATIONAL.

It is not possible to separate Lenin from the Third International, he with Trotsky created it. They created it to continue to prolong the Russian Revolution. Lenin did not end with the taking of power but extended it with the Third International. With the death of Lenin and the triumph of Stalin this stage was finished, because Stalin liquidated it. It is necessary to present Lenin such as he was.

As much Marx, Engels, Lenin, as Trotsky, as ourselves have know how to understand and create the necessary instruments in history. We have created this necessary instrument. Hence our concern; that it is necessary to construct an organ which lives, which functions, which finds the means to function, the economic means, the capacity, the places to function. If not, it's no use. If the movement dedicates itself simply to speculate with ideas and is not capable of pursuing the means to advance, it's no use, because it detains itself in speculation, in mental observation and intellectual superficiality and does not feel itself with the capacity to find the means. Socialism knows how to find means to construct history, this is Lenin. Lenin knew how to find the means and dedicated himself and constructed the party to find the means through the medium of revolutionary policy. Revolutionary policy means to discuss without fear every type of problem which it is necessary to discuss, with the conviction that it is necessary to destroy capitalism, that it is not possible to persuade it to leave history, that it cannot be expected to walk out and leave the place, because capitalism is going to defend itself with arms and with the nuclear war today; until the very last moment it is going to try to remain. It is necessary to create the party, to develop the party with the conviction that this is the process of history. It is necessary to smash capitalism by force. This is going to produce the atomic war. Humanity is going to conquer the atomic war and is going to construct socialism in the same way. It is necessary to be prepared for this.

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

In any commemoration of Lenin the III International and the Soviets must be central. The Soviets made it possible for the Russian people to go in 7 years from complete ignorance, from 80% illiteracy, to building the basis and foundation of the most powerful state in History. This was done in no more than 7 years! With the Soviets and the III International which served as a source of strength and a centre that increased the consciousness of the world proletarian vanguard and encouraged it to have confidence in the triumph of the Socialist Revolution. Lenin encouraged the building of the Communist Parties throughout the world using the III International as an instrument for this. There the revolutionary tendencies in the world concentrated, fell into order and were systematically led forward by the confidence imparted by the U.S.S.R. and attraction exercised by the use of the Marxist method there, trying to follow its example. This is why Lenin said that the Soviet Union is a beacon that illuminates the road to socialism throughout the world, and the III International showed where this road lay. Today people commemorating Lenin leave the III International out of it as though it were just an accident. But Lenin without the III International is not Lenin. Lenin means the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Revolution, the taking of power, the Soviets and the III International - the organisms that build this part of human history. These are the organisms that build.

To be the continuator of Lenin, means to continue the experience and example of Lenin. Capitalism tries to commemorate Lenin depriving him of the historic strength and capacity which were his, depriving him of his instruments necessary for progress which were "What is to be Done", "One Step Forward Two Steps Back" and the Party, the construction of the Party dedicated with Communist purity to the struggle for power, created with the objective sentiments and Communist fraternity that come from struggling like a public good in history for the objective progress of history. Lenin created a team of men for the first time in history; Marx had done a similar thing before him with the Paris Commune etc., but only on a cell basis. The objective and aim in life of these cells was the struggle for power and the construction of socialism, but they did not achieve important transcendence, they were dead from the moment they were born, like the Paris Commune was in this respect. This was not so with the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution created a new stage in human history and was an example, and moreover a guiding force to lead humanity forward. It was an example in which there was little to correct but everything to apply.

The Communist Parties will try to make moving commemorations of Lenin by presenting his simplest and most superficial aspects; the bourgeoisie will make use of him showing him to be a good man that had honest human aspirations but nothing more. This is why it is necessary to discuss and give attention to the commemoration made of Lenin. His example must be taken as the means of building this stage of history which is a more difficult epoch than Lenin's because it is the stage of the atomic war. Capitalism and imperialism try to divert the attention of the masses away from this so that they can make a surprise launching of the atomic war and try to frighten and terrorise the masses with it and increase the chances of the capitalist systems survival. But great attention must be given to the question, and it should be discussed in the way we are treating it in this document.

Lenin is as important and as indispensable for today as he was for yesterday, because Lenin means the Bolshevik Party without which capitalism cannot be liquidated, capitalism can be overthrown but it still keeps the strength, as in Yugoslavia, to stimulate the bureaucracy and encourage it to develop capitalist interests. How? Due to the fact that the absence of the functioning of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviets and the III International creates the conditions for it. So Lenin is as alive today as he was yesterday, though today it is through his books, "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back" and "What is to be Done", that is those that build the

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Bolshevik Party. He is alive in Communist morality, enthusiasm and fraternity, in the Communist life and relations within the Party and between the Party and the vanguard and of the vanguard with the masses. For the masses do live in a Communist way now even without the economic means to do it, living in a Communist way in their consciousness, in their relationships to the Party, and in their social relations. Lenin means construction of the instruments, the Party, he means learning there to observe and to acquire the capacity to assimilate, develop and generalise the creations of the masses - like the soviets, which the masses created in 1905. The Party saw the historical importance of the soviets as an instrument, through Lenin, and generalise them. This is how the Party found the basis in social relations and organisms with which to develop the revolution. And without the Bolshevik Party the revolution couldn't have developed, for it was the Party that lived all the experiences of the masses assimilating, discussing and developing them by use of the Marxist method. It understood the importance of the soviets and transmitted this to the population through Party literature, congresses and meetings, and the life of the Party in the trade unions, and of each militant in his place of work. In this way power was taken and then immediately generalised, destroying the capitalist apparatus before and during the revolution and creating the III International, the prolongation of the Russian Revolution.

This is as necessary today as it was then. All this experience is a necessary thing. The absence of it is the reason why the Workers States are in crisis. What is the origin of the crisis? It is the outcome of the relationship between the need for socialist advance and economic progress which leads to private interest rather than collective interest, as is occurring in the U.S.S.R. But in Cuba this is not so. Cuba has progressed more than the U.S.S.R. in this respect! In Cuba they are on the road to eliminating private interest and evening out relations.

Power can be taken but socialism cannot be built without the Party. The same problems appear today as were faced in Lenin's epoch-problems of the Party, the Mass Communist International, a life of revolutionary discussion, and a Marxist life, with full public discussion of the ideas. Revolutionary ideas can be discussed publicly without any fear. This does not change the aim, but rather enriches everyone's capacity for observation and increases the capacity for creation, the ability to see and generalise the capacity of the masses. Only those who fear revolutionary ideas are opposed to the public discussion of these ideas. The ideas cannot produce a bad effect. Even though the discussion may need to be regulated by the overriding necessity to discuss the war, or transitory circumstances may cause a regulation of the discussion for a short period, discussion must never be eliminated. All this is Lenin, and is as necessary now as it was before.

CONSTRUCT SCIENTIFICALLY THE INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PROGRESS OF HISTORY

Lenin's basic principal is that the capitalist state must be destroyed. Destroyed! For the capitalist system rests on a structure of bourgeois justice, banking, the police, army, parliament and its executive power. This apparatus must be destroyed and an apparatus that depends on the masses must be created. Thus the bourgeoisie is cut off at the roots from its source of strength - the banks - from the means of executing its decisions - bourgeois justice - and from its command of the government which it controls through parliament the police and the army. Lenin showed this.

Lenin means preparation of the Party, convincing it of the need to struggle to construct itself as a specific Party in the struggle, which discusses ideas and is based on ideas. It bases its functioning on the discussion of ideas, discussing the objective process on the basis of interpretation of the idea, preparing and developing the ability to intervene with the perspective of the struggle for power. First of all Lenin had to convince the Russian revolutionaries

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

of the need of this type of Party: a Party devoted scientifically to elaboration, that lived to elaborate ideas, generalise experiences and extend them and use the security that came from being able to fully understand the objective process for the taking of power. Then came the taking of power, but in the 1905 stage the need was to build the Party. It was not the taking of power that was being dealt with but the building of the Party. In 1905 the conditions were created in which the Party was forced to attempt to take power. It was forced to attempt to take power, it felt this. And the conclusion drawn from the experience was that it was necessary to prepare the attempt better.

The first stage of Lenin's revolutionary life was devoted to preparing the Party and he carried on a struggle against the whole old social democratic team although it was partly based on Marxism. He fought against the old Marxists of whom he was a disciple and from whom he had learnt. His whole struggle was for the scientific construction of the instrument! The Party with the Bolshevik functioning of living reality by discussing ideas, based on Communist fraternal sentiments and on Communist objective morality. This means functioning with the best for life, the best for the revolution, the best for the objective which is socialism. It means to learn from experience, to develop the Party learning from experience, living through it, developing it, using the Marxist instrument and incorporating new areas and zones of Marxist interpretation into Marxist capacity. The Party became accustomed in this way to linking the Party intellectual to the factories and the countryside. Thus it developed with the ability to understand the ideas and the programme in all fields from the factories and countryside to the revolutionary intellectual layers, and it felt capably and sure in its understanding. The Party felt it was capable and transmitted the feeling leading to the creation of an enormous periphery which it influenced and this periphery transmitted the influence to the rest of the working class and exploited masses. The Party felt that it was in communication with the world through the programme, ideas and objectives. It felt prepared and sure of the power to launch slogans because it had the vanguard behind it which was going to respect, accept and apply those slogans and the vanguard would attract the rest of the population.

Lenin's first great work was to understand that this Party had to be built, and to have waged the struggle for its construction. This is why his first important books on the Party were "What is to be Done" and "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back", books devoted to fighting against the old structure of the Party which had developed a life of family relations, intrigues, even maliciousness as he said, concentrating on the discussion of circumstantial problems and on individual struggles. The Party still was not organised in keeping with a vision of its function at the time, for its objectives still had not been fixed. Lenin gave the Party an objective - the struggle for power - and so it had to be organised for concentrating will and consciousness on this aim. This is why centralised monolithism or rather monolithism centralised in the aim, was required. All discussion had to be of use to, and bear reference to the need to prepare the Party for this aim by developing the revolutionary ability and experience it had for the taking of power, this need being the point of departure and arrival of its activity, basing it on Marxism. All the necessary questions of life and the experiences of the class struggle had to be discussed and revolutionary militant cadres who kept the Party linked to the class had to be constructed on this basis, and this was what brought the thought, will, tendencies and aspirations of the class into the Party. The Party worked out its perspectives, its projects and tactics in accordance with the appreciation of the situation brought to it by the class vanguard. The Party which was scientifically built to be in permanent contact with the class, maintained the permanent life and relationship with it. And the Party, with its Marxist interpretation, could maintain contact with the world through the class.

LININ, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Lenin's works on this are amongst the greatest, comparable to "Das Capital". Lenin achieved the creation of a Party which was capable of feeling understanding and sensing the mood of the class. No other Party, apart from ourselves today, the Trotskyists of the IV International, Posadas' Party, has had this ability to sense the mood of the class. No other Party has been able to do it because no other has been prepared for this, no other Party has developed with the Marxist conception of feeling the will of the masses, using previous experience for present application and of understanding the sentiments of the masses. This scientific method is based on the fact that only by destroying the capitalist system, the capitalist apparatus, can power really be taken. It must be destroyed to establish proletarian power. Lenin's first great work was to make this clear.

His second, which ranks alongside the first, was to show how to take power. Before even building the Party solidly he was obliged to confront the situation that arose in 1905, he had to get through 1905 and he was able to do it. 1905 was the first great experience for the Bolshevik Party and especially and particularly for Lenin in understanding stages and alliances: the peasantry must be incorporated in the revolution and one shouldn't have confidence in a democratic bourgeois revolution. Although Lenin did consider it for a brief period, thinking that it could be a transitory slogan, he also learnt from 1905 that there could be no stage of a workers and peasants democratic dictatorship.

At the same time it was understood that the 1905 defeat was going to produce a process of selection amongst the members of the Bolshevik Party and it did so - a sector left disappointed. But the immense majority - 90% - remained sure of the fact that what had been passed through was a defeat, but not failure. The instrument was a good one, which could be well applied, but hadn't been applied at the right time. This is what the Party learnt in 1905. All the other revolutionary organisations were destroyed because they were not organised with the historical aim of taking power on the basis of the scientific element provided by Marxism. Not only Lenin, but the whole Party learnt this. And Lenin educated the Party with this conception.

An essential basis of this conception was Communist fraternal sentiment, the objectivity with which the Bolshevik Party functioned which was the means with which internal relations were maintained. Without this its members could not have influenced each other and felt themselves strong in their capability of doing everything. For they discussed objectively and together had collectively the capacity which they hadn't got individually. The basis of this was Communist fraternal sentiments, Communist fraternal relations, and Communist mentality which meant that they gave their best to the revolution and the elimination of fights over different comrades inclinations, individualist relationships, gossip and intrigue, and ties made on the basis of family relationships. As Lenin says in "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back" all this lowers the level of life in the Party and prevents it from seeing reality; quarrels between Party members uses up Party time and disputes which drown the desire and need for the revolutionary struggle don't make the revolution advance. Lenin showed how to co-ordinate the efforts of the Bolshevik Party comrades so that they could apply that effort as the integral part of a whole against capitalism. This is Lenin's Party. In 1905 he learnt these lessons and was thus able to correct the Party rapidly and in 1917 it went on to conquer. No other Party in history has done this. All other organisations have fallen apart, all of them! There is no other Party to have suffered the enormous blow such as the Bolshevik Party sustained in 1905 and which has immediately pulled itself together. It was able to do so due to the scientific basis on which it was created.

The whole crisis today in the Workers States and the Communist Parties, exists due to the lack of a Bolshevik functioning. The crisis of growth through which they are going is due to their having the need to develop their Parties towards Bolshevik lines.

LENIN, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

This is why it can be called a crisis of growth. There are Parties which get 10 million votes, like the Italian Communist Party and yet are incapable of taking power. It only needs to blow and it would take power, why doesn't it? Because it is not prepared for it. It has to discuss attempting to turn itself into a Bolshevik Party. The same thing is happening in the Soviet Communist Party.

The essential condition for being a Bolshevik Party is the existence of a Party political life, discussion of everything, resolving upon everything through discussions. Everything must be known and judged by the population, both Party and population must have the opportunity to deliberate and decide. When there aren't any bureaucratic interests to be catered for, the Party has no fear of the results of the populations deliberations, for the discussion is made in the interests of both. In Lenin's epoch the Party discussed everything without any difficulties being put in the way of it and it developed its capacity discussing the problem. It was confident in its centralised life because it felt capable of discussing, solving the problems and carrying out the solution. But in the U.S.S.R. today, there isn't even life in the trade unions. They don't hold either trade union meetings, assemblies or conferences. And in the meantime the Soviet bureaucracy demands of the Italian bourgeoisie that it should let the Italian workers hold meetings against capitalism. But in the U.S.S.R. they don't let the workers demonstrate in support of Vietnam for instance.

The essential thing is that there should be a class political life. This makes it possible to face anything. If this does not exist, the question of selection enters into the problem, and the situation arises when there are a few people who do the thinking and the masses who apply the decisions and just say "Yes" or "No". An example is the plebiscites held by Fidel Castro when he gets a million people together and asks them if they agree with such and such a thing or not. They say they do but there are no trade union meetings on the subject, no meetings, no deliberation. If there is no deliberation then the thought acted upon is that of the leadership. And that leadership has no reason to consider itself to be of the best. If it really were the best, it would call on everyone to discuss the problems and everyone would intervene.

In the Soviet Union when the Party functioned first with Lenin and then with Trotsky the masses showed that by discussion they were constantly correcting their leaderships, keeping it under control and encouraging it to be daring and resolute. And the masses saw before them a Party that was prepared for everything. They were invited to the Party. Thus the leadership, even when it felt weak, felt the Party because it pushed leadership forward, as occurred in 1917 when the Party leadership hesitated about taking power. Lenin's arrival launched the vanguard to put the Party into action, and the Party forced its leadership to advance and it took power. This Party, which the Communists refused to build, like all the Communist Parties, is in discussion today in an attempt to correct the error; this is so in the Italian, and partly the Chinese and French ones too. But they are not managing to retake the road of Bolshevism so easily and this is what is so indispensably necessary.

Power can be taken as it was taken in Cuba, but the Party still has to be built. What fundamentally is the social organisation of Cuba? There are no rules laid down, there is no socialist organisation of the country. The organisation is still bourgeois from the juridical point of view because there are no socialist organisms that function. They have ministries, ministers and a government and they take the decisions. And the masses? In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky it was the soviets that took the decisions. And in Cuba it's the ministers that do it. We are confident that they are revolutionary ministers, but does that mean that they have the best ideas, the greatest capabilities, the best programme? Can they interpret the masses will and ability to carry the work forward to the best advantage? The masses have shown that ministers cannot do this; they are the ones who take

To the Revolutionary Government of
Congo Brazzaville

To the Congolese Workers Party

To the Revolutionary Congolese Masses

Dear Comrades,

We salute the failure and the defeat of the attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup which has just taken place, with all our joy and we express our complete solidarity to the government, Party and the revolutionary masses of the Congolese Peoples' Republic.

We salute with all our enthusiasm the new revolutionary measures, like the creation of popular militias and the disbandment of the national police force, which constitute a great step forward in the socialist revolutionary mobilisation of the Congolese masses which will serve as the basis and motor force of advance to the revolution.

We salute all these measures and appeal for their extension with demonstrations, meetings, assemblies and discussions throughout the country for the adoption of more measures of social, cultural and revolutionary organisation. It is by using as a basis the intervention and discussion of the masses everywhere on the programme, objectives, methods and tactic of the socialist revolution that the revolution in the Congo will be made invincible.

The failure of the reactionary coup is one expression already of the fact that the socialist revolution has indestructible roots in the Congolese masses, mobilised in youth organisations, the Party and the trade unions and now in the militias.

The audacity of the Congolese revolution is based on the rise of the revolution in Africa and the whole world, and on the strength of the Workers' States that make sure that the relationship of forces is favourable to the revolution. It is based on the forces that are developing in the Communist movement, in the Workers' States and in the revolutionary nationalist movement, forces which are in the process of imposing their will on bureaucratic, conservative and conciliatory leaderships.

The deepening of the Congolese revolution contributes to the rise of these forces and to the advance towards the construction of a conscious world revolutionary leadership.

The latest developments in Laos, but above all in Cambodia, and the appeals launched for a united front of the peoples of South-East Asia are a great stimulus and support to the revolution, putting a stop to all possibilities of conciliation and "peaceful co-existence".

In Europe a situation of pre-revolutionary dual power is developing, weakening capitalism's and imperialism's ability to take the initiative and react. The deepening and the development of the Congolese revolution is based on this process which it stimulates and raises to a higher level in its turn.

Each step forward of the Congolese revolution, each intervention of the masses, each militia or organism of workers'

Contd page 19

power, and each rise in the construction of the Party helps to raise the level of the organisation of the forces of the world revolution. The political and theoretical elaboration of Comrade Posadas, the General Secretary of the IV International and its builder and organiser, is the elaboration which answers the need for comprehension, a full understanding, of the whole wonderful process of the advance of the world revolution.

By saluting and supporting the success and advance of the Congolese revolution, the IV International, led by Comrade J. Posadas, acts to encourage the confidence of the teams that launch themselves to make the world revolution advance, basing themselves on Lenin, on the first 7 years of the Russian Revolution and raises the level of contact, communication and united front between all Communist revolutionary forces or those of non-Communist origin (but which advance towards Communism), as the means of organising the Mass Communist International.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE CONGO AND THE WORLD!

With our most fraternal and socialist greetings,
European Bureau of the International Secretariat
of the IV International.

2nd. April, 1970.

RED

FLAG SUPPLEMENTS

BY C DE.
POSADAS

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

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FORWARD WITH THE CAMPAIGN TO OBTAIN ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS' RELEASE Contd from page 17.

IV International) Lelio Basso and Marcella Glisenti with the participation of Judith Reyes, the wife of one of the prisoners. This comrade was injured on January 1st in Lecumberri Prison when the political prisoners were the victims of a savage attack made by the ordinary prisoners, amongst whom provocateurs, agents of the prison authorities, had been let loose to incite the others.

The conclusion which this Press Conference reached was that the Mexican Government's refusal to grant the visas must not halt the campaign but rather serve as a stimulus to its greater development. The refusal to grant the visas means that the campaign is having an effect on the Mexican Government. And this means that to build it up even more will be of the greatest use in freeing the political prisoners. Cardenas, a former President and now Echeverria, Presidential Candidate, have demanded the release of all the political prisoners.

We appeal to workers, students, intellectuals and professionals, trade union, the N.U.S. and L.P. C.P. Y.C.I. and Y.S. branches to support the campaign for the release of all the political prisoners in Lecumberri, to send resolutions to the Mexican Embassy and the Mexican Government, and to demand the immediate granting of visas to the International Commission of Inquiry. Mexican capitalism is very weak and the campaign for the release of the political prisoners has an especial opportunity for success when an electoral struggle, now being waged, opens the doors in however a limited way, to the discussion of the repression and injustice of Mexican society.

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Of particular importance is the telegram sent to the Mexican President in the name of Soviet public opinion by several Soviet personalities, amongst them the professor, Edoroy, the writer Tichonov, the dramatist Korneiciuk, vice president of the Academy of Medical science Kovanov, director of the Latin American Institute Volski, writer Polevoi and the journalist Kotov.

The N.U.S. Conference at Bradford published an emergency resolution of support to the Mexican prisoners, but it was not discussed in Conference because the steering committee ruled it was not an emergency motion (by a small majority) because although they fully agreed with the motions sentiments, "it would not effect the N.U.S. if it wasn't passed." A demand for the release of the prisoners was signed by 120 N.U.S. delegates including Digby Jacks. Each of whom represented thousands of students, as each signatory was a delegate for his college union.

**VIVA THE TECHNICAL
SUPERIORITY OF THE
WORKERS' STATES.**

**VIVA THE CHINESE SATELLITE AND
THE SOVIET MULTIPLE LAUNCHING.**

THE DEMANDS OF THE SOCIALIST CHARTER GROUP ... Contd from page 5
relating this to all the demands of the masses and without leaning
on the masses to sieze economic power.

How can a Labour government take all the economic power without leaning on the masses to occupy the factories, to impose workers control, leaning on the workers committees to smash the capitalist apparatus, to submit all the organisation of the government apparatus to the control of the masses i.e. the perspective of soviets. Any struggle to impel the ambitious objectives of the Socialist Charter Group must lean in part on the extension and the elaboration of the socialist programme - and this already exists in the Labour Party among the Young Socialists - but also it must lean on all the daily struggles of the masses, on the tremendous intervention of the Irish workers of Belfast and Londonderry, on the strikes of the motor car workers, transport workers, dockers, teachers etc. It is necessary that any struggle against the right wing in the Labour Party is conducted publicly and without fear and that the struggle for the socialist programme and methods is never divorced from the necessity to transform the Labour Party, leading to the isolation and elimination of the rightwing sectors. And what is the source of the confidence to combat the rightest sectors, to cause intense conflict in the Labour Party? It is the realisation that whatever the manoeuvres of the apparatus and the inertia of the conservatism of the Labour Party apparatus, the forces of capitalism are circumscribed, and in full retreat. The defeat of the Wilson government in the attempt to fetter the trade unions, was a crippling defeat for the forces that support capitalism in the Labour Party. Basically it was a defeat for the forces that support repression in Ireland, was against the masses in Vietnam, support for Israel, but this great victory has never been followed up with the strength that is possible. And fundamentally this is because there is a lack of clarity and confidence in the course of the world process.

The social atmosphere in Britain is explosive, basically as explosive as that in Northern Ireland. The electoral struggle takes place in an atmosphere of class hatred and the tremendous defeatism of capitalism. It is taking place in a world where there are sixteen Workers States and many others on the road to becoming Workers States, where Yankee Imperialism is in full disarray, where the structures of all the imperialist and capitalist states are in decomposition, Italy, France, Germany etc. The initiative of the masses is vastly superior to the comprehension and ability of the present leaderships in the workers organisations and this is no more clearer than in Great Britian.

Under the pressures of the workers, a T.U. leader such as Scanlon comes forward with the perspective of a Labour Government on a socialist programme but how to achieve this? By relying on the parliamentary process alone? Any electoral campaign, any parliamentary victory only has value if it is related to the fundamental objectives - to sieze power from capitalism, to smash the bourgeois state. To "take power" means to appeal to the masses, to form their own organisms, to fight for the programme and the methods in the Labour Party together with appeals to the masses to redouble their pressures on their own organisations. The formation of the new leadership in the Labour Party is inseparable from the extra parliamentary mobilisation of the masses before, during and after any electoral campaign.

We appeal to the Socialist Charter group to study the programme of the Young Socialists which is taken from the programme of the IV International, to study all the documents of Posadas and the IV International, to elevate their programme, to stimulate by all possible means the political life in the IP, to mobilise the labour intellectuals to impel the anti-capitalist programme and work in a united front with the IV International, in the common task of preparing the way for the British Workers State on the basis of the transformation of the LP and the revolutionary siezure of power from capitalism.

EDITORIAL

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST BASE ITSELF ON THE COMBATIVITY OF THE WORKERS IN THE FACTORIES, ON THE TRINIDAD REVOLT, ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCES IN VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA, TO CONSTITUTE ITSELF AS A REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY TO STRUGGLE FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

On a world scale the final settlement of accounts between the two historical forces; the revolution in all its forms supported on the existence and development of the Workers States on one side, and U.S. Imperialism and its allies on the other, is rapidly approaching. Already the international civil war is being waged from Trinidad to the Middle East, to Cambodia and Vietnam, and everywhere Imperialism is on the retreat.

The revolt in Trinidad which united the Indian sugar workers to the black urban masses and won over a large sector of the army, even if it has not developed to the establishment of a Workers State, has had and will have enormous repercussions in the whole of the Caribbean. Although presented in the form of a struggle for 'black power' the revolt was against imperialism and its agents on the Island, it meant workers and peasants power, the expropriation of the Texaco oil company and the Tate and Lyle sugar refineries and plantations, the planning of the Trinidad economy in relation to the needs of the masses, and the linking of Trinidad with Cuba and the other Workers States. It is this which explains the enormous preoccupation of US and British Imperialism which sent their war ships rushing to the area, and it is also because they know it is not just a question of Trinidad but the revolution in all the area. The uprising in Costa Rica and the naval mutiny in Haiti were sparked off by the Trinidad revolt and show how the masses of the whole area are influencing each other and preparing to smash Imperialism. In Britain sectors advancing in the I.P., T.U.'s and the C.P. must give their full support to the struggle in Trinidad, base themselves on it to advance against the right wing, demanding the withdrawal of all British personnel commanding the Trinidad police and armed forces, demanding that no British troops should be sent there as they were to Anguilla, demanding the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of Tate and Lyle here and the handing over of its Trinidad property to the masses.

In this period of the anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the Communist vanguard of the world uses the celebrations to try to impel their leaderships to apply the policy, programme and methods of Lenin, and the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the C.P.'s have to speak of Lenin to maintain and strengthen their links with the base. They speak of Lenin but only organise in a limited way, responding empirically to the need to defend the Workers States, but as a bureaucracy they are unable to take all the measures, social, political, economic and military which are necessary. Thus in Bresnev's speech where he spoke of the decadence and spiritual desolation of capitalism, he denounced the role of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam, and said that Imperialism could only be overthrown by "active and determined action by all revolutionary forces".

in spite of the fact that he gave no concrete proposals on how to overthrow Imperialism, such a speech will encourage and facilitate the advance of the Communist vanguard, and the advance of that tendency in the Soviet Party and army, who seeing the inevitability of the war and the preparations of imperialism, want to strike the first blow. The enormous naval exercises, the build up of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, the supply of Sam 3 missiles and technicians to Egypt, the launching of the multiple satellite are all part of this process. At the same time the launching of the Chinese satellite and the meeting called by Sihanouk in China co-ordinating the struggle in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam indicate also that China is preparing for the war. And all this influences the class struggle in Britain, stimulates the advance of the middle cadres in the trade unions, the L.P. and the C.P. giving confidence to the new forces in the mass organisations of the class, who are going to form the revolutionary leadership in the next stage.

But compared with the headlong advance of the world process of the revolution the process of organisation of the new leadership is slow because of all the factors which Posadas and the International have analysed in the past, the previous weight of the workers aristocracy, the lack of a marxist tradition, the bureaucratic structure of the Labour Party and the unions etc. It is going on, as the Y.S. resolutions show, and as is shown by the programme of the 'Socialist Charter' group in the L.P. which calls for "All industry and power to the Labour Government" (which we analyse at greater depth elsewhere in this issue) but not at the rhythm which the class struggle demands and allows. The masses are showing in their strike actions, in their rejection of pay awards which already are far above the government norm as at the Pilkingtons Glass Works, in their strikes for nationalisations, in their occupation of union offices to make the leadership feel their weight, that they want to get rid of capitalism and they want to impel their political and trade union leaderships to do it. They are not going to leave these organisations but on the contrary are going to change the leadership and the structure throwing out the pro-capitalists and the conciliators and allowing the full intervention of the base.

When Scanlon of the engineers speaks of the need "to reaffirm our commitment to the re-election of a Labour Government on a socialist programme" and attacks the statements about reform which Heath had made, he is reflecting the aspirations of the rank and file who have used the Labour Government to win concessions and who are going to use the election campaign to raise all the fundamental problems of the class and want to see another Labour government elected which will carry out measures of nationalisation, guaranteed minimum wages, all wages to rise with the cost of living etc. which will advance the process of dual power in favour of the masses. Scanlon is not the legitimate expression of this aspiration because he does not base himself on the strength of the working class, to organise strikes and demonstrations for political, social as well as economic objectives, to impose a socialist programme in the L.P. and expel the right wing, but on the contrary tries to use his position to brake the class struggle as was seen in the position he took in the vote at the AEF Conference for an immediate £3 increase, where he refused to give his casting vote for the increase.

But his statement will be an encouragement to those middle leaders and officials who are directly receiving the pressure of the workers in the big engineering factories, the workers who know they have smashed the government's incomes policy, who know that by their struggles they have changed the relationship of forces in the organisations of the class and who are determined that they will not carry the cost of the capitalist crisis on their shoulders. It is ^{the} vitality and combativity coming from the factories, which regains certain middle and even top officials to a proletarian position and forces Scanlon to speak as he does

OUR PROGRAMME

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

EDITORIAL

so as not to cut himself off from the base. It is a process going on in all the political and T.U. organisations of the class and it expresses itself in a whole variety of ways. The visit of the a T.U.C. delegation to Hanoi, the union opposition to the South African tour are just two expressions of this process.

All the political organisations of the ruling class are disintegrating in front of the advance of the revolution and the struggle of the British masses. In Ulster the election of Paisley and his friend is not a defeat for the masses but for the big landowners and bourgeoisie because it signifies the disintegration of their political organisation, the Unionist Party, which has governed Ulster for decades. At the same time it means a polarisation of forces and is going to stimulate the development of the revolutionary left tendency in the Northern Ireland Labour Party, and Peoples Democracy, stimulate the removal of those leaders who look for conciliation and reformism solutions.

It is necessary to act with confidence and dynamism. The objective conditions for the revolution are mature only the leadership is lacking. The revolutionary leadership is developing in the Labour Party, the anti-capitalist programme is being raised, but still there is not an organised tendency, with a bolshevik functioning with a full life of discussion, resolution and application. We appeal to the vanguard and cadres in the Labour Party and Trade Union to take confidence from the world and national process, to gain theoretical and political security by the study of the marxist texts of this epoch, the texts of Posadas and the IV International, and to push ahead with this fundamental task, the construction of the revolutionary leadership.

we salute the demands of
building workers for the
nationalisation of the
building industry, and
for the £35 a week basic
wage!

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED 
FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 112

10th MAY 1970

PRICE 6d.

MANIFESTO OF 1st MAY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. 1970

TO, THE WORKING CLASS,
THE PEASANTS,
THE ENTIRE EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED MASSES,
THE STUDENTS, REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS,
THE SO-CALLED CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE, TO WOMEN,
THE COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST, LABOUR MILITANTS,
THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARIES,
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST CATHOLIC
AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT MOVEMENTS,
THE TRADE UNION MILITANTS:

On this 1st. May,

VIVA THE STRUGGLE FOR A WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST
UNITED FRONT TO CRUSH WHAT REMAINS OF CAPITALISM BEFORE AND DURING
THE ATOMIC WAR WHICH IMPERIALISM IS PREPARING AND FOR THE WORLD
TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM.

The International Secretariat salutes, on this 1st May, the working class and the masses throughout the world who are carrying on the struggle to overthrow what remains of capitalism in the world, triumphantly, and who, without fully achieving this, are in the Workers States and also in countries where they are still struggling against capitalism, in the process of building new social relations, based on fraternity, solidarity and Communist morality.

The essential dominant characteristic of everything that happens in the world is the progress, advance, and ascent of all the types of the mass struggle and the social conquests made: the masses are progressing constantly and this takes the form of

CONTD PAGE 3

THE ENTIRE ISSUE OF THIS NUMBER
OF RED FLAG IS DEVOTED TO
"MANIFESTO OF 1ST MAY OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,
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1970"

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

dual power when the masses do not submit themselves to capitalist power, but, where they can, they impose their dominion and solve all the problems which capitalist society is incapable of doing. The masses impose their working hours, their wage rates on capitalism and decide what the rent shall be, how the housing shall be distributed, the organisation of hygiene and sanitation. And these same masses impose on the bourgeoisie and imperialism respect for democratic conquests and the progress and increase of democratic conquests and of workers power in the factories. This is the tendency throughout the world: in the Workers States, in the U.S.A., in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Peoples who have only recently, in this stage, become organised, and countries which are only entering into history now, are doing so from the first moment with socialist measures. This gives them an immense strength, which makes them weigh throughout the world. Libya, Sudan, South Yemen, Congo Brazzaville, Mali, and Iraq have been incorporated into the revolution by taking socialist measures. The masses of the countries which are the most backward economically struggle for social conquests and objectives before all, trying to organise a socialist life. They also struggle for economic objectives, but the most important thing to them is their social objective, the achievement which enables them to intervene and bear weight in the world revolution. This unites the whole world process. It raises it to a higher level and unites it and with this the sentiments, consciousness and solidarity of the world masses is raised to a new level and centralised in the unconditional defence of the revolution and in preparation for new leaps forward.

Every new revolutionary event has the instantaneous and complete support and solidarity of the world masses. Ninety per cent of humanity participates, intervenes and weighs constantly on a world wide scale, sustaining the progress of the revolution preparing more progress. Even in the U.S.A. where the conditions are the worst for the progress of the independent mass political and social life, with a police and military apparatus such as capitalism never had in the world before, with a trade union bureaucracy that is immensely weighty, with a gangster trade union apparatus, without a workers party, the masses are in constant mobilisation, they go on strike, and there are anti-war and anti-imperialist movements. And imperialism can't put a stop to it and has to take notice of these movements. They are movements that are not the product of the autonomous self development of the American masses; they are the direct consequence and reflection of the world revolution. There has been no previous trade union or political preparation for them in the U.S.A., but the masses mobilise and immediately they rise to the highest level yet achieved by the world revolution as was the case in the recent postal strike, the teachers strikes and the strike of the airport employees. When the world masses influence and raise the security and ability of the U.S.A. masses to organise, it is because everything in the world is unifying the process of the socialist revolution now. The levels are different, but the historic aim is the same. So the Vietnamese masses unite with the American masses, with the Soviet masses and the Peruvian masses. It is the characteristic of this stage of history.

Capitalism is disintegrating, it is destroying itself internally as a result of being submitted to the revolutionary actions of the world masses. The crisis and decomposition of capitalism is reaching an enormous level. It has gone on from De Gaulle to Willy Brandt, whose policies make direct attempts on the structure and strategy of world capitalism. In order to sustain German capitalism, he is carrying out a policy which goes against the centralised functioning, the integrity, the internal relations and the world plans of capitalism. And the tendency everywhere, where capitalism subsists, is to produce new Willy Brandts. Meanwhile the internal struggles in the

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

Workers States increase, struggles of bureaucratic tendencies preparing a rise in the political struggle with ideas, measures and a programme that favours the world progress of the revolution. The bureaucracy has to be in favour of and base itself on the world progress of the revolution in order to sustain itself in this stage. It does not intend to do this, but the measures that it has to take to defend itself are favourable to and encourage the progress of the world revolution. The bureaucracy has to support the Arab masses, the Vietnamese masses, the Laotian masses, the Cambodian masses and the Congolese masses; it has to support the measures of nationalisation and state ownership in Peru and Bolivia; it has to appeal to the Italian and French Communist Parties to take power.

"Pravda" appeals for the formation of an Anti-Imperialist United Front in the whole of Latin America and the organisation of a single peasant trade union throughout the Latin American continent. This is not in the interests of the bureaucracy, but the need and strength of the Workers States which are imposing themselves on the bureaucracy and make it take these measures uniting the Workers State to the world revolution and the world masses. The bureaucracy has to take these measures, but cannot harmonise itself with the world revolution, because its interests differ and do not correspond to the needs of the world revolution. But as the needs of the world revolution are more powerful than the bureaucracy and it is based on the structure and nature of a Workers State, a policy is imposed on the bureaucracy by the Workers State, which, does favour the progress of the revolution. The bureaucracy does not express the need for the revolution to progress, nor does it organise this progress or a revolutionary policy, but objectively it favours the progress of the masses, of revolutionary forces and movements and the world revolution vanguard.

The world revolutionary movements are in a process of constant advance, which can be measured in the Communist Parties. In all the Communist Parties, big or small, conditions are mature for the development of revolutionary tendencies and inside them the way is opening to the need for a revolutionary policy. The highest expression of this progress this year being in the united front that has been built between the Communist Parties and the IV International. This united front exists at different levels, but everywhere, represents the opening of a whole period in the life of the world revolution, which Cde. Posadas defines as the "historic meeting" of the programme, ideas and conception of Trotskyism with the Communist militants and masses, and the Workers States.

The possibilities of peaceful co-existence have come to an end and neither capitalism nor the Soviet bureaucracy, nor the leaderships of the Communist Parties can dominate the course of events anymore; they are not the ones which determine how things shall be. The course of history is determined by the revolutions, the mass movements, the historic will and security of the masses, who when they conquer a wage increase or better work conditions don't just sit back to enjoy it but make use of it as the means of strengthening their power in the factories, and society, and as part of the preparation for taking power. Hence, although the economic conquests don't compensate for the constant increase in the cost of living, the social and political authority of the proletariat does increase and powerfully, which holds the capitalist system in check, and constantly makes a mess of its fascist terrorist plans. It obliges sectors of the bourgeoisie to make concessions, and adapt themselves to the strength of the masses, and aggravates the internal contradictions of capitalism. This is the reason for what is happening all over the world: what is dominating and determining the course of history is the internal structure of the progress of the socialist revolution,

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

As much in the Workers States as in the Communist Parties, left nationalist and social movements, the centre of discussion is the taking of power. Even in the countries where the dispute over power is still taking on a conciliatory form, one of peaceful co-existence, the power of the capitalist system is in dispute. Where there are revolutions of a nationalist type, as in Peru, Bolivia and Sudan - revolutionaries of bourgeois military origin - these revolutions have to raise the level of their objectives immediately, and in the very course of the revolution to make their continued existence possible they have to take socialist measures, like the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade, the mineral wealth, fish flour in Peru, or the distribution of arms to the people in Congo Brazzaville.

The Communist Parties and the leaderships of the Workers State did not either foresee or prepare for this. It was the IV International guided by the thought of Cde. Posadas, that foresaw and organised for it, and at the same time as it organises it intervenes, publishes its papers, and booklets orientating theoretical and political understanding of the process, influencing the thought and assurances of the whole of the revolutionary vanguard in preparation for the coming stage. The role of Posadas and the IV International is an essential factor in the understanding of this stage of history. For the stage which we are entering is the stage of intelligence and reason. No apparatus is able to impose itself on or oppose itself to the historic decision of the masses. This was possible before but not anymore. The communist will of the masses has now reached such a level of historic consciousness and world unification, that it could never fall back.

The socialist revolution has won over the peasant masses throughout the world. Before the peasantry was a centre of support for capitalism, now it feels part of the world revolution and it does not await, but goes in search of an alliance with the working class and the Workers State, the peasantry is incorporated into workers parties and workers centres.

Meanwhile the counter-revolutionary plans of imperialism organised by the C.I.A. and world capitalism have failed everywhere. They have failed in South Yemen, Libya, Chile, twice in Bolivia, in Congo Brazzaville, Peru, Sudan, Iraq and Italy. In Cambodia they did succeed in carrying through a reactionary Coup, but the revolutionary civil war has risen to a new level, four fifths of this country are in the hands of the masses and they are united with those of Vietnam and Laos in a revolutionary united front which is being extended to the whole of South East Asia. Imperialism has failed everywhere. Everywhere the revolution advances and dual power rises and the world anti-imperialist united front is constantly extended. There never was - and never will be - a stage in history similar to this one, dominated as it is by an objective united front in which 90% of humanity participates with the intention of overthrowing the power of the exploiting class. This is what dominates the feeling of the masses of the entire world this 1st May.

In the face of this, imperialism is consciously preparing for atomic war; and the bureaucracy of the Workers States and Communist Parties who in the past carried on a policy of conciliation and submitted the masses to co-existence with capitalism, are drawn now to understand this process and the need to do so is imposed on them. The masses insist on it and progress with invincible tenacity, in the imposition of forms of dual power and development of them; in capitalist countries, in the Workers States, in the so-called "backward" countries this is so. The bureaucrats haven't the means to prevent this. It cannot offer the basis for co-existence to capitalism, because it cannot subject the masses to it, and therefore capitalism can't either. If

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

Capitalism could it would try to win time for itself with peaceful co-existence. But this does not depend on the bureaucracy, but on the masses who don't allow it. Therefore the tendency which dominates in imperialism is the one to respond with world atomic war and partial atomic wars, massacres and terrorism, as in the case in the Middle East, Cambodia and Biafra. Imperialism has to show that it is impossible to conciliate with the Workers States and the Communist Parties. This means that the dissension, discussion, internal struggle and the struggle of tendencies in the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the Communist Parties are heightened. The historic decision of the cadres, militants and leaders of a sector of the Communist Parties rises to the preparation for the struggle to take power. The influence of the revolution was rejected before by the Communist Parties due to the type of internal life. Now, in the stage of reason and intelligence this is no longer possible. The revolution penetrates and dominates the life of the Communist Parties. The crisis of the Communist Parties is not a crisis of demoralization. There are sectors that leave, which separate from the Parties, but the strength of the Communist Parties is kept up and grows. This is so everywhere. It is a crisis of growth which causes internal purification, and rejects all that cannot be won to the struggle for socialism. This is why right tendencies are getting liquidated and not the Communist Parties or the Workers States.

For the time being this liquidation of the Ota Sika and the Garaudies is being carried on in a bureaucratic way, in an attempt to defend the interests of the other wing of the bureaucracy linked to the Party structure. But the bureaucratic form that this takes does not diminish the fact that the power of these groups, especially those forces that contain the revolution, is disintegrating, as much in the Workers States as in the Communist Parties. This is the reason for the constantly rising discussion with the confrontation of ideas, the need to give coherent historic explanations and to organise theoretical thought in the Workers States and Communist Parties. This is the way in which the wing which will be won for the revolution is progressing supported by the struggle of the masses, which is rising disputing the power inside the Communist Parties and Workers States.

In France, Italy, Belgium, Peru, Argentina, Chile and Bolivia, the power rises from the factories, particularly in France and Italy, and the power goes from the factories into the Communist Parties, and stimulates forces inside the Communist Parties to discuss on the basis of scientific ideas, feeling and admitting the pressure and capability of the masses to take power. The pressure of the masses will cause the organisation and rise of a conscious revolutionary leadership in the Communist Parties in the next stage. Imperialism hasn't the strength to contain this process. But, on the other hand, the authority and influence of Posadas and the IV. International inside the Communist movement accelerates it constantly.

Imperialism is trying to take atomic arms to the moon or to find a way to launch the atomic war en route to the moon. All the imperialist journeys to the moon have this aim. But the Apollo 13 disaster shows how capitalist disconcertment and crisis have their repercussions and reach into everything that capitalism does. Imperialism supports and sustains all reactionary military and counter revolutionary governments. But the revolution penetrates the U.S.A. with greater strength and raises the level of the tremendous social and political crisis in the U.S.A. sowing discontent, scepticism, insecurity and a defeatist feeling in the Yankee and world bourgeoisie. In the leading summits of world capitalism - Yankee Imperialism - the internal struggles are as intense, continuous and profound as the progress of the revolution. The differences that divide the groups, factions and wings of capitalism which brings them into opposition against one another

MANIFEST OF THE 1ST MAY

are derived from the same understanding that they have to try to live through the atomic war, but opposing ideas as to how to do it. And these differences are becoming more and ^{more} weighty as the consciousness of the fact that history has condemned the bourgeoisie and it will have to disappear grows, more weighty than the discipline of its historic interest as a class. The world masses impose on the bourgeoisie the consciousness of the fact that it will disappear from history by their strikes, mobilisations, revolutionary wars, factory occupations and by raising the level of the world anti-imperialist united front. In the U.S.A. 50 million people mobilised in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution this year on Moritorium Day. This shows the maturity of the situation in which the most imperious need of history has to be responded to: the need for **THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION IN AN ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT.** With the organisation of the ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT today history will save itself tens of years of struggle later on! And the conditions for the achievement of this objective are at hands reach!

The struggle which the IV International has waged since it was founded has become the necessary road of history today: the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front with the programme for socialist revolution; unconditional support to all nationalist revolutions that attack the positions of the oligarchy and imperialism; support for the anti-capitalist revolutionary class struggle; support for the peasant movement - the handing over of the land to the peasants; organisation for armed confrontation, with the atomic arms that the Workers States possess to capitalist and imperialist coups that attempt to contain the revolution by means of slaughter and terror. This world united front is being made in day to day life. The masses show their solidarity immediately, whenever any important action occurs anywhere in the world. There exists a state of maturity in the fraternal revolutionary sentiments of humanity, a state of mobilisation, readiness to intervene which is so developed in the masses that inspite of the bureaucracy of the Workers States the conciliatory policy carried on by the masses' trade union and political leaderships, and inspite of the fact that proletarian democracy does not exist either in the Workers States or in the Communist Parties, the masses have rejected and defeated all imperialist provocations, they havn't accepted a single one of imperialisms publicity campaigns against the Workers State, particularly against Czechoslovakia. The world masses discern between the bureaucracy and the Workers States and at the same time as they criticise and fight the bureaucracy they defend the historic conquest that the Workers States represents without hesitation. The masses have caused the failure of imperialis, campaigns to create currents of opinion unfavourable to the Workers States and instead have made their weight felt inside the Workers States against the bureaucracy and contributing to the greater development of the revolution.

It is the same with the reactionary campaigns held by the bureaucracy of the Workers State. The world masses have rejected and caused the failure of all the trouble stirring activity carried on by the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies over frontier incidents and have imposed a discussion of the differences on the respective governments, whilst the forces wishing to express solidarity to Vietnam, to the Palestinian people, and to Cambodia against imperialism have met. And in this process the frontier incidents have been moved back to a position of far less importance whilst the need for a world united front increases. Inside China they are having to discuss and proceed with the re-organisation of the Party and in the U.S.S.R. equally the need to strengthen the centralisation of the economy and increase the control of the party makes themselves felt. The world masses feel joyfully present in the progress of the revolution in the

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

Workers States. The sentiment of the masses and their socialist revolutionary will unites them on a world wide scale and for them this is the unification of human progress, whatever its historic basis may be: the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, or the progress of the political revolution in the Workers States.

This year Lenin's centenary is celebrated and humanity is paying Lenin a most powerful homage by following the road of the world proletarian revolution Lenin foresaw and organised the ascent in the world socialist revolution for he analysed its methods and instruments, the destruction of the capitalist system, the building of Workers States and the organisation of progress in the Workers States. The Communist International, the Bolshevik Party and the soviets were the most advanced instruments and the most effective for human progress as far as Lenin was concerned. Today the masses are on the way to imposing on the world once again what Lenin built. When they can do so, the masses establish soviet relations immediately, disputing power with capitalism by means of forms of dual power, and organisms of a soviet type. Everywhere the masses are moving forward in the creation of organisms that unite the whole exploited population and which organise any struggle for immediate demands in such a way as to make it serve the interests of the anti-capitalist struggle. This is the basis on which a gigantic process of world dual power has built up.

In the face of this dual power, the leaderships of the Communist Parties still do not accept to do the necessary thing for the taking of power. These leaderships are beginning to accept the need to take power but they hope to do so by taking a conciliatory road: gradually winning positions in parliament from the apparatus of the capitalist state, when capitalism is doing nothing less than prepare for atomic war or what is the equivalent of atomic war in each country.

The main part of the life of capitalism is dominated by preparation for the war. The feeling, will, consciousness and materials, economic, scientific and technical resources of imperialism are devoted to atomic war. The failure of the trip to the moon was part of the details of the war preparation, for which imperialism made use of these trips. It is trying to find a way of launching nuclear arms on the U.S.S.R. and the other Workers States from the moon, or en route for the moon, in such a way as to make it impossible for the Workers States to defend themselves. Really, only madness could bring imperialism to conceive of this idea. But as imperialism has no more objective historic possibilities of existing it has to build up its own confidence by imagining things that are outside reality. This is why it concentrates everything on the war, the atomic war, that is where its entire consciousness centres. But this does not free it from feeling in its very heart the effects of the force of the revolution and the world masses.

The strikes in the U.S.A. the growing movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, against intervention in the Middle East and support for the Latin American revolution, and the rise in the level of the negro struggle, the extending alliance between the negro and the working class and the Vietnam solidarity movement - all this enormous advance of the petit bourgeoisie, students and worker masses supporting the world revolution gets to work right in the heart of imperialism, within the imperialist apparatus and disorganises and breaks the monolithism of imperialism. This causes tendencies to rise even inside the American Senate itself and the army - as is shown by the denunciation made of the Song My murderers - disputes between the President and the Pentagon, and between the two of them and the CIA. This all weakens imperialism and lowers its capacity for destruction. It does not eliminate its capacity for destruction by any means but it reduces it. The world masses, through their influence and weight on the American masses are preparing for world war in this way, wearing down the power of the enemy at the rhythm that

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY 1.....

they are increasing their own power.

The Communist Parties are hanging back in the face of this. A process of internal differentiation amongst the sectors of the Communist Parties is going on but slowly. It is, however, a necessary process, and now in operation. The commemoration that the Communist Parties make of Lenin's birth should be to make revolutionary ideas triumph within the parties. They should make Communist sentiments, consciousness and morality, and the feeling of being the necessary organism for the struggle for power the dominant thing in the Communist Parties; that is, go back to being the Bolshevik Party, with the programme, objectives and experiences already taught by the Russian revolution.

Lenin taught that the struggle for power consists of preparing the destruction of the capitalist system and putting the organisms of the masses themselves in its place, based on proletarian democracy. These organisms were the SOVIETS. Lenin's position on the soviets is the greatest example that humanity has of historic objectivity, honesty and subjection to revolutionary ideas. As Cde. J. Posadas analyses, with reference to Lenin, and as he himself does following the example of the Marxist masters, Lenin organised the whole of his life, struggle and resources for revolutionary ideas, objectives, programme and practice with communist morality all determined by the objective interests of the whole of humanity. And to do this he counted on and based himself on the capacity, pre-occupation and initiative of the masses. He relied on the creative ability of the masses put into motion in the organisms that could give life to proletarian democracy. These ranged from the simplest organism like a factory committee to the highest forms of soviet functioning.

Lenin stands for soviets, the Bolshevik Party, the Communist International and the programme of the world socialist revolution, based on the world centralisation and unification of the masses by means of organisms - the creative will and capacity of the masses expressed by means of organisms where the masses are the ones who decide what shall be done.

Without having read Lenin, the world masses are doing what Lenin said and did. The masses are doing today what is to be found in the texts of Lenin, and the same in those of Trotsky and above all those by Posadas, who is the continuator in this stage of these revolutionary masters.

Marxism is ^{the} consciousness of the unconscious process of history and Lenin was, in his period, the best interpreter of Marxism, as Trotsky and then Posadas were later on. The masses of the world are advancing along a road which has already been analysed by the masters of Marxism. In Lenin one has a wonderful lesson on how to use Marxism as the most powerful instrument for progress, for Marxism thus used organises ideas and develops a collective capacity for action. The example made by Lenin must be studied and above all his role during the first 5 years of the Soviet Union and in the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

The IV International appeals to Communists, to the Communist masses and leaders, to Socialists, to Christian Democrats, to trade union militants and leaders, to revolutionary nationalist militants and leaders and to the leaderships and militants of the parties and trade unions in the Workers States to unite, to make a world united front with a programme for a MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, with a programme to overthrow what remains of capitalism, to make an anti-imperialist united front for the organisation of the preventative action of the world masses against world atomic war which imperialism is preparing to launch

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

in any part of the world at any moment - it could be now. By developing preventative war action as is occurring in the Middle East, Cambodia and Vietnam - preventative wars to hold imperialism back and defeat it, humanity can prepare to respond with the greatest strength possible in the world revolutionary war against the atomic war and imperialism; also by crushing pro-capitalist bureaucratic cliques in the Workers States like that of Dubcek in Czechoslovakia; by reanimating soviet functioning in the U.S.S.R. and other Workers States on the basis of proletarian democracy; by the U.S.S.R., China, and the Workers States taking the initiative in organising an anti-imperialist united front and holding the world anti-imperialist conference which was decided upon in the last meeting of the Communist Parties in Moscow, making delegates elected in trade union assemblies, and representing all movements and parties that struggle against imperialism and capitalism participate; by the Cuban Workers State taking the initiative in organising a Latin American anti-imperialist united front, appealing to the trade unions, Communist and Trotskyist parties, and revolutionary nationalist movements to come to a Latin American Anti-Imperialist Conference, and appealing for the formation of a single Latin American Workers Centre; by appealing for a single World Centre where peasant and student centres can be represented as well, by giving unconditional support to the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian masses, and the Palestinian masses, the entire Arab masses; by the formation of regional United Socialist Soviet States in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America on the way to the creation of a World Socialist Soviet Federation, and by forming Federations of Republics in the revolutionary process in all parts of the world where they can accelerate the formation of the Anti-Imperialist United Front; by appealing to nationalist movements to make anti-imperialist united fronts, taking concrete measures of expropriation of imperialist enterprises, forming a state monopoly of foreign trade, the banks and credit, handing all the land over to the peasants and supporting collective forms of working the land with the formation of peasant communes; by working out programmes for economic development for all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the basis of help from and alliance with the Workers States, by inaugurating centralised economic planning with the development of the necessary industries of consumption, all under workers control and with workers administration of state owned industries; by uniting and transforming education to make of it an instrument for progress and for the emancipation of the masses, beginning by establishing student workers government of the universities, and by appealing to nationalist movements, the trade unions, and revolutionary Catholic tendencies to constitute Popular Governments Based on the Trade Unions and Popular and Workers Governments Based on the Trade Unions to put forward this programme.

The IV International appeals to all the leaderships of revolutionary workers parties and the parties themselves to form a World United Front which responds with the programme for world socialist revolution to the historic creative will of the masses, to this gigantic process of dual power to be seen in the world today, and which responds to the preparation of world atomic war by imperialism in the final settlement of accounts which is going to be the world atomic war between humanity which advances towards socialism and imperialism in internal crisis and decomposition. The will of the masses has already pronounced itself, has already given its opinion on the necessity to take power. When the masses unify themselves rapidly and spontaneously, when in the world there is the same unified will to struggle against the capitalist system, when movements of support for all the revolutionary and progressive forces are unified for all the conquests of the masses in whatever part of the world, when in front of whatever event the public opinion of the masses is formed immediately and throughout the world and everywhere the tendency is to intervene in support of the revolution, it is because human consciousness is

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

already mature for the triumph of the world socialist revolution. The leaderships still do not understand, do not accept, and fear this process because they are not prepared will not prepare, and continue hoping to advance within the policy of conciliation, of containing, of gradual, electoral, parliamentary processes when they could take power today in a number of countries. In not taking power, they give to capitalism an advantage which of itself is not capable of obtaining, permitting capitalism to prepare itself better with more atomic arms, with measures of mass destruction.

Throughout the world everyday the masses are posing situations which allow them to advance in the struggle for power. That is increases in salary, reduction in the hours of work, respect for trade union conquests, trade union rights, defence of democratic liberties, freedom for trade union and political prisoners. It is necessary to organise all these struggles as transitory instruments for the organisation of the masses in the struggle for power, to pose in all parts the sliding scale of wages; of hours, the 40 hour week for all workers, that all the profits of automation and the increase in productivity are given to the workers.

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT of the IV International calls for a discussion in the revolutionary world and workers movement the Workers States, the Communist Parties of the Workers States, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, the Socialist Parties, the left Christian Democracy, the Revolutionary Nationalist movements on the UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM and on the basis of this to push forward the struggle against capitalism with the programme of demands and measures which lead to the installation of new Workers States, new workers powers and the development of the nationalist revolutions into socialist revolution. The International Secretariat of the IV International appeals to the Communist Parties to have this discussion within themselves, to struggle against the right wing which opposes itself to the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system. It appeals for the unification of the trade unions and the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries with the trade unions and Communist Parties of the Workers States and appeals for the unification of all the socialist trade unions, revolutionary, nationalist christian trade unions in an anti-imperialist anti-capitalist united front. For this objective, it is necessary to push forward the resolution of the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties and realise the anti-imperialist World Conference to discuss and resolve the common struggle against imperialism and for the liquidation of world capitalism.

We salute with our greatest revolutionary joy the satellite launched into space by the Chinese Workers State, as a powerful impulse to the world socialist revolution in all its forms and as a tremendous blow to the functioning and structure of what is left of capitalism in the world.

We salute with the same joy the 8 Soviet satellites launched by the one same rocket, and which together with the Chinese satellite express the historic power, not only the scientific and technical power, but the power, conquest and social historic superiority that the Workers States represent, which act as a guide and example now to the whole of humanity in the solving of all its problems.

This shows the immense social power as well as the military technique of the Workers States, whose planning together with a common strategy, with an appeal to the American masses to rebel democratically against imperialism, which would be the beginning of the revolution in the U.S.A. with an appeal to the entire world masses to a world anti-imperialist united front to over-

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

throw imperialism and what remains of capitalism in the world, could be achieved with minimal effort and in this way the capacity for destruction and the murderous plans of imperialism would be limited.

We salute the Chinese Workers State which has been able to move from the most backward forms of social relations to the scientific and technical prowess of being able to put a satellite into space in only 21 years; this does not only mean scientific ability but the political decision required to make use of that ability, which will influence the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and in the crisis of growth that the Soviet Union is going through, encourage the process of political revolution and oblige the bureaucracy to adopt a policy of greater confrontation of imperialism and of greater objective stimulus to the world revolution.

We salute as well the meeting of revolutionary movements and the North Vietnamese Workers State government held in Canton to unite the struggle in the Indo Chinese peninsular against imperialism, which means a tremendous stimulus to the socialist revolution throughout Asia and a move towards a world anti-capitalist united front.

On this 1st May, on the Centenary of Lenin, humanity pays homage to the constructor of the Workers State, applying in a direct form even without knowing it, his experiences, policies and objectives which are the same as the experiences, the policies and the objectives of Trotsky, of the IV International and Posadas, the organiser of the IV International of this epoch. This is the appeal which the IV International makes to all the leaderships of the Communist Parties, of the socialist parties, of the left Christian Democrats; of the revolutionary nationalist movements to struggle to respond to organise on a world scale in the anti-imperialist front the struggle against the oligarchy, imperialism and against the capitalist system, organising the Mass Communist International.

VIVA THE UNQUENCHABLE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE WHICH THE MASSES OF VIETNAM PUSH FORWARD, THE MASSES OF LAOS, OF CAMBODIA, OF PALESTINE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, INFLUENCING THE MASSES OF THE WHOLE WORLD, OF THE UNITED STATES, FORTIFYING THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND PREPARING THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS!

VIVA THE TENACIOUS AND VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN, FRANCH, GERMAN, BELGIAN, BRITISH, JAPANESE, NORTH AMERICAN, SWEDISH, SPANISH, ARGENTINIAN PROLETARIATS WHO ARE PUSHING FORWARD PROLETARIAN DUAL POWER ON THE BASIS OF THE FACTORIES AND ORGANISING BY THEIR EXAMPLE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT OF ALL THE MASSES!

VIVA THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES IN AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA!

VIVA THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN PERU AND BOLIVIA!

VIVA THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION WITH SOCIALIST MEASURES IN SOUTH YEMEN, SUDAN, LIBYA, CONGO BRAZZAVILLE!

VIVA THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS STATES WHO ARE THE PRINCIPAL FORCE WHICH INTERVENES DIRECTLY IN THE DEFEAT OF THE MOST RIGHT WING AND REACTIONARY SECTORS OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND IMPEL THE INCORPORATION OF THE WORKERS STATES IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST WORLD UNITED FRONT!

VIVA THE STRUGGLES OF THE WOMEN, OF THE SO CALLED CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE INCLUDING THE SICK AND THOSE WITH PHYSICAL HANDICAPS WHO PARTICIPATE FULLY AND ACTIVELY IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES

MANIFESTO OF THE 1ST MAY

OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND SUSTAIN IT WITH THE SAME RESPONSIBILITY AND THE SAME EFFICACY AS THE ADULTS AND THE ACTIVE PROLETARIAT AND WHO INCORPORATE THEMSELVES IN THE CONSCIOUS LIFE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN PROGRESS AND WHO FEEL THE JOY OF A LIVING PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM!

VIVA THE ADVANCE OF THE MASSES CADRES AND SECTORS OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIPS OF THE WORLD IN THE UNDERSTANDING AND THE DECISION TO REPLY TO THE NECESSITY TO ORGANISE FOR THE TAKING OF POWER!

VIVA THE HISTORIC FUSION OF THE COMMUNISTS WITH THE PROGRAMME, THE IDEAS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORLD UNITED FRONT AND THE WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST FRONT!

VIVA THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA LENIN ON THIS 1ST MAY WHICH COINCIDES WITH HIS CENTENARY!

VIVA TROTSKY CONTINUATOR OF THE STRUGGLE AND THE IDEAS OF LENIN AND ORGANISER WITH THEM OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA POSADAS THE ORGANISER AND LEADER OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL OF TODAY AND ORGANISER AND LEADER OF THE HISTORIC FUSION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST MASSES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST WORLD VANGUARD WITH THE PROGRAMME AND THE SCIENTIFIC IDEAS OF THE MARXISM OF THIS EPOCH!

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE
IV INTERNATIONAL. 20th April, 1970.

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 113

25th MAY 1970

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Out with
Imperialism
from Cambodia

EDITORIAL

For the Labour Party to power on the anti- capitalist programme

STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, MASS ASSEMBLIES TO IMPEL THE
REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY, AND TO
PREPARE THE IMPOSITION OF NATIONALISATIONS, WORKERS
CONTROL AND THE SMASHING OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The General Election is taking place in a situation immensely favourable for the British and Irish masses, and utterly unfavourable, in fact catastrophic for the forces of capitalism. It could hardly occur at a worst moment for the forces of international and national reaction. All the relation of world forces is going to impel the British masses, before, during, and after the election, which we confidently believe will result in a massive concentration of the masses behind the LP, for an LP victory, to seek and find the means to take power, smash the state apparatus and build socialism. The onset of the third world war is part of the whole process, but it will not impede the construction of the British Workers State on the road to socialism. Every day brings new victories for the world masses and the Workers States, and new disasters for capitalism.

The invasion by Yankee imperialism of Cambodia has characteristically backfired. Not only has it tended to cement the relation between the Workers States, but it has elevated the united front of the masses of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, resulting in a series of useless military exercises for Yankee imperialism, which have displayed for the whole world to see, the inability of world imperialism to conquer the masses of Vietnam. In the Middle East Israel is faced with the growing response of the Arab states to the brutal escapades of Zionism backed by Yankee imperialism. The war is beginning to weigh on the Zionist bourgeoisie, the casualties mount, foreign minister Eban has even spoke of the need to make concessions, and Dayan, who represents the wings most dedicated to the interests of terrorising the Arab masses and defending the interests of imperialism, has to counter this by speaking of their determination to fight to the finish. As elsewhere the process of the socialist revolution lays bare, the contradictions at work in the camp of the ruling class, and devastates the whole structure of the ruling cliques.

This reaches a climax in the confusion within the imperialist war apparatus within US imperialism. The House of Representatives refuses to countenance subsidies for the Pentagon war in Cambodia, pathetically Nixon cannot sleep and feels obliged to speak to students whose questions he cannot answer. Governor Reagan has to revise plans to meet the danger of revolution in the United States. The structure of imperialism cannot act with foresight, but only impressionism, really responding to the needs of the moment. And the split in the Yankee ruling class is now glaring. As for the specific situation in Europe, the general election in Britain is going to have tremendous consequences from the point of view of impelling the socialist revolution throughout the continent. In Italy the situation smoulders, continuous, and can break open at any stage towards a revolutionary situation. Here again the local elections are awaited with a certain dread

by the bourgeoisie, confirming as they will, the impotence of the bourgeois parties, and the instability of any centre left arrangement. France and Italy are already in a state of attempted repression by the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

It is quite clear that the offensive of Yankee Imperialism in Cambodia and the greater intervention of the Soviet Union in the Middle East to sustain the air defence of Egypt, is opening a new decisive phase in the struggle between a dying Imperialism and the forces in the world advancing towards Socialism. We have only to see the process as it is developing in Great Britain to realise that the masses are concentrating themselves around the Labour Party and the trade unions in preparation for great events, with the expectancy of taking power from capitalism. The preparations in Ireland for the renewal of civil war, the crisis in the government of Southern Ireland about how to contain the process in Northern Ireland, and the ceaseless relay of strikes in Britain as a whole, are not the prelude to the parliamentary road to socialism, but a prelude to the development of a revolutionary situation. The conditions in Italy although more advanced than that in other European countries are only different in degree from the process in the rest of Europe. The succession of governments, which find no stable support, the generalisation of strike actions, which go beyond demands for wage increases, and call for immediate improvements in all the conditions of life of the masses, to complete lack of perspective for capitalism, constitute a crisis which can only find a revolutionary solution.

Italian capitalism has shown itself afraid to launch a military coup and the most favourable situation has long since passed for it to do so. We are seeing thus the proletarian revolution in Europe as part of the whole world socialist revolution. But how to accelerate this course of events? Are the workers parties and organisations adequately prepared for this task of leading the way to the conquest of power? Now it is quite

clear that they are not ready. The experience of Italy has shown this without question. There the process evolves from a pre-revolutionary to a revolutionary situation and back again, because the leadership of the Italian Party has for so long been based on a policy of conciliation with capitalism, that when this policy no longer works, it does not know what to do. It can no longer restrain the process, and it is sensitive—apart from

the right wing sectors of Amendola etc.—to the pressures of the masses, but the instrument, that is the party, to take the power is not prepared, theoretically and hence organisationally.

In Britain we see the same process with the Labour Party. Its sluggish mode of political existence, which flows from its non marxist social democratic outlook is an obstacle to the objective process of interior entrism, which is now at work in the mass organisations of the working class, that is the generation within these organisations of tendencies open to and partially expressing the revolutionary programme. The programme of the Young Socialists for example—which the Morning Star has not publicised, nor understood—and the demands of the Socialist Charter Group, that the Labour Party prepare to take the power and take all steps to secure the expropriation of capitalism—all express the force of interior entrism in the Labour Party. But although the masses fundamentally are concentrating, and will concentrate themselves around the Labour Party, the small British Communist Party has a strategic role to play, provided it frees itself from the various anti Leninist policies, which have largely controlled its policy for some time, and debilitated its

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

DENOUNCE THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSSEN A BRAZILIAN TRADE UNION LEADER IN SAO PAULO

We denounce with all our strength the latest crime of the Brazilian military regime against the workers movement. At the demonstrations of the 1st of May, Olavo Hanssen, one of the most respected and militant trade union leaders of Sao Paulo, was arrested, tortured and killed.

Arrested together with 14 other trade union militants, he was taken to prison and tortured on the 5th of May. The other trade unionists arrested with him, saw him after his torture, and he was very ill. On the 7th he was so ill that the prison doctor ordered that he should be taken to hospital, and he was removed from the cell to another small room in the prison. Then the other trade unionists were released, and did not see him alive again.

When his comrades outside the prison enquired about him, they were told that he had been taken to hospital, but they could find no record of him in any hospital in the city. Later his body was found in a park, and it is clear that he died in the prison, and his body was taken there by the police.

We denounce this and make an appeal to the Labour and Communist Vanguard, to the YS and YCL, to the student movement, to Tribune and Morning Star to denounce this latest attack against the workers movement in Brazil. It is an attempt by a pro-Imperialist regime, without any social basis of support, to intimidate and terrorise the popular masses. It must be met by a campaign of denunciation by the workers movement and progressive public opinion in this country.

Send resolutions of denunciation to the Brazilian Embassy
32, Green Street, W.1.
or the President, Government House, Brasilia

Eliminate the right wing in the Communist Party. For the application of Leninism in the policy and programme of the Communist Party

On the need for a scientific characterisation of the Internal process in each of the Workers States

The degenerated Workers State

J. POSADAS

AUGUST 1968

Trotsky has already explained the degenerated Workers State. I will restate it, amplifying his analysis. Degenerated means that the Workers State constituted as proletarian power exercised through the medium of soviets, trade unions, workers control and the functioning of the Party, no longer exercises the power in this fashion. At that moment the Party functioned as a revolutionary organism. Between the trade unions-parties-factory Committees, and soviets there was a relationship through discussion. The Party was preponderant within the soviets, factory committees and trade unions which imprinted their influence on the class. And this in return exercised its influence on the determination of the Party and the government.

At that moment, proletarian power was exercised directly, from the base, and any correction was made immediately, the party being that which expressed it. Then the layers, wings, tendencies, leaders of the Party determined the policy, orientated it, basing itself on the functioning and on the direct contact with the class. The leadership was in direct contact with the base of the party, and when in the course of a Central Committee or Political Bureau, the revolutionary wing found itself in a minority, did not succeed in imposing its line, thanks to this revolutionary functioning, it could put itself in contact with the Party to make it participate. Without waiting for assemblies, meetings, or conferences, it based itself on the revolutionary life of the party in factories, the soviet, the factory committees and within the trade unions.

This functioning was destroyed by Stalin. The revolutionary democratic life was destroyed and replaced by the life of the apparatuses, then by life at the summits, and in the last place by an administrative functioning. The party did not live any more. The class did not live any more, politically; did not weigh any more politically; the trade unions did not function any more, but in an administrative way and at the top. The functioning of the base was destroyed, that is to say the support of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is against the bourgeoisie and not against the proletariat. While it does not mean any political and social right for the bourgeoisie, it means every right for the proletariat, and including that of exercising its control, of judging the Workers State. The economic structure of the Workers State requires on the other hand an economic soviet functioning, which in its turn signifies proletarian democracy, or as it is popularly called, socialist democracy. (The exact term is proletarian democracy for in socialism democracy is not necessary.) One uses the term socialist democracy in the same way as Lenin said "Socialist State" to mark the triumph over capitalism and to give a distinct picture of the State.

The destruction of the life of the proletariat, of the functioning of the trade unions, of the soviets, of the factory committees, of all the political life of the masses, of tendencies, and fractions (thus annulling the creative capacity of the masses) has given birth to the functioning of apparatuses. From that time the Party could not make the international and national policy, which suited the masses, but made the one which was suitable to itself. The development of the Workers State has been replaced by the preoccupation to keep it passive, to conservatise it. The pressure, the forces, the intervention, and the creative capacity of the masses has been stifled, and all the external activity of the Workers State has been directed to preserve its conservative interests. It was no longer interested in effect in preserving the revolution, but in maintaining its conservatism.

The theoretical justification of this process has been "socialism in one country". Formally they have not destroyed either the soviets, or proletarian democracy, but they have been destroyed in life under the theoretical and programmatic justification of "socialism in one country". This theoretical conclusion was given by Stalin and his fraction. The rest of the bureaucrats did not have any importance, any weight, any capacity, any authority. Stalin had an authority, which

was in part legitimate in as much as he was an old bolshevik, but it was mainly usurped.

Starting from the difficulties of the revolution, he concentrated in his hands the apparatus of the Party once Lenin was dead and Trotsky eliminated, and by supporting himself on the limitations of the mediocrity of the other bolshevik leaders. They had been able enough for the revolution, but following on they showed their mediocrity to construct the Workers State. They expressed the lack of preparation of the Bolshevik team for this task. That is why comrades, it is necessary to take into consideration our insistence, and prepare ourselves theoretically. These leaders were revealed to be mediocre yielding to the pressures of socialism in one country.

Trotsky explained all this in a correct but insufficient way. He gave the essential bases for the comprehension of the degeneration of the Workers State. But he underestimated in part the lack of aptitude and ability of the Bolshevik team. If this team had shown itself more capable, Stalin wouldn't have had the great career that he had. The limitations of history had not permitted the creation of a more capable bolshevik team, that is to say more knowledgeable, more rooted in the class. It yielded to the great difficulties before the choice of socialism in one country and the revolution.

It is logical that it was like this. There only exist two ways of looking at history; through the national sentiment or through the internationalist sentiment—national consciousness or international consciousness. It showed itself to be insufficient and Stalin based himself on this insufficiency. He accentuated the national consciousness and sentiment, the national interest, even with it being socialist revolutionary national interest, faced with the difficulties, which accumulated. Nevertheless these did not create the conditions; they existed and were developed.

By suppressing the life of the Party, fraction and independent life of the Trade Union, Stalin impelled consequently the timid and hesitant Bolshevik tendency to accentuate their fear and their national regional sentiment. This gave to him a large mass base. On the other hand as Trotsky said, an important part of the Bolsheviks were eliminated by the civil war, and in as much as it had not been possible to replace them by others, those who before the revolution, and during it had shown themselves to be weak (going as far as opposing the taking of power) began to reappear and to advance. A whole weak and hesitating team incorporated into the Party, yielded before the difficulties. At the time of the Bolshevik vanguard this sector wouldn't have had any weight, but with the elimination of this, it exerted all its weight.

Stalin suppressed the Soviets, not in the form, but in their function. They continued to meet, but without deliberating. Then the Soviet life was prepared previously in the trade union life, in the factory life, in the Party, in the public literature, in the public revolutionary discussion. Without this, the soviet was no more than a tomb, a shapeless organisation manipulated by the apparatus.

They suppressed the soviets, factory committees, trade union independence. They made all the organs of power of the Workers State degenerate. By maintaining a rigid structure of the Workers State to avoid putting it in danger, by justifying the non extension of the revolution as a means of defending socialism

in one country, they left on one side the revolution in the country itself. Thus they strangled it, suppressing all the revolutionaries, all the internationalists, and replacing them by a team of careerists, allowing them to develop egotistical, individualist interests. They broke the perspective of optimism of the revolution to the extent where today there is the development of the relations of a capitalist type within the Workers State itself.

In this degenerated Workers State it is not longer the proletariat which commands, but the apparatus which no longer defends the revolution and socialism, but socialism in a single country, and then private interests. It can only act in this way against the proletariat, and not only against capitalism. The proletariat is going to dispute power with it to develop socialism. And this is the degenerated Workers State.

The deformed Workers State

The deformed Workers State signifies that it was born this way, that it was never, even in the beginning, based on the Soviets, on the factory committees. The taking of power has been made by the apparatus, that is to say by the Communist Parties of these countries, basing itself on the Soviet Army, except in some cases. This Workers State was constructed without soviets, without factory committees, without a revolutionary life and party. It was deformed from the beginning.

This qualification, which was already made by the old IV International, while being a generally correct appreciation, because it underlines that from the beginning there were no proletarian organs of power, is insufficient. The qualification of deformation indicates a historic genetic defect, but this is only in the form. Basically it is a question of a Workers State in the image of the USSR, submitted to the USSR. The deformation is within the form. Basically there is a sui generis Workers State a combination of deformation and strangulation, because of its submission to the Soviet Union. The proof of it is that in order to elevate

socialism in Czechoslovakia, it is necessary to beat the Soviet bureaucracy. It is in this sense that the formulation of deformed is insufficient. This did not come from the limitation of the comrades of the period, who tried to give an answer, but from the limitation of their comprehension, which was a product also of the multitude of forms taken by the revolution. From this lack of comprehension came immediately the notion of "glacis", which is a capitalist term. It is because of this that they could say at the second Congress of the IV International "neither Moscow nor Wall Street". Glacis implied the iron curtain. Thus Germain spoke in a text of 1946 believing himself to be a great genius.

At that moment Soviet troops were in Czechoslovakia, and he said; "neither the Soviet troops, nor imperialism". Later it was "neither Kremlin nor Wall St.". When the correct slogan was "Out with the troops of imperialism, let the Soviet troops give power to the masses". Today this slogan is still correct. But as he did not feel either with one side or the other he concluded "Neither one nor the other".

The sui generis Workers State

The term Sui Generis workers state applied to Cuba is based on the fact that the foundation of this state was constructed with a leadership of bourgeois origin, which tried simply to structure a bourgeois state. It tried to install a humanist state, but on the way it saw that this was not possible and it then took the road of the Workers State. At the beginning this group saw nothing, but the masses said to them; "no" "no", and in 1960 they had to begin to expropriate, a course which they had not previously been prepared to take, and for that reason the Yanks had supported them. The peasants began to take the farms. Guevara was even sent at the head of an armed detachment to try to make them return the land. But the armed peasants refused and said "either you nationalise or we kill all the cattle". "But this is an attack on the revolution". No, the peasants replied "the attack is if you leave them to the Yanks, we want the farms for the country not for us".

Thus under the direct pressure and initiative of the masses the process of nationalisation began, which afterwards the leadership accepted and pursued. This leadership thought to develop humanism and the masses impelled it to make the revolution, to structure Cuba as a Workers State. There was no place for humanism. (This is the same process in Peru, Bolivia and for that reason the panic of imperialism, which speaks of new Cuba"). Whatever measure is taken to develop the internal market tends to escape capitalism. It was not possible to take capitalist measures to regenerate the Cuban state.

Under the pressure of the world process, and above all of China, which exercises on Cuba a great influence, the Cuban masses have forced their leadership to go forward, on the basis of their humanism—which was socialist basically—for it was impossible for them to reach this humanism under capitalism. They understood that what they wanted could only be realised with socialism, and in no way with capitalism. It is thus that the Cuban revolution was transformed into the socialist revolution thanks to the determination of the masses.

They exercised in the Youth Congress such a pressure supporting the document which we had presented there for nationalisation, that at the end of this Congress in a demonstration collecting 200,000 people, Castro announced the nationalisation of 36 enterprises. And before he had been able to say "we will compensate them" the masses shouted at the top of their voices "no, no". It was in this way that the masses forced Fidel Castro to nationalise. From this we have the Worker State sui generis.

Of bourgeois origin, with bourgeois political positions, this bourgeois leadership has communist feelings. Thus they have constructed a Workers State. There is no example or previous analysis, which allowed them to understand this process. That is why we define it as sui generis.

For us that was not new, we had already given in 1956 elements for the interpretation of the revolutionary processes in Latin America. At the third Conference of the Latin American Bureau in 1956 we said; "in the present conditions of the world revolution, the petit bourgeois leaderships can be won to the socialist revolution, to take power and con-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Eliminate the right wing.....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1
 functioning. In order to do this it is necessary to raise the whole level of political discussion and the celebration of the birth of Lenin, posed very forcibly the need to apply the norms of Leninism in the Communist Party, the need to have a party geared not for social democratic functioning, but for the preparation for the taking of power. How can one commemorate Lenin without speaking of the function of the Bolshevik Party? or how to apply Bolshevik norms now? Did not Lenin specifically denounce those who thought to confine the class struggle within parliamentary objectives?

We appeal to the CP vanguard to study and restudy the document of Posadas on the role of Lenin and to comprehend in all its depth that the Posadists—the Trotskyists of this epoch—are part of the Leninist heritage, that there is no separation between the revolutionary communist vanguard and the IV International. The breach that Stalinism made in the international communist movements is healed.

At the CP meeting commemorating Lenin, Gollan did not make a political appraisal of Lenin, but treated him as if he were simply a person true to himself (a peculiar and not very helpful formulation). On the other hand the soviet delegate spoke, although in limited fashion of Lenin's dedication to the cause of social revolution.

The Moscow conference with its emphasis on the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle, and Breznev's recent reiteration that imperialism can only be shifted by force, demand's programmatic response. It is true that the leadership of the Soviet Union, being a bureaucracy, is incapable of providing the revolutionary programme, although its position in the structure of the Workers State forces it in some degree to meet the exigencies of the advance of the world socialist revolution i.e. armed support to Egypt, armed preparation for the war that is to come, demands that the French and Italian parties take power etc. But this in no way prevents the communist parties responding to the pressures of the masses, putting forward the anti capitalist programme, appealing for the creation of the mass organisms of dual power, factory committees, area committees, mass assemblies, and demanding that the Workers States throw all their military and social weight into the scales to expel imperialism from the face of the planet. In effect the documents of the Moscow Conference, despite prevarications in their formulation, were the denial of peaceful co-existence. And this means that within capitalist countries the line of peaceful co-existence within capitalism must be abandoned, and that means the revolutionary struggle to take power from capitalism. Naturally the Soviet bureaucracy is hardly specific programmatically about anything; its greater readiness to take steps against world capitalism is

forced upon it, but that does not prevent the conscious communist vanguard in the British Communist Party realising the need to rectify the policy and functioning of the party, which in its present line is not responding to the needs of the masses. Events show that sectors of the class, who respect the British Communist Party as representative of the Workers State are impelling it, although the CP remains a small party. The successes of the CP in some of the local elections, the election of Les Dixon onto the AEU committee, all show the immense possibility for the CP to influence the revolutionary left in the Labour Party.

But we repeat, a thorough ideological struggle is necessary in the CP, a struggle over programme and objectives. Appeals in the "Morning Star" speak about the need to use the paper as a weapon, but with what programme? The "Morning Star" in its present form is hardly the ideal transmitter of revolutionary energy. It reflects only too well the limitations of the present internal life of the CP. It is full of redundant material and is weighed down with sport columns, and pseudo cultural nattering. When Lenin was being commemorated, the whole function of the party press should have been discussed. Iskra was a revolutionary political paper concerned to educate the class politically, to draw upon the experiences of the class, it did not simply report events, but formulated the line to follow. The "Morning Star" in comparison is full of petit bourgeois chatter. It gains a following, not because of its line, but because it is linked with the Communist Party, which sectors of the vanguard see as representing the Workers State. There is a growing contradiction between the base of the CP, who wish to impel the class struggle and the negligent attitude of sectors of the leadership. The CP is full of concealed and impending conflict. The last Congress in the discussion over Czechoslovakia, showed a tendency, which rejected the line of the right wing leadership, and considered that intervention by the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia was justified. All the communist parties show a tendency towards the removal of the right wing elements or crises in one form or another, the original split in the Finnish CP for example. These crises can be approached with confidence; they can no longer be contained. It is necessary to eliminate those elements in the CP who support Zionism and who resist the application of a Bolshevik functioning and programme in the CP. Indirectly these elements help sustain the rightist elements in the Labour Party. The monstrous document of "Cogito" (product of the right wing of the CP) supporting the rightist sector in Czechoslovakia should be repudiated. It is nothing but bourgeois liberalism masquerading as Marxism. A campaign denouncing such right wing attitudes should be waged in the CP, a struggle

should be imposed, because it is only in this way that the revolutionary sector in the CP is going to be able to weigh in the Labour Party. And coupled with this there must be the struggle to revolutionise the structure of the party, to remove its social democratic functioning, to place more and more weight on the factory cells of the party with the anti capitalist programme, to achieve a superior fusion with the class, which in turn will impell the party.

We have the greatest confidence in the capacity of the revolutionary sector in the CP, sustained as it is now by the emergence of the revolutionary sector in the Labour Party with the programme of the IV International (the Young Socialists), sustained by the tremendous progress and advance of the world revolution and the total decomposition of the forces of capitalism and imperialism, to overpower the forces of the right. We put forward the policy of the United Front of the IV International led by Posadas with the forces of the revolutionary tendencies in the LP and the CP on the basis of the anti capitalist programme.

There are already in the recent history of the growing rapprochement of the CPs and the IV International striking instances of the United Front. The Spanish communist youth in Barcelona recently brought out a leaflet in a united front with the IV International, on aspects of the anti capitalist programme such as workers control etc. In Italy the IV International has been invited by the CP to intervene in the conference of communist women and has been invited to attend cadre schools of the CP. It is necessary to develop this work in the British CP. We appeal to the communist vanguard to base themselves on the documents of Posadas as a constant source of profounder confidence and understanding. For the

renovation of the traditions of the Third International in the CP. For the reinstatement of Leninist norms in the CP. For the Bolshevik selection of cadres in the CP. For the application of the anti capitalist programme in Britain on the basis of the extra parliamentary intervention of the masses with factory committees, area committees and mass assemblies! For the preparation of the LP and CP organisationally and politically to take power with the masses, smashing the bourgeois state and installing proletarian democracy, a British and Irish Workers State as part of the United Socialist States of Europe.

EUROPEAN
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The scientific characterisation

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.

SUI GENERIS WORKERS STATE

struct the Workers States". This intervention was reproduced in the Marxist Review no 3 or 4. Also to characterise Cuba, we had applied what we had foreseen. Trotsky said that in certain conditions the petit bourgeois Stalinist parties could attain power. We added "petit bourgeois" in general, not just Stalinist, as we pose it today for the Left Christian Democracy. We have been the only ones who with years of anticipation foresaw the course of the process of the world revolution in this stage.

Such a process sui generis creates in its turn a structure, which allows a political revolution sui generis, that is to say, without need for violence through a revolutionary process of change. The latter remains necessary, but not at the level of a violent political revolution, a paralysing interior struggle, which gives advantage in every way to the enemy, which allows him to win time, to breath, to contain the development of the revolution.

Nothing like this is necessary in Cuba, because sui generis means that there exist the forces for change, which impose themselves, because the intentions are correct, even if the means of organisation are not. There are no other examples in history, and this process requires this

interpretation, this term of sui generis (which is not a definition).

It is this analysis which explains our attitude towards Fidel Castro, even in the worst moments, where he said; we were "stinking" things, that is in the Tri Continental. Today he must say; "this IV International is good." Without this characterisation of sui generis we would be led by the empiricism of Fidel Castro as the capitulators have been, Maitan, Germain or Pablo, who believed that in running behind Castro they would become "participants" and be supported. Also when they saw that Castro did not do this, they showed themselves to be deceived, and put everything in question under the pretext that he was not doing what they said.

These people are not guided in the function of a dialectic reasoning by analysing structure, programme, policy. They analyse as a function of the relations which they have, with whoever is there.

The deformed Workers States are in a certain fashion sui generis, because they have an origin in a leadership, which has strangled the Workers State. But as degenerated Workers State can no longer be produced in its own image, the new deformed Workers States are sui generis. But this process also depends on our own intervention.

The installed Workers State

These forms of degenerated Workers States, deformed Workers States, sui generis are no longer going to be repeated. Today there are on the contrary other forms, as that of the installed Workers State. This is not an arbitrary term. It is determined by the concentration previous to the taking of power in a way which did not exist in the past. That is rendered at present possible by the fact that there exists 16 Workers States. In the Workers States in formation or installed there is an immense quantity of revolutionary social forces already apt and ready for the measures of the Workers State from the taking of power. Without being communist, without being in the soviet bloc, and without belonging to the world of the socialist revolution emerging from nationalism, these countries have no less the decision and prepare themselves to be Workers States. That is why we speak of installed Workers States; which does not mean that they are now installed, but are installed in conception. Basically it is a scientific term, but not in the form.

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by CDE. J. POSADAS

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FOR THE LABOUR PARTY TO POWER ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

bourgeoisie—the recent laws passed in France against subversive groupings and the “bomb outrages” all point to the attempt by the bourgeoisie to repress as part of the preparation for the coming civil and nuclear war. But this in no way hampers the steady advance of the united front of the French worker and petit bourgeois masses. Thus the CFDT, one of the two leading trade union confederations in France, has affirmed the need to overthrow capitalism, and shows that despite the timidities of the French CP leadership, the strength of the United Front of the masses grows. The problem throughout Europe remains that of impelling the revolutionary leadership in the workers parties, communist or social democratic. But everywhere the various re-

volutionary tendencies become bolder. The most significant aspect of this in the recent period is the appearance in the German Social Democratic Party of a current, revolutionary in orientation, which in effect dominated the Congress and threw the leadership completely onto the defensive. Events in Cambodia helped to centralise this attack on the Brandt leadership, and the question was being posed a class party or a party “for all classes”. Germany will shortly see a massive intervention by the working class as part of the united struggle of the British, French, Italian, Spanish, Belgian masses to expropriate capitalism throughout the continent.

The General Election is being held when the process of international civil war cannot be contained. All the social bases of capitalism are slipping away, all the capitalist political parties tend to collapse and the possibilities of surviving on the

basis of conciliatory communist or social democratic parties disappear. In Britain it is quite obvious, that the Tories are in a process of decomposition, the tendencies against the “law and order” line multiply, capitalism senses that the end of their social order is rapidly approaching. The Wilson leadership is as frightened of the outcome as the Tories, and tries to limit the election campaign as much as possible, but the election is taking place in a period when the Young Socialists have adopted principal aspects of the programme of the IV International, when the Socialist Charter group speaks of the need for the LP to “take the power” and secure the “power” against all the interests who are opposed to socialism. The Communist Party also speaks of the need for socialist policies, although its programme and orientation, as yet, is not benefiting from the intervention of the programme of the Young Socialists. The masses have been preparing for the election for some time and are doing the maximum in their power to impel the Labour Party into power, and stimulate the new revolutionary leadership in the LP, despite all the obstacles that exist for this course of action. And in this respect the interinfluence of the Irish and British masses is of tremendous consequence. There is no difference in the quality of the struggles in Ireland and Great Britain. The masses of Northern Ireland without the fetters of an inert LP apparatus to contend with, have been enabled to advance directly into civil war and seize areas from Imperialism as in Belfast and Derry. This is going to occur again on a much vaster scale and the troops of British imperialism are going to crumble, are going to go over to the side of the Irish masses. Already the renewal of fighting in Belfast, the intervention of the youth in these combats shows that the conditions are developing towards civil war, and a war, which will be fought for socialist demands. Terrified, the abject representatives of capitalism in Northern Ireland speak of how the election is going to accelerate “trouble”, certainly it is, but it is going to accelerate “trouble” in Great Britain also. In due course, as a result of the General Election in Great Britain the proletariat is going to take violent action to impose the anti capitalist programme—nationalisations, workers control etc.

All the previous strike actions of the masses, car workers, dockers, miners, teachers have been with the objective of centralising the class around the anti capitalist objectives, and in the Pilkington strike, however marginal it may appear to be, we have an index to the whole spirit of the British masses. Again, despite the refusal of the trade union leaderships—and it has been a criminal refusal—to generalise the Pilkington strike throughout the car industry, the strike has shown conclusively the elevated spirit of combativity of the masses, their willingness to repudiate utterly treacherous trade union officials, as in the case of the massive abandonment of NUGMW. The concentration of the strikers, the intensity and violence of the struggle, the fact that Labour councillors have been prominent in the strike leadership, is in miniature the spirit of the whole British proletariat. Objectively it is an impulse to the whole proletariat to prepare the way for the taking of power. The speed with which the strikers appealed to the rest of Europe to aid the strike, shows the spirit of identification of all the masses in the anti capitalist struggle, throughout the continent.

We appeal to the revolutionary left in the Labour Party and the Communist Party to campaign fearlessly in the electoral struggle for the anti capitalist programme, to publicly fight all the delaying tactics of the right wing, to appeal for the extra-parliamentary support of the masses in the struggle to impose the anti capitalist programme in the Labour Party. It is possible to lean on all the victorious progress of the world socialist revolution, on the existence of the 16 Workers States, on the powerful joint struggles of the British and Irish masses, to work for the downfall of the right wing in the Labour Party, and advance towards the seizure of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the liquidation of the bourgeois state apparatus. It is necessary to prepare for this. It is necessary to realise that we are approaching, what will become in time, a revolutionary situation, because the masses are entering this election with the expectancy of major social change, they will be satisfied with no less. All

manner of programmatic demands have been raised recently by the class. Dockers have struck for complete nationalisation of the docks, the AEF conference has again called, in a limited fashion it is true, for the nationalisation of the great monopolies, and the need for the guaranteed wage to meet “lay offs”, miners have called for the nationalisation of the coal distribution industry, and a complete overhaul of the functioning of the coal industry to meet the interests of the miners, and the end of wholesale contracting of the industry, irrespective of social needs. Such is the phenomenal advance of dual power in the unions that at the recent conference of the ETU, whose leadership is amongst the most reactionary, the executive was instructed to submit all national agreements in future to a conference of shop stewards for discussion and ratification before signing! With all this activity of the class there is no objective reason for lack of confidence among the middle cadres of the Labour Party, the left MPs etc., in confronting the right wing of the LP. Already this right wing is on the defensive. On the debate over Cambodia Wilson was faced with a massive rebellion of 60 MPs, and under the enormous pressures within the LP, took a position that was distinct from that of his foreign minister Stewart. It was a position in a sense of trying to balance between Imperialism and the Workers States.

In this phase of the world revolution the LP apparatus is faced with a situation to which it is unfitted. Sectors of this party and apparatus seek to establish firmer relations with socialist organisations in Europe, Spain, France etc. A hundred MPs recently condemned the regime in Portugal, an ally in NATO. In effect the apparatus is fractured, the world situation no longer allows it to play the role of containing the masses. The masses have already defeated the rightist sectors in the LP. There is no logical reason for them to remain there. It is necessary to wage this electoral struggle with the perspective that it is a prelude to very great events on the world and European arena. All the experiences of the world revolution, the French revolutionary general strike of 1968, the Italian “November”, the victory of the German social democrats in the elections, the Irish “August”, all the process of advance to new Workers States in the Middle East, Latin America etc., the new relationship between the Workers States and communist parties and the world masses, the process of interior entrism, all these experiences in various degrees have been assimilated by the revolutionary vanguard. The British masses require a new leadership, they move into the elections with the expectancy of a new leadership. We appeal for the General Election to be fought with the utmost vigour by the revolutionary tendencies in the LP and the CP. We appeal for the holding of mass assemblies, demonstrations, for the calling of strikes as a means of impelling the concentration of the masses around the Labour Party on the basis of the anti capitalist programme. Use the election to make the masses feel their own power in the streets and the workers areas, to discuss the programme and the way forward.

Impel the preparation for the General Election on the basis of the anti capitalist programme and the organisation and strengthening of the organisms of dual power. The Labour Party to power on the programme of the nationalisation of the economy, the banks, the industries, the land! For workers control, for all the profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living. For the planning of the whole economy, for a united Socialist Ireland as part of a Socialist Great Britain, for the United Socialist States of Europe etc! The IV International appeals for a massive united front on the basis of this programme to impel the Labour Party into power as part of the process of leading to the smashing of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the Workers State.

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Bolivia

The Miners Trade Union declares itself for the struggle for Socialism

La Paz (AFP). “Torn by internal struggles, the Bolivian miners, assembled today in Congress, tried to rediscover unity around a workers political line in front of the revolutionary government of General Ovando. The trade union Siglo 20 (20th century), bastion of the miners, will submit for the resolution of its XIV Congress a document, which underlines the fact that the government of General Ovando will fail if it does not orientate itself towards socialism, but affirms that 30,000 Bolivian miners will know how to defend with arms in hand, the “limited democratic process”, which began with the coup d'état of the 26th September. Continuing, it added, that “the recent events in Peru and Bolivia will reinforce the international struggle against imperialism which advances necessarily towards socialism, and is incompatible with the private economy”. After declaring itself for the urgent calling of a continental meeting to “forge a South American workers movement, capable of transforming Latin America into a socialist country,” the communique rejected neutralism between the two blocks, saying that the socialist block is not “imperialist”.

It is with profound revolutionary joy that we report the resolution of the miners trade union Siglo 20, heart of the miners vanguard in Bolivia, which at the same time that it poses again the necessity of the struggle for socialism and appeals to the government to orientate itself towards it, affirms the defence “arms in hand” of the nationalist revolutionary process, opened with the government of Ovando, and also appeals for a continental meeting to “forge the South American workers movement capable of transforming Latin America into a socialist continent”. This resolution of the trade union Siglo 20, which takes the fundamental slogans of the IV International and of Cde. Posadas for the process which Latin America is living in this stage, is the most conclusive demonstration of the authority of the IV International and of the programmatic and political maturity of the revolutionary and workers movement of Latin America, which is now expressed in Bolivia, but which represents all Latin America.

As Cde. Posadas has analysed in a series of documents on the revolutionary process in Latin America, the deficiency in the construction of the mass revolutionary leadership, makes it almost inescapable that the process passes through a stage of “revolutionary nationalism”, and that the independent intervention of the proletariat and of the masses in this course strengthens the advance of the “Nationalist Revolution to the Workers State.” The intervention of the masses vanguard in Bolivia has this significance, to impel and secure the socialist revolution, organising themselves and appealing to the masses of all the continent, but at the same time, to defend what has been acquired “arms in hand”.

This Miners Congress has and will have an immense transcendence. In it, the miners proletariat has launched itself to consolidate its organisation on the base of a clear anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme. The election of Lechin as secretary of the miners is not the determining factor, it has no fundamental importance, because Lechin to maintain himself will have to submit to the programme posed by the miners, and in that, the expropriation of the daily “Presence” which is not the programme of Lechin, but the programme of the struggle for the advance to the Workers State. The election of Lechin is circumstantial and is based on the fact that the miners proletariat has still not been able to construct the leadership in accord with the programme that they have drawn up, but what determines is the programme, and the programme demands the construction of a class and revolutionary leadership and this Miners Congress shows that in the next stage, it will be constructed.

We salute this immense progress of the Bolivian revolution, and we salute the comrades of our Bolivian Section, who with their activity have impelled this revolution, above all we salute comrade Posadas, who with his permanent intervention and understanding of the world revolutionary process, has prepared the sections of the IV International to intervene as a leadership in this process. The resolutions of the Miners Congress of Bolivia are a triumph of the masses of Bolivia and of the world revolution.

We appeal for resolutions of support to the conclusions of the Miners Congress of Bolivia.

16th April 1970

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG**



**Denounce the
murder of
Olavo Hansen
see page 4**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 114 10th JUNE 1970 PRICE 6d

For a 24 hour General Strike with occupations to impel the LP into power on the anti-capitalist programme

ORGANISE THE INSTRUMENTS OF DUAL POWER. FOR UNITED FRONT COMMITTEES, MASS ASSEMBLIES TO FUNCTION PERMANENTLY

The way in which the electoral campaign has been waged has little to do with the historic significance of this general election. The leading right wing team has endeavored to prevent any discussion of the issues of fundamental interest to the masses—a genuine programme to satisfy the needs of social advance, the planning of the economy, the liquidation of private property interests, the full participation of the masses in all aspects of the organisation of society, the break from NATO, that is the road to socialism, the construction of a British Workers State. But the prevention of discussion of the programme for socialism has not in any way diverted the workers and the radicalised petit bourgeoisie from their objectives. On the contrary, despite the lack of a dynamic class leadership, the masses have shown their determination to centralise themselves around the Labour Party and to impel it into power. Then they will proceed to eliminate that leadership, and find a new one. Essentially the Wilson group are now corks on the wave, they do not determine events. They obstruct the masses, but they cannot contain them as in previous periods. The masses have the historic initiative and live in the expectancy of great events, which will shatter the whole fabric of capitalist society—hence on the other hand the grim pessimism of the Tories, who feel that, as Macleod has put it, this election is far more important than previous elections, and feel also, that they are going to lose it.

Throughout the course of the electoral campaign we have urged the intervention of the workers in the form of strikes, demonstrations and mass assemblies. Because of the sabotage of the LP and T^T leaderships, every effort has been made to prevent the intervention of the masses. Both Wilson and Jack Jones of the TGWU have spoken of the need of liaison committees to support the Labour Party in the factories, but so far have done nothing to organise anything, and Jones, although he is forced to threaten a dock strike after the election, actually spoke of the danger of strikes engineered by the Tories! However, despite this the workers have taken no notice whatever of parliamentary good manners, but have gone on strike and threatened other strikes. Car workers, dockers, printers

etc. have all intervened to defend their class interests. The printers strike preventing the appearance of the bourgeois press is indicative of their contempt for the electoral procedures of capitalism. What is this free press? Where is the workers press to be found in all the big dailies? When the bourgeoisie scream about the free press what they mean is their press—and we urge the printers union among the other demands for the anti-capitalist programme to demand the nationalisation of the printing presses, which should then be placed at the disposal of those who support the structure of a Workers State. To hell with the "free press", which tells lies most of the time, and uses valuable paper to interpret the wishes of the bourgeoisie.

THE CIVIL WAR IS BEING PREPARED IN IRELAND

At the same time as the masses in Great Britain concentrate more and more around the Labour Party, the masses in N. Ireland prepare for new actions of civil war, which will strengthen the objective united front between the workers of Belfast and Derry and those of Birmingham, Manchester etc, in the common fight to eliminate capitalism. More and more the workers movement in Northern Ireland is freeing itself from the "religious" aspect. In the principal proletarian industries, such as the shipbuilding industry in Belfast, there were no incidents between Catholic and Protestant workers, and the next phase in Northern Ireland will see a much more powerful intervention by the Protestant workers in favour of the anti-capitalist programme applied to Ireland. The recent efforts of the authorities to contain the "Orange" mobs stems from the realisation that the process is going towards a superior level of united proletarian front in Northern Ireland and the Paisleyite type of intervention will provoke a much more powerful response from the side of the revolution than in the past. The Orange Lodges have to lean mainly in the lumpenised elements and backward impoverished petit bourgeois sectors, the Protestant workers have not rallied to the sides of reactionary unionism. We appeal to all the forces of the revolutionary left in the course of general election, and following the ge-

neral election, to impel the socialist unification of Ireland with the right of self determination for Ireland, but maintaining the indissoluble unity of the struggle of the British and Irish masses. Our objective is the establishment of a Workers State in both Britain and Ireland, and it is impossible to wage a struggle for a free socialist Ireland without the struggle for socialism in Britain.

It is necessary above all to see the general election within the perspective of a qualitative leap in the world and national situation. We live in the stage in which imperialism is driven to the most desperate methods of assassination and military adventures, because it has lost its social bases of support. Yankee imperialism launches an offensive in Cambodia, which weakens its position—the Workers States tend to unite, and all the conditions leading to revolution within the United States are intensified. The murder of Reuther, because he might become a centre of opposition to Yankee imperialism, the murder of Olavo Hansen the trade union leader in Brazil, the flow of arms into Israel, the constant widening of the war in South East Asia are all the responses of world imperialism to the inexorable, ceaseless advance of the world socialist revolution and the construction of new Workers States. The whole of Europe is living through, the first stages of the socialist revolution opened up particularly by the French

revolutionary general strike in May 1968, and thus this general election in Great Britain is merely a point of concentration for the British masses in the process of overthrowing the capitalist system. The course of events on the return of the Labour Party to power is going to be quite other than in the elections of 1964 and 1966. In that stage the world revolution did not have the repercussions in Great Britain, that it is having today. It was possible for the right wing Wilson tendency to largely dominate the scene. But history will be very different now, and the vanguard in the LP, the CP, the unions and in the factories must prepare for a wholly new situation in which the struggle for the new leadership of the masses, in the LP in particular, is going to lean on, and be impelled by a vastly more confident and demanding working class than ever before, and this does not hinge on electoral victory—this will act as a tremendous stimulus—but on the weight of the world revolution in Great Britain, the weight of the increasing intervention of the Workers States in support of the world revolution, increased aid to the Arab revolution etc., technological superiority of the Workers States, and the achievement of having roundly beaten capitalism and the Labour Party leadership in relation to wage freeze and trade union regulation. More and more it will be inevitable that the capitalist

policies of the top leadership, home and foreign are challenged at every point by the left leadership in the LP and CP. Already the LP apparatus has announced that it intends to strengthen state intervention in capitalist industry. This must be met by demands for the nationalisation of industries under workers control without compensation. The car industry must not simply be sustained by government subsidy, but expropriated, and its plants organised within a state planning of the whole economy to plan collective as opposed to private transport interests. Similarly it is vital to challenge in a far more systematic way in the LP the policy of sending British troops in Northern Ireland to shore up the crumbling domain of reactionary unionism. And all the points of the anti-capitalist programme must be related to the actual intervention of the masses outside Parliament. To implement the demands of the socialist programme means to appeal to the masses to develop the organisms of dual power. In the next stage there is going to be posed the need to smash the whole bureaucratic apparatus of capitalism. All the institutions of capitalism are hostile to anything, which seriously touches the interests of private property. It is surely preposterous to think of socialist measures passed under the aegis

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

The Y.S. must raise the level of its political life and activity to play a role in the construction of the revolutionary leadership

The Young Socialists have not played the role, which they could and should have played since their conference, and particularly in the present election campaign. We say this with complete fraternity, understanding (although not entirely agreeing with) the concern of the YS not to confront the pro-capitalist leadership of the Labour Party. But at their conference the YS voted for the trotskyist programme, have won sympathy and support for it in the adult party, but have left it there without waging a campaign throughout the country, going to the factories, distributing leaflets at the factories, calling for committees to be set up to fight for the programme, and for the return of a Labour Government pledged to carry out this programme. The failure to do this has meant that the YS has been absent from the whole electoral campaign, has allowed the Labour leadership to conduct the campaign at the most trivial level, while its own lack of organised support in the working class (there is evidently support for the programme, but the YS has not organised it), has allowed the right wing leadership of the LP to take certain measures of repression against the YS like banning the national rally and the latest issue of 'Left'.

What has been the factor, which has caused this lack of initiative in the YS, which stems from a lack of confidence in the programme, and in the class? Essentially it is the problem, which we foresaw at an earlier stage; it is due to the opposition of the 'MILITANT' group (a group which has capitulated from Trotskyism) to advance in the struggle for the programme, who forgot the programme the day after it was passed, and who are struggling against the YS militants and our comrades in the YS who want to implement the programme. And as a result of this the 'Militant' group is losing authority in the YS, and a new leadership is advancing, which is sympathetic to trotskyism, Posadism, and in part at least, seeks to orientate itself on the texts of Posadas and the International.

The reception given to the party at the London Area YS meeting on June 6th, the number of papers sold, the applause given to our speakers, and the approval of the resolution to denounce the murder of Olavo Hansen in Brazil (even though it will not be sent to Brazil, but only be a recommendation to the branches) shows the advance of a new leadership in the YS. This is not to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

THE PLANNING & CENTRAL STATE, THE ATOMIC WAR OF SOCIALISM

The decentralisation of production in a Workers State can be determined by various factors. The necessity for the decentralisation of industry is permanent, as a function of the efficiency, of the increase of productivity and the development of the country. The concentration of industry, the forms of developing industry are connected with the advance and development of the country.

Capitalism lives in a state of degeneration, making a series of operations, of investments, which atrophy society. Determined by economic interest it invests where the return on capital offers the greatest profit. It produces cities of enormous extent, and the rest of the country remains disproportionately vacant. It is irrational in the form of producing, of organising production, because each individual capitalist invests in agreement with what is convenient to him, with the authorisation of the state, according to the development of the state, and the planning of the development of the state. From the point of view of bourgeois administration, they have means of assessment, which guide

and orientate them. In the last instance what decides this is the drive for profit. Capitalism structures the economy in agreement with the interest of the average rate of profit and the capacity of foresight and understanding of capitalism. The capacity of imagination and of foresight is very limited, but in the financial and commercial line through its situation in the economy, they have a development, which allows them to understand what is of interest to the individual capitalist. Each capitalist acts for himself, negotiating with other capitalists, whether through the medium of the state, the ministers, or the treasury of the state, each one securing the best for himself.

THE ESSENTIAL FACTORS OF PLANNING

In the Workers State the planning of the economy is determined by two essential factors; one the efficiency and productivity; the other the development of the country. But from 1945 a third factor has been added with much more necessity, with much more urgency; the coming of the nuclear war. The planning of production takes into account that the nuclear war is going to destroy almost all the industrial plant or can destroy it. It is not certain that it will be destroyed, because imperialism has no security that it is going to be able to launch more atomic weapons. Thus there are three essential factors; productivity, development of the region, which combines cultural development, social development the same, or similar over the region, and preparation with the perspective of the atomic war. The planning, centralisation or decentralisation of production is determined by these three factors. The more they respond to this necessity, the more efficient will be the economy. Efficient means; productivity, elevation of productivity, and of production, and security for tomorrow. It is necessary to consider that the atomic war is going to destroy the majority of the industrial plants or at least the most important. Capitalism is going to tend to this.

The objective which capitalism is seeking, is to destroy the industrial plants, and the populations. It is going to try to destroy the places of proletarian

concentration, to destroy the bases of the revolution.

The Workers State has no interest in destroying the population, but only the industrial and military plants of imperialism. Even so, as can be seen in all the discussions in the Workers States, these are preparing to intervene in the nuclear war and to destroy capitalism. This is to say to eliminate its social strength. The plans of the Workers States are to destroy all the military power of capitalism. The Workers State has no interest in destroying the industrial power or workers power, the work force, the plant of the working population. It has no interest in this nor does it concern it. Also it is concerned to destroy industrial plant. It is going to do this because some are united to weapon production. It is going to destroy the whole industrial power which produces arms, because it has an interest in continuing, and has confidence and security that it is going to survive. It does not have, is not going to have an interest in destroying the riches produced by humanity. It has an interest in impeding the use of the riches produced by humanity for the continuation of imperialism.

There is a link, a very strict link, between the arms factories and industry. The plan of the Workers States has to include indubitably the need to destroy the industrial plant of capitalism, but for example it has no interest in destroying the car factories. It is indubitably

able that in the car factories, it is possible to make atomic weapons, but it is difficult, because they need a special installation. They can try to do it secretly, but it would be known, it could not be concealed. It requires a procedure and an installation which the car factories cannot have.

The Workers State has confidence and security that it going to continue. But on the other hand, imperialism is different, it has no future, and has fear of the atomic war in competition with the Workers States and the masses. The Workers State has no interest in destroying the masses of the United States, whose solution is the Workers State.

When the bureaucracy poses the decentralisation of production in a Workers State, it is necessary to see what it is responding to, what is the essential reason. There can be various reasons; to increase the effectiveness of productivity, to deconcentrate production and permit greater efficiency. As a consequence it increases production and decentralises population so, that the effect of the atomic war does not facilitate the action of imperialism.

As the soviets did before in the second world war, when they installed industry in Siberia and in the Urals. This impedes the intention and the proposals of imperialism to want to destroy the industry of the Worker States. Another reason is to allow the deconcentration of proletarian power, which is concentrating and already has experience. Also to defend itself from the bureaucrats, who concentrated could have greater effect and weight. Although this is not fundamental, because the technocrat draws his strength not from the concentration of industry, and through the situation in the economy, but through his function of technocrat. Of these factors it is necessary to see what is the most important.

Decentralisation is necessary, but planned harmoniously, which allows the advance of production and the population—for example that of the populations of the Workers States, who still live very remote as in the USSR, and who do not participate in the life of the country. Let these establish industries, let them make their own centres, their own life as the Chinese do. This allows the population to integrate itself and elevate its social and cultural capacity. One of the effects of decentralisation is to seek this result. Another is to seek to use the local elements; transport, climate, agricultural production, manual labour, facility for access to the exterior, combination between one region or another. Another condition is to plan the deconcentration so that the atomic war does not help imperialism, and allows production, which answers to the necessity of the war and the preservation of the Workers State. In planning it is necessary to take into account all these considerations.

But there is an omission in this plan which is an expression of bureaucratic

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

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OUR PROGRAMME

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

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

of monarchy! OUT WITH THE MONARCHY, IN WITH THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC. The struggle for the anti-capitalist programme in the Labour Party must find its basis in the continuous appeal to the masses for their organisation in extra parliamentary committees to impose workers control, to occupy the factories, to hold mass assemblies permanently to discuss all the issues that effect the masses, and to impel the construction of the instrument to lead the class, the revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

The electoral campaign has been conducted very badly from the point of view of programme, because of the ineffectiveness of the opposition in the LP, but we continue to urge the sectors of the left, Tribune, the Left MPs, the Communist Party, to use all means of publicity, radio, press, TV, public meetings to argue the case for the policy of nationalisations under workers control without compensation, for the basic minimum wage, all the profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living, committees

to decide prices, for a single workers centre in Europe, out of NATO, for the United Socialist States of Europe—most of the demands being already accepted by the young socialist vanguard in the LP, that is the young socialists. We call for the implementation of Jack Jones call for liaison committees in the trade unions and factories etc. on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, and that these act as committees of the united front dedicated to meet permanently to discuss and decide everything. And we also call for a 24 hour general strike of workers with factory occupations to impel the election, to mobilise the masses around the anti-capitalist programme. Capitalism and the leaders of the LP want to control the masses, to contain the process within Parliament. This cannot happen, and we urge the revolutionary sectors in the LP to lean on the combativity of the British and world masses to challenge the present leadership of the LP to open the way for the implementation of the programme to construct the British Workers State.

CENTRALISATION OF THE WORKERS AND THE WORLD TRIUMPH

J. POSADAS, JULY 68. CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE

limitation. The decentralisation of production as production has to take into account the inevitable nuclear war, and to consider that it is going to mean the destruction of the great factories, which produced food. Then it is necessary to substitute for these with other means of agricultural production, to increase the means of preparation for the great extensions of agricultural production for the first immediate stage of the nuclear war. Destruction of the principal means of production is going to cause immediately a very great shortage of food, because almost all food is produced by the method of transformation of raw material, whether animal or vegetable. It is necessary to foresee that in the atomic war there is going to be a great destruction, and to consider the necessity for a planning of agrarian production together with the decentralisation of industry.

The Workers States do not do this. The Chinese posed this a short time ago and advised the Albanians to pay attention to this. It is possible that the Chinese are taking such measures and also the soviets. It is necessary to consider that the soviets, like the other Workers States have to take into account and base themselves on the inevitability of the nuclear war. They have to advance; seeking how to decentralise industry together with agricultural production, which allows them to compensate for the destruction, which the nuclear war is going to cause, to sustain itself for a very short period of one or two years. After the atomic war, there is going to be a tremendous reanimation of production, because there will be no need to convince people. All the masses will tend to take power, and will plan production immediately. They will eliminate the factors that are the product of the existence of capitalism, robbery, the usufruct of capitalism, the surplus value, which capitalism exacts which is 50% from backwardness, scarcity and hunger.

Various Workers States are discussing planning, decentralisation, and the planning of agricultural production. For example in a Workers State they have now thrown out a boss of agricultural production as a thief, making a plan

PLANNING MUST BE MADE ON THE SCALE OF ALL THE WORKERS STATE

In the United States, for example, there is a great production in the economy, but to the profit of capitalism and not the population.

The Workers State must plan to combine production and productivity with the development of the population. The two things at once. In every way, centralisation developed the population, but in a minute way; while decentralisation and the creation of regional centres, incorporate the population in every place, eliminating the backwardness of the peasants, and making them live the general problems in their entirety and in their particular aspects, regarding the construction of socialism and the world revolution.

This is why it is of such incomparable value to read the texts of the discussions in the Soviet Workers State on the planning of the economy. The texts of Lenin and Trotsky, their polemics and those of the III International. None of the planners today base themselves on this. They plan the economy without taking into account the antecedents, the passed experience. All which is happening shows very well that it is the bureaucracy and not the proletariat which leads, that there is no soviet democracy.

The bureaucracy must make changes in the measure where it must face the present situation of the preparation of the inevitable atomic war, changes to the power of the technocrats and to the lowering of the efficiency of the industrial development, which could be infinitely superior. These are the reasons which oblige them to make changes.

Together with the objections, which we

in accord with his family interest. The family means a whole sector of bureaucrats and technicians. This is very common. Constantly now these reports are coming out, before this was never the case. It means that within the interior of the Workers States there is a discussion to try to improve production.

One of the aspects of decentralisation can be that of removing power from the technocrats, bureaucrats, which struggle with the party bureaucracy over the right to plunder, leadership and usufruct. A level is reached when the party bureaucracy feels itself to be in an inferior condition. Then the masses, the proletarian vanguard of the Workers State criticise, exert a pressure, accentuate their critical attitude. All this leads the bureaucracy to decentralisation with a whole bureaucratic apparatus, without basing itself on the experience of the Soviet Union. A whole apparatus has developed under a bureaucratic mentality, which believes or bases itself on the fact that planning is sufficient for production to increase. This is certain. But if the planning is not harmonious in centralising plans, and decentralising production, although in some aspect there may be centralisation, its level of achievement is limited. And in fact a whole bureaucratic functioning has been produced, which costs them millions. And this does not account for all they are going to cost. And this has importance in relation to the backwardness of the country. Because in concentrating industry, very important agricultural zones have been impeded in their development, and these have fallen under the influence of the small peasantry, of the middle peasantry, of religious and conservative tendencies.

On the other hand the development of industry deprives all these sectors of bases, incorporates the peasant into the industrial process, elevates his cultural capacity, elevates his confidence and security in his participation in society, and in consequence removes him from and turns him against the conservative sectors. Because planning and centralisation is not determined only by the contribution of the economy. The contribution of the economy is one of the aspects. The other is the effective distribution...

formulate, the fundamental failure of the planning of the economy by the bureaucracy of the Workers States, is that they are realised on a national scale and not in agreement with the whole of the Workers States. This is not a socialist planning, but a bureaucratic regionalist planning. It takes into consideration the possibilities, the capacities and the power of every one among them taken separately. This is why each one speaks of his country and of his exchanges with the other Workers States.

It is necessary to eliminate this type of exchange, and make a true socialist planning, as the bolsheviks envisaged. Exchange between the Workers States is favourable for development, but this is not the best measure. Commercial exchange signifies a very great backwardness in the Workers State, in the measure where it takes into account the particular interest of each local sector and not the global interest of everyone.

If they planned the whole of the economies, they could eliminate all the costs of overproduction. Such a planning would give, for example, for Hungary, which has some very big agricultural regions and good industry, infinitely better results than at present. They would obtain the raw materials normally, without difficulty in order to transform them generally or partially. The type of production would be determined by the conditions of transport, of efficiency, of capacity. It is in this way that it would be possible to obtain a real decentralisation and deconcentration on a scale of all the Workers

States.

Each one of them can make a series of activities, which facilitate production of everything, and diminish the socially necessary time for production. Linked to this there is the preparation for the war, for each Workers State must have an arsenal and military equipment. Up to the present one or two countries have furnished arms to all the rest. It is necessary that each one has a general base of armaments. It is not like this, because the bureaucracies of the Workers States have not been able nor have wanted to make an agreement between them, but to submit them to the most powerful. The bureaucratic leadership of the USSR acts in relation to its interests, establishing relations with other Workers States in agreement with the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, and not

in the interest of common development of all the Workers States. Otherwise they would plan in common. Their tendency is not to make a common plan, but in relation to each state, the interests of each bureaucracy.

It is not possible to have efficient planning and decentralisation without the intervention, the opinion, and the judgement of the masses, at least of the industrial and agricultural proletariat. The contrary is absurd, for without the opinion of these sectors a good planning is impossible. The latter signifies in effect capacity for foresight, organisation and analysis. The proletariat has a superior experience to all the planners, it has concrete experience, taking into account its role in industry, and experience which is a function of its collective and not individual interest.

THE ROLE OF THE Y.S.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

idealise this meeting, which still failed to concretely propose a line of action for the YS, but it was important for a number of reasons apart from the one already stated. One was the rejection of the line of the IMG speakers, who spoke of building a new leadership outside the Labour Party based on the "most revolutionary sectors" like the Irish and the coloured workers, and another was the speech of the left MP Arthur Latham. This comrade, (we call him comrade, because we think he is honest, not because all that he said was correct), made a number of important points, which indicate the advance of the left in the LP. He made a speech which analysed the world situation, he said that the basis of the election campaign must be against private landlordism, against the monopolies and against the intervention of the US in Cambodia, he declared himself a socialist, not a social democrat and said, he was in the Labour Party, because it was the party of the working class. Also, while saying he did not agree with the 'left groups' he stated that he would not attack them, but discuss to convince them, and that he was shocked and against the decision of the leadership of the LP to ban the YS rally and ban the edition of Left. This positions are the most advanced, which have yet been put forward by an MP, and it indicates the sharpness of the struggle which is going to take place between the Labour left and right in the new Parliament.

The meeting indicated, in a limited way, the advance of the left in the YS, a left which still doesn't realise fully its

own importance or the possibilities which exist. We the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International, repeat our appeal to the YS for a United Front on the basis of the programme, which they passed at their conference; this is a programme which cannot be applied in full by parliamentary means, it is a revolutionary programme, which needs revolutionary methods and a revolutionary leadership to impose it. This is the historic role which the YS can play in United Front with the IV International; to collaborate in the task of the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the LP. But this cannot be done if the Young Socialist programme is forgotten or abandoned, or with the present level of discussion and activity in the YS. It is necessary to make the internal life of the YS much more dynamic, it must discuss all the problems of the world and national revolution, and we appeal to the YS militants to make the documents of Cde. Posadas and the IV International the basis for all their discussions.

ERRATUM

We apologise for a factual error which crept into the last editorial. In this we said that the "House of Representatives refuses to countenance subsidies for the Pentagon war in Cambodia" which was in fact factually incorrect as there was only a minority tendency which was opposed. However, this does not alter the analysis in relation to the confusion and demoralisation, which exists within the war alliance and within US imperialism.

RED FLAG

supplements

by CDE. J. POSADAS

THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS, THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYISTS, THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS DURING AND AFTER THE NUCLEAR WAR APRIL 1965

FROM THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE FEB 1966

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER FEB 1966

THE STRUCTURE AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL MARCH 1966

FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE MAY 1968

THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL OCT 1968

THE STUDY OF THE TEXTS OF OUR MASTERS, MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY, THE APPLICATION OF

THE MARXIST METHOD AND MARXISM TODAY OCT 1968

All obtainable by post from

IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St. W.C.2.

Open letter of the P.B. of the RWP(T) to the Militants and leaders of the British Communist Party

4th June, 1970

Comrades,

The coming elections are of tremendous significance for the struggle for workers power in Europe, not because of the programme of Wilson, but because the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie are going to be enormously encouraged by the victory of the Labour Party, while the Tories, the party of the ruling class, are going to be thrown into a state of demoralisation even greater to the one that they are in at the present moment. Although one cannot say that it is certain, it is probable that Labour will be re-elected, because the working class are going to centralise themselves around it as their traditional class organisation, and they will attract, because of all their class actions, strikes and demonstrations a large sector of the petit bourgeoisie to their side. And we can say that the working class are not going to support the next Labour Government (as they have not supported this one) in a passive way, but on the contrary, will try to use their industrial power to make the Labour Government respond to its wishes. Because of the world and national balance of forces, we can be confident that the class is going to be at least partly successful in forcing the Labour Government to take certain measures, which damage the functioning of capitalism and damage the imperialist war alliance. As Posadas analysed in the document "The Significance of the British Elections in the Struggle for Workers Power in Europe" of 1965 the Labour Government is going to oscillate between the camp of the revolution and the counter-revolution. And it oscillates because the pressure from the base is transmitted to the leadership by middle officials who are responsive to this pressure, and want to make the Labour Party into an instrument for social change. It is this Left which is advancing, even though it lacks confidence and theoretical and political security, because it has no marxism tradition, it is this which in the next period will constitute itself as a revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party, and it is in the construction of this tendency that the Communist Party can play a very important role.

It is with this perspective that the elections must be seen, taking into account that the final settlement of accounts is very near. In the Communist Party election Manifesto "People before Profits", although it calls for a Labour victory on a socialist programme, which is correct, does not bring out clearly the role of the C.P. in relation to the elections. Why fight for a Labour victory if, as it says, the leaders are pro-capitalist? How can an alternative and left programme be imposed on the L.P.? These questions are not answered in the Manifesto. In reality the C.P. Manifesto is a left reformist programme, giving the impression that capitalism can be whittled away from inside. Certainly it is necessary to put forward in Parliament certain points of a programme, which tend to weaken capitalism and increase the power of the masses (as our comrades of the Italian Section are doing with the slogan of the Left Government based on the trade unions, and the network of committees, which are developing in the country), but never concealing that the final struggle will be violent one in the streets, and that it is necessary to use the time now to prepare the leadership for this. The Manifesto of the C.P. is inadequate, not so much

from the aspect of the programme, but in relation to the organisation of the masses to ensure the election of the L.P., the stimulation of the left current, and the imposition of an anti-capitalist programme on the government.

The Communist Party, if it really wished, as its militants genuinely do, to secure the election of the L.P. on a socialist programme, should begin immediately with the organisation of groups and committees of United Front, Labour, Communist-Trotskyist in the factories, in the workers areas, in the colleges on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, taking the programme of the Labour Party Young Socialists as the basis for this. It must organise meetings, using its important trade union strength, in the factories to discuss the programme, to organise demonstrations and work stoppages, and strikes, to make the Labour leadership feel the weight of the organised working class. The working class is showing that the elections do not define it in its demands, and strike actions; there is a whole number of strikes throughout the country in the most important sectors of industry. In this way it will attract, not repel, the petit bourgeoisie, because the petit bourgeoisie feels the strength of the working class, feels that it is able to solve the problems that the decay of capitalism creates, and for this reason it will vote for the party of that class in spite of the rottenness of the Labour leadership.

The columns of Morning Star must be used to push forward the organisation of these committees and to discuss the programme. In this short letter it is not possible to discuss all the programme, but one aspect must be stressed—the abolition of the monarchy. The Labour leadership say nothing about this, because they know that it is a peculiarly sensitive subject for the bourgeoisie, that capitalism cannot now make a transition to any other form, to the capitalist republic, and that capitalism stands and falls with the monarchy and all its tedious and ridiculous ritual. An anti-monarchy campaign would gain a very wide support amongst the petit bourgeoisie; a campaign for the abolition of hereditary privilege, against the House of Lords, against the knighting of trade union renegades, against all that feudal nonsense so dear to the ruling class and its hangers on.

In this way the C.P. militants will feel they are playing a vital role in the elections, that they are helping the left in the L.P. to advance and smash the right wing, that they are bringing to the fore as the Manifesto says, all the important questions. The C.P. militants have a tremendous authority in the factories, which comes not from themselves alone, but from the Workers States, from being seen as representatives of the Workers States and all their achievements, and it is this authority which must be used. Thus the C.P. small though it is, can use its authority and prestige to raise the whole level of the election campaign, to develop the level of independent organisation of the workers in the factories through the formation of factory committees on the anti-capitalist programme, and to impel the process of organisation of the revolutionary leadership in the L.P. based on these committees and programme.

We make an appeal to the C.P. leadership and militants to discuss this letter and implement its conclusions. We are prepared to collaborate in every way in this historic task of the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the struggle for workers power.

Denounce the murder of Olavo Hansen

We repeat our appeal to the Labour and Communist Vanguard, to the students and intellectuals to denounce the murder of Olavo Hansen, to demand an end to repression, and for the recognition, as President Medici has promised, of trade union liberty in Brasil.

Send letters and telegrams to
President Medici, Government House, Brasilia, Brazil, and to the embassy
here 32, Green St. W.1.

Olavo Hansen

TROTSKYIST MILITANT AND TRADE UNION LEADER

Comrade Olavo Hansen, murdered in Sao Paulo on the 1 of May, while being tortured by police, was 31 years old, was first a steel worker, and then a chemical worker, and had been a militant of the P.O.R.(T) Brazilian Section of the Fourth International, for ten years without interruption.

Of proletarian family, he began studying at the Polytechnic Institute of Sao Paulo, where he actively intervened in the popular and nationalist movements in the late fifties. There he was gained to trotskyist posadist ideas, becoming a militant in the ranks of the Brazilian Section.

As a trotskyist militant, Olavo Hansen went to work as a steelworker and to work as a trotskyist in the steelworkers trade unions of Sao Paulo, the most important in Brasil. His trade union activities took on great importance after the military reactionary coup in 1964.

Olavo Hansen as the other engineering comrades, were the first people to work for the reorganisation of the Trade Union against the military government, and the intervention which it made in the unions. In the struggle for the reorganisation of the trade union, which went through the stage of the united front of all the workers tendencies, Olavo Hansen, carrying forward the policy of the party, won a very great authority. Three times in prison, sacked from his work a whole number of times, persecuted, the comrade did not abandon his trade union and political work for a single day. And when he could no longer continue to work in the engineering industry, where he figured on all the black lists, he started working in the chemical industry, where he was until he was taken prisoner, on this 1st of May, coming out from a public meeting in the house of the Textile Trade Union.

Comrade Olavo Hansen was a constant and disciplined militant. He passed through various important political proofs and crises in the life of the section, in which he demonstrated stability in the Posadist conception, in the militant spirit, and showed an elevated discipline, which made him play an important role in the organisation and development of the party. His trade union activity was always a prolongation of his political militancy, the application of the policy of the International in his field of work. It was in this way that his engineering workmates saw him, and in this way that he gained his trade union authority and political respect within the trade union.

The first two times that he was imprisoned he was tortured barbarously, but they could not force him to make any declaration. The third time, they tried to make him give details of the functioning of the party and the International, but the comrade did not speak.

There are thousands of victims of repression and torture, in Brazil and in the world, who fight and fall every day with the same dignity and courage as cde. Olavo Hansen, to construct a world free of imperialism and capitalism. Cde. Olavo Hansen was different from them solely in that, to his revolutionary morality was united the scientific conception of the world, which he had learned from Posadas, and with which he had been prepared in the militant life within the Brazilian Section of the IV International. As that of the thousands that imperialism and capitalism assassinates daily, the death of the comrade is not in vain. Millions take his example, continue his combat, learn from the experiences and the errors of the fallen comrade, elevating the struggle. The continuation and the elevation of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, is the salute of the masses of the world to those who physically cannot continue fighting.

VIVA COMRADE OLAVO HANSEN!
VIVA THE BRAZILIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA COMRADE POSADAS, CONSTRUCTOR OF CADRES AND TEAMS LIKE CDE. OLAVO HANSEN AND THE BRAZILIAN SECTION, WHICH UNITE TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY AND VALOUR, THE MOST ELEVATED SCIENTIFIC CONSCIOUSNESS, ORGANISER OF THE FORCE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE MASSES!
23rd May 1970.

L. Daly Gen. Sec. of the miners denounces the murder

TO THE
BRAZILIAN EMBASSY

National Union of Mineworkers
222, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

3rd June 1970

Sir,

I have heard in the last few days of the brutal murder, after torture, of the Sao Paulo trade union leader, Olavo Hansen. I denounce this murder, which took place after Brother Hansen was arrested leaving a trade union meeting on the 1st of May, in the premises of the textile workers trade union. Permission for this meeting had been granted by the government.

I demand that an enquiry be made to find the people responsible for this crime, which is an attack on the Brazilian Workers Movement and its leadership. I also demand that the "Death Squadrons", which are no more than fascist bands, which try to terrorise the workers movement, be crushed, that President Medici holds to his promises that trade union liberties and rights will be respected in Brazil.

Yours faithfully,
Lawrence Daly

TEXT OF TELEGRAM TO THE BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT

Denounce murder of Olavo Hansen. Demand enquiry and punishment of those responsible stop demand that Medici keeps promises to respect Trade Union rights.

Lawrence Daly
Gen. Sec. N.U.M.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

RED 
FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 115

30th June, 1970

PRICE 6d.

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE
IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE ELECTIONS IN BRITAIN

**THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS
LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY,
THE ABSTENTION OF THE PROLE-
TARIAN VANGUARD AND THE PER-
SPECTIVE OF GREAT STRUGGLES
IMMEDIATELY.** 19th June 1970.

INTRODUCTION

We publish this Resolution of the International Secretariat on the British elections as a fundamental text to understand the significance of the crushing blow delivered at the Labour Party leadership by the worker vanguard who abstained in the election. The world bourgeoisie as the resolution points out will try to publicise the electoral successes of the Tories as a victory for capitalism. But it is a hollow victory. It has taken place in the full sweep of the world revolution and in fact as the article points out the political ambience in Great Britain is pro-Labour Party. The opinion polls were not so ludicrous, they did reflect the underlying sentiment of the masses but the vanguard had decided to deliver a blow at the Wilson clique and apparatus, to provoke crisis in the Labour Party, to allow the process of "interior entrism" to expand and to stimulate the formation of a new leadership. In the

Contd page 3.

LIST OF CONTENTS

Resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International on the elections in Britain. THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY, THE ABSTENTION OF THE PROLETARIAN VANGUARD, AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF GREAT STRUGGLES IMMEDIATELY.

PAGE 1

Resolution of the I.S. of the IV International on the Assassination of Olavo Hansen by the Brazilian police

PAGE 9

The Planning and Centralisation of the Workers State, The Atomic War and the World Triumph of Socialism. J. Posadas July, '68

PAGE 14

THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY...

What was the result? They were broken into 20 pieces and the concentration in the French Communist Party increased, as in the recent elections, where it passed from 23% to 26%.

There is a process of concentration of the masses to be seen throughout the world. It is a process of extreme radicalisation because the working class has not got a leadership that wants to take power. This gives the bourgeoisie a certain margin in which to subsist, and this is all that it has got. The Conservative electoral victory does not mean that there will be a reanimation of the bourgeoisie - it hasn't the capacity or possibility of taking control again in Britain and imposing repressive measures against the masses. It will be resisted and rejected and a revolutionary situation will be created shortly in Britain.

The computers worked out that blank votes and abstentions amounted to 12 million. Out of 40 million with the vote, 28 million voted. Allowing for 4 million normal abstentions and blank votes due to lack of interest, that leaves 8 million which can be accounted for by a sector of the proletariat and petit bourgeoisie that abstained from voting. The Labour abstentions were intended to punish the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party. This was the means of showing the discontent and fury of the vanguard and at the same time of saying to the working class "that was not the road, the road forward is different". It is not the same as the situation in Italy where the working class is concentrated in the Italian Communist Party, the PSIUP, Italian Socialist Party and partly the left of the Christian Democrats, and is united in the trade union field or advancing that unification. There the regional elections were part of the affirmation of this activity of progressing in the trade union field and of the constantly ascending struggles. In Britain this has not been so. In Britain this leadership is in the hands of the trade union bureaucracy. The Labour Party is opposed to the struggle of the masses making any progress either with wage rises, the reduction of working hours in democratic rights, trade union rights or even the right for the masses to struggle. The bureaucracy of the Labour Party is opposed to all this.

The Labour masses have fought during the whole period in which the Labour Party has governed. The working class has fought more against the leadership of the Labour Party than against the bosses. The greater part of the struggle has been against the leadership of the Labour Party to impose the will of the class on it and to defend the class from repressive, reactionary and counter revolutionary measures and laws. Labour attempted to pass laws to hamper the right to strike, prevented the struggle for better wages, and prevented the use of trade union democracy and political democracy. The masses rose against this and defeated these laws. The masses have seen what vehicle to use! Defeat this leadership!

The vanguard has given itself the objective of defeating the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party. It was already doing so before in trade union action on the basis of setting itself the task - even if it meant breaking up the Labour Party - of defeating Castle, the minister who in the name of the government wanted to get through reactionary, counter revolutionary laws against the workers. The working class intervened in the elections with consciousness of the fact that it wasn't just an election but the means of making its anger, rejection, repudiation and contempt for the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party felt. It showed that it feels that the electoral and parliamentary road will not solve its problems. For, in contrast to Italy, the British working class hasn't the means of combining parliamentary and trade union struggles and of bearing weight in parliament in an attempt to gain conquests which can later be returned to the trade union field. In Britain the working class has seen that this possibility is not open to it. So the vanguard put everything into making the class feel its repudiation and contempt for the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, into making the class feel that a different road had to be followed. Thus the vanguard didn't vote and

THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY ...

and there has been this enormous abstention of an important sector of the vanguard and other sectors of the proletariat in general and the petit bourgeoisie. It is an abstention that indicates the indignation of the working class, which has seen that with such a leadership and such a party it has no future in front of it along the electoral road. This same party has tried to knock out the class, and the class felt that the triumph of such a party would have knocked it out so it preferred to take the line it has done. The class could have followed another line and voted massively for the Labour Party and tried to impel it forward from that level. But it saw that it had no candidates, it had no means of making its weight felt, for the Labour Party was out to cheat the class and nearly all its candidates were chosen by the reactionary and counter revolutionary leadership of the Labour Party. This is why it is not a triumph for the Conservative Party. It is a defeat for the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party.

It is a defeat for capitalism for it has not succeeded in defeating the working class. The abstention is not due to indifference. It is a means of combat which paves the way for attracting the masses to strike action later on. For before the elections and during them there has been an interminable number of strikes - strikes against the bosses, against the leadership of the Labour Party, against Parliament, against trade union bureaucrats and with the choice of new trade union leaders, creating leaderships in the factories and a certain dual power against the trade union leadership.

The working class in full mobilisation attracted the petit bourgeoisie to its side and this is expressed in the fact that there are an immense number of petit bourgeois trade union organisations with a high membership. Win the petit bourgeoisie to the workers movement. All the trade union activity on the part of the working class which attracted the petit bourgeoisie showed that the class felt sure of itself. This has not been expressed in the elections for that was when the vanguard wanted to hit out at the bureaucracy, at the bourgeois sector of the Labour Party and make the working class feel that this was not the road, and that another had to be taken. Hence a very profound crisis must be expected in Britain following the elections, a crisis that will be favourable to the masses. This is why radio commentators have said that the Conservative government will have to face a very difficult situation, wanting to limit strikes when this will be extremely difficult. They saw that this is not a Conservative victory resulting from the passivity of the working class, but that it has been taken by the vanguard as a means of political expression using the election to strike a blow at their leaderships and call the attention of the working class to the need to take a different road, encouraging the class to go on with trade union struggles. etc.

The whole bourgeois class, the whole bourgeoisie, including their dogs, voted for capitalism. They concentrated on doing so. In Europe there is a process of concentration and centralised polarisation amongst the bourgeoisie in support of the candidate that has the most possibilities to offer to capitalism. This has been so in all the elections in France, Belgium, Italy and Britain. They all turn out to add to the vote that can sustain the bourgeois candidate most likely to be elected against the working class. This doesn't mean that they vote primarily to increase the general total of votes for the bourgeois parties, but for the bourgeois candidates with most possibility of dealing with the working class. The bourgeoisie works consciously in the elections and intervenes without exception, no one gets left without voting. On the other hand the working class, petit bourgeoisie and small farmers don't vote as a means of protest. This abstention is of no advantage to the bourgeoisie. This is not a situation favourable to the bourgeoisie, because whilst it abstains the working class keeps up strike action, the strikes

THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY ..

the class keeps its authority over the rest of the population. If the abstention had occurred in a process of mass passivity without strikes or mobilisations it would have directly benefited the bourgeoisie, for in that case it could have been sure that the working class was discouraged, timid, undecided and un-co-ordinated. But this abstention occurs in a period of full trade union activity, when the struggle is in full ascent. The bourgeoisie sees that the masses understand the meaning of the abstention. It feels that the abstention is a protest and an indication of the preparation of a struggle on a higher level, in a field in which the proletarian vanguard and working class feels that now is the time in which they can put up a fight in the trade union field. Now they will fight in the trade union field to fight tomorrow in the political field. This is why the bourgeoisie is very cautious in drawing conclusions from the Conservative triumph.

Bourgeois conclusions cannot be measured by the glee in the stock exchange. The stock exchange goes up and down as a daily occurrence. The bourgeoisie is trying to gain courage from the stock exchange figures, just like Nixon when he says, "We are going to stop the aggression in Cambodia. We'll be out by the 30th!"

In texts written in the past comrade Posadas analysed that in other elections the working class showed itself ready to abstain to fight against the candidates of the Labour Party, to show them its indignation and rejection. And it did this to prevent the strengthening of the Labour Party when it felt that the electoral strengthening of the party would mean the strengthening of the bourgeois wing of the Labour Party. Instead the class carried on a struggle inside the party, and in this way strengthened the left wing, they struggled inside the Labour Party and in the trade union field. As a result there was a very great struggle in the party in which the left wing helped enormously. The left has advanced a great deal in the trade union field as well whilst in the electoral field nearly all the candidates were right wingers, bourgeois. You can't see any difference between Wilson, the queen and the bourgeoisie, only that whilst the queen appears as the queen, and the monarchy and the bourgeoisie are what they appear to be, Wilson hides behind the name of Labour. He is a bourgeois in the service of the bourgeoisie and British imperialism. So the attitude that the working class takes is one of abstention which it unites to decided participation in strikes, trade union unity and working class unity. In the struggles it has got itself new delegates and built factory committees against the trade union bureaucrats. This is why this is not an election favourable to the bourgeoisie. It announces much more profound struggles on a more direct class line than was possible in the elections.

The working class does not feel defeated. The bourgeois wing of the Labour Party has been defeated. The abstention indicates at the same time the intense and profound political life which the working class has developed because it has not acted on the basis of imagination or deduction. It has discussed at home, in the factories, in the football stadiums, in the cafes, in the street, and in the pubs in working class areas. It has discussed and exchanged impressions and has shown its decision. This decision was prepared for when there were abstentions in by-elections where various Conservative candidates won because the working class abstained. And the impression given in the period before the elections that the Labour masses were going to win was due to the ambience which was against the Conservatives. And this really was a true impression. If the 12 million who did not vote had voted the Conservatives really would have lost. The Conservatives have not won, the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party has lost. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw. It is not possible to say that Labour supporters have lost; the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party has lost, because the abstention shows that the working class did not want to vote so as not to elect this bourgeois leadership. It is waiting for the moment to fight and is already doing so in the trade union field which is

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN BY THE BRAZILIAN POLICE

We denounce and appeal to world public opinion, the revolutionary Communist and Nationalist masses and militants, peasant and student movements, progressive priests, the anti-imperialist nationalist tendency within and outside the Brazilian army, and the whole of the world revolutionary workers vanguard to denounce that our comrade OLAVO HANSEN, a member of the Partido Operario Revolucionario, (Trotskista), Brazilian Section of the IV International, was assassinated by capitalism in prison in Sao Paulo, after having been savagely beaten up and tortured.

We denounce to world public opinion, the whole world press, the Communist and Socialist Parties, the leaderships of revolutionary nationalist movements, left Christian Democrat and Catholic leaderships, the trade unions and workers centres throughout the world, that the assassination and brutal torture of comrade HANSEN form part of the repression, imprisonment, torture and murder which has been committed and is committed against workers, trade union, revolutionary, Communist and nationalist militants, against students, peasants and progressive priests by the military government in Brazil.

We send our greetings, our most fraternal and affectionate greetings to our Brazilian Section which feels the loss of beloved comrade OLAVO HANSEN with great sorrow, the same as we ourselves feel it, and as we feel the loss of the thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries who die throughout the world assassinated by capitalism and imperialism as they pay the price of being instrumental in the struggle for human progress.

We send our most fraternal greetings and biggest embrace to the beloved Brazilian section of the IV International which, functioning in clandestinity, with the majority of its militants sentenced or hunted for by the police, keeps its centralisation and monolithism in the International and theoretical and political confidence in Marxism, which means in the texts of comrade J. POSADAS. It works with the same resolution and security as the revolutionary world masses work, as the immense majority of humanity work, not allowing itself to be held back, not overcome by the deaths, not contained by the deaths but keeping on with the struggle for life, for the joy of living, for the inextinguishable progress of humanity. This is the way the masses - women, children, so called old people and adults - work in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and the Middle East, seeing their parents, brothers, grandchildren, grandparents and companions die day after day, but not detaining themselves with individual love or death because now the world masses, the whole of humanity, have reached security in a Communist future, in the fact that they will come out triumphant, and the death of one or another is unimportant beside this. Imperialism cannot paralyse the masses in Laos, Vietnam or Cambodia, instead the result of imperialisms intervention there is that the American masses paralyse Yankee imperialism for it has no inner confidence and the revolution has installed itself in the U.S.A.

This is the second murder perpetrated by capitalism within the ranks of our Brazilian section. The first was comrade Jeremias in 1964, leader of the Peasant Leagues in Nordeste who died in the hands of

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN

the "capangas", the landowners and murderous oligarchy in Nordeste. And this new assassination like the last is an expression of the importance and function of an organising and theoretical centre of the IV International, of the Brazilian Section, in the struggles, discussions and activity for the organisation of a mass revolutionary leadership in Brazil. But as comrade J. Posadas has already stated in texts on joy and sorrow, life and death, and in commemoration of other dead revolutionary militants and comrades, we feel sorrow for the murdered comrade OLAVO HANSEN a very great loss to the section and the revolutionary workers movement in Brazil, and one of the chief militants and leaders of the opposition to the regime in the engineering industry, because the loss of the comrade means loss of part of the necessary instrument for human progress. He was part just like the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky with their theoretical and political capacity for the organisation of humanity on the road to socialism, just like Posadas and the IV International now, like the Party, Bolshevism, Communism and the masses of the world. A part of the instrument, of the public good, is lost or ceases to function, but the instrument, like the masses of the world, goes on advancing. We salute and embrace our Brazilian section which together with the immense sorrow felt on the assassination of one of its most important worker cadres, does not submit itself to the sorrow, does not falter in the face of pain, and does not feel paralysed, but instead draws combative and self critical conclusions in the process on how to raise the level of functioning and its capacity for organisation and intervention.

We feel sorrow on the death of the fallen militant, but we feel the joy of life a great deal more, because we can see that inspite of death, the progress of the revolution continues and joy is triumphing over death. The joy comes from the continuity of the struggles and because the militants and the International go on. Losses are inevitable. But capitalism will disappear and socialist humanity will eliminate misery, exploitation and crime. By killing and murdering, capitalism and imperialism and leaders of society based on private property have tried to hold back progress and life in defence of their selfish and mean class interests. But humanity has advanced and progressed in an unequal and combined way. Today this inextinguishable desire to progress of humanity is expressed in a thousand more concentrated ways than in any other stage of history because the masses and the world revolutionary vanguard have transmitted their security and confidence in a Communist future to the whole of humanity.

And it is for this reason, as comrade J. Posadas states in the text on the combined feeling of pain and joy and Communist behaviour in the face of death, we do not raise great lamentation over our dead comrades or put up monuments to them. Millions of human beings, of revolutionaries, die in the world. The behaviour of the masses in Vietnam, the Middle East and now Cambodia and Laos is an eloquent way of showing how the world masses are going to react in the face of the atomic war which imperialism is preparing for. The masses don't stop, they don't let themselves be detained, paying homage to their dead, to their fallen companions and families, but work objectively keeping up and raising the level of the struggle, disciplining themselves more to the objective of expelling all that oppresses and represses from the world and prevents them from advancing and progressing in social organisation, as the best way of remembering the fallen and paying them homage. Instead of holding a minutes silence we sing the International if we can; if we can't we don't. The song and the minutes silence represent the desire to remain united to the dead comrade or comrades who are far off. But the best way of remembering them and of commemorating their activity and memory is to speak, make interventions and projects that increase and raise the discipline and ability of the Party to act to a higher level. This is to keep up, raise to a higher level and improve the activity and objectives for which the dead comrade struggled, maintaining in this way a sense of permanent continuity and progress.

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN

little chance of communication with the rest of the International, but they maintain continuity in the activity in an enormous country, living and bringing out publications in clandestinity. The majority of the militants of the section are persecuted or condemned but they keep their resolution to intervene in all the action and activity of the vanguard and the masses even knowing that they run risks. In the case of OLAVO HANSEN better precautionary measures could have been taken, but his participation in the struggle was necessary. The living presence and spoken intervention of the militants has to be transmitted to the vanguard and with the need for leaflets and publications goes the need for continuity in the organisation of a mass revolutionary trade union movement.

There exists an important trade union movement in Brazil but it is not revolutionary. The intervention of the Party was and is necessary to give confidence and security to the Party cadres and the revolutionary vanguard which has confidence in Party positions and in that they provide the necessary solution. The Party's intervention in the 1st May meeting was part of this activity. The intervention was a necessary risk. Comparing the need to safeguard and protect our cadres with the need to intervene, the section decided to intervene. It was necessary to take better measures of protection and security than they did, but what happened is part of the inevitable consequence of intervention in action of this type. It is like intervention in war time. It is always possible to take better measures to avoid a number of deaths, but the deaths are inevitable.

This is part of the experience that our section is going through that with action of this type is dovetailing in with new layers of the revolutionary vanguard in ascent. It was and is preferable to intervene in action like this, even committing errors, than to stay paralysed and not do anything. It was a thousand times better than doing nothing. Not to intervene leaves the conclusion that the section is weak and disconcerted and demoralises the party and vanguard in a way that is a thousand times more harmful than any error. 1905 was a defeat for humanity, but did not paralyse it. Lenin drew the conclusions from 1905 and prepared for 1917. Without 1905, 1917 would not have been possible.

These are the inevitable consequences of revolutionary activity just as the Vietnamese masses, who although they foresee when there will be a bombing attack and know the bombs will fall, cannot know where they will all land and people get killed; or when the masses have to retreat and abandon positions in the face of the advance of Yankee troops as is happening in Cambodia now. They lose a few dozen miles, they lose comrades, relatives, children, mothers and old people, they leave behind thousands of houses, buildings that get burnt and raised to the ground, but they don't lose confidence in the objective, for these are not political errors but only the loss of positions.

Our Brazilian comrades have worked with the same sentiment. They had to intervene in the 1st May meeting; better prepared, with better security and protective measures, but they should have intervened. The vanguard must see the physical presence of the Party and its militants. We associate ourselves with all our affection, with all our militant heart and with all our fraternal sentiments, with the concern and pain felt due to the murder of this comrade; we associate ourselves with the comrades of the section and also the family of comrade HANSEN. But at the same time we feel infinite joy on seeing the proof that the daily assassination of millions upon millions of revolutionaries and Trotskyist militants throughout the world does not detain the progress of history for a minute.

Contd page 13

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE DENUNCIATION
OF THE MURDER OF OLAVO HANSEN WILL APPEAR
IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN

At the moment when they have murdered our comrade, Hansen, the IV International progresses in the whole world and the name of Comrade Posadas, his texts, his analysis are already part of the conclusions on which the world revolutionary proletarian vanguard, the Communist, Socialist and revolutionary nationalist leaderships, base themselves and orientate themselves. The IV International is considered, at the same time, by the Communist vanguard as making a part of the world Communist movement. It prepares itself for the historic re-encounter with the Communist parties. At the same time, comrade Posadas and the IV International - as a public good - are the theoretical and political centre for the Mass Communist International which already functions in an empirical fashion under the form of the Historic International, preparing the conscious leap of humanity during or after the atomic war.

At the same moment, the masses of the U.S.A. rise up from one end of the United States to the other and incorporate themselves into the world process of the revolution. At the same moment the Chinese Workers State and the Chinese masses are wishing to weigh and decide in the world process of the revolution and are seeking a programmatic and organic relationship with the world revolution. They have murdered him at a moment when imperialism and capitalism are assassinating millions of human beings in Cambodia, in Laos, in Vietnam, in the Middle East, but without succeeding in containing the course of history.

For each murder, the masses draw the conclusions to advance, in order to organise themselves better, to learn from experience and to make the process of the revolution more dynamic. They do not let themselves to intimidated; they advance.

It is in this same way that the section must act, drawing the conclusions to raise its capacity for action. It must feel itself a public good of history in which they have murdered a comrade, but feel that his activity is carried on by others, by the thousands of revolutionary militants of the proletarian vanguard and by dozens and thousands who are developing to be trotskyists, and who are going to play the same role as comrade Hansen.

It is necessary to communicate to his family in the name of all the International that the task that he was doing is also done by the millions of revolutionaries in the world. It is necessary to communicate to the family the communist sentiment, and not the conservative sentiment, of death. This makes a part and is the consequence of life. One dies for progress and the continuation of existence. We die, but life continues and others continue the struggle for the ideas, for communism. It is necessary to make the family feel that their son died for human progress; to feel sorrow, but not to be shut up in it. To feel sorrow, by evaluating the role and the function of the comrade who has fought for the progress of history and made a part of the scientific instrument.

Capitalism assassinated comrade Hansen because of the fact that it was conscious that he made a part of the scientific instrument, of the public good of history which are the analysis, the theoretical and political capacity of comrade Posadas and the International. This is the centre around which and on which the worker vanguard of the engineering industry, and the chemical industry, of which cde Hansen was one of the principal leaders, and one of the most important bases for the organisation of the class and revolutionary leadership not solely for engineering, but for all the country, is organising itself.

He has not been assassinated because of his trade union activity, for the trade union struggle for wage demands. He has been murdered for having been one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). He has not been murdered because he put the Brazilian bourgeoisie in danger through wage demands, demands for democratic rights, but because he fought for the ideas necessary for this stage of history. He fought in the trade union sphere, but for trotskyist

The Planning & Centralisation Of The Workers' State, The Atomic War & The World Triumph Of Socialism.

J. POSADAS

JULY 68.

Continued from Red Flag No. 114

THE PLANNING IN THE WORKERS STATES MUST BE IN THE COLLECTIVE INTERESTS OF THE MASSES

Planners and bureaucrats only take their own interests into consideration. The example which we are always bringing up makes this clear: why should there be car factories in the Soviet Workers State? What lacks in the Soviet Union is the means of collective transport. Electricity for everyone, running water for everyone. In a large part of Siberia there aren't roads or electricity. Instead of making cars they should be taking electricity to the whole country, installing rapid collective transport and making the post arrive quickly. That would be more valuable than ten thousand cars. The car satisfies the bureaucrat individually and has, like under capitalism a social and political weight.

If the workers could intervene they would eliminate all that. When they were to give their opinion of what should be produced they would say "Cars? No we are not in a hurry for them." And in the face of the bureaucratic idea to put up a great building for such or such a ministry, they would reply "It's houses that must be built." That is something simple and sensible. The practical, revolutionary good sense of the masses is capable alone of producing a plan of real significance, taking into consideration collective interests, quite unlike the bureaucrat, who doesn't consider anything but his individual interests.

The example of the factories for producing televisions, refrigerators, and things of a similar nature, is clear. It is true to say that television is a necessary and useful thing to have in a Workers State, but viewing should be collective. The bureaucrats instigate the production of individual televisions which can be bought by those who have the chance. Instead of allowing the gathering of people round the television to discuss, as is the case with the cinema and like the talks Lenin gave, they make the television the object of individual use, servant to the whims of anyone of them. In this way they render its possibilities of stimulating a collective life void.

Contd page 15

THE PLANNING AND CENTRALISATION OF THE WORKERS STATES

Collective gathering around the television would make a great political life possible. Factory strikes could be watched and commented on by everyone. In this way the workers would soon reach the conclusion that television for individual use is pointless and that only a ghastly bureaucrat could wish it to be so. The workers want the means of collective development and would look upon the bureaucrats as usurping this.

The workers see the bureaucrats concerned with wearing expensive clothes when at the same time China is producing clothes of the same design for everyone. For a whole period capitalism mocked China by saying "Look at the Chinese! Look what Communism has led to! - everyone dressed alike!" And the Chinese replied, "Oh yes, everyone is dressed alike, but before there were people who had nothing". It's the same thing in Cuba. Capitalism says, "Look at Communism - egg rationing, everyone with the right to 2 eggs a week!" And the Cuban government replies, "That's true, but they didn't get one a year before. We have taken the supplies away from those who had it and shared it out between everyone." And the Cubans can also pride themselves on having been able to give milk to the old people, and all children and invalids.

Capitalism has milk in abundance but only those who have the means can get it, whilst in Cuba it is given according to need. Everyone can be sure of obtaining milk when he has need of it for the children or old people. It's a smack in the face of capitalism which refuses to discuss the problem in this way.

Planning in a Workers State made without the intervention of factory committees, soviet organisms and trade unions, is bureaucratic. It does not bear in mind anything but the interests of the bureaucrat and results from his limited capacity; it goes against the interests of the population, and against preparation for atomic war. The bureaucracy takes a series of measures to protect itself and not to protect the population as a whole, not to protect the proletariat. If the workers were intervening they would take the need to go on after the war into consideration which isn't so with the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not sure what will happen and is afraid. It seeks the means of defence, constructing armoured cars and protected houses far from the centres. The bureaucracy does and will do all this, whilst the workers would seek the means of solving the problem for the whole population. And it's the whole population that should be considered. This population must be fed, have the possibility of deciding and intervening. That's the way to build Communism.

THE WHOLE POPULATION MUST LEAD IN THE WORKERS STATE

By intervening in the soviets, factory committees and trade unions the population feels capable of leading the country and learning to lead it. It gains consciousness of the fact that leading the country is as simple as anything else. Capitalism says, "Lead a country! How difficult that is! It is necessary to study, be a thinker and go to university to qualify for it!"

Such a state of mind expresses the incapacity of the capitalists, just like that of the bureaucracy which is incapable of learning or having ideas. This is more visible than ever in the example we give of its inability to make use as a basis of the first 7 years of the Soviet Union when the Workers State was established. But in a short time those first 7 years will be the order of the day. They are already beginning to resound through the conversations, discussions and opinions given in the Workers States. It is apparent everywhere the first 7 years of the establishment of the Workers State where those that gave a foundation to the world revolution.

THE PLANNING AND CENTRALISATION OF THE WORKERS STATES.....

The aim of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party was to achieve world planning or at least planning between some countries. This was intended to be an example to the world masses, to win over the petit bourgeoisie, wearing away capitalist structure and assurance by showing that socialist economic planning was something superior, making an unimaginable development of the economy and also of the population possible.

The economic development of capitalism has been very partial; production is distorted and divided. Production gets concentrated in one place and the rest of the surrounding area is under developed. Economic development in the Workers States on the other hand, should make a harmonious development of the population possible, for it is the master of the economy. The abilities, relations and understanding of the population go into production.

It is through this intervention that the population gains confidence and realises that if it cannot move forward any faster it is only for lack of the material means. It brings and unites its fraternal feeling to consciousness and ability. It sees that by discussing and planning in common, it learns to dominate the economy, nature and society, and this last develops consequently as a united whole.

In this way any activity intended to contain or replace the masses, any repression or organs of coercion disappear. Organised consciousness runs the economy. No one will come up with the idea of making individual vehicles under socialism. No one would have such an idea! Under capitalism the idea arises because one of the conditions by which people live is by squashing their competitors. The perverse sentiment to kill comes to him who has most, who can command and who possesses.

In revolution, in the revolutionary war, there exists the legitimate right to struggle and kill to make advance possible, but one does not kill to destroy what is blocking the way forward to gain individual revenge, but to eliminate an obstacle, and one of these is the capitalist regime which won't just get up and go. Thus revolution doesn't generate feelings of hatred or revenge but the feeling that progress must be made and any obstacle eliminated.

Like the Bolshevik revolution future revolutions will try to win over the greater number of people possible to their side by causing as few deaths as possible. But revolution cannot stop to consider the ins and outs of each individual case, for it must advance to eliminate the obstacles that are opposed to human progress. It tries to win people to its side to the maximum, it tries to persuade to the maximum but not at the price of necessary measures which include war, civil war or revolutionary war, if that is necessary to advance. "A gun on the shoulder", said Lenin, "is the guarantee of democracy." In the case of today it is atomic arms that are the guarantee of imperialism being held in check. This is why the Workers States must be armed with atomic weapons.

Economic planning in the Workers States must bear in mind these conclusions, though the bureaucracy does not because it sees itself without a future. It cannot imagine what will happen tomorrow because of this. It does not feel linked to the future but to power. So it feels the hostility of the masses and the working class and the abyss between it and the masses. It thinks of going to the theatres, cars and women whilst the masses think of collective houses, collective transport and collective relationships. There is an abyss between one form of thinking and the other. If now there exists a certain identity between the bureaucracy and the masses it is because the bureaucracy is forced to attack imperialism and criticise it. The masses of the Workers States feel stimulated into pushing the bureaucracy on in this too! But an abyss between their conception of life remains.

THE PLANNING AND CENTRALISATION OF THE WORKERS STATES

This is why the bureaucracy only plans for tomorrow. It does not know what will happen beyond tomorrow. It prepares atomic arms and defence measures and carried out a certain decentralisation of industry for tomorrow without really knowing what will happen. It does not know what its future will be and for this reason is not allied to or associated with the masses. But to face up to war preparation by capitalism the bureaucracy is forced now to take a more "realistic" attitude (as it says), a more objective attitude in an attempt to understand reality. This is the meaning of its "realism" nothing more. The bureaucracy wants to go on defending itself.

The planning, centralisation or decentralisation that it undertakes is determined by these same considerations. It can get nearer to measures useful to the Workers State, but as they are determined by bureaucratic interests, this cannot be anything but very limited. Decentralisation is linked with a series of measures that neutralise or limit the results of the decentralisation. All decentralisation must take into consideration - and I repeat it - the inevitability of the atomic war. The level of food production in a country must be adequate to provide the necessary minimum for the population. And a series of measures must be taken as well to keep reserves of everything that the war will destroy. None of that can be done without the intervention of the masses. This is why it is necessary to discuss planning between all the Workers States.

J. Posadas. July. 1968.

FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL
BRITISH TROOPS FROM IRELAND

FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF
BERNADETTE DEVLIN

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST
STATES OF IRELAND

THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY..

where it feels secure and capable of deciding, intervening and imposing and where it cannot be blocked by the bourgeois leadership.

The British proletariat has shown to the European and world proletariat the way to neutralise and conquer the resistance of the leadership of the Labour Party, the conciliatory leadership of the Communist Parties and the way to weigh within these Parties. It feels secure and the Conservative victory does not matter because the class feels that it is going to conquer. It is not afraid to confront the Conservatives, it does not feel defeated, on the contrary, it feels triumphant. And with this, it is communicating to all the exploited masses of Britain and the world that this is the way to intervene in changing the leaderships of their parties and to impose revolutionary programmes on them. The class shows that it is ready to take power and that the elections do not interest it - it considers them a circumstantial matter that have no great importance for it. It will not be intimidated -- a bourgeois government and is ready to confront it as it confronted the Labour government.

This is of a new importance in history, in the history of this stage. This is not new to the British working class. What is new in this stage of the great Communist Parties, of the existence of the 16 workers states is that the British working class concentrates itself in this way. Because there is an increase of two million in the workers and petit bourgeoisie who did not vote ... There was an increase of 10% in abstention, in some seats and 4.6% overall. The bourgeois press concedes the significance of this. There is not shout of Conservative triumph. Soon it will be seen that this election has been of no value to them. If it had been a triumph which would reaffirm, re-establish or consolidate the capitalist regime, the whole of capitalism would have celebrated it. But there is silence. This is going to have an influence and weight within the Socialist and Communist parties. It is going to encourage the left to see that any means is good to impel the struggle against bourgeois, bureaucratic leaderships conciliatory to capitalism and to impose a left line. The working class has no fear of an electoral defeat because it does not feel smashed, because it sees that the road is not electoral, of parliament but outside parliament.

The left in the labour party and in the trade unions must appeal for a programme of anti-capitalist struggle, of demands, of opposition to imperialism against the war in Vietnam, for the European Workers Centre, for a programme of nationalisations and for support for the self determination of Ireland.

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE
OF THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

DENOUNCE THE MURDER
OF OLAVO HANSEN

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN . . .

It is necessary to maintain the continuity of the application of marxism, of experiences, of policy, of programme, the continuity between the immediate and long term action, the continuity between historic world consciousness, the programme and the agitation to make the revolution, the construction of the revolutionary vanguard and the party, advance.

We appeal to all the revolutionary political leaders of Brasil, the CP, the nationalist anti-imperialist leaderships and the trade union leaders to take this campaign of denunciations and accusations against the murders, the tortures and the repression of all the revolutionary militants - workers, peasants, students, progressive priests, nationalist anti-imperialist soldiers - as a stimulus for all the tasks necessary for the progress of the revolution in Brasil. We call for a struggle for the Single Trade Union Centre for the workers, peasants, students, for the anti-imperialist united front and the expulsion of imperialism from Brasil, for the expropriation without compensation, nationalisation under workers control of all the properties of imperialism, for the expulsion of all the military bases and yankee missions, for the defense of the democratic rights and freedoms of the masses, right of association, of press, for free elections in the trade unions, for assemblies, for the election of factory delegates, revocability of elected representatives, for the anti-capitalist united front, for the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, for the workers and popular government based on the trade unions and the workers and peasants government.

We appeal to all the workers and revolutionary world movement, the leaders and militants of the communist, socialist parties, the christian democrats and catholics of the left, the trade union leaders and trade union centres in Europe, in Latin America, in the United States, in Asia, in Africa, in Oceania, the artists, writers members of the liberal professions, the scientists, the professors and students, and peasant leaderships, the nationalist anti-imperialist soldiers, the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist priests, the league for the rights of man to vote resolutions of denunciation of the murders and tortures, against the criminal repression of the military dictatorship and the "death squadrons", of the police and the CIA. We appeal to denounce the murder of comrade Olavo Hansen and to demand the application of mass democratic liberties which do not exist in Brasil.

We call them to support the struggle of the workers and revolutionary movement in Brasil and including our Brazilian section. We appeal for the sending of telegrams, of resolutions, of letters, to the embassies and to the Brazilian government, to the Supreme Military Tribunal and the the Federal Supreme Tribunal for the liberty of all the political and revolutionary prisoners and among them the trotskyist prisoners, so that they cease all murders against the revolutionary militants, against the Brazilian masses.

We reiterate in the name of the International leadership and all our sections, in the name of the proletarian and revolutionary world vanguard inside and outside the Workers States, in the name of the historic International of humanity which is already organising itself to destroy everything which oppresses and represses the will, the sentiments, human fraternity, in the name of all this we repeat that we associate ourselves with the sorrow of the comrades and also the immense joy of seeing that our section continues its struggle without letting itself be paralysed, without hesitating by uniting to those sentiments of sorrow those of joy and confidence for the progress.

Comrade Hansen fought for the same objectives for which we are fighting now. He cannot continue the struggle; humanity can. Such is the sentiment it is necessary to transmit. It is not a question of rendering homage to someone who is dead and can no longer struggle because he has fallen. We will continue with his ideas, and his assurance, better than him by learning from him. This is

OUR PROGRAMME

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAVO HANSEN

the conclusion which we must draw.

In the name of all the International.
VIVA THE BRASILIAN SECTION OF IV INTERNATIONAL
NATIONAL

VIVA THE STRUGGLE OF COMRADE HANSEN
AND THE BRASILIAN SECTION.

VIVA ALL THOSE WHO DIE IN BRASIL AND IN
THE WORLD WHO HAVE FOUGHT TO ELIMINATE ALL
FORMS OF REPRESSION AND OPPRESSION

VIVA THE HISTORIC INTERNATIONAL

VIVA THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VIVA CDE POSADAS CONSTRUCTOR OF THE
TROTSKYIST TEAM IN BRASIL AND IN THE
WORLD

International Secretariat of the IV
International - 25th. May 1970.

We denounce the sacking,
physical assault, and
attempted police intimidati-
on against a comrade
of the Party Brian McNeil
From the Lancer Boss
Factory at Highton Buzzard

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20. For a workers government.

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 116

15th July, 1970

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MAKE THE DOCKERS STRIKE THE CENTRE FOR THE ORGA- NISATION OF A GENERAL STRIKE ON ALL THE DEMANDS OF THE EXPLOITED MASSES

CONSTRUCT THE ORGANISMS OF DUAL POWER -- STRIKE COMMITTEES
FACTORY COMMITTEES, COMMITTEES IN THE WORKERS AREAS, UNITED
FRONT COMMITTEES -- TO ACCELERATE THE FORMATION OF A NEW
LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS.

The mobilisations, demonstrations and strikes of the working class and exploited petit bourgeoisie, since the election of a Tory government, confirm the analysis of the Resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International that in fact the defeat of the Labour Party in the elections was not a defeat for the working class but a defeat and blow against the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, delivered by the workers vanguard. It is this leadership which has been defeated, and not the working class.

The sentiment of the masses is to confront the Tory government and all their policies with increased industrial activity and militancy. The clearest expression of this confrontation can be seen in Northern Ireland with the enormous uprising of the masses, both catholic and protestant against the R.U.C. and the army at the time of the arrest of Bernadette Devlin. One of the first measures taken by the Tory government was the imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin, coupled with enormous increases in the number of troops stationed in N. Ireland and the attack on the Falls Road. And the exploited masses of N. Ireland replied to these measures in the best way possible; with a revolutionary mobilisation which included all sectors of the population. It was clear to see that in this confrontation with

Contd. on page 17

LIST OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL..... PAGE 1.
THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE. PAGE 3.
FORGE THE WORKERS STUDENT ALLIANCE..... PAGE 10.
CAMPAIGN AGAINST REPRESSION IN BRAZIL... PAGE 13.

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE, THE SUPPRES- SION OF MILITARY RANKS; CELL LIFE AND THE NEED FOR THE ORGANISATION OF TERRITORIAL MILITIAS

J. Posadas. Sept 68.

The Territorial Army, based on the Militias, the Territorial Militias, as Trotsky called them when he proposed their constitution, maintain the military power of action, of combat of the army, in a complete way, even on the nuclear plane. It allows the same capacity of dynamism, of mobility, of concentration and of discipline.

By the nature of its function the army requires discipline. But military discipline is inferior to the discipline demanded in the party. The party needs the discipline of ideas, of functioning, of objectives, while all the normal activity of life leads each person to arrange things as best he can; just as one must co-ordinate the driving of a car with the road conditions, so as not to provoke accidents (but one has them nevertheless). This co-ordination comes from the necessity of living. The activity of the party needs on the other hand, the voluntary comprehension of thinking. It is not the question of a mechanical obedience, of a mechanical application or imposition, but the conscious acceptance, which allows one to have the capacity of initiative, to make the discipline radiate in a thousand actions and individual initiatives. The centralised, monolithic discipline, in the party and the programme, is accompanied by the most complete centralisation. It allows one to have the most complete capacity of understanding, of creation, of initiative, to advance the ideas, the positions, the documents, the programme. The Army does not need these qualities; the capitalist army and also the army of the bureaucracy demands obedience to armed force.

ON DISCIPLINE.

The territorial militia demands, on the other hand, the understanding of the social and political function of each one; while the firing of the rifle is simply an action of execution. One fights to make the revolution advance and triumph. The weapon is an instrument of persuasion or imposition. Sometimes it is only sufficient to show that one has weapons in order to win. Sometimes one has to use them. But the definition will be by means of atomic arms. The final settlement of accounts will not be by means of conferences, assemblies, but with atomic arms. The plans of the war, the preparation, military discipline must be the work of the Party, of the Trade Union, of the Workers Areas. The army is not necessary for this. The discipline which emerges from the party, trade unions etc. is superior to any discipline imposed by the army. In the army the soldier tries to escape discipline all the time, if he can; he is against discipline.

In the Workers State, the discipline which organises the soldier is the consciousness of the unconditional defence of

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE

the Workers State; of the property form; on the other hand in capitalist society, the soldier does not have any link with private property, unless he is a bosses son; but in this period half of the boss s sons are themselves gained to the revolution. In the Workers State on the other hand, there is an identity of objectives between the state, the regime of property and the soldier. The objective of the state is identical to the objective of each one individually. In the capitalist state, there the objectives and the interests are antagonistic. The discipline is imposed by force. This is why the essential function of the capitalist army is to mechanise the will of the soldier, so that he does not think, does not reflect. If the soldier applied himself to thinking he would shoot the officers; for nothing unites him to them, nor to the system of private property.

When such social conditions of identification of the social interest, the socialist objectives and sentiments of the Workers State and the soldier exist, why should there be a regular professional army? The present army of the Workers State is a professional army; the reason is that the bureaucracy needs a fighting instrument, an instrument to insure it faced with the competition of capitalism, and also faced with the revolution. They know very well what the Territorial Militia is; they do not lack scientific, cultural military knowlege on this subject. What they have not got, is the will to put it into application. They have established the same organisation as capitalism, with the objective of mechanising the soldier and preventing him from thinking as a militant, to make him obey orders, as a soldier. The bureaucracy has suppressed the life of the party, the cell life in the army. Whereas, in the worst circumstances of the Russian Revolution, there was a cell life, they discussed all the problems in the army, all! The soldiers decided.

Today the bureaucracy hides the past of the Russian Revolution. If the soldiers began to reflect it would be to rise up against their officers, to refuse to obey orders, to reject the mechanical life, to refuse differentiation. There is not any difference between the general and the soldier. Ranks, gold braid, medals are absurd, ridiculus -- as those which the Soviet generals wear on their chest. They are not even valuable to sell because they are made of tin. They wear them to be distinguished. What distinguished Lenin was 'State and Revolution'. Breznev has not written any article which gives him authority.

These analyses on the Soviet army are fundamental. One must be concerned with them constantly. They are fundamental for the next action. The army is not an instrument of political power. It is an instrument which obeys the orders, the interests, the plans of the Workers State. It cannot be a centre of political deliberation because it is not the one which must determine the plans, programmes and construction of socialism. The army is an accidental instrument. The police, the army, laws, justice, courts, lawyers are going to dissapear. And the lawyers who remain, will do so in as much as they are revolutionaries.

Army, laws, lawyers still exist in the Workers States, to defend the expropriations which the bureaucracy has done, on the backs of the Workers State and the masses. It brings out these laws to justify itself, to defend itself in front of the masses. What Hypocrites! It is absurd that there is still all this in the Soviet Union! What do they have to defend if there is not private property any more?

What they are defending is their usurpation of the property of the Workers State, it is the unequal distribution. It is not an inéquality of pennies but of millions of pounds. Any number of bureaucrats get one hundred times more than a worker. Perhaps on paper his salary is only 3, 4, or 6 times more than that of a worker. But the perks which he receives, the use which he makes of State goods, houses, hotels, for his family, his holidays make it that he

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE

gets a hundred times more than a worker.

It is to defend all this that they need laws, lawyers and police. It is to defend their illegal affairs, to defend bureaucratic power, to prevent the population from criticising them, from judging them. The writers who criticised the bureaucracy were condemned to 5 years in prison for criticising the Soviet government.

This is a caricature of the Soviet Workers State; it is unworthy.

THE DEMANDS OF THE ARTISTS AND WRITERS IN THE USSR.

They assassinated Trotsky to suppress the world revolutionary opposition and the world forces of the revolution. Now they condemn oppositional writers to 5 years in prison. These are not an opposition from the revolutionary camp, they come from the camp itself of the bureaucracy, but they criticise the lack of liberty of ideas. For them it is not a question of liberty of revolutionary ideas; they want the freedom of the novelist, the poet who makes a song to the sleeping insect. They are anguished types. None of these poets sing of the revolution, are inspired by the Vietnamese revolution, by the creative sentiments of the masses of the Middle East. They sing, as before, of women, men, abstractions; they criticise the bureaucracy only because it does not let them speak. They are not concerned that the bureaucracy prevents strikes, prevents the revolution, demonstrations and meetings, They are only concerned with art.

These sectors are not the defenders of revolutionary thought and criticism. They defend unimportant things, dead ants. They are not led by the heroic actions of the masses, nor touched by the lack of democratic rights of the masses. Not at all. They are just taken up with themselves. They are an excrescence of the bureaucracy.

If these poets and writers wanted to be useful to the revolution, they could find enough subjects to inspire them. It is enough to see the masses triumphant against capitalism, in Cuba, in China, in Vietnam, in the Middle East. They do not feel any attraction for the masses who coming from the epoch of tribalism speak of socialism. This does not move them. They see the poverty, the backward economic state of the masses, but they do not see the immense progress of their sentiments and their revolutionary consciousness. They are indifferent to this. They are only interested in flying in the heavens and writing about ethereal things.

They do not feel the attraction of the world situation, in which the masses show their power, their ability to construct history. On the other hand, they are concerned when a poet does not have the freedom to write a song to the glory of an elephant's trunk. This is the impression that Evtuschenko gives when one reads him. At the moment of Czechoslovakia he cried "How can I sleep, Czechoslovakia is invaded, it is as if I have lost my life..."

It is the same guy who made a poem expressing the political revolution advancing in the Soviet Union; he said "If I advance, follow me, if I fall, continue; if I stop, pass me". One can imagine his assurance to speak like this. And effectively now he has fallen. Now he writes poems about whisky, cigarettes, any old thing.

This Evtuschenko participated in the festival of poetry in Uruguay. Nobody criticised him, except for Posadas who did it very severely in an article. Some days later, all the papers of the left, including "El Popular" and "Marcha" published criticisms in the same sense as Posadas; "This writer is a block-head

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE.....

He has nothing to do with the Russian Revolution. He is a usurper, of the revolution, and moreover he is effeminate. In fact he was not, but he took some effeminate attitudes and he smoked american cigarettes and drank whisky.

In the course of the festival he read one of his poems, on "the poor office employee" who works in the Soviet Union. This is all his capacity of imagination when the entire world is in revolution. The office employee stays motionless for hours, taps his typewriter, lives a whole tragedy, wonders with anguish "Where is life going? What am I?" At the moment when in Uruguay they were making a formidable transport strike. A revolutionary poet would improvise verses, a poem directly to salute the transport strike. He does none of this. He moans because there was no means of transport to go to the theatre.

He spoke a lot of stupidities in front of a whole petit bourgeois public. The communists were very small in number at this session. They were critical and all supported the article of Posadas. All the communist masses felt identified with this article. Later "El Popular" also criticised him. In the conference, a woman asked a question. He had said "Ask me any questions you like". The women asked "Comrade Evtuschenko, what can you say about the Cuban revolution," Evtuschenko replied "Comrade, it is several years since I have been to Cuba, and I cannot say anything to you..... Good evening" Then he left, after having said that people could ask him any question they liked. His cigarette trembled in his hand he was so afraid. He is a coward.

The bourgeois papers were full of praise. "Here is a real poet. Here is a worthy representative of the Russian people". Afterwards he went to Colombia, Brazil; and the bourgeoisie let him go there because they knew he was inoffensive.

THE INCAPACITY AND THE INSENSIBILITY OF THE BUREAUCRACY.

We give these examples to show that the bureaucracy only produces incapacity and insensibility. It cannot engender and develop revolutionary sentiments because of its functions. It cannot transform the world by revolution. That is foreign to it. It imagines itself to be able to transform the world without the revolution so as not to put itself in danger. That is all its imagination. It has no sentiments. It cannot engender either revolutionary thoughts, ideas or sentiments. Its literature, music, art reflect only the same passivity and conservatism. Sometimes it shakes itself, it is obliged to advance because it depends on the Workers State.

The Workers State has sustained all the pressure, the aggressivity and the offensive of capitalism because the masses of the world have defended it, and have developed the revolution. The revolution advances, the bureaucracy doesn't. The bureaucrats increase in number but diminish in social power, lose social justification. To be able to maintain themselves they have to compete with capitalism which wants in every way to throw out the bureaucracy because it is at the head of the Workers State. It must on the other hand confront the proletariat which equally wants to throw it out. Submitted to this double pressure, the bureaucracy tries to arrange matters to yield to the pressure of the revolution in order to remain in power.

But the concessions which it makes are not the product of the intelligence, of an analytical political conclusion. It yields empirically as a consequence of the interior changes in its own ranks, in its own bureaucratic structure. The bureaucratic sectors close to the working class, to the revolution, the middle cadres who are in direct relation with the forces of the revolution and who feel themselves capable and useful and exercise necessary functions for the Workers State even if it is not with a revolutionary conception, all the cadres are encouraged and impelled

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE.....

by the development of the revolution and they try to weigh in at the summits of the apparatus.

At the same time capitalism cannot make any more concessions, the bases of peaceful co-existence are exhausted, there is no margin of manoeuvre. They still arrange meetings for peace, for disarmament, for Vietnam; they have a committee with the Chinese in Poland for 12 years. But imperialism can no longer maintain peaceful co-existence. It continues to call meetings and increases its atomic power. Whereas before the proportion between negotiations and nuclear arms was 20 - 1, now it is 100 - 1 in favour of arms. Capitalism is preparing itself militarily, it has no confidence and is not prepared for a prolonged period of peaceful co-existence.

This peaceful co-existence is already an "armed co-existence" and less and less peaceful. It is peaceful in the form because they continue to meet and discuss. But all is decided agitating with arms. For the first time in history, Soviet ships are in all the oceans; the Pacific ocean, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. They are in all decisive regions of the globe. Before the Soviet ships did not leave the Bosphorous from which only emerged fishing boats or liners. Now the whole Soviet atomic fleet is deploying itself! Even if there had been already Soviet fleets in all the seas of the world they concealed themselves, now they show themselves publicly, completely publicly!

The bureaucracy is forced to yield!

It tries to keep power and to contain the forces which wish to dislodge it. Whilst making concessions, it resists and calculates. It does not develop a consistent policy on the basis of concessions which it makes. It says for example "communism will triumph" and it develops no policy which leads to the armed triumph of communism. It says to many communist parties: conditions exist to take power but these are direct-ive; it does not organise the taking of power. Its general policy always tends towards peaceful co-existence.

There is no continuity between declaration and application. The bureaucracy acts thus to defend itself and alleviate revolutionary pressure. But at the same time it loses positions. It sees its domination, its dynamism and its capacity diminish. Capitalism in the same way loses its capacity for comprehension, action, reaction, domination, its dynamism in economic, social, political and military affairs. It is slow and stupid. The single fact that Germany tends to seek agreements with the Soviet Union shows the slowness, the lack of dynamism of capitalism. They should all be concentrated to attack the Workers States; one sees on the contrary that some capitalist sectors are seeking to arrange matters on their own account with the Workers States. without at the same time abandoning the atomic defence of the capitalist regime. They elevate their atomic capacity for defence at the same time that their lack of confidence, of perspectives and their immediate needs push them to act as in the case of Germany.

They are not able to make war in time to hinder the revolution. Their interior crisis and the struggle of the masses - which is a decisive factor in their crisis - have hindered them. Now the revolution has acquired force and confidence sufficiently to pass beyond all the plans, the sabotage and the repression of the capitalist system. It is the latter which has to defend itself.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE MILITIAS.

In the Soviet Union the army is necessary, atomic arms also. But the army like atomic arms can be organised, utilised without

THE PERMANENT ARMY IN THE WORKERS STATE.....

This difference in the behaviour of the Soviet bureaucracy shows that the latter can no longer act arbitrarily without unfavourable consequences. The bureaucracy is submitted to the pressure of this stage of history. It seeks for measures to defend itself but it has to find a contact with the population, the army intervenes arbitrarily but it has to address itself to the population, show it that it does not come to steal to pay for everything. It is a behaviour diametrically opposed to that of 1946-48 when it intervened in Germany, Rumania, Hungary etc...

The function of the army is a double function. The army acts thus under the pressure of the function of political leadership and because the soldier cannot think, function, reason as a militant of the Workers State but as an ordinary soldier. If the soldier could act as representative of his party, he would say to his commandant: "Why are we going to Czechoslovakia? What are we going to do there?" And if he replies to him; "we are going there because there is a danger of the counter-revolution." Then he would intervene by saying "let us appeal to the Soviets!" "Let us appeal to the Soviets!" "Let us appeal to the masses of Czechoslovakia to make an insurrection, to form Soviets, to put themselves on a war footing, let us appeal to the North American masses to take power, let us appeal to the German masses to take power!"

There lies the programmatic revolutionary social solution. The military solutions are not a solution. They are necessary but they are not the essential base. The launching of the atomic war will be by military means; but the conclusion will be the organisation of socialist measures.

The non professional permanent army and the professional army cannot fulfill this social function because they do not have the qualities or the organisation permitting them to do so; they do not have the political life or the corresponding structure. It is an army which obeys orders and fulfills purely military functions.

The militia on the contrary can fulfill this function because its life is prolonged in the factory, in the trade union.

The analysis which we publish above is an extract from an important work of cde. Posadas on the "Construction of the Workers State, and of socialism in the Workers State" written in September 1968.

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Forge the Worker - Student Alliance on the basis of the Anti-Capitalist Programme to Impel the Construction of a New Leadership within the Trade Unions and Labour Party

The harsh sentences imposed on the Cambridge students form part of the bourgeois repressive offensive which the Conservative electoral victory ushered in, also expressed in Northern Ireland and the talk of using troops to man the docks. This forms part in its turn of the impression of self-confidence that the whole European bourgeoisie would like to give on the occasion of the Conservative win. But the strength that the bourgeoisie is showing in these events is limited, it has to impose its will by the use of force and this is not socially convincing even to sectors of the bourgeoisie. Important sectors of capitalism, including the law apparatus itself, are severely critical of the line taken by the Cambridge judge because, as they expressedly say, it will provoke an enormously combatative reaction. These sectors of capitalism have no faith in a capitalist future and feel that whilst the bourgeoisie lashes out defensively at the most vulnerable areas of the revolution it is only accelerating its own collapse, losing any social authority that might remain to it. They only have to look at N. Ireland and see how the masses are not intimidated by repressive measures of capitalism to feel the justice of their arguments for a more conciliatory line towards the revolution. And by taking this attitude these sectors break up the united front with which the bourgeoisie would like to face the rising revolution presenting a picture of internal quarrels and disintegration instead.

The student movement can profit from these conditions. Drawing confidence from the confident conscious actions of the workers vanguard during the election when it dealt a death blow to the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, from the fighting spirit of the Irish masses, and from the unquenchable combativity of the dockers, it must organise to strike back against the Cambridge repression. Capitalism has purposely chosen a moment when the students are dispersed to mete out the sentences hoping to avoid an organised reaction. But this does not and must not prevent the students from taking advantage of a period of reflection and preparing a massive response, even if its full force is delayed till the autumn.

The student movement has many problems to solve before it can advance. It must recognise the reasons for its crisis and partial paralysis since the conquests made during the political files issue. There is no lack of combativity; the problem is to avoid its empirical expression and concentrate it into an effective

FORGE THE WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE

organisational form. Events in Keele University show the way revolutionary spirit and decision can degenerate into often futile protests and particularly indicate the lack of an adequate leadership in the student movement. If the result of an enforced period of reflection in the student movement is that steps are taken to construct a new revolutionary leadership it will be more than possible not only to avenge the Cambridge sentences but to make a lasting contribution to the advance of the whole world revolution.

As the world revolution advances the most important events are those that contribute directly to the building of a world revolutionary leadership and to the process of the masses taking power in their own organisations, as Comrade Posadas very clearly puts it. He analysed that the Bratislava Conference marked a turning point in the process, ever since the bureaucracies of the workers States have been forced to submit their interests more and more to the creation of a world united front between the Workers States and the world masses, the creation of a Mass Communist International. Bresnev launched an appeal for an Anti-Imperialist United Front in the Moscow Conference of the Communist Parties. Meanwhile Mao Tse-tung appealed for one in S.E. Asia, when Cambodia was invaded, and Fidel Castro for one in Latin America when the Trinidad mobilisations occurred. This has great repercussions in the workers movement, and in Britain capitalism is helpless to prevent the influence of the world revolution penetrating into the workers movement. A world balance of forces favourable to the revolution exists. The achievements of the Adeni masses throwing out British imperialism has encouraged revolutionary movements in all the surrounding countries and in Britain, and this, is the force that protects the existence of South Yemen - a state that is moving towards being a Workers State. The student vanguard, having itself on the international conception of permanent revolution, can contribute to the organisation of these influences.

The process of centralisation in the trade unions and Labour Party (which the masses have maintained at the same time as the vanguard has launched itself to overcome the difficulties of the Labour Party leadership) and the greater anti-capitalist use being made by the working class of these organisms e.g. the political demands made in the dockers strikes, is accompanied by a somewhat similar process in the student movement. The N.U.S. is being turned into a more active political organisation and there is evidence of a revolutionary tendency within it. Thus at the last N.U.S. conference this tendency was able to bring to the fore a resolution on South Africa and the bureaucracy was only just able to avoid discussion on an emergency resolution of support to Mexican political prisoners. (Nevertheless over 100 college delegates, representing thousands of students, signed a petition).

A conference decision on student "participation" felt its way towards the solution of making all student representatives responsible to mass student meetings. The revolutionary current in N.U.S. must fight for the establishment of a truly democratic mode of functioning. Do away with all that bureaucratic machinery. Make union delegates elected in mass student assemblies revocable if they do not carry out their mandates.

The revolutionary current in the N.U.S. which is in evidence but lacks organisational form and strength must avoid trying to pass ultimist resolutions like "Conference is for revolution" and such like; this can never organise the current and is certainly not the basis on which to give it political and theoretical understanding and confidence. A revolutionary programme which includes immediate student demands like, for example, the old issue of the abolishment of political files - and link them didactically with the demands of the exploited

population, supporting all strikes and working class mobilisations and the world anti-imperialist struggle, and that lead to demands like the nationalisation of industry and banking and a state monopoly of foreign trade, is the weapon required by this revolutionary current. A good way of presenting this programme is to appeal for discussion in the N.U.S. of the programme recently passed by the Labour Party Young Socialists, which is more or less entirely the Trotskyist transitional programme.

The Young Socialists tried to intervene in the election with this programme, though somewhat timidly and inadequately, but their paper "Left" should have appeared with the headline "Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme". (It was blocked by a bureaucratic manoeuvre of the L.P. leadership). The N.U.S., on the other hand, made no effort at all to respond to the need to take a stand in the election. N.U.S. revolutionaries should try to work in a united front with the revolutionary current in the Young Socialists to raise the level of political life in both organisations. They should criticise the N.U.S. leadership for the lack of an electoral intervention and demand that it overcomes the limitation and by declaring the students view of the Tory educational policy, the dock strike, Ireland and the Cambridge sentences, to mention but a few issues that are central discussion points in the student and workers movement. Obviously the present N.U.S. leadership is not the best to represent the views of the revolutionary current in the N.U.S., but if these demands are made of it, this will force it to advance as much as it is capable of and at the same time stimulate the rise and formation of a new leadership.

It is on the fundamental question of understanding the process in the working class and the relation of student movement to it that all attempts in the past of revolutionary student leadership to get established and advance have fallen down. Only a leadership that is fighting for the building of a worker/student alliance on the anti-capitalist programme, and carrying on this struggle with confidence in the working class drawn from a correct analysis of the process can hope to achieve an echo. The considerable reception to the Trotskyist candidate who fought on this basis in the union election at Manchester Polytechnic is an indication of what can be done. Now, a leadership aware of the significance of the abstention by the workers vanguard in the election and the process of revolutionary renovation in the Labour Party could intervene and achieve fundamental results. The vanguard has consciously decided to smash the bourgeois bureaucratic leadership in the Labour Party, and show that the anti-capitalist struggle will not be decided in parliament.

It has cleared the way for great changes in the Labour Party. It has not abandoned the Labour Party, but is maintaining the centralisation of the class by waging a combative and programmatically advanced struggle in the trade union field the conquests of which will be poured back into the revolutionary transformation of the Labour Party. We appeal to the student vanguard and movement to study the resolution by the International Secretariat of the IV International on the elections (published in the last issue of Red Flag) for it brings a deep understanding of this process.

Many genuinely revolutionary students confuse the struggle against the bureaucracy of the trade unions and Labour Party with one against these organisations themselves and attack them. Such attacks will never be heeded by the working class or gain the students any sympathy from the workers. The workers built the trade unions, and Labour Party as instruments of class struggle, and they won't abandon what is basically a conquest, instead they work to overcome the bureaucratic limitations of these organisations to make them properly representative of their members and based on proletarian democracy. A series of aggressive statements by trade union bureaucrats when the Tories won the election, against Tory interference in trade union functioning

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REPRESSION AND TORTURE IN BRAZIL

The torture and assassination of comrade Olavo Hansen, who was arrested after a meeting on the 1st May organised by the Textile Workers trade union of Sao Paulo, was one of the recent brutal acts of repression by the Brazilian police, against the trade union and student movements in Brazil. It has provoked a world wide storm of denunciations of the Brazilian military dictatorship. We publish below some of the first protests sent to Brazilian Ambassadors throughout the world, and to the Brazilian military dictatorship, by workers, students, and intellectuals organisations, denouncing the murder of Olavo Hansen, and demanding trade union rights for the workers of Brazil.

FRANCE

Telegram addressed to the Brazilian Embassy in Paris.
From the Syndicat National des Etudes Superieure.
(University Lecturers)

"SNES protests against the numerous tortures and the murder of Trade Union leader OLAVO HANSEN, demand instantaneous halt on generalised repression against worker militants and democrats."

Paris 19th June, 1970

From the C.F.D.T.

An article of protest and denunciation was published in the C.F.D.T. national organ "Syndicalisme" on 25th June. The article referred at length to the circumstances of the murder of OLAVO HANSEN.

ARGENTINA

Telegram from the Shoe Makers Trade Union
To the Brazilian Embassy in Buenos Aires.

"We demand freedom for political and Trade Union prisoners and make known our expression of great repulsion for the death of the worker Olavo Hansen."

CHILE

Resolutions of protest have been addressed to the juridical and governmental authorities of Brazil by different committees of support of the Socialist - Communist candidate Allende in the coming elections. Resolutions also have been sent by the Steel Workers Trade Union of Huachipato and by the Socialist Senator Maria Elena Carrera.

Contd page 14

BRITAIN

The following resolution was passed unanimously at a General Meeting of KEELE STUDENTS UNION on Monday 22nd June.

"This union deploras the torture and murder, by the police of Olavo Hansen, a Brazilian trade union leader, arrested on May 1st. We see this murder as a crime against the democratic and trade union rights of the Brazilian people, and demand that the Brazilian government make an investigation and find the guilty people, and that President Medici carry out his promises to respect trade union rights and freedoms.

We also express our complete solidarity with all those held prisoner by the Brazilian government for the crimes of organising political and industrial opposition to the reactionary military regime".

Copies of this were sent to the Brazilian Embassy, and to President Medici.

The following resolution was sent to the Brazilian Embassy by, NORTHERN BUS WORKERS (NEWCASTLE) T.G.W.U.
BENSHAM DEPOT. BRANCH 68 REGION NO. 8

"Sir, This branch of the T.G.W.U. denounces the torture and assassination of Brother Olavo Hansen as an attack against the freedoms and rights not only of the Brazilian masses but the world trade union and workers movement.

We pass this resolution to demand; an immediate enquiry into the assassination of Brother Hansen. An end to the imprisonment and torture of all Political and trade union militants and the abolition of the "death squadrons". We also demand that President Medici holds to his promises that trade union liberties and rights will be respected.

Branch 8/68 T.G.W.U.

Petitions have been circulated and signed by individual militants of the Labour Party Young Socialists, workers belonging to the N.U.V.B. from the Vauxhall factory at Luton, and from a workers housing estate in Luton.

At a London Regional Meeting of the Labour Party Young Socialists it was recommended to all the delegates that they go back to their branches and pass individual resolutions denouncing the murder of Olavo Hansen.

HACKNEY, LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS passed the following resolution,

"This branch condemns the vile assassination by the Brazilian police of Olavo Hansen trade union leader and militant of the IV International. We demand that these attempts of terrorising the Brazilian masses be stopped, that the assassins be brought to trial and condemned and that Trade Union and democratic rights be restored"

Contd page 15

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24 Cranbourn Street, London. W.C.2.

BRAZIL

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAMME WAS SENT TO PRESIDENT MEDICI BY
21 TRADE UNIONS AND 2 FEDERATIONS.

"Confirming the denunciation presented to your excellency following interview with trade union delegation Sao Paulo on imprisonment of workers of Sao Paulo after peaceful demonstrations of 1st May, we communicate the death of Olavo Hansen, chemical trade union member San Andres branch imprisoned on that date. We ask your excellency that you demand explanations of the police of Sao Paulo on the event which contradicts Brazilian government declaration on internal situation of the country. Trade union leaders of Sao Paulo demand a climate of security to develop their mission with calmness and dignity. We have confidence in urgent measures being taken by your excellency.

Signed.

Federation of Bank Workers of Sao Paulo and of Mato Grosso, The Chemical Workers Federation of Sao Paulo, Trade Union of Lorry Drivers of Sao Paulo, Tramways Trade Union of Sao Paulo, The Textile Trade Union of Sao Paulo, The Carpenters Trade Union of Sao Paulo, The Bank Workers Trade Union of Sao Paulo, Trade Union of Musical Instrument and Toy Makers of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo Trade Union of Theatre and Cinema Employees, Guarulhos Engineering Trade Union, The San Andres Engineering Trade Union, Sao Caetano Engineering Trade Union, The Chemical Trade Union of Sao Paulo, Chemical Trade Union of San Andres, Chemical Trade Union of Guarulhos, Textile Workers Trade Union of San Andres, Bakers Trade Union of Sao Paulo, Food Workers Trade Union of Guarulhos, The Confectionary Trade Union of Sao Paulo, Engineering Trade Union of San Bernard Campo, Trade Union of the Milk Industry of Sao Paulo, Engineering Trade Union of Sao Paulo.

DENOUNCE
THE MURDER
OF OLAVO HANSEN!

DEMAND
FULL POLITICAL
AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS
FOR THE MASSES OF BRAZIL!

were made under the unavoidable pressure of the workers on these leaders. The trade union bureaucracy would far rather conciliate and reach some cosy agreement with the Tories, but if it totally ignores the wishes of the rank and file it will completely lose control of it and endanger the very existence of the bureaucracy. Jack Jones has tried a last minute conciliation in the dockers strike and the dockers are going ahead with the strike. In the process revolutionary leaders will be growing in confidence, capacity to organise and eventually come to the fore, above all in the trade unions, which will be their means of maintaining constant contact with the vanguard and the workers in general. And Jack Jones will be forced more to the left in an attempt to maintain some authority. This is one example of a general process, the understanding of which is basic for a worker-student alliance to be built. Unless student activity is orientated towards the advance and encouragement of the revolutionary tendencies in the trade unions and Labour Party it will cut across this process and meet with little lasting success. Even attacks on the bureaucrats which are unaccompanied by analysis of how the revolutionary tendency is progressing are likely to be taken as damaging by the working class. The class has the experience of years of tradition and class feeling to know when it can strike against the bureaucracy without weakening its instruments. The recent abstention by the vanguard in the election is a magnificent example of this and paves the way for great developments.

The elements of a revolutionary leadership in formation in the student movement inside and outside the N.U.S. must launch themselves to function on a national scale even before this leadership can be organically constituted. This will provide a lead and accelerate the very organisation of the leaderships. Meanwhile, without solving the crisis of leadership the greater part of student militancy is left ineffectively organised. Naturally such a move will only gain acceptance amongst revolutionary students if the embryonic leadership is putting forward the correct line, and calls for the constant intervention of the student mass. But it is necessary to stimulate in this way a discussion to assess the progress and failures of the students movement. The immediate need is to organise the response to the Cambridge sentences, to make demonstrations and appeals to force the Home Secretary to intervene and repeal them, to organise student and general opinion which is against the Greek regime and sympathises with the students motives, and to demand that the foreign students are not deported. Specific appeals must be made to the Labour Party, Labour Party Young Socialists, the Trade Unions the Communist Party and Young Communist League. Demand that the N.U.S. makes these appeals. This however must be the spring board for and part of a general advance in the organisation of the student movement, posing and solving the problems of the revolutionary leadership and transformation of the National Union of Students.

A LIST OF MAJOR DOCUMENTS BY CDE. POSADAS PUBLISHED BY :-

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS - 24 Cranbourn St.,
London W.C. 2

Homage to Leon Trotsky on the
23rd. Anniversary of his assassination . . . August 1963

The role of the anti-imperialist
and revolutionary soldiers, the
role of the trotskyists... during and
after the nuclear war.

April 1965

COMMUNES AND SOVIETS.

December 1965

The role of the guerrillas in the
fight for workers power.

February 1966

From the General Strike to the
overthrow of capitalism and the
organisation of the workers and
peasants government in France.

May 1968

RED FLAG

EDITORIAL. CONTD FROM FRONT PAGE.

the army of imperialism the masses had increased their level of military organisation and that their leadership (though still limited from the point of view of programme) was more advanced than in the uprising last August. The masses felt confident for several days to confront the army and the R.U.C. and it was obvious that it was not as the press tried to make out, a small bunch of agitators, stirring up trouble whilst the majority of the population don't join in, but the whole of the population intervening.

The strength of the social organisation of the masses was shown clearly when, after a curfew had been imposed in an area of Belfast, the women and children from outside the area, on hearing of the plight of the people inside decided to march through the barricades, the lines of army, past the armoured cars; to take food, bread, milk etc. to the masses who had been forced to remain in their homes. This march of the women and children is of utmost importance, because it is an illustration of, on the one side, how the social organisation of the masses is increasing. The confidence and spirit of these women and children who broke the curfew was tremendous, they felt that together they were stronger than the army. On the other side, it shows the weakness of the bourgeois repressive system, when soldiers guarding the curfew area simply stood aside and let these women and children through. It shows that not only is the social base of the bourgeoisie disappearing but now they can no longer remain confident that their army will obey commands. The fact that immediately after this march, the curfew was ended, shows that the bourgeoisie felt that it could only control the situation by ending the curfew, not by trying to get the soldiers to impose it.

One of the weaknesses of the leadership of the masses in Northern Ireland is the fact that they haven't as yet made appeals to the army to hand over their arms and join the masses; because the attitude of the soldiers over the breaking of the curfew by the women and children shows that within the army there is a sector of soldiers who are ready to respond to the masses and feel sympathetic to their struggle. It is necessary to make appeals to the army in the next period, to disintegrate the bourgeois repressive apparatus.

The uprising of the masses in Northern Ireland is weakening the base of capitalism throughout Britain, and is one of the factors which on a world scale will accelerate the downfall of capitalism. The struggle of the masses can be seen more clearly in Northern Ireland but the spirit of the masses is the same throughout Britain, and against this the Tory party responds with desperate actions, such as the harsh sentences imposed on the students from Cambridge, and the threats of deportation on two of them. Already although the Tories have only been in power for a month, there are talks of disbanding a part of the National Health Service, and enforcing payments for hospital beds, charging for visits to G.P.'s while their policy in relation to education, supporting the Direct Grant and Public schools, and going back to the 11 plus system of selection for the children of the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie - against much opposition from the N.U.I. who are opposed to this action - are all attempts to repress and depress the standard of living of the working class. But the masses will not accept to bear the brunt of the capitalist crisis, and we can be confident that with the rise in the whole course of the revolution the working class will begin a programme of strikes and demonstrations not only for wage increases but against all these attacks by the Tories on their standard of living.

As the document of the International Secretariat pointed out, the Tories have not come to power in a confident way, with a homogeneous party and programme, but the Tory party is full of tendencies and fractions which inevitably weaken the party of the bourgeoisie. A sector of the party wants to enter the Common Market, whereas one sector of capitalism still wants to delay this for another 6 or 8 years. There is the sector of the party who

support Enoch Powell, and his racial policies which would be suicide for the Tory party if they tried to carry them out, then there is the London sector of the Young Conservatives who are opposed to the line of the party on the question of law and order, and who want to break all ties with the Unionists in Ulster. As the struggle of the masses progress so a sector of the Tory party will inevitably be influenced by this and will lose still more confidence and try to contain the advance of the masses by concessions, while another tendency will want to use repression. And this will add to the disintegration of the party of the bourgeoisie until it is a party of many different positions, as is the party of the bourgeoisie in Italy, Holland etc.

At the same time as this process increases in the Conservative party, so in the Labour Party a progressive process of discussions emerges, discussion over why the Labour Party lost the election, what to do now, how to confront the Tory policies which are all against the masses. As the articles in both "Tribune" and "Newstatesman" have proved, a discussion is going on throughout the ranks of the Labour Party over the failure to win the elections; and they have both come to the same conclusion that the Labour Party lost the election because the masses could see no difference between the party of capitalism and the policies of the Labour government, they both came to the same conclusion that the Labour Party should have fought the election on a more socialist programme, which would have attracted the working class and sectors of the exploited petit bourgeoisie. As it was, as the Resolution of the I.S. pointed out the vanguard used the election to deal a blow at the pro-capitalist and counter revolutionary leadership of the Labour Party, which has tried to force through anti-working class policies, policies which went against T.U. freedom, the right to strike etc. and the working class took this opportunity of dealing a blow at the leadership.

Now is a time for reflection in the Labour Party, a time for discussion, and reorganisation, a time when the masses will exert all their influence on this apparatus, which as the International leadership has analysed, is only a very weak instrument of the working class. Nevertheless the working class will organise in and around it to impel it forward and will continue to organise for a new leadership which will respond more to the pressure of the masses and the demands of the working class. The votes which Michael Foot gained, in the election for the Deputy Leadership of the Labour Party, show that a large proportion of the Labour M.P.'s, (as a pale reflection of the process going on at the base) are beginning to support the left of the Labour Party.

And this group of sixty or so M.P.'s will gain confidence and be encouraged in their fight within parliament by the industrial actions of the working class and petit bourgeoisie. All the actions of the class, strikes, demonstrations, etc. will have a powerful effect on this sector of M.P.'s. We know that within the Labour Party Young Socialists, there has been since the election an influx of members, who are joining, putting forward left positions, and are against the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party. They have been impelled to join since the election seeing the failure of the Labour Party to regain electoral power as a chance to influence more in the Party, and this process must also be going on within the adult party. It is important because it forms a base for the Left of the Labour Party and for the left M.P.'s in parliament who are going to play a very important role in the formation of a new leadership within the L.P.

On a European scale the problem is the same, the lack of a leadership with sufficient confidence and organisational capacity to lead the struggle forward. For instance in Italy, after countless general strikes, with the parties of the bourgeoisie in almost total collapse, and with a military coup around the corner, still the Communist Party and the other workers parties have not developed the leadership which is prepared to take the struggle to the next stage. This is the task in this country: the building of a new leadership within the Labour Party, Communist Party and Trade Unions which will take the struggle forward, centralising the struggles of the masses and leaning on the industrial strength of the working class, utilising the fact that the

petit bourgeoisie is no longer a support for capitalism, but is won to the struggle of the working class, and taking this struggle forward to the overthrow of capitalism

In this process of the formation of a new leadership all the actions of the masses are important, the one day strike of the dockers immediately after the election showed that the masses were not intimidated by the electoral triumph of the Tories, and this is a base for the new leadership to work from. The fact that this strike was supported by dockers from all over the country, and that the most advanced sectors were still demanding the nationalisation of the docks under workers control, (putting forward this demand to stimulate the discussion in the Labour Party), is of utmost importance. The whole atmosphere among the working class is against the Tories. For instance the proposal by a section of the G.M.W.U. that if the Tories won the election they would call a general strike, is one example which shows the spirit of the workers, although this resolution was not agreed by the union leadership this is not the most important thing, because the new leadership will not come from the right wing of the Labour Party and the conservative bureaucracies of the T.U.'s but from that sector of the trade unions which is advancing a militant programme and policy and from the left wing in the Labour Party.

The decision of the Transport and General Workers Union to call an official dock strike if the employers didn't agree to a wage increase for the dockers, and the decision of the dockers delegate conference to reject the first offer made to them by the bosses is tremendously important and marks the beginning of a new stage in the class struggle in this country. Just as the seamens strike and then the first Ford strike marked stages before, now this official strike of the dockers, one of the sectors most necessary for the smooth running of capitalism will open a new stage in the struggle.

Firstly it is an official strike, the dockers have forced the union leadership to come and support them, secondly the dockers have organised so that to a certain extent they control their union leadership, as has been seen in the fact that it was the dockers delegate meeting which decided whether the men would strike or not, and not the union leaders. The call of Jack Jones for the workers to return to work on Tuesday morning, pending the dockers meeting was heeded by a very small percentage of the dockers. Thirdly, it is the first all out strike against the Tory government.

It is necessary for the dockers to organise in the docks the continuation of this strike, gaining the support of all sectors of the working class, and particularly first of all those in the T.G.W.U. and all those linked to the docks. Committees must be formed in the docks, which will meet constantly reviewing the situation, and deciding what measures to take, considering any offers made by the bosses, and organising the spread of the strike. These committees must have a constant life, elected from mass meetings with delegates subject to instant recall, meeting every day, and organising meetings for the dockers to meet and discuss the wage offers made, to discuss how to spread the strike, how to involve more sectors.

Contd page 20

OUR PROGRAMME

EDITORIAL CONTD FROM PAGE 19

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

With the correct leadership and programme this strike could have the support of the entire working class. For this the strike must not be confined to the wage increase being demanded by the dockers but must include the demand that sectors were putting forward before, for THE NATIONALISATION OF THE DOCKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, and it must be linked to all the problems of the masses, particularly in the cases where the Tories are trying to lower the standard of life of the working class. The strike must be for the WAGE INCREASE OF THE DOCKERS, FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE DOCKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, FOR AN IMPROVED NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE, AGAINST CUTS IN THE FAMILY ALLOWANCES WHICH ARE BEING THREATENED, FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF A TRULY COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, AGAINST THE 100% INCREASES IN THE LONDON TUBE FARES. All these points affect millions of the working class and they will see in a strike which puts forward a programme such as this a centre around which to organise and a leadership which is capable of organising.

This strike of the dockers will be a powerful stimulus to the new leadership which is being formed within the Labour Party, Communist Party and unions, and with dynamic strike committees functioning it can have enormous repercussions. If committees were formed in the docks they would be an example of organisms of dual power, just as the organisation of the masses of Belfast and Londonderry are.

WE APPEAL FOR THE SETTING UP OF COMMITTEES IN THE DOCKS, FOR THE CONTINUATION AND EXTENSION OF THE STRIKE, ON THE PROGRAMME WHICH WE PROPOSED, WITH APPEALS TO THE LABOUR LEFT, THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD AND THE MILITANTS IN ALL THE TRADE UNIONS FOR SUPPORT. TO TURN THIS STRIKE OF THE DOCKERS INTO A NATIONAL STRIKE OF THE WORKERS IN THE T.G.W.U. AND THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY, WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANISMS, PROGRAMME AND LEADERSHIP TO ORGANISE A GENERAL STRIKE ON THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE EXPLOITED MASSES.

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Continue the campaign to denounce the murder of Olavo Hansen

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 117

25th JULY 1970

PRICE 6d

Extend the dockers strike into an unlimited general strike on all the demands of the exploited masses

PREPARE TO MEET MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE DOCKS WITH APPEALS TO THE TROOPS AND ALL MEASURES TO PREVENT
THE UNLOADING OF CARGOES

FOR MASS ASSEMBLIES OF DOCK WORKERS TO FUNCTION CONTINUOUSLY DURING THE STRIKE

When the workers' vanguard decided to strike a mortal blow at the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party in the elections, it also centred the struggle on the extra-parliamentary field and this action has evidently been echoed with full confidence by the working class as a whole. The Conservative victory has meant very little to the bourgeoisie, because the working class has not diminished in any way its struggle in the trade unions and in mass mobilisations as have occurred in Ulster. The dockers' strike comes at the head of a class offensive, in which the dockers do not stand alone, but instead are the most advanced expression of the tremendous combativity and fighting spirit of the exploited masses in general. It is a step forward in the taking of power, and moreover, the strike would not be going on with such intransigence were it not felt that the basic issue is workers' power.

In May 1968 Comrade Posadas said that the "stage of proletarian revolution in Europe has begun". The dockers have received resolutions of solidarity from all over Europe, which indicates the climate of the struggle for power throughout Europe, and is an important influence on their own will to keep up the strike. In effect the trade union movement, with the dockers in the vanguard at present, is playing the rôle of a gigantic organism of dual power directly challenging capitalist power. This is the same civil war as is being fought in Ulster, the form changes, but the content is the same. And the revolutionary use, which the class is making of the trade union movement (which is also being reflected in the Labour Party) is an important step forward in the structuring of workers' power, in the construction of the necessary instruments for the taking and holding of power.

The T.U.C. has been forced by the pressure of its rank and file to give support, in words at least, to the dockers' strike, and even seasoned bureaucrats like Vic Feather have come out with anti-government declarations over the talk of refusing strikers social security. The left move of the trade union bureaucracy is an attempt to keep some sort of control over the revolutionary current in the unions, and authority over the rank and file. It is particularly due to the way that the dockers have come out en masse, even sectors like the Felixstowe dockers, who have already made their own settlements coming out, for this co-ordination and cohesion of the dockers is the outcome of an advance in the internal organisation of the movement, and the continuous anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic discussion that is going on in the working class generally. The class is using its combativity to renovate the trade unions as an anti-capitalist weapon. This is illustrated by an important statement made by Bernie Steers, a leading

shop steward in the docks when he said, "The unofficial leaders are not there to usurp the power of the trade union. They are there to see that the unions do their work properly." Jack Jones has had to submit himself to the decision of the dockers' representatives. This is a significant advance in trade union democracy, and the expression of a process going on inside the union in which the cadres that are more sensitive to the demands and methods of the class are rising, preparing the way for a new revolutionary leadership.

The T.U. bureaucracy is trying to defend itself from this process. The dockers can increase the effect they are having on the bureaucracy by imposing on the T.U.C. that it organises the support it has declared for the strike. The dockers must hold mass meetings that demand of the T.U.C. that it puts out strike calls to other transport sectors, and eventually organises a general strike on the demands of all the exploited masses against the reactionary proposals of the Tory government attacking the conquests of the masses like comprehensive education, the national health system, cheaper housing etc. Mass meetings must demand of the T.U.C. that it organises sympathy strikes and demonstrations, and appeals for the organisation of an European Workers' Centre, using as a basis the international support that the strike is receiving. At the same time as demanding this of the T.U.C., the mass meetings must launch these appeals themselves independently of the bureaucracy. These mass meetings can become the centre of the discussion of the demands and problems of all the exploited masses, and elect committees (dock committees, factory committees, workers' area committees and united front committees) whose members are revocable if they do not carry out their mandate, to organise the extension of the strike, and impose greater proletarian democracy in the unions.

THE NEED FOR COMMITTEES TO FIX PRICES

There is a particular need to organise workers' committees for the pricing of food during the strike in the same way as was done during the French May in places like Caen. The committees set up by capitalism for the purpose are only concerned with the smooth running of capitalism and not the needs of the masses. Resistance to strike breaking by the troops also needs to be organised but

it is essential that it should be accompanied by attempts to fraternise with the troops. In this period when the whole capitalist apparatus is in decay, the lower ranks of the army and even the police are not impervious to appeals from the class to support them, because in any case many men do not join these forces on the understanding that their function is to repress the working class. They are

often of working class origin themselves and have their own grievances to put forward.

We appeal for the extension of the dock strike to Southern Ireland, as part of the unification of the struggles of the Irish and British workers to overthrow capitalism. And it is necessary to link the struggle in the docks in Northern Ireland with the demands for the withdrawal of British troops and the ending of partition, with the perspective of a United Socialist Ireland.

The way the government is dithering

over actually sending the troops in shows how it fears this type of confrontation with the unions, with the working class. It feels that it hasn't the social support to be able to carry out repression successfully, and that such a move will only provoke an extension of the strike. Equally much it is hesitating in its decision to sell arms to South Africa. The narrowing capitalist market due to its constant concentration, forces capitalism to resort to arms sales, but meanwhile causes a rise in the social resistance to such a policy at home.

THE STRIKE IS STIMULATING THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT IN THE L.P.

Parliamentary opposition to capitalist policies is being put up by the Labour Party in a weak way, but the whole atmosphere of mass mobilisation created by the dockers' strike is encouraging the more leftward elements to appeal for extra-parliamentary support. The decision of the Labour Party to consider calling a demonstration against the sale of arms to South Africa is very significant, it means the beginning of the change that the vanguard was aiming at, when it struck at the bourgeois leadership of the Party. The trade unions can be used by the class as a means of political communication with the exploited masses in general, as Comrade Posadas shows in the article we publish in this same issue; they can put forward political demands like the one for the complete nationalis-

ation of the ports under workers' control, put forward by the more advanced sectors of the dockers, that get an immediate echo in the exploited masses, because they are part of the socialist programme, but only a mass political party can be a really adequate vehicle for organisation round the programme, because a party centralises not only the working class, as the trade unions do, but the petty bourgeoisie and other exploited sectors as well. Therefore when the trade unions play a political rôle it is very important that this should impell the party to adopt a more directly anti-capitalist policy, and to rely on extra-parliamentary organisation of the struggle for its implementation as is beginning to happen now in the Labour Party.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

PUT A STOP TO THE THREATS ON THE LIFE OF ADOLFO GILLY IMPRISONED IN MEXICO

We denounce to world public opinion that the life of our comrade Adolfo Gilly, imprisoned in Lecumberi Prison, Mexico City, since 1966, has been put in danger once again.

After the assassination of Yon Sosa, leader of the M.R.13 in Guatemala, the Mexican Minister of Defence declared on television and the radio, that after the fatal accident of Turcios some years ago, and that of Yon Sosa now, the third leader of the Guatemalan guerrillas, Adolfo Gilly, was to be found in Lecumberri Prison.

Already in Oct. 1969 anonymous threatening letters were sent to several prisoners, and after that there was the attempt made on their lives by provocateurs inside the prison on Jan. 1st. last.

After the massacre in the Square of the Three Cultures, we know that the Mexican bourgeoisie is ready to do anything in an attempt to maintain its privileged position.

We appeal now, especially after Echeverria has won the presidential election, and was obliged in his electoral campaign to admit the existence of political prisoners in Mexico, for all sectors of the workers' movement, the trade unions, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the student movement and progressive intellectuals to join in the campaign to impose a retreat on the Mexican Government, so that it respects the Mexican law and constitution, and immediately frees all the political prisoners.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

(1st Part)

J. POSADAS
Dec 63

The following document, which we will complete in the next two issues of "Red Flag", was given as a course in the European and African cadre school, by Posadas in December 1963. We are publishing it now because it has a permanent importance, and we urge the worker and student vanguard, the intellectuals and militants of the anti-imperialist movement to study it, and apply its conclusions.

The fundamental problems of Marxism in this stage are not different from those of all the other stages. The only difference resides in the tasks which Marxism must envisage in each stage.

Marxism, said Lenin, enriches, amplifies and enlarges, not because people correct it, but because history confirms it scientifically. Consequently its field of action, its influence and its capacity are enlarged.

To speak of marxism is to speak of dialectical materialism. And to speak of dialectical materialism is to pose the tasks that humanity must set itself today in order to progress. Marxism is a method of interpretation. As such it proposed and proposes to face all the fundamental problems to show that the world and existence have a material origin, that the process of nature, of life, obeys laws intrinsic to the material, and that social relations are the consequence of the social regime of each period.

Ideas, thoughts, spirit, sentiments, all this which is a product of the social relations, depend in the last instance on the economic structure of society, of the regime which determines the human relations. But in determined stages, the idea as an expression of the consciousness of the unconscious process of history and society can impose itself on the social relations themselves and prepare the struggles and the new social regimes consciously.

To arrive at this conclusion, is not a consequence of the invention of the idea, but from the fact that the idea is a product of the unconscious social process. The ideas thus take the guiding lines of history and organise them in revolutionary action.

In the period of Marx, humanity gave itself the task of understanding history, of understanding the existing social regime. Since then up till now there have been a whole lot of philosophers who have continued to try to explain the world in a philosophical manner. The majority of them were to be found and are to be found in the public, collective asylums, and the others in the private asylums. As the historic phrase of Marx said, which is engraved on his tomb in the cemetery in London "Up till the present, philosophers have been limited to explain the world, today it is a question of changing it".

The present stage of humanity is not that of explaining the world. This has been done sufficiently, and not because there are marxist texts and works, but because there exists above all a tangible and irreversible proof of the possibility of constructing an ordered human society, with a social regime conforming to human needs and not to the needs of

MARXISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTION

Marxism is not a method of research for the future, but a method of interpretation of reality in order to change it. It is, of all the existing sciences the most complete, the most necessary. The progress of humanity is not made on the basis of domination of nature, but on the basis of the domination of society and of the human being over himself. Up till the present, all the progress of humanity has been the consequence of the interests of the dominant classes, of dominant groups, and of the effort of scientists and thinkers, who in an individual way, and impelled by the human sentiment of progress, have tried in a disinterested way to impel the progress of humanity.

But the individual effort to impel this progress collides with the interest of the dominant classes. Also this effort is limited for three fundamental reasons; above all from the fact that when the individual effort and interest do not coincide with the interest of the dominant class, the road for research and progress to pursue is found to be closed. Then the fact that it is the dominant class, which possesses the means for research and science. Finally that at the present time, all the interests of the dominant classes in the capitalist countries, and of the bureaucracy in the Workers States, are concentrated in science applied to military objectives.

On the side of the Workers States (and putting on one side the fact that science applied to military ends is a necessity in part) science cannot develop all its possibilities and capacities in the

one class. This proof is the Workers States. What it is necessary to explain today is the existence of these states, the relations which emerge there, which determine a state of spirit, of quality, of sentiment, infinitely superior to previous stages of society. But this state of spirit and of sentiment can only be expressed limitedly, in the measure where there are no organisms, which permit this expression.

There are millions and millions of human beings without instruction, without culture, without material means of existence, who are determined to destroy the domination of existing society and to construct a new one. In a general way humanity can only have this attitude when it already feels sure of itself. In other epochs of human history, such a process could only be produced on the scale of small groups, small sectors. History advanced, transformed itself, only through small groups, who disposed of material means, and dominating society felt themselves to be masters capable of transforming and developing existence, in relation to the private interests of each one of them.

In this stage, it is the immense multitude, who are transforming history, creating for humanity an absolutely new relation, which has been ignored, distrusted, not only by the philosophers, the moralists, the writers, but also by the leaders of the Workers States. To order the existence and progress, is a question above all of understanding this multitude, of understanding the force, which comes from them, of expressing the revolutionary sentiment, which it has by means of revolutionary organisation and action. Such is the spirit of this stage; such is marxism.

measure where it depends on the existing leadership.

The fundamental point of the problems of Marxism of this epoch is the organisation of the revolution, of the party, of the International, and the conscious planning of the Workers States to destroy what remains of capitalism, in order to diminish to a maximum amount all the damage which the nuclear war, which imperialism is preparing, is going to cause. It is there, in the war, that there will be the historical solution independently of whether capitalism or the Workers States begins it. It is the stage of the final settlement of accounts.

History poses new problems, which have not been foreseen by our great teachers. They have left us the methods, the instrument, the experience and the programme to interpret them, confront them, and resolve them. One of the problems, which was not posed in any other stage of history, is the existence of 35% of humanity living in the Workers States, 35% in colonial revolution, and the rest living in capitalist regimes. Never in human history has there been such a social situation, such a combination of antagonistic factors, which continue to exist side by side. There is no philosophy, no precedent, which explains this reality. Only marxism can interpret it and understand it.

The fundamental tasks of marxists of this period is not only to understand this situation, but to organise the instrument—the party—to permit in the shortest possible delay a favourable solution for humanity to triumph. These are the pro-

blems of marxism today.

There are millions and millions of women, of children, of those that they call old people, who participate in revolutionary activity, who are constructing in a global massive way, the human species. The colonial revolution could not be realised without their adhesion. It does not have material means, or arms, or food, or clothing. What is it that unites this population, which hurls itself into the struggle? It is the common passion and sentiment of having the consciousness of being human beings, and the fight for power opens the road for them to become really human beings.

The revolution identifies the women, the child, and the old person. Among them, those which capitalism considered as rubbish. The revolution establishes an identity and unifies them in the passion, the common desire to destroy the existing regime and construct anew. They want to participate in history, and to be human beings in this sense, for up till the present, they have been considered as inferior animals.

Never has human history known the mobilisation of multitudes of millions and millions, as in this period. Multitudes and millions act without party, without a leadership, without a programme, without arms, without food. The influence of the colonial revolution, of the Workers States, are an essential part of this mobilisation. But when the backward multitudes receive this influence, accept it, and base themselves on it to struggle, it is because there is an interior process of reflection, of thinking, which allows them to receive this influence. These are what are the essential problems of marxism of this period. It is on this that the

THE MATERIAL BASES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Marxism does not interpret the history of nature, or of society and ideas as a recreation for the intellect, but as a means of arming humanity so that it advances. The essential problems of the past period, what they called the "fundamental problems of Marxism" we will deal with it here very rapidly, so as to give a historical vision of Marxism.

Marxism is in reality an instrument which is based on dialectical materialism. The latter is an instrument of comprehension of the natural action of the development of nature. The dialectical process is the form of existence, of development of nature. The application of this dialectical conception to human history, is marxism.

Marx and Engels did not propose to study all the history of humanity, but in particular that of capitalism, and the preparation of socialism. In order to explain capitalism, it was necessary to understand previous history and their works explained the general lines. Marx and Engels proposed to demonstrate that capitalism was a historical result, a social historical regime determined by the evolution and development of the productive forces, which were going inevitably to enter into contradiction with themselves in a determined stage, creating thus the bases for the struggle for socialism.

Different to the ideologists and thinkers previous to Marx, who have also thought and aspired to socialism, different to all those who had posed socialist society as a result of an aspiration, of an idea, of the organisation of human society by the idea, the Marxist conception of the construction of socialism, emerges from a dialectical analysis of the inevitability of the fact that capitalist society enters into a contradiction in its process of development. There appears the bases of its own destruction starting from which humanity would find the objective material means for the construction of socialism.

The idea of socialism emerges from this reality, that is to say that it is the result of the observation of the objective possibilities of the material forces of production. Thus it doesn't emerge through the simple desire for human wellbeing, through the formulation of the idea. The idea of socialism, the organisation of the struggle for socialism is brought about by the objective material conditions, which emerge from the development of capitalist society.

Human relations, the idea, sentiments, what they call spirit, the soul are consequences of social relations. These de-

advance of history is based.

Neither the bureaucracy of the Workers States, nor the socialist or communist parties have any interest in interpreting and understanding this process. To interpret and understand it, to obey its demands, is to organise the revolution. They are against. That is why all the works, which today are called marxist speak of inanities and stupidities.

A little time ago there was held in Mexico a world congress of philosophy. Soviet philosophers were present. One day, when we were there, by chance near some native ruins, we went to make a meeting to discuss the problems of the revolution. At a certain moment, some Soviet philosophers passed by the place where we were meeting, discussing philosophical problems. We were in process of organising revolutionary action, with the programme, and they passed, very serious, trying to explain morality, people, sentiments, thought and nature.

The problems of dialectical materialism have already been explained. Marxism today is the essential state of humanity. It lives, it dies, in agreement with the marxist interpretation of existence. That is to say that reality, progress of society, impelled above all by the masses, puts to nought all the decadent structure of society, faced with all the possibilities of human progress. This is interpreted and felt without, ideological consciousness, without doubt, by the enormous multitudes. They do not have the political consciousness of the problem from the point of view of the programme, but they have a decision of combat, of action, and assurance to change the existence, which is the essential basis of marxism.

termine and are determined by a material interest in society. Class society develops class interests. The forms of these relations are also a function of class interests, of private property. Before socialism, one could not explain the human being in general. It was only possible to explain him partially in relation to class interests. The forms of his relationship are also a function of human nature.

The human being has not shown himself with all his possibilities, in as much as he is submitted to the division of society into classes. The elaboration of the sentiment is in agreement with classes, also it is necessary to see and foresee existence in relation to these interests, in these conditions.

Only socialism will be able to analyse society and the individual as a whole for between the two there will not be any contradiction, any antagonism, but a harmony determined by the common interests, which are not economic, but interests of human progress. Every society of private property has impelled progress in relation to the private interest of each stage of society. But even these private interests of sectors of the class and of whole classes themselves have not been able to develop in all their fullness in as much as competition exists within the class itself or within sectors of classes. If this competition has determined progress, it has also determined it being held back in as much as it was in relation to the economic advantage, which it could give.

All this is expressed in its turn in ideas, philosophy, morality, art, in everything. What one calls "phenomenology of the spirit" on which various people have made studies over a period of years walking about completely wrapped up in themselves, simply means that they sort out their spirits, feelings and ideology according to the interests they have and nothing more.

But there exist other factors, which none of them considers, like the knowledge that the private interests of sectors of a class, and of a regime limit the development of feelings, of the spirit and of human will. They limit, in consequence, the essential force, which humanity has until the present, which is the organisation of the human will to progress. Marx and Engels showed not by philosophy, but by analysis of the class struggle that the strength of human will is also determined by existence, and the regime of a society. The lack of harmony between the economic interests, the structure of the state, its development, and the administrative apparatus of the

state limits again the possibilities for the formulation of ideas within the capitalist regime.

All the philosophers, who still want to explain history including Soviet society, and who do not use as a basis, as we do, the experience of human history, but the individual behaviour of such and such a person, cannot really explain anything. The mobilisation of the leading sectors of society including Soviet society cannot be analysed as obeying a state of consciousness, of spirit, or feelings. It is really a stupid and ridiculous thing to hold a Congress on philosophy there today, or to hold, as they are in the Soviet Union, philosophy seminars.

Like capitalism, the Soviet bureaucracy has no interest in explaining existing reality. It must hide it. It hides it in art, in literature and in philosophy. One of these philosophers who was in Mexico made declarations, which were published in all the newspapers. This incredible imbecile said: "It is necessary that we meet to understand the enormous multitudes of Africa, masses without civilisation or culture. We must place at their disposition our interpretation of human morality and feelings". This idiot closes his eyes to the fact, that the masses of Africa are in process of overthrowing all the imperialists and capitalists. This philosopher's thought is to defend the interests of the bureaucracy. That is why between him and the masses of Africa there is nothing in common, whilst between the Indians of Bolivia, of Peru and Mexico there exists a complete understanding of the state of spirit, feelings and morale of the masses.

At the same moment where they were holding this Congress on Philosophy, they held a Peasant Congress in Mexico. And whilst the philosophers drank to the health of the human soul, the peasants were drinking and shouting "Viva Mao Tse tung! Viva Fidel Castro!". And the philosophers said, "Poor people". But the peasants said "What idiots", and when they were asked "Who are these people?" the peasants replied, "Ah, those philosophers!"

Undoubtedly, the dialectical conception of history could not be understood by Marx and Engels solely as the consequence of their own elaboration. They represented the continuity of a process of elevation in human thought. Thought in itself is a social organ, and as such, is the consequence of its own functioning, of its social application. Thought is matter and develops according to social necessity. What unites humanity, what makes its unity tangible and permanent throughout history from its origins until the stages, which we are not able to foresee, is the continuity of human thought, that is the biological, physical and social need of existence.

This continuity of human thought obeys in its essence, and in the last instance the needs of existence itself, of the struggle against nature, of the de-

Fundamental problems..

velopment in the human being by means of his capacities, of a certain confidence in himself, won by seeing himself capable of assuring his existence in the struggle against nature.

The human being is the result of action and his relation with nature. But the development of human history into a class society is not the product of the perversion of the first human beings, but of the unfavourable relation of human being to nature. The means of sustenance available from nature were inferior to the needs of providing for everyone.

There exist concepts to define this conception of history. Engels said that in communist society, human society would return to its origins, but with provision made for all its needs, for the "first type of human relation was communist". That is to say not provision according to class interest, to each according to his ability, but to each according to his needs. But the human beings have developed more quickly than material means have. It is then in this sense that we say that there is an unfavourable relationship to nature. It is on the basis of this that the beginnings of the division of society into classes were created.

From this there comes the necessity to explain ideas, our relation to nature, rain, the sun, the sky. Trotsky said that if human society has been capable of advancing from the stage of the monkey to the Soviet state, it is because there existed the conditions and the historic need for the construction of socialism. And it is there that the idea intervenes as prevailing over material means, for the idea is the most centralised expression of these means. The idea organises material means so that the will and consciousness can be used to construct socialism. It is there that all the power of the continuity of human thought is expressed.

Human progress cannot be made by stages in the form of chapters; that is when an individual has such and such a thought at a certain stage, he creates a work, passes it on to other people, who think, and who three or four years later create another, etc. Progress is the result of infinite actions, impossible for humanity to consider and make compatible, actions of all sorts including that of animals. These last have taught an infinity of things to human thought. And children have done too. There are children, like cde Y who is here, who whilst listening does an infinity of things combined with the acceptance of what we are in process of saying, and does in his way, make a resumé of it, showing by breaking things the will to work. When he destroys things, he rejects the capitalist system, showing his dynamism. He thus contributes and collaborates in giving us confidence and assurance. It has been like this throughout the history of humanity.

thought, diminish.

Until socialism, human progress, will be realised by leaps, and the essential reason for this is that between the organisation of scientific thought, and the scientific capacity to dominate nature, between the existence of material means and society, there is a contradiction, a lack of harmony. When society, thought, the material needs, and scientific capacity are a single thing, human progress will no longer be made by leaps, but will be incessant and constant.

The essential reason, in effect, for the lack of harmony between society, the material means, scientific thought and the interests of human progress is that class interest limits the formidable force of organised society enormously. When all the population intervenes, when its basic knowledge is generalised, when elementary education is dialectical materialism, everyone will be physician, chemist, biologist, everyone will be all these, and humanity will not advance any more by uneven jumps due to someone being a chemist, someone else a biologist, and a lot more being idiots.

No people can be called an advanced or backward people. Peoples cannot be called intelligent or unintelligent. What can be said to exist is a precise separation of humanity. As a consequence of the development of history through the class struggle, there are peoples who have been able to develop more than others in their culture and civilisation. But what is a rule common to all humanity is the spirit of progress, the will

of the human masses to advance. There already exists a world consciousness that it is possible to eliminate all forms of coercion, imposition and slavery, and that it is possible for human society to govern itself instead.

When peoples who are tremendously backward, who have no notion of culture (and it is in this sense that they are backward, because they are not able to eat, to read, to go to university, because they are not able to live, but vegetate) unite and decide to overthrow the power of imperialism and capitalism, they are the most advanced expression of culture at this stage of human history. Culture is an instrument of progress. All which does not serve human knowledge, which does not serve the progress of the human masses (and not of this or that sector) means a limitation of culture. Culture remains culture, it continues to make civilisation advance, but it does so in a very limited fashion.

An indisputable example can be found in the satellites launched on the one side by the Soviets and on the other by imperialism. It is indisputable that the two cases show dominion over nature by society. But the object of this dominion is not human progress, but the defence in one case of the interests of imperialism, and in the other of those of the Soviet bureaucracy, which wishes to maintain military power over imperialism. If the object were human progress, it would be considered more important to construct all the industry necessary for the development of Africa, Asia, Latin America and even of Europe, which is backward enough, than to go to the moon.

(To be continued in the next issue)

RED FLAG

supplements

by CDE. J. POSADAS

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

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OUR PROGRAMME

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

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES AND HUMAN PROGRESS

The continuity of human thought is not only and fundamentally established by scientific discoveries. No. That has without doubt a very great importance.

But if scientific thought does not express itself in social relations, if it does not give assurance to society, enabling it to dominate nature, the discoveries and thus

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

As part of this process the stand of opposition to the calling of troops into the docks adopted by several left Labour M.P.s, even though they may have couched their opposition in woolly language, is an important symptom. At the same time Michael Foot, a left M.P. is able to take a seat on the front bench opposition indicating a growth in the left current in the Party.

About a third of the resolutions sent in to the Labour Party Conference deal with the need of the Party to return to a truly socialist programme. There is a deep discussion going on in the Party about why Labour lost the elections, which is feeling its way to the need for the revolutionary renovation of the Party, making it into the proper political representative of the trade unions that it rests on. Thus the resolution proposing that the Party be bound by Conference decisions has appeared repeatedly as well. The full intervention of the revolutionary current in both the trade unions and the Labour Party in the coming conference can bring about, and consolidate fundamental changes in the policy and organisation of the Party. The Labour Party Young Socialists must demand that the programme that they passed in their conference last Easter be discussed in the conference of the parent party. We appeal to the Young Socialist vanguard and the rest of the revolutionary vanguard to study the texts of Comrade Posadas and the International

Secretariat of the IV International, which analyse the great advance made recently in the revolution, and the rôle, that this vanguard is playing. It is a vanguard which is acting with confidence and audacity fully confirming the predictions of these documents, and we appeal for their study, because they provide a deep understanding of the implications of the action of the vanguard, and show it how it can organise its confidence, and gain more confidence to increase the effectiveness of this action, concentrating on the central problem of the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

As an immediate step there must be appeals to the left Labour M.P.s to act as a revolutionary leadership, and to organise the extension of the dockers' strike, together with the T.U.C. This will not only force these M.P.s to move more to the left, which will be used to advantage by the class as an encouraging sign, but also facilitate the organisation of a real revolutionary leadership. Thus the combativity of the class is channelled into the building of the organisms and leadership that it requires to advance. The preparation of a general strike on the demands of all the exploited masses around the dockers' strike, and including the demand for the complete nationalisation of the dock industry and other key industries under workers' control will stimulate and accelerate this process.

July 22nd, 1970

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE TAKING OF POWER

J. POSADAS
Sept 68

(The following article is composed of quotations from the document "The Construction of a Workers' State, and from the Workers' State to Socialism" by Comrade J. Posadas (September, 1968) of which many parts have been appearing in "Red Flag" recently. These quotations deal specifically with the trade unions, and include particular analysis of the British trade unions. We hope to include in later editions of "Red Flag" other quotations of this important document that deals with Britain, and show the greatest insight into the development of the revolution in Britain, as well as parts that deal with other aspects of the world revolution, and eventually to publish the whole complete work as a booklet.)

INTRODUCTION

The analysis, which Posadas makes of the role of the trade unions in the "advanced" countries, in this phase of human history, relates inevitably to the problems of the new leadership, which the masses require in their struggle to wrest power from capitalism. It has been traditional in the terms of social democrats and reformist thinking to maintain that trade unions should preoccupy themselves with purely economic matters, whilst the party should deal with the "wider" political issues, and this absurd type of compartmentalism has been reasserted in Italy recently, where in the discussion around "incompatibility" it has been suggested, that the unions should be independent of political issues and Party influence. In this respect historically the role of the CPs has frequently been as pernicious as that of the social democracy. And of course in the absence of a dynamic political life in the organisations, supposed to be concerned with politics, the trade union bureaucracy has been enabled to function as it saw fit. In the epoch immediately prior to the second world war, Trotsky perceived the tendency of the trade union apparatus to become identified with the interests of the bourgeois state apparatus, the most extreme case being Nazi Germany, where in effect the trade unions were converted into instruments of the state against the workers. But this analysis, which was true for that period is no longer valid, because since Trotsky wrote, a complete change in the world relation of forces between capitalism and the forces of socialism has taken place. There is now no possibility for the bourgeois state to guarantee a docile trade union apparatus. On the contrary, such is the enormous pressure of the masses to take power, that the trade unions become spearheads of the offensive of the masses and the trade union leadership in spite of itself, frequently acts with a force superior to the workers political organisations. This, as Posadas shows, was the case in France in May 1968 and in the following year in 1969, the British trade unions had a limited "May" of their own, when they totally smashed the trade union legislation of the Labour government. In effect, and despite all manner of conciliations, the trade unions become a tremendously important weapon in the hands of the working class, not simply to win economic victories, but to impel that weak vessel, the Labour Party to take power. All the recent experiences of the British masses entirely confirm the analysis of Posadas. The demands for nationalisations under workers control, the demands for a Labour Party with a socialist programme, which are all demands strongly voiced in the trade unions, show the fundamental importance of the unions in the struggle of the masses to impel the struggle for power. The article of Posadas elaborates many aspects of these problems, and we recommend it to the revolutionary vanguard, rapidly advancing in Britain and Ireland, to impel their activity in the unions.

Trotsky stated the revolutionary function of the trade unions as the organs of power with particular reference to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and I have done so too. I, however included Europe as well. The attitude adopted by the trade unions in Britain is not one of trade unions, but one of a Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions, and this tendency will become more marked. This does not mean that they will exchange the Labour Party for a new Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions; but it does mean that the trade unions are acquiring an embryonic form that, though it is very general, is the form of an organism of proletarian power aimed at overthrowing capitalism.

The existence of a mass party should not limit the action of the trade unions. On the contrary, if in countries like Britain or Italy, the party isn't inclined to take power, and the trade unions are capable of it and can, through their action, attract all the exploited masses into creating and extending organisms of dual power, then the party is forced to take power. The trade unions do not replace the party, but they exercise the function of impulsion, of being the centre of concentration, of the will to struggle for power of the masses, and this forces the party to take power(...)

Trade union bureaucracies have developed their own trade union bureaucratic interests as careerists, negotiators and salesmen. This is not just the case with the party bureaucracy, but in the trade unions as well, for the concentration of the masses in the trade unions has given the bureaucracy a sense of power that it did not have before. But the trade unions have this power, because the party refuses to take power. If the party were to accept the need to take power then the trade union bureaucracy would not have any field of development for its own bureaucratic interests. This points to the reason, why there was no trade union bureaucracy in Russia before the Revolution. What existed was a revolutionary trade union leadership that was a centre of support in the taking of power. But in Germany, Britain, France

and Italy the revolution did not triumph at the time, for the trade union bureaucracies had developed interests that were foreign to the revolutionary interest of taking power. The experience of the Soviet Union must be taken as the correct example, not what happened in other countries, where the trade union leaderships prevented power from being taken, and showed that they did not want to take power.

This explanation on trade unions touches on a series of points that are not directly linked to the construction of a Workers' State, but are the basis for the construction of the Workers' State. Trade unions are not directly involved in this for their essential function makes it necessary for them to discuss everyday problems, directly concerned with the work of the masses, and they have not the time to give to the discussion of the problems of workers' power and the building of socialism. But in an indirect way, and from now on in a more and more direct way, the trade unions are discussing the organisms of power. When the workers in a factory discuss who shall decide the rhythm of work, they are deciding what they would do in a Workers' State, how they would organise the Workers' State. That is where they are learning, and they are going over the heads of the bureaucracy in making decisions about piece work, how the shop should be run, what to produce, what quantity, what level of wages, and what kind of distribution of the wages shall be made. Something that was not achieved by the Soviet trade unions before the Revolution, is being achieved now by the European trade unions and trade unions the world over as well.

The functioning of the workers in the trade unions in capitalist countries makes it possible for them to raise their ability for leadership. In France the trade unions acted like a political leadership in May, 1968. They worked as a real leadership, and in some areas, like Caen, they functioned as a leadership.

In the epoch of the Russian Revolution this did not exist, and there still wasn't the possibility of such an experience. The masses are not going through

the same experiences today as the Soviet masses, for the Soviet masses were guided by the Bolshevik Party, by the texts written by the Bolsheviks. But at the same time as they wrote, the fact that the Bolsheviks guided the masses with their authority, and directed them politically was as important as the texts, amongst them those by Lenin on the struggle to take power, and the construction of the Workers' State. Every Bolshevik trade union leader was a political leader, accepted and recognised by the class. The decisions of the masses in the Revolution came as a party, not as the trade unions. The trade union is indispensable, because it is a centre that concentrates the masses, but it cannot decide politically on its own. It is the party that makes the trade unions decide politically. But when the weight of the party cannot be felt, and the trade unions decide like a party, it is because they are taking up the ideas, programme and objectives of a revolutionary party. The Bolsheviks attracted the trade unions into using their weight with the population in organisms like the soviets, the Constituent Assembly, demonstrations and meetings. Through this the weight of the Bolsheviks was brought to bear on the population, and orientated it in its decisions.

The first experience of the Russian Revolution showed that the trade unions were, the basis, the organised centre through which the Bolsheviks and the Bolshevik Party got their support and directed themselves to the soviets and finally made their weight felt in the soviets, so that even being in a very small minority, they were able to be the deciding force. And they did decide! If the trade unions had not been prepared for this function, they could not have fulfilled it after the taking of power. And although there has been a partial stagnation of the Russian Revolution socially, economically, militarily and in its historic authority due to the assassinations, the elimination of the functioning of the Bolshevik Party, the soviets and the trade unions, which has prevented the trade unions from exercising greater power than they have done, nevertheless, there has been progress in the Soviet Union, and it has been impossible to wipe the trade unions out of existence. The trade unions have not been eliminated, they go on functioning, and although their form has changed, and they do not exercise the same power, they are still there.

In the struggle for power the trade unions are an indispensable centre of support. Even in countries like Cuba, where the struggle for power went from the countryside to the city, Fidel Castro was able to wage the struggle he did and triumph, because the sugar unions and the students in their union maintained the struggle against the Batista regime. If they had not kept up this struggle, power would not have been taken.

The trade union bureaucracy will invent formulas of conciliatory manoeuvre but at the same time it will accompany this with programmes that dispute with and criticise capitalism, even fairly advanced programmes. The one will not blot out the effects of the other, because we are in 1968, in the epoch when capitalism is falling apart. The bureaucracy cannot put forward a 48 hour week when the masses are asking for a 35 hour week, for a reduction in the rhythm of work and for an increase in wages. In order to maintain their support and authority over the masses, and stay in the positions they occupy, the trade union bureaucrats have to put forward a programme that at least corresponds to the economic aspirations of the masses. But they concentrate on economic issues in order to avoid disputing the power with capitalism. When I say that in countries like Britain, France, Germany and Italy, the trade unions are irreplaceable centres for the taking of power, I do not mean the trade unions with the leaderships they have at the moment, that these leaderships are the ones that will decide the matter, or that the leadership for the taking of power will spring from their ranks. I only mean that the trade unions are irreplaceable centres.

Even though right at the beginning a Workers' State may not have its origin in the trade unions, a revolutionary party or a Communist Party, and it may

even have a military origin, for the construction of that new Workers' State, it must find its support in the working class to acquire security, transcendence and to develop. This is so however small the proletarian nucleus may be in that state. All the analysis in this document is intended to show the historic security of the proletariat. Whilst the rest of the population, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie or military sectors become disappointed, weaken and hesitate and consequently make it possible for the enemy to gain time and positions, either socially or economically, or by discouraging a sector of the revolutionary masses temporarily, the proletariat does not become discouraged or lose confidence or its security.

The example of the war of fascism on the Soviet Union shows all the historic integrity, and security of the proletariat. Before building socialism, before having made very pronounced steps in social relations on the road to socialism, the world proletarian vanguard behaved in a socialist way. This is one of the conditions that led to my proposal for the abolition of wages in 1959 (to Cuba), that is, the beginning of the establishment of equal wages for everyone, and then going on to the elimination of wages. For by then the world working class, part of it in the Workers' States, had shown historic security, and its behaviour was not decided by the interest of benefiting directly or immediately from a Workers' State, but by interest in building the basis, structure and organisms for development towards socialism. (...) From the 2nd World War there emerged the combined fact that the Soviet Workers' State had won the legitimate right to exist, and that the working class felt identified with its Workers' State, which it encouraged and stimulated as a class holding it up as a lesson, and directing it to the rest of the population. It did this through the organisms, which the proletariat influences through the trade unions.

In some stages the trade union exercises a function more independent from the party. In past stages disputes between the trade union bureaucracy and the party bureaucracy, have ended in explosions like the open struggles in the Socialist Parties. The trade union bureaucracy has defended itself from the party because it had its own interests to consider. The parliamentary bureaucracy has wanted to use the trade unions as a centre of support for political careerism for negotiation, conciliation, and to make an alliance with capitalism. And the trade union bureaucracy, though submitted to the pressure of its proletarian rank and file, and the need for the struggle, could sell out easily, and moreover wanted to make the most for itself in the sale. It was always like this, and still is to some extent. The British trade unions are an example of it. But the historical conditions of this epoch are reducing the margins in which the trade union and party bureaucracy can manoeuvre to negotiate and sell out. This does not stop them from having this intention which they haven't abandoned either, but they haven't the same possibilities as before, for now there are 16 Workers' States, capitalism is moribund and the revolution is dominant.

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PARTY AND UNIONS

EDITORIAL.

The momentum of the world socialist revolution is continuously favouring the struggles of the British masses now fully engaged in the battle to take power. The truce which has been declared in the Middle East is a last minute effort on the part of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy to regulate the conflict there and it is a truce which has already brought out the impotence of imperialism and the fact that the Workers States whatever the limitations of the leaderships follow a policy which is different from former periods of 'peaceful co-existence'. A few days respite may be given to Israel but the Workers States continue a massive military aid to Egypt and there is no chance for the Soviet bureaucracy to prevent the advance of the revolutionary vanguard in the Middle East. On the contrary the discussion which has taken place throughout the Arab States on the validity of these negotiations, the rejection of the truce in Algeria, Iraq and Syria, the fact that the guerrilla movement rejects it and this movement is outside the control of Imperialism and the bureaucracy,

Contd on Page 18.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL.....	PAGE 1.
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM (PART 2)	PAGE 3.
THE RESULTS OF THE CEYLONESE ELECTIONS...	PAGE 13.
DECLARATION OF THE C.O.B. FOR THE PRISONERS IN MEXICO	PAGE 15.
CAMPAIGN	PAGE 16.
FINANCIAL APPEAL	PAGE 21.

Fundamental Problems

of MARXISM

Dec 63

(2nd Part)

J. POSADAS

The interest of human progress today is development on earth to organise activity and life in a manner to be able to dominate nature. In place of going to the moon, it is necessary to prevent earthquakes or at least to limit them. In 1963, there are still floods which kill thousands of people and this is totally absurd.

Scientific interest, that of culture and of civilisation must be measured in relation to the social progress of humanity. That is why we say that the revolutionary action of the masses of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America without material means, without cultural tradition is infinitely more important than all the books of literature, of science, of physics or of chemistry. Even the most important achievements are inferior to the actions of the masses if one measures them in the framework of human progress. The action of the masses impels human progress. The action of the masses impels social progress in liquidating the bureaucratic obstacles which are capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy whilst the rest - the scientific, cultural works - will only reach a small number of men who do not develop them by impelling the revolution but who on the contrary block them. These are the problems of marxism today.

Another fundamental problem of marxism of this epoch is to draw conclusions from the experience of the process of development of the Workers States, of the new existent society. Each society engenders a state of spirit which is not uniform but which follows in every way a certain line. In the epoch of advancing capitalism there is not only the development of productive forces but a certain state of spirit. It expresses itself among other things in painting. There are evidently other expressions that show the idiocy of capitalism, incapable of developing on a great scale. There have been stupid works, like the Eiffel Tower: a monument to stupidity. And there are many other examples.

Productive development does not mean development of society. The state of spirit of capitalism showed itself in all its splendour with the appearance of impressionist painting and the overflowing pleasure seeking of the French cabarets. The overflowing pleasure seeking of capitalism then came from a sensational of inexhaustible assurance.

What type of man has Soviet pleasure produced? What is the state of spirit of this society? How does it express itself? It is indubitable that it is a question of a transitional society and as such it cannot express a fixed feeling but a transitory one. In the transitory Soviet society, the spiritual transitory expression is assurance in oneself, the capacity of this society to overthrow capitalism. It feels sure of itself. How does Soviet, Chinese, Cuban society express itself?

Contd over

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

There is not a single writer, among all these idiots, who dedicates himself to write some lines on such issues, who interests himself to understand one of the greatest phenomena of human history. For example Cuba, one of the most backward states in the world - not of Latin America but of the world - with an enormous percentage of illiterates, eliminated 70% of these two years after the fall of Batista. No society could do that except in the circumstances that the population feel sure of itself, and in consequence has the desire to progress. There is no example similar in human history. That has been rendered possible because the illiterates and the perspectives of society coincide and are unified.

People of 60, 70 and 80 in Cuba have been taught by children of 10 or 14 years old. No power in any capitalist country can force a man of 80 to learn. It is only the fact that he sees a perspective in the revolution, that he sees himself able to participate in, and to be an integral part of the future, and does not see himself isolated, put on one side in life, that enables him to respond. There is an example for those who study marxism, philosophy, morality, human sentiment. They ignore all that. And when they see themselves obliged to speak of this historic example they refer themselves simply to it as one fact more.

Neither the Soviet bureaucracy nor even the Chinese refer to it. If the Chinese have made enormous progress in relation to illiteracy, it has been nevertheless inferior to that in Cuba.

In the USSR comic films are made but with a comic quality similar to that in capitalism. The basis is mockery, contempt, making the other feel inferior, using contemptuous irony, sarcasm. If the transitional Soviet society lived with and was led by the soviets, the communes, such a comedy would be suppressed. It stems from and arises from the relation of private property, from the contempt of the strongest for the weakest. That is "comedy" under whatever form it is presented. When Soviet society makes such films, it is because it is not Soviet. These films represent the state of spirit, the feelings and the bureaucratic interests of the sector which leads it.

Comedy is a phenomenon which represents a stage of human history. Some time in the future without out being able to say exactly when, it is going to disappear. It will be replaced, surpassed by a harmonious state of feelings and human relations. But now Soviet society is in a condition within a certain type of relations (and which will prevail only a little more) to elevate a type of comedy which eliminates mockery, the contempt for the weaker, replacing this with optimism. All their type of comedy is pessimistic. They are incapable of an optimistic comedy. If the Soviet bureaucracy cannot produce such films cannot produce such artistic expression it is because there exists no harmony between it and society. This is the phenomenon which one observes in the art

The phenomenology of the spirit expresses itself in a diversity of forms. Within certain limitations, the animals also express this phenomenology. A dog used to living in a house expresses for example all the feelings of the family. Even the pigs are like that with the exception of Khrushchev. Such a pig cannot express any feeling. That is why in a strike in Siberia, the strikers displayed a pig in the streets with a portrait of Khrushchev. Now Khrushchev has gone to the devil, but soon he will be thrown to the pigs for good.

The construction of socialism is not the problem of a team of administrators. The construction of socialist society, can only be realised with the complete intervention of all the masses. To develop its conscious role, the leadership can only do this by organising and making the great masses intervene. Capitalism is a society which is organised in accordance with the interests of groups and sectors. The interests of private property do not make necessary the social organisation of the masses. On the contrary

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

so that capitalism may install itself, it must hinder this social organisation. It is necessary to recall what happened to Robespierre. He was liquidated precisely because he expressed in a still unconscious form, a very attenuated form, the interest and the desire for a massive intervention on the part of the masses. It was in that epoch, the equivalent of the proletarian revolution. Socialist society cannot be constructed without the conscious active intervention of the masses.

THE STATE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The marxist conception of the Workers State and of the construction of socialism determines the following conclusion; at the very moment when the masses take power, when they install the proletarian state, the state as such begins to disappear. The fact that the proletarian state needs to become solidified, that it needs to re-inforce itself seems to be in contradiction with its disappearance. The state is an organ and like all organs it is based on the structure of society. The class struggle in the capitalist state extends up to the struggle for power, up to the revolution which the struggle for power becomes at the most acute moment. Once capitalism is overthrown and power is taken by the proletariat the class struggle begins to decrease. This does not mean that one sector after the other of the bourgeoisie retires, does not fight any more, decreases, does not exclude the fact that all the bourgeoisie continues to maintain the struggle, but that it has less and less possibility, less and less strength, less and less perspectives in as much as the relationship of forces is against them.

The sharpening of the class struggle means the struggle for power and it is totally false to pose that the bourgeoisie has still the strength and possibility of using organs and instruments to overthrow the proletariat, as the Soviet bureaucracy, the Chinese, and the Cubans are posing. The opposite is true. All the force which the bourgeoisie disposed of before, is now in the hands of the proletariat, and the forces which the state apparatus had before are now transferred to the organs of proletarian power.

But the organs of workers power are neither the government nor the ministers. We advise all the comrades to re-read "State and Revolution" of Lenin. The real power of the proletarian state is not in the last instance either the government or the ministers. They are only the executives and representatives of the real power of the proletariat which is in the soviets, the workers trade unions, in a form independent of power of the state.

While in the capitalist regime, the fundamental conception of the trade union is the anti-capitalist struggle, in the proletarian state it is the unconditional defense of this state, through an independent existence. While the trade union proposes, in the capitalist state, to base itself on the class and revolutionary struggle to overthrow this regime, in the Workers State, it must, while supporting the state, defend itself from the degeneration the limitations, and the partiality coming from the bureaucratisation of the state. The same organ, changes its function. In the capitalist state, the trade union proposes, as a fundamental task, the organisation of the anti-capitalist struggle. In the proletarian state, while defending the interests of the workers before the particular interests of each trade union or all of them, it defends the Workers State. But there is no contradiction between these two defenses.

What unifies the interests of the masses and the apparatus is the common desire to stimulate the construction of socialism. Without the intervention of the masses, the state limits its possibilities of functioning, to the strength and power of its functions. If the proletariat does not intervene in the form of soviets, of trade unions, of the party; if the revolutionary party

Contd over

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

of the proletariat does not live, does not develop with an intense internal activity, the organs of the state which receive at the same moment the internal and external influences, which must face up to, at the same time, the needs of commercial, political, ideological, scientific agreements with capitalism, tend to allow themselves to be influenced at the level of the apparatus.

-The apparatus of the state as such is an apparatus distributing the goods of society, carrying out the needs of the organisation of the activity of society. In capitalism this is done in a partial fashion in accordance with the interests of the ruling class and, within the latter, with those sectors who succeed in influencing, dominating and controlling the state apparatus. Capitalism develops in a combined process, a dual process of contradiction with the workers state, the colonial revolution but also of competition within itself. This hinders the unification of capitalism and it is one of the bases of its decomposition. That is why they assassinated Kennedy which was nevertheless a very bad business for them. When a sector is obliged to assassinate Kennedy, it is because interior competition is at the most intense point.

This sharpening is expressed also in an indirect fashion, in the exacerbation of the class and revolutionary struggle not only on a national but a world scale. Apparently within the United States there is not an economic crisis or a revolutionary situation. There apparently does not exist bases for such sharpening of the internal struggle of capitalism. But there is in fact an expression of the world class and revolutionary struggle which expresses itself not only in the strikes of the Italian proletariat, in the colonial revolution, in the Cuban revolution but also in the very elevated and centralised form of the military, economic and social development of the Workers States

The process is quite otherwise in the Workers States. The exacerbation of the class struggle reaches a paroxysm in the struggle for power, in the revolution, in the armed insurrection. Once the Workers State is constituted, the class struggle is diminished on a national scale but extends itself on a world scale.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MASSES, THEIR ORGANISMS AND THE ELECTIONS.

The functioning of the trade union as an organ of power in the Workers State, differs in a fundamental way from the trade union, the organ of the revolutionary and class struggle in the capitalist state. The difference is established by the fact that in the capitalist state it is an organ of struggle for power whilst in the Workers State it is an organ of struggle to support and develop power. In the capitalist state, its struggle is determined by the antagonism between the economic, social, trade union interests and those of the state. And that defines it as a class organ proposing to overthrow capitalism. In the Workers State it is an organ of Power. While in struggling for a better distribution of national revenue, to hinder bureaucratisation, inequalities, privileges, it must, as the very condition of its role, support, develop and extend the force of the Workers State not only on the national but on an international scale. Such are the fundamental differences in the role of the trade unions in these two cases.

Where are all those who write on marxism ? Why do they not analyse that ? These are the problems of marxism today. The problem resides in the historic function of the social organs. That is why the Chinese do not write on the social historic revolutionary role of the trade unions, no more than does Castro, Guevara or the others.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

The construction of socialism can only be realised with the massive intervention of the masses through their organisms. The elaboration of the social thought, of social planning cannot be realised without the intervention of the masses. When we speak of the masses, we do not idealise them; no more than we idealise their organisms. We do not believe that the masses unite in assemblies and then produce a programme for the construction of socialism. When we speak of the masses, we speak of the function of revolutionary organs with the intervention of the party.

The relation, party-trade union-society, is the indestructible formula by which to construct socialism. The party is the centralised force of revolutionary thought, of capacity, of experience, of decision, in the representation of the revolutionary interests of the masses and of the extension of the Workers State. It intervenes to aid, develop, elevate, organise the masses in the Workers State. But it must live intensively, internally as a function of a full democracy, full freedom of action to be able to elaborate.

The plans, the programme, the policy of the party are not the product of the leadership nor even of Trotsky or Lenin. They express, synthesise, centralise the activity of millions and millions of workers, militants, trade unions, party organs, in the factory, workers areas and throughout the country. It is this that the party gathers together. But so that it can realise such a function, a fully independent life of the masses is necessary. Independent does not mean indifferent. This means that it does not receive the coercion of the leadership, obliging it to think in such and such a manner but that the masses can think, write, intervene, discuss, reject, accept, impel.

A fully independent life of the masses in the party and outside the party, in the trade unions, the workers areas, the houses, the factories (we speak always of the Workers State) allows them to make suggestions, to correct, to approve, to impel. The activity of millions and millions allows the emergence of superior ideas at the level of the leadership of the party itself. All that does not mean that the planning arises from empirical meetings. The ordered form of the latter is made through the party which represents the class; and the class discusses everything, integrally in the Soviets, the trade unions, the worker area assemblies, the factories. The masses intervene altogether and feel that they are constructing, that they decide, even if it approves integrally the party programme. That stimulates the intellectual, cultural function of the class and of the masses, the pupils. This collective capacity of the masses is absolutely irreplaceable. Nothing, not even Lenin or Trotsky, and they have said this themselves, can replace the collective action of the masses.

The masses can formulate even the most complicated and important ideas and programme because of their social role, their accumulated experience, their collective life and their preoccupation to elevate their intervention in the struggles. This is why it is not the programme of economic development which is fundamental for the construction of socialism... No! It is the class action, the class policy, the class programme which the Workers State carries out for the development of the world revolution. Even if the intervention of the masses is made difficult, is sabotaged, is blocked persecuted and terrorised, they show in every way their will and their revolutionary decision, which forces the leadership to take positions.

The Workers States have developed not because of the action of the leadership, or of Stalin or of Khrushchev nor by that of Mao-Tse Tung or Fidel Castro (who has played and plays a role of a certain importance) but thanks to the great decision of the masses of China, of the USSR, of Cuba and of all the other Workers States. This was not the result of planned actions, of revolutionary foresight of the leaderships, but the action of the masses which was imposed on the leadership. The masses carried out the actions before the leaderships. Practically all the great decisions which stimulated

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

the taking of power, the development of the Workers States have been the consequence of the action of the masses.

If Ben Bella took measures against French imperialism, it is only after the masses expressed their will, their desire, and resolution to take these measures. The attitude of Ben Bella was in reality, an answer to the revolutionary will of the masses, whilst containing their revolutionary impulse. All the great decisions of expropriation of imperialism in Cuba have been taken by the masses before the decrees of Fidel Castro.

The Chinese are discussing Stalin and the Russian Revolution in our days. But they discuss in the air. The history of the revolution written by Trotsky, makes a fundamental fact appear that they ignore because it is in their interest. When Lenin returned on the 4th. of April to Russia, the Bolchevik party was against the taking of power. The immense majority of the leadership was against. On the 4th. Of April, Lenin appealed for the taking of power, by declaring: "If the Bolchevik Party does not accept, I will form another Party for the taking of power." Lenin was addressing the masses of the Bolchevik Party. He was basing himself on the mass of the Party, and on the people who wanted power. And when the leadership changed, it was effected thanks to the enormous pressure that was coming from below, from the street, and on which Lenin and Trotsky were basing themselves. This is what forced the leadership to change, under the threat of becoming isolated. This decision of the leadership of the Bolchevik Party was not reflecting its own decision, but that of the masses, expressed by the Lenin-Trotsky tendency. This is History !

What appears like a great decision of the Bolchevik Party, is, in reality, solely the decision of a sector, allied to the masses against the rest of the leadership. And the whole of History is such !

The Soviets have not been created by the Bolchevik Party, but by the masses. The Chinese Communes have not been created by the Chinese Communist Party, but by the masses. The elimination of illiteracy in Cuba, has not been the decision of Fidel Castro, but of the masses. The government decided to eliminate illiteracy, but, if the masses had rejected it, if they had been against it, there would not have been any power capable of forcing them to learn. Why does not capitalism succeed in doing so ? Because the masses reject it. Why do the Workers State succeed in doing so ? Because the masses feel united to it. All these leaderships think that it is them who succeed in leading the masses. It is a stupidity. History shows that when the masses do not want to accept, there exists no power that is capable of making them change. But when they want to accept, they find the means to express it, to make it felt, to impose themselves. The whole of history shows this.

These 'clairvoyants' who write on Marxism, ignore all these phenomenas. And when they speak of Marxism, they speak of Mao Tse Tung, of Fidel Castro etc. Lenin, Trotsky, two of the greatest Marxists, after Marx and Engels wrote none of their greatest texts without basing themselves on these considerations, in relation to the influence, the will and capacity of the masses. The capacity of construction, of assimilation, of leadership of the masses, is irreplaceable. There is no revolutionary force that can force the masses to do what they do not want to do, because what unites the masses to the revolution is not the directives of the leaderships. It is their own will and decision, of which the directives (of the leaderships) are only an expression, and not the most complete.

THE COURSE OF HISTORY IS THE FRUIT OF THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES.

Revolution changes everything in society. On a smaller scale the general strike and lower still, the partial strike just as

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

the revolution brings into the light all the force, the sentiment, the morals, the decision of society. The revolution brings into the light, under its most concentrated form, all the will-power and the solidarity of the masses, their decision of intervention, their capacity of comprehension, their immense discipline, their capacity of execution and assimilation. But it also throws light on their faults. But between these faults and the capacity of elevation, it is the faults which are annulled.

It is not possible to have any action in which the masses participate without them being united within the class by communal passions, sentiments, conscience, and will-power. What is it that unifies them? The party on one hand. But so that it can do it through the programme and the leadership, it is necessary that previously they themselves must be disposed for such a unification. It is necessary that they have a previous spirit, decision, and will-power. These are the problems of philosophy, and of morals today; the problems which determine the course of history. It is these problems which it is necessary to take into consideration and not those of the individual, the artist, the painter, the poet or the writer.

This stage eliminates individual problems. There are no individual problems, but only individual limitations. It is the development of capitalist society on the one hand and on the other of the Soviet bureaucracy, which developed and which maintain what is called: "individual personalities", individual interests, aversion, prejudices, and spiritual limitations.

The thing which unites the Soviet bureaucracy to capitalism is the conservative interest, on the one hand of a caste, on the other of a class. This is what unifies them. Also, in spite of the divergences and differences of their social support, they find themselves united in the formulation of sentiments, in their spirit, in their individualism. All the works of the Soviet writers including the most elevated poems do not manage to express the collective action of the great masses. They do not have the capacity to feel it and to live it. At the moment, in the Soviet Union, as in China, as in Cuba, the masses are living, thinking, discussing, criticising, rejecting, approving in their manner the measures which they do not have the right to determine. But when Fidel Castro must say: "We will defend Cuba even if it costs us all the lives of its inhabitants, and the Cuban masses approve, it is not because they are active in approving Fidel Castro, but because they had already decided this beforehand. It was not the words of the discourse of Castro which convinced them. They had previously made the decision; just like the Algerian masses. Otherwise the leaders would not have had the force capable of convincing them in ten minutes or in an hour. The only thing which Fidel Castro does, like Guevara or Mao Tse Tung, is to appeal to the sentiment of the defence of Cuba. That is all. If the masses had not already been united amongst themselves in the desire to defend Cuba, there is no speech that could have convinced them.

"Capital" which is the analysis of a society and the foreseeing of a new one, the greatest which has been made by human thought, is a consequence of the "Communist Manifesto". The later opened a new stage of human history, not because it analysed a society, but because on analysing the development of capitalist society, in interpreting its development through the class struggle, it formulated, it appreciated, it drew the conclusion for the overthrow and for the construction of a new one. It gave the elements - undoubtedly general - from which it was possible to draw all the other conclusions to overthrow capitalism, to construct the party and to start the construction of the Workers State.

In this course we do not stay on the development of philosophy. We give it simply a general appreciation, to take up anew the analysis of the Workers States, especially China and Cuba. The march of the course of history has not been the result of those

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

who write, but of the masses. It is apparently a contradiction? Those who write on philosophy are those who apparently dominate the world; those who decide how we must think, what we must do, or this is what they think. However, what determines the course of thinking is the actions of society. The proof of all historical facts is realised in social struggle. It is certain that nature has its own life, and it still will have for a long period. But we are part of nature. The struggle of the human being and of society with nature will still exist for a long period. Just a little while ago the relation of forces was favourable to nature. Now it is otherwise. What are the reasons for this change? Certainly the physicists, chemists, astronauts have played an important role in dominating nature. But the development of these activities has been determined by the class struggle.

THE PLACE IN HISTORY OF MARXISM

Capitalism was forced to raise its dominion over nature to develop and still more later in order to face up to competition from the Workers States. The class struggle and the struggle of the trade unions force it still today to seek better means of extracting the greatest riches from nature at the lowest possible cost, dominating nature better with the aim of reducing the socially necessary time for production. It is the same phenomenon with the Soviet bureaucracy.

When we say that it is a thousand times more preferable to develop Africa, Asia and Latin America than to go to the moon, we don't mean to say that the Workers States haven't the need to arm themselves as well as possible from the military point of view, to the extent that the decision will be military. It will be military in form but the preparation and conclusion of it will be a revolutionary social one. While preparing themselves militarily with the most formidable atomic arms, the essential basis of support, triumph and development of the Workers States is to unite military action and preparation for an atomic military definition with the world development of the revolution.

The problem of the objective course of the development of nature has already been solved. Humanity had to attain a dialectic materialist conception of life a good number of years ago. This has been expressed by philosophers, physicists, biologists, scientists in general, but not as the consequence of their own elaboration, but to the extent that they have been influenced by, and their conclusions determined by, the class struggle. Once human thought has developed to the point of seeing the possibility of eliminating the development of society in the form of social contradictions, thought will then be at its most powerful. The influence of this is felt now in all social and natural forces in as much as the question is the preparation of a society capable of acting without restrictions, limits or obstacles in relation to nature and in whatever way man would wish. Socialism will be able to act in this way.

As a result of this influence there emerged the historic discussion held on the idealist or materialist interpretation of the world.

As a consequence of the limited development of society under a private property regime the division of philosophers into schools of idealist and materialist interpretation of the world was not produced impartially. Impartiality cannot exist on such a society. What do exist are class interests, leading to partiality and moreover limitations of understanding. What determines the course of philosophic or phenomenological interpretation of human history and nature are the class interests of he who makes it.

Idealism in all its forms was rife in the stage previous to the development of capitalism. Idealism is divided into subjective and objective tendencies, on the one hand the idealism

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

that consists of saying that existence as such does not exist, but is the reflection of our thought, and on the other hand an objective idealism which admits that existence is real, but not as the result of material but of the activity of the "St. Peters" and philosophers.

But once society was forced to work for the development of the economy in a massive way, it had to accept materialism. I'm not just referring to the capitalist epoch but as far back as the Egyptians.

Materialism has in its turn gone through a fundamental division into two currents since its birth: idealist materialism and dialectic materialism. The current that accepts idealist materialism has been forced to accept that existence is ruled by material reason, but according to this current material reasons is also determined by the "St. Peters". The practical historic contradiction of this conception is that the human being has been limited in his intervention in material things. Seeing the practical realisation of the development of the economy the idealist materialists has to accept that the facts prove that dialectic materialism is correct.

Marxism centralises all development of human knowledge, the continuity of human thought on society which has in its turn been dominated by material relations. These relations presented in the form of ideas and a programme influence and determine in a foreseeable way actions in nature and society and are prepared to orientate and direct these actions.

The difference between dialectic materialism and idealist materialism, or mechanical positivist materialism (and all other materialist, but idealist currents) is that dialectic materialism by being fully based on the material development of existence, is based on a dialectic process. That is to say a process the development of which is made according to a series of objective laws which determine birth, change and transformation. The importance of mastering this conception is that then it is possible to intervene consciously either to brake, develop, transform or to organise the will.

The application of this is not a capricious act on the part of a human being. It is generally determined by necessity. The will of Marx and Engels was directed to intervening in the dialectic process of society to transform it consciously, but beginning from the fact that the objective process makes this possible. This was not due to a unilateral decision of human will to bring about change when it felt the strength to do this. It was the product of the fact that the strength to do it did exist and exists, but the problem was to organise understanding in the form of ideas. From that there could arise the programme for intervention, the policy for intervention and from that revolutionary action in society.

The same thing occurs in nature with the difference that there it is not a political programme for the taking of power in heaven that must be applied. In society it is necessary to act to take the leadership to build socialism and then submit nature completely to society.

This process of dialectic materialism did not begin with Marx and Engels. They are the culminating point of a process expressed and written about, from the time of the Greeks up until Hegel, though dealing with the subject from one side or another and partially not only because at the time the development of the class struggle did not make a greater comprehension possible, but because the conditions did not exist either that would have made it possible for the earlier writers to reach all the conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels did not have a proletarian origin. They had a bourgeois origin. Engels came

from a very rich family. Marx's wife did too. They were, however, the creators of scientific socialism not due to class interest but from conviction.

The continuity of human thought reached a limit which made such an action possible. It was not just a case of being convinced that such was reality, but, as they came from the opposing class, of being won over by and convinced of the need for socialism and moreover of the possibility of socialism as well. Marx and Engels reached this conclusion not just because they felt themselves to be socialists. Before them there were plenty of people who believed in socialism particularly in utopian socialism. These people believed in the possibility of socialism as the result of human kindness, the sentiment of justice and the organisation of a form of society that would eliminate injustice and inequality etc. All that has been shown to be utopian. A good time before Thomas Moore towns and societies with a socialist organisation were known. There were, for example, several attempts of this type in Latin America, in Paraguay particularly. But they scarcely lasted due to the economic impossibility of satisfying the needs of the people. Out of this were born divergencies that put an end to the experiences. The same can be said concerning attempts made by Owen and other utopian socialists

They were all part of what are called the utopian socialists, or petit bourgeois socialism. Basically this stemmed from a protectionist conception. The basic feeling behind it was protectionism. It could all be justified to the extent that in the 18th century and previously capitalism had not extended the world over. There exists an identification of the utopian socialists with the Soviet bureaucracy through their common protectionist conception of the masses.

The conception of socialism of Marx and Engels is scientific because it is based on objective possibilities, on objective social forces. It is not the product of will, or a sentiment of inequality and injustice but of the fact that sentiments of justice and equality are from the objective possibility of applying them. This possibility come from the development in the depths of capitalist society itself of the conditions that allow the organisation of the forces that will overthrow capitalism and build socialism. That is what scientific socialism emerges from. And the scientific conception of Marx and Engels arises at the same time from study and analysis of the dialectical process of nature and society.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG

A LIST OF MAJOR DOCUMENTS BY CDE. POSADAS PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNES AND SOVIETS	DECEMBER 1965.
FROM THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE	FEBRUARY 1966.
THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER	FEBRUARY 1966.
THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL	OCTOBER 1968
THE STUDY OF THE TEXTS OF OUR MASTERS, MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY, THE APPLICATION OF THE MARXIST METHOD AND OF MARXISM TODAY	OCTOBER 1968

THE ELECTORAL VICTORY OF THE S.L.F.P. (BANDARANA- I KE), L.S.S.P. AND C.P. IN CEYLON OPENS THE PATH TO A WORKERS STATE.

The election in Ceylon of the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in United Front with the Lanka Sama Samatha Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party, is opening the way towards a Workers State in Ceylon. The far reaching proposals for nationalisations, of the banks and retail trade, state control of imports and essential commodities, expansion of the state share in Ceylons export trade, state agencies to direct plantation industries, and an end to foreign monopoly of the press, the recognition of North Korea and North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the withdrawal of recognition from Israel and the latest proposals to form a republic outside the Commonwealth, indicate that the Bandaranaike government is being forced to take measures which damage the structure of capitalism and imperialism in Ceylon and open a process towards Socialism. What forces Bandaranaike and her allies to act in this way after all their previous attempts to conciliate with capitalism, is the pressure of the unceasing struggle of the Ceylonese masses, the advance of the revolution particularly in South East Asia, and the development of the Workers States on the one hand, and on the other the galloping decomposition of world capitalism and the inability to make any economic, social or cultural progress in Ceylon while remaining in the capitalist camp.

In this process of nationalism to the workers state analysed by Cde. J. Posadas in a document of this name in 1965, there is an important element which is going more and more to impress its stamp on the course of the Ceylonese revolution. This element is the participation in the government of the LSSP, a party which calls itself Trotskyist and which has Trotskyist origins, with twice the number of MPs that it had before and a greatly increased electoral support. This is not a Trotskyist party, even though it publishes the works of Trotsky, but a party geared to the parliamentary game, to conciliation with capitalism. It does not have the internal democratic centralist structure of a revolutionary party dedicated to take power, and its leadership is an opportunist one which in the beginning accepted in a general and intellectual way, the programme of the IV International but which was never interested in, or capable of building a Bolshevik Party. But the masses of Ceylon have not voted for the LSSP because it is opportunist or conciliatory, but because of the authority of Trotskyism in the world. They vote for it like the Communist masses vote for the Communist Parties, inspite of the leaderships.

In these conditions the leadership of the LSSP will not be able to act as it wants to act, it will not be able to carry out an opportunist and conciliatory policy, because there is no room for such a policy, and on the contrary, it is going to be forced to advance. The attitude of the masses when Bandaranaike was first elected showed itself very clearly when they made huge demonstrations and attacked the offices of the opposition pro-capitalist newspapers. The masses have seen the election result as a triumph for them, they are centralising themselves around it and they are not going to support it passively, but with their own class actions, strikes, demonstrations, occupations of the land and the factories, they are going to impel it in an anti-capitalist direction.

Contd over.

THE ELECTORAL VICTORY OF THE S.L.F.P.

This is going to provoke a crisis in the Bandaranaike government and particularly it is going to provoke an internal struggle within the LSSP, as a tendency more directly linked to the masses and to Trotskyism, will want to advance basing themselves on the masses, to construct a Bolshevik Party in order to construct scientifically the Ceylones Workers State. As with the Communist Parties in this stage, a certain process of renovation of cadres takes place, a recovery of 'Trotskyist' consciousness. This sector, impelled by the base which is Trotskyist and wants the destruction of capitalism and the construction of a Workers State, will see that it is not possible to advance in a parliamentary way, that the right in Ceylon linked to Imperialism, reactionary religious sectors, and the land-owners will prepare a counter-revolutionary coup and it is necessary to smash this coup by the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses.

We appeal to this tendency to use the present situation where the balance of forces, politically, socially even electorally is in favour of the masses, to push forward the task of constructing the Bolshevik Party and at the same time to encourage with all the means of publicity at their disposal the formation of organs of dual power of the masses independent of the government; soviets, factory committees, workers militias. Also it must fight for the programme of the IV International putting forward the demand for the complete expropriation of imperialism, capitalism and the feudal landowners, without compensation and under workers control, collectivising the land and setting up communes.

We appeal to the revolutionary tendency to carry forward this struggle with all the audacity which the world situation demands and makes possible. We appeal to it to arm itself with the Marxism of this epoch, the documents of Posadas and the IV International. The works of Trotsky do not give solutions to the problems of this epoch, one cannot base oneself just on these; they give the method of Marxist interpretation and this method is used today for the problems of today in the documents of J. Posadas and the IV International. In these documents, on the "Structure and Functioning of the International", on "Nationalism to the Workers State", the "Intellectuals and Professional workers, the Development of the Socialist Revolution and the IV International" and "The Construction of the Workers State....." to name only a few, the vanguard sectors of the LSSP which wants to advance will find the tools it needs for the construction of the party and the Workers State, and to understand all the problems which are posed by the world course of the revolution.

VIVA THE PALESTINE GUERRILLAS
WHO ARE SMASHING
ANY ATTEMPT AT CONCILIATION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The IVth Congress of the C.O.B. Demands the Freedom of Political and Trade Union Prisoners in Mexico

Bolivian Workers Centre.

IV Congress.

La Paz, Bolivia, 18th. May 1970.

To:- Sr. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz,
President of Mexico,
Mexico D.F.

Sr. President,

The IV National Congress of Bolivian Workers addresses itself to you on this day when all are celebrating the REVOLUTIONARY FIRST OF MAY, reaffirming its firm and definitive will to struggle for the imposition of SOCIAL JUSTICE, LIBERTY and SOCIALISM in the world, demands the immediate and unconditional freedom of hundreds of trade union leaders, workers, peasants and student revolutionaries who are to be found in the prisons of Mexico. Amongst them figure the Trotskyists of the IV International, OSCAR FERNANDEZ BRUNO, ADOLFO GILLY, TERESA CONFRETA, ROBERTO IRIARTE JIMENEZ, FRANCISCO COLMENARES and many others

It is unworthy and inhuman that these comrades who have already been in prison 4 years, have been condemned to 9, 8, 6 and 5 years imprisonment. We express our complete and most vehement protest against such injustice committed by your government and we denounce to the world conscience the attempts at assassination organised against the prisoners and the massacres of students like that in the Square of Three Cultures.

The struggle of the above named imprisoned comrades is the same as that which we wage here and which goes on in all corners of this planet, but it is also the same as that carried forward by FRANCISCO VILLA, EMILIANO ZAPATA and later LAZARO CARDENAS of whom the Bolivian workers preserve warm memories.

We repeat our demand of immediate and unconditional freedom for all the prisoners.

VICTOR LOPEZ ARIAS,

President of the 1st. Assembly,
Congress Plenum.

HUMBERTO PABON,

President of the 2nd. Assembly,
Congress Plenum.

Progress of our Campaign Against Torture in Brazil to Avenge the Murder of Olavo Hansen

CAMPAIGN NEWS.

+++ The following letter of protest has been sent to the Brazilian Ambassador by Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., the publishing firm:

Your Excellency,

We, publishers of social and political literature in London, have been shocked to learn through reports in the press of the torture and subsequent murder of Sao Paulo engineering trade union leader Olavo Hansen.

We cannot but view this as one more crime on the part of the Brazilian regime which has tortured and murdered workers, students, peasants, progressive priests and intellectuals.

The murder of Olavo Hansen appears to have come after an apparent relaxation of the repressive measures of the Brazilian government against the workers' movement, since the trade union meeting Hansen had been attending in the Textile Workers trade union building just before his arrest had been held by permission of the government.

This murder was evidently premeditated and was done with the object of intimidating the popular and progressive movement. We join with those who denounce this murder, along with the entire regime of repression and torture, as a crime against humanity.

We urge and demand that an Inquiry be held into the murder of Olavo Hansen, and that those guilty be punished. We urge and demand that the so called "death squadrons", which can be regarded as nothing but fascist bands directed against the working-class and progressive movement, be disbanded, and that President de Medici honour his promise that trade union rights and liberties be respected.

Yours faithfully

Maurice Cornforth

managing director
Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.
publishers

++ South Lewisham Labour Party Young Socialists have passed the following resolution of protest:-

This branch condemns the vile assassination by the Brazilian police of Olavo Hansen trade union leader and militant of the IVth. International. We demand that these attempts of terrorising the Brazilian masses be stopped, that the assassins be brought to trial and condemned and that Trade Union and democratic rights be restored.

Contd. on Page 16

Contd. from Page 15.

+++ FRANK ALLAUN and STAN ORME, Labour M.P.'s and ARNOLD WESKER, the playwright, have written letters of protest.

+++ As we publish this paper, news comes to us of more arrests in Brazil. Three more comrades of the party have been taken by the police; at this moment we only have the name of one of them, CLAUDIO VASCONCELOS CAVALLANTI. Also we have heard that a doctor, known for his progressive opinions, PRIMO BRANDMILLER has been arbitrarily arrested. Full details of these arrests will appear in the next issue of 'RED FLAG' but in the meantime we appeal to all who are acting in the campaign to denounce the murder of Olavo Hansen, to include also the demand that these comrades are released unharmed. We fear for the lives of these comrades for the experience of Olavo Hansen has shown that the Brazilian dictatorship does not stop at the most extreme and barbarous forms of repression and torture.

The Brazilian and Latin American bourgeoisie, stimulated and organised by US Imperialism through the CIA, is preparing a continental repression against the vanguard and against the IV International as the most conscious part of this vanguard. The organisation of 'Death Squadrons' in Uruguay and Argentina, the emergency measures taken by the Uruguayan government, following the so-called kidnappings by the 'Tupamaros' (which are just provocations by the CIA to justify repression) indicate the preparations of the bourgeoisie. But at the same time there are forces developing in the continent which are far stronger than anything that imperialism can do. The influence of 16 Workers States, particularly Cuba, the nationalist process towards the Workers State in Peru and Bolivia encourages the Latin American working class, peasantry and exploited petit bourgeois to continue their struggle, to continue to construct and strengthen the revolutionary leadership in their political and trade union organisations.

Imperialism has failed in its attempts to launch a counter-revolutionary military coup in Bolivia in the last weeks, and it has failed fundamentally because of the mobilisation of the Bolivian trade unions and the popular masses. Both Peru and Bolivia take measures that go against the structure of capitalism and for the first time Velasco Alverado of Peru says that Peru is taking a non-capitalist road. Imperialism and the Latin American bourgeoisie is concerned by this process and concerned about the role which the Trotskyists are playing within it. Thus one of the most important journals of Brazil prints a large article on the influence of the Trotskyists on the Peruvian military team. For this reason it now strikes at our Brazilian comrades, because it sees the process towards the fusion of the empirical development of the revolution with the conscious marxist leadership; the IV International.

We appeal to all the organisations of the working class, of the students and the exploited petit bourgeoisie, to writers, actors, scientists to denounce the murder of OLAVO HANSEN and demand the release of the other comrades and all the Political and trade union prisoners in Brazil.

EDITORIAL - Contd. from Page 1.

means that in the near future there is going to take place a massive advance of the revolution in the Middle East on a programmatic basis with the elimination of Israel as a bourgeois base. The truce is essentially a defensive move by imperialism.

The steps taken by the Workers States to arm Egypt, the series of naval manoeuvres on a world scale carried out by the Soviet Union, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and China despite the intentions of the leaderships, all point to the increasingly unfavourable position of imperialism and the approach to the preventive war on the part of the Workers States. Whilst imperialism requires a greater and greater centralisation to meet the advance of the world socialist revolution, the exact contrary is taking place. Thus the negotiations between Brandt and the Soviet Union weaken the imperialist war alliance and show a tendency throughout the European bourgeoisie to balance between imperialism and the Workers States.

As the documents of Posadas have explained, the structure of the Workers States is imposing itself on the Soviet bureaucracy. We live in the stage when there takes place the historic re-encounter between the forces of the Workers States and the revolutionary world vanguard, when the programme of Trotskyism finds an echo and support within the Workers States and the communist parties, when the Workers States constantly nourish the world revolution and the communist parties instead of being agents for suppressing revolutions become instruments for taking power.

The situation in Great Britain despite the electoral success of the Tory party has shown conclusively a relationship of forces more and more unfavourable to capitalism. The vanguard by abstaining in the elections defeated the right wing in the Labour party and allowed the development of a profound discussion in the unions and the LP on the need for a new policy and programme. This discussion has still many limitations but it has begun and inevitable is going to pose the need for the new revolutionary leadership in the Labour party. And it is going to be accelerated by the programme of the Young Socialists who must impel the party to discuss and implement it. Various resolutions for the LP and TUC Conference bring out the need for a reorientation of the Labour party and the elevation of a socialist programme. The revolutionary vanguard and the masses are doing all in their power to stimulate the struggle for power and the enforcement of the anti-capitalist programme.

No sooner had the Tories taken office than the dockers went on strike and the masses took the offensive in Northern Ireland. The dockers imposed themselves on the TGWU whose leadership did all in its power to contain the strike. The strike could have become the focus of a general strike if the leadership had been present, if there had been a superior leadership in the unions and a superior leadership in the Labour party, nevertheless the strike was an economic, social and political defeat for capitalism and showed clearly to all the class that the Tory electoral success was turning very rapidly into a social disaster for capitalism. It can be said of the dockers strike that its mood was one of civil war, an aggressiveness disregarding the parliamentary game and is in line with the struggle in Ireland.

The rapid deterioration of the position of capitalism finds at the moment its clearest expression in Northern Ireland. There capitalism has tried to impose itself in the most brutal way possible. The army of imperialism has tried to intimidate by killings, curfews etc. but the opposite has occurred, far from being intimidated the actions of imperialism have mobilised men, women and children against them, demoralised the

EDITORIAL.

army of imperialism and led to a tremendous crisis in the Unionist party. There the disintegration of that party, the emergence of a wing that has no other line than repression means that increased direct control from London is being posed simply for capitalism to try to contain the wholesale decomposition of the party of capitalism in Northern Ireland. As in England so in Ireland, the vanguard is struggling towards the socialist programme and even before it reaches its fullest understanding, totally demoralises the class enemy and facilitates in this way the taking of power.

Capitalism is in a state of impasse and Tory policy is one of threat and retreats. Capitalism cannot contain the masses. It came into office pledged to preventing strikes, controlling wage increases and penalising workers in the nationalised industries. It has been forced to retreat on all issues. This does not mean that it will not take advantage of the limitations of the leaderships in the unions and the LP to rationalise the social services, increase prices, block the legitimate demands of the masses for a constantly improved standard of life, but it does mean that the policy of capitalism has no historic perspective. It lives simply to survive for the next day. It survives not because of its inherent strength but from the absence of a leadership which is prepared to overthrow it, and we can expect to see shortly great divisions of opinion within the Tory party itself.

The new leadership which is beginning to emerge in the LP, the Unions, the Young Socialists must take advantage of the initiative, the aggressiveness of the masses and base itself firmly on this. There must be an end to the defensive line for example of the TUC in relation to the government. It is necessary to take the offensive against the Tory government by appealing for the widest possible extra parliamentary support. With the world relations of forces, the stimulus of civil war in Ireland, it is possible to prepare for a massive general strike, the British version of the French May 1968 but at a much higher level. All the tension now existing in this country points to the coming of great events. No sooner do the Tories propose to deprive the state airline BOAC of certain routes for the benefit of a private corporation than the workers reply that they will resist this with all their strength. And the issue no longer presents itself as simply a question of wages etc. but a question of public versus private property. A tremendous process is maturing, the miners are putting in claims for a 30% increase, the railwaymen for a 25% increase, public employees 20% and capitalism is faced at every moment with the possibility of a general strike which could unite all these demands and open a process leading to the conquest of power from capitalism as part of a similar process throughout the whole world. But for this to occur a new leadership is required in the traditional organisations of the class, the LP and the Trade Unions. Undoubtedly the capitalist class would like to adopt a tough line with the working class, it has been trying this at Pilkingtons but only by taking on a small sector of the class which has broken from its union and in any case is not one of the principal sectors, but it has no possibility of trying such methods with the massive concentrations of the class. The IS statement on the results of the elections makes it quite clear that the workers are going to take steps in the next period to impose workers control in the factories. Already as in the car industry, they have weakened the structure, the functioning of capitalism, interfering constantly with its productive capacity, promoting a crisis which disrupts its profits and competitive capacity, but the next stage will be the imposition of its own power by the proletariat.

We appeal to the new leaderships which are developing in the LP and the trade unions to base themselves on the proved victories of the working class in Britain and the rest of the world.

EDITORIAL.

The combativity and confidence of the masses in Great Britain stems from the basic fact that it no longer feels alone, it has the support of 16 Workers States and the possibility of many more on the way and the leadership in the LP must feel this otherwise it will not advance. Similarly it is necessary to struggle for socialism not just within the confines of the LP and the Parliamentary Labour party but by appealing to the masses to give continuity to their struggles by the organisation of permanently functioning factory and workers area committees to discuss the struggle for socialism, the way to impose it, the character of the demands to impose. It is necessary to lean on the struggle of the Irish masses, to demand the withdrawal of British troops, the end of partition, self determination for the Irish masses and the elimination of Irish capitalism. This must be linked with demands that relate to all the demands and struggles of the masses, throughout Great Britain. The new leadership must realise that the conflicts are not just disputes over wages but they are struggles in one form or another for power. Without realising this, advance is going to be much slower than is objectively necessary. The only way to meet the tremendous increase in prices which capitalism inevitably imposes in this stage of history is workers control. The only way to prevent the exploitation of the nationalised industries for the benefit of capitalism is to impose workers management, eliminating the bureaucracy in those industries. The only way to win all the benefits of new methods of work is not "productivity" agreements but all the profits of automation to the workers by means of workers control. Basing itself on the successes of nationalised property in the Workers States and the wholesale tendencies towards total expropriation of private property in the countries advancing from nationalism to Workers States, the demands for the expropriation of all key industries and banks must be put forward. And in this respect the new leadership in the LP must appeal for the trade unions to exert all their pressure in this respect on the LP. Many unions have quite advanced programmes of nationalisations such as the AEU and these must be used to the full.

We appeal to the revolutionary left in the LP, the Unions and the Young Socialists to prepare to make powerful interventions in the conferences of the unions and the LP, with the object of making these organisations instruments of the masses to take power. The TUC supported the dock strike - at least in words - and the LP intervened on the question of arms to South Africa actually organising a demonstration. This process must be impelled but to do this much confidence is necessary, historic, political confidence. And for this it is necessary to lean on the forces of the world revolution and to study the texts of Posadas and the IV International which provide the clue to the advance of history at this stage. Leaning on the advance of the world socialist revolution, the triumphs of the British masses and the role of the Workers States in centralising the world revolutionary vanguard, it will be possible in a short stage to ignore the conservative and bourgeois elements in the Labour party - there is already a form of dual power in the Labour party - and put forward the programme and the methods to lead to the taking of power.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

FINANCIAL APPEAL

This paper is produced in duplicated form because the printer is on holiday. The next paper will be printed and we have resolved, orientated by the International Leadership, to concentrate all our forces to maintain the paper in printed form. This is going to impose a strain on the limited financial resources of the party and for this reason we launch an appeal to all our readers to increase their level of contribution to the party, to pay a REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PRICE for 'RED FLAG'. We have not raised the price of 'RED FLAG' since we began publication in 1963, and we have no plans at the moment to do so, but we remind our readers that this does not cover our costs.

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We also appeal to readers to sell on a sale or return basis and to send us the addresses of bookshops that might take our paper so that we can develop a real national distribution of the paper. This is going to be of enormous importance in the coming period to help the rapid maturation of the vanguard which is looking for an explanation of all the fundamental problems posed by the advances of the revolution

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PAGE 4

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 119 25th AUGUST 1970 PRICE 6d

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE JUNE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS WITH IMPERIALISM AND THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

16th JULY 1970

The suspension of the Congress and the complete reelection of the same leadership is in contradiction with the previous events in the Soviet Union which showed the struggle of tendencies. Kosygin has been away for various periods on the pretext of sickness, and has stopped functioning for whole periods as prime minister, representing the party and the government. Important economic texts by him were published in distant provincial papers twenty days after having been written. In all the decisive and important problems of this stage, it has been Breznev, who intervened, who gave the line, and appeared as the representative of the party and of the Soviet state. The speech of Breznev in homage to Lenin, was an attack on the technocracy. It was not an open attack, a direct fight, but it was a criticism, an attack on the technocracy. His references to Trotsky were a polemic with Trotsky, because they simply refer twice to Trotsky, speaking of errors and ultra leftism. But they place trotskyism within the camp of communism, as an ultra left tendency,

Afterwards in all the discussions, which they had with respect to the Middle East, Latin America, China, the line of the Soviet Union was modified favourably in relation to the revolution, partially favourable, in a limited way, but at the same time maintaining co-existence with imperialism. All this line indicated the necessity for changes, because it was against the Kosygin line, against the interests of the technocracy. Breznev said clearly in the speech of homage to Lenin: "It is necessary for the moral stimulus to produce more, the workers must intervene in the factories, in planning, and execution of decisions, and in the solution of all the problems." He appealed for a greater communist life, for an elevation of life in the interior of the CP. He criticised the Chinese, but at the same time appealed to them to resolve all the problems, and made an appeal to the world revolution, appealing for an anti-imperialist united front. The line which they put forward in the meeting of the CPs of the world was on the line of world anti-imperialist united front. This meeting alone showed the necessity for changes, because it was a change of line. In addition to this, all the heads of the Soviet Army have supported and support a more severe policy, and a stronger policy against the Yankees, supporting Egypt with arms, and making the soviet soldiers participate as members of the army. The Soviet military heads have declared that the war is inevitable, that it stimulated the Arab states to resist imperialism. This policy coincides much more with the policy of Breznev, which is the policy of stimulating the appeal to the communist parties, the communist parties of Europe, of France and of Italy to take power. He did not say "the revolution" but "take power," which includes peaceful and semi-peaceful ways. But in his speech, he said "the communists choose the peaceful road, but if it does not go that way, they choose the necessary way to obtain power". And it is the first time that they posed this, this resolute form, at the same time that they appealed for the taking of power.

All this is a change in Soviet policy, it is not a continuation of a previous phase. And this change indicates that there are differences, interior divergences, which have to find expression at the top. There is the intervention of the Soviet Trade Unions, who have participated in the world situation intervening with declarations, of support to the mas-

ses of the Middle East, to the Italian masses, to France. This is an action of the Soviet bureaucratic leadership more directed to respond to the necessity of impelling the revolution than containing it. It combines both aspects, to impel and contain the revolution; to impel, because it makes appeals to push forward the struggle against capitalism, to contain, because it did not appeal for the use of revolutionary methods. These changes express themselves also in the Soviet concern to negotiate with the Chinese, for the better aid and alliance with the Arab countries in the Middle East, and in Latin America, the recent intervention with loans to Bolivia, to Peru, the installation of factories in Peru, the help to the victims of the earthquake, the advance to the left of the CPs, and the support of the Soviet bureaucracy for this advance to the left, the attempt to come to terms with Yugoslavia. In seeking to explain Czechoslovakia, they try to seek a political solution favourable to an alliance with the new leadership, seeking to organise a new Czechoslovakian leadership in alliance with the USSR, but on the plane of the development of Czechoslovakia. All this policy is a change in Soviet policy. Their polemic with the Trotskyists is not an attack on agents of the enemy, of the imperialists, but is now a polemic with simply an ultra left tendency. Mikoyan declares that Trotsky was right in the best part of the polemic with Stalin, when before he supported Stalin completely.

There is also the publication of the book of the Soviet bureaucracy of 252 pages polemicising with the Trotskyists. (*) In some aspects, in the history books, reference books, Trotsky is mentioned in good terms, and they just say he deserted, he left. But above all there is the correction of the previous criticisms of Trotsky, that is they do not present him as an enemy agent, ally of imperialism, but they place him in an ultra left position as someone, who did not understand Lenin on the problem of the party. They do not say in what way or how this expresses itself. The reaction of George Luckacs is that it is not possible to explain the Russian revolution nor the history of the Soviet Union without Trotsky. The publication in Cuba of texts of Trotsky, the publication of texts

(*) The struggle of the Bolshevik Party against Trotskyism. Editorial progress—Editions. Moscow.

of Trotsky in Poland, in Hungary, in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia, are all events, which modify the previous course of the bureaucracy, and in consequence the previous relation of forces. But as these relations of forces are determined through the bureaucratic apparatus, in which the masses are not mobilised, as they are at the edge of the atomic war, and of a situation in which they feel that the atomic war is very near, this CC does not indicate the changes, which have taken place, but a stage of waiting, conciliation, of a peremptory agreement, and it cannot continue like this.

The bureaucracy cannot have a firm conclusion. The political revolution exists in the Soviet Union, the positions which they have are of the political revolution. The same bureaucracy, which has had to contain and impede the revolution, now appeals for the taking of power in France and Italy. It confronts the Yankees most decidedly, openly at the risk of the atomic war, supporting the masses of the Middle East at the risk of the atomic war. It intervenes in the centres, where until yesterday Yankee imperialism was dominating exclusively and confronts it directly as in the Mediterranean. There are Soviet soldiers fight-

ing in Egypt and throughout the Middle East. This shows that there is a change which is not expressed in this resolution, but that this resolution is simply a postponing of a later struggle.

It is not that everything that has gone on before is false. It arises from the fact that Breznev does not have the strength to impose a solution, so he seeks a conciliation in such a way, that the struggle does not appear on the surface, and does not allow new sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene, containing them on the plane of structural agreements, of apparatus agreements. It would be absurd to think that after the very great conflict with the Chinese, which has dragged along all the communist parties, it is impossible, that there have not been reactions in the interior struggle. And we see this in the speech of Breznev, in the homage on the centenary of Lenin, when he called openly for a development of the moral stimulus, the participation of the masses, for an organisation of the soviets. In the meeting of the Kolkhoses, of the Sovkos, there have been criticisms of bureaucratic conduct, and of the apparatus and the problem of democracy

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EDITORIAL

The unions, the L.P. Young Socialists, & Workers Assemblies, must impel the discussion in the Labour Party on the revolutionary policy & programme

The unceasing struggle of the working class of Britain and Ireland, which although it is usually economic in form, expresses the desire for workers power, begins now to find more and more a political expression in the Labour Party, the political instrument of the working class. It is in this context that one must see the article of Eric Heffner in "Tribune", where he talks of 'revolutionary reformism', the discussion around this article, and the formation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland. These are not just the products of the thinking of one or another Labour MP or official, but a reflection of a very profound discussion, which is going on in all the political and T.U. organisms of the class, stimulated by the Labour electoral defeat. This discussion is going to continue, and will find much more elevated political expressions in the near future.

The effects of the world revolution, the constant defeats of imperialism encourage the vanguard so that it finds the strength to organise big class actions in spite of the passivity of the union leadership. And these actions in turn attract all the other non-proletarian exploited masses who were once the support for capitalism. For example the demonstrations of the petit bourgeoisie over the latest London Transport fare increases, or the naval mutiny in Rosyth, where the sailors spoke of making 'demos' and 'revo-

lution' are small examples of how the spirit of dual power is being extended to wider and wider sectors. Today there is an anti-capitalist climate throughout the whole country, which at certain moments is concentrated in certain strike actions, like the recent dock strike, to produce veritable acts of suppressed civil war.

Feeding this social crisis, and at the same time a product of it, is the econ-

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is posed, the intervention of the masses, electoral rights, control of the leading apparatuses. Without stimulating it, without impelling it to function in this way, the bureaucracy has posed all this. And it has posed criticisms in the Komsomol daily newspaper. Recently the Komsomol made criticisms against the bureaucrats and appealed for a discussion. This shows that the advance still has not taken on a form. It is still not organised, the bureaucracy has not been able to organise it in conscious forms. But the struggle means that there is a very great depth to the crisis, which it is necessary to expect, will go much further. And this is also the case in the CPs. It has an enormous importance for the orientation of the International, for all the countries or revolutionary states, advancing towards socialism, but also for the formation of the revolutionary tendency in the communist parties. It is necessary to make them feel that they form part of this process of intelligence and reason, that they have the consciousness of how to use this.

In this central committee they did not discuss, did not take into account, did not deal with all the criticisms, all the changes, all the course of Soviet policy. They did not take resolutions. But there have been important changes in Soviet politics. It is enough to see the activity with respect to Trotskyism. This means that the programme is necessary, it means the policy and the perspective of the revolution, imposes itself, and the activity and tactics of the conservative Soviet bureaucracy have to support revolutions directly. The recent declaration of the Soviet bureaucracy, that they support any revolutionary movement, which who in armed struggle confronts imperialism. They are taking positions which are seeking a world united front. They have already called to make a world anti-imperialist meeting of the communist parties, and now they are making a project for a new one.

Why wasn't this registered in the meeting of the Central Committee, and how was it that none of these differences expressed themselves? Because all of this is going against the programme of Kosygin. The programme of Kosygin is one of agreement with the Yankees, to seek at all costs agreement with the Yankees, and no longer are there perspectives for this, and all the time the possibilities for agreement, even transitory ones, are diminishing. This is against the policy of the technocrats. Nevertheless there hasn't been changes in the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It indicates, not that there are no changes, but that there is an agreement, a postponement of the struggle, because they are not animated to make a struggle now. Either the tendencies, Breznev among them, don't have the strength to decide, or they fear that this discussion, with the affair of Czechoslovakia, with the crisis with Rumania, is leading them to a discussion, to a confrontation, and to a solution much more dangerous to the bureaucracy than at present; dangerous, because it forces it to confront the resistance, whether of Czechoslovakia, or Rumania, with a policy more directed to the revolution. It has to go over the resistance of the communist parties, because of the policy in Czechoslovakia, the polemic with China. There is a whole series of problems, which the bureaucracy fears to deal with, because it doesn't have the policy nor a conscious programme, or objectives. As it is carried along by force to change, it doesn't have a programme on which to base the tactic, otherwise it would discuss it in the central committee to prepare a congress and orientate the party to follow this line, to generalise this line. They don't do this, because they haven't got a programme, and because also if they generalise it, it would go against them. Because of this, they make changes by means of inter-bureaucratic agreements, apparatus agreements, without stating either programme or tactic, or the precise objectives. Joined with the appeal to the communist parties of France and of Italy, that they take power, they make the policy of European union which is a great concession to the European bourgeoisie. When they call to take power, they resolve all the problems of Europe, and the masses accept immediately. Because of this the bureaucracy hasn't taken any decisions in the Central Committee. But one cannot take it that there are no bases for changes, as if there is a regulating of the relationship of forces. This is the dream of the

bureaucracy.

It is absurd, senseless, in the revolutionary struggle that the policy of the Soviet Union, which is constantly becoming more virulent, faced to the Yankees doesn't have political, programmatic and practical expressions. It is impossible, because they have to go towards a change. As much in the programme, as in the tactics, as in the policy to follow, changes must follow from the call to take power in France and Italy. This is a compromise resolution which is going to be expressed later in a much more virulent form.

Breznev in his speech on the 1st May and later in his speeches to the kolkhozes conference, and in the preparation of the Central Committee, spoke of changes, as in the economy i.e. agriculture—where there are gigantic investments of capital, which is a complete crime; a crime, because the central problem of the Soviet Union, the essential one, not just an important one, is not that of investment of capital, but is of the social reorganisation of Soviet production, introducing soviets; afterwards one invests capital.

When there are these alterations, with which they try to stimulate the economy of the country to increase production, it is because they want to improve the relationship of the Soviet bureaucracy with the population, and also they speak of a greater investment in the army, and a limiting of all wages. They are concentrating in the production of the decisive arms, which are nuclear arms. This central committee does not indicate the true level of tranquillity, and of the equilibrium of power between the different sectors of the bureaucracy, but a stage of transition and compromise which is going to be expressed in a much deeper struggle later on. All these illnesses, which there have been, are symptoms of the struggle, but they do not express the struggle. What expresses it are the declarations, the programme, and the policy expounded by Breznev, the policy carried on by the Soviet bureaucracy, which is against the Kosygin line. And Kosygin 25 days ago said, without any need to say, in a solemn declaration criticising the Yankees for their position in the Middle East and Cambodia; "There are not going to be any changes in the Soviet economy". To whom is this directed? It was directed at the Yankees and the tendencies of world capitalism and imperialism, who are hoping for changes in the Soviet Union, to see how they can profit from them, or how they can make them advance. But at the same time they are declarations against the Breznev tendency. They are declarations directed to show that they are firm as a bureaucratic sector, but it is necessary to take into account, that Kosygin is not a man emerging from the technocrats. He is a member of the party made into a technocrat. He is an old member of the party. But as important as these last conclusions is the declaration of Mikoyan—who is the only one together with Molotov, who have remained from the old team of 1905 of the Bolshevik Party. Mikoyan has been an unconditional agent of Stalin, unconditional, in any central committee, bureau and leadership, which the Soviet bureaucracy made, he was an enemy of Trotsky. Now without anyone asking him to do so, he comes out making a balance, an evaluation of the Stalin-Trotsky polemic, in which he puts Trotsky 80% right against Stalin. Why does he do this? Because it indicates changes in the concern, in the life, in the attempts to intervene by the Soviet masses. This is not expressed in the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The recent crisis of the intellectuals, the writers indicates a bureaucratic crisis, a rottenness of the Ota Siki type. None of them defend either the Soviets or the revolution, none of them are concerned to see whether the Soviet Union supports the world revolution. They speak of internal democracy, showing the level of corruption of the bureaucratic layers, who have their own interests, and want to create a democracy for themselves alone. As it cannot exist, as they cannot have it, there is this fiasco. As the bureaucracy cannot give democracy solely for them, it has to repress them. But for this reason the repression now is not against the workers movement. It represses the sector, which make arguments and activities which go against the interests of the bureaucracy, which at the same time coincide with those of the Worker State. They are reactionary means, bureaucratic forms, because they don't solve anything, as with the liquidation of Dubcek. These problems are resolved by discussing pub-

licly, and condemning those, who have anti-communist or capitalist tendencies, or who seek a capitalist type of democracy. They discuss nothing of this. This CC met without any preparation to solve the essential problems, which the Soviet Union has lived through. And the other problem is the world advance of the revolution, in which it is enough to see that countries like Bolivia, like Libya are being incorporated directly into socialism, which is against all the line of the Soviet bureaucracy. And we, the Trotskyists were the only ones who had carried on the struggle to raise the consciousness of these leaderships, that they must support these movements, which are nationalist, and which are going towards socialism. "From Nationalism to the Workers State" as in the text of Posadas.

All this is not expressed in the CC. It signifies that they have not engaged in a political struggle, but inevitably they are going to have to. And we are in the shadow of the nuclear war. It is impossible that they are not discussing this. It is true that the fear of the war is the factor which has contained a more open struggle. But, anyway, they must have had one, even if it has not been open. The levels reached by the world revolution does not allow them to remain imprecise or indecisive, and they have to be expressed also within the Soviet Union. And one of the ways, which they are expressed, is that today George Lukacs talks about Trotsky and about the Soviets. And Varva, before dying, also talked about the need for Soviets and attacked the bureaucracy. He spoke in the name of a bureaucratic sector, but restating the need for Soviets.

Because of this the CC is a preparation for new activities, for new meetings where they are going to inevitably discuss the crisis between the Soviet Workers State and the other Workers States. The discussion with the Chinese was not reflected in this meeting. As the Soviet Union was forced to intervene more, it passed from an anti-imperialist (it wasn't any more a bureaucratic contradiction, but antagonism with the Chinese, because they had reached the point of armed confrontations) to going to have to stop and seek agreements against Yankee imperialism. This indicates that there are internal forces, which force them to change. This was not expressed in the meeting. There has to be changes. Changes in the leadership, changes in the policy and the leadership of the Soviet Union.

The Trotskyists, Cde Posadas and the IV International were the only ones who have intervened in this problem, who had foreseen that an armed Sino-Soviet confrontation was impossible, that the armed skirmishes, which they had at the border, were interbureaucratic quarrels which did not have an historic base, historic roots, nor social historic support. The masses were not going to support it. The bureaucracies were not going to be able to resort to a patriotic social sentiment of the Chinese or Soviet masses, because the masses would not support them, because they did not have a patriotic sentiment, but a socialist interest, which eliminates the patriotic interest, which signifies the regional interest of the Chinese bureaucracy, or the regional interest of the Soviet bureaucracy. We were the only ones who appealed for the World Revolutionary and anti-imperialist United Front.

We are the only ones to organise the understanding of the world proletarian vanguard of the process of nationalism to a Workers State and the problem of Czechoslovakia. These events all have a programmatic and tactical weight and objectives that are decisive. This is completely out of the sphere in which the Soviet bureaucracy wants to discuss. It has avoided holding a public or intense discussion of these points, because they force the bureaucracy to make changes, which it still does not feel the strength to do. This is above all, because it is afraid of the intervention of the masses and of other communist parties, which might weaken the Soviet bureaucracy and open the road to revolutionary tendencies. At the same time it fears to weaken the military front that it is forced to keep up to confront Yankee imperialism. But this front could be maintained and improved a thousand times more by developing the Soviets, and not making the front as the bureaucracy does. Changes must be expected in a short time in the bureaucracy of the Workers States.

There are events that show attempts on the part of the bureaucracy to change, like at the recent meeting of the communist parties, and the anti-imperialist appeal, which all the communist parties made. This all tends to unite the political military, social and economic strength of the Workers States, in a bureaucratic way, in the apparatuses, but they are attempts that respond more to the needs of the functioning of the Workers States.

Such changes must be expected soon. This is one of the greatest perspectives of development that the IV International has: because today is the epoch of intelligence and reason. It is the epoch in which the quality of the quantity determines the course of history. Small nuclear force changes to come like Libya, like South Yemen, like Congo Brazzaville. These are revolutionary countries that are on the road to socialism, and which force the bureaucracy to adapt itself to them, whilst before the bureaucracy would have continued them in order to negotiate with imperialism. This is the epoch of intelligence and reason, of the quality now.

This is why we maintain that there is a partial regeneration of the Workers States. The bureaucracy is forced to make changes that respond to the needs of the Workers States. It is forced to this to survive, because it cannot negotiate the handling over of revolutions or peaceful co-existence with imperialism any more. This is the epoch in which there is occurring the historic re-encounter of the IV International with the Workers States and the Communist Parties, which comes through the ascent of the world revolution, which forces the leadership of the Communist Parties, and the bureaucracy of the Workers States to raise the level of their policies. The reason for the historic re-encounter is not that they are reading Trotsky or Posadas, or because they have decided to support one or another revolutionary movement, but because they are forced to advance along the lines of revolutionary rules, programmes and objectives. This is not homogeneous, but occurs in an unequal and combined way, for they are not advancing consciously. This is why there is no continuity in their policies. Thus the Communist Parties ignore the essential problems of this stage of history whilst the important thing is that they were colonial and semi-colonial a short while ago, is in revolution now, and taking the form of revolutionary states on the road to socialism. This is Nationalism to the Workers' State.

The bureaucracies do not discuss the

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in this stage, than to the direct interests of each of the bureaucracies. They do this in order to survive, because they have no other alternative in this stage but to carry on this policy. But it responds more than before to the objective interests of the Workers' States. After having been indifferent to the general strikes in France and Italy, the Soviet bureaucracy suddenly appeals to the Italian and French Communist Parties to take power. Due to the domination of the bureaucracy, the lack of political life, the lack of Party and trade union functioning in the Soviet Union, and the other Workers' States, it is in the heights that the changes, and pressures, and advances of the revolution are expressed. But they reach the heights in a weakened form and are expressed very heterogeneously. Thus it is not the bureaucracy that announces the world advances of the revolution, the Workers' States and the intervention of the masses in the Workers' States and Communist Parties in a homogeneous, conscious and harmonious way. But it will have to express this in the next stages.

To postpone the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party without reason or cause, is to indicate that an agreement, a compromise to carry on somehow until the next Congress has been reached, but that the fight of one tendency against another, when one will come out on top has not yet occurred. What is going to be the basis of the next Congress?—the world situation, which is bearing more and more weight inside the Soviet Union and the communist parties. This is different from before, when the bureaucracy could shut itself up inside itself, and take decisions on that basis; now it has to bear in mind the world situation. This weighs, and will decide the changes in the Soviet Union. Even though these changes may be slight in form, they have historic magnitude, because they force the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene openly, as it is doing in the Middle East.

Such changes must be expected soon. This is one of the greatest perspectives of development that the IV International has: because today is the epoch of intelligence and reason. It is the epoch in which the quality of the quantity determines the course of history. Small nuclear force changes to come like Libya, like South Yemen, like Congo Brazzaville. These are revolutionary countries that are on the road to socialism, and which force the bureaucracy to adapt itself to them, whilst before the bureaucracy would have continued them in order to negotiate with imperialism. This is the epoch of intelligence and reason, of the quality now.

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most important events of history, amongst them the progress of the Chinese. The satellites and the atomic arms are an immense contribution to the development, unification, strengthening and crushing extension of the strength of the revolution against imperialism. They do not discuss this, because they are afraid of the conclusions it would lead them to; the bureaucracy is not prepared, hasn't a Marxist conception and hasn't the revolutionary interest to draw the conclusions of this process. This is why the bureaucracies live turned in on themselves, stating that one or another progress has occurred, but not seeing the historical significance of the progress, or the point of support, that the world situation constitutes for the revolution. It has been only the IV International, the texts of the IV International, of the VIII World Congress of the IV International, and of Cde. Posadas, which have answered, and organised, and which have been directed to the revolutionary and world proletarian vanguard to organise, and understand this process in order to intervene in the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist World United Front, to prepare for the inevitable nuclear war to smash imperialism. For this reason neither do the Soviets take account of the progress of the Chinese. And these are passing, against their previous policy, to accept now the idea that the atomic war is inevitable, and that it is necessary to prepare for the atomic war, and that it will be the end of capitalism, and not of the masses, or of socialism. And that socialism is going to be made anyway and quickened than before, because the bureaucracy is going to be eliminated.

These are the problems, which humanity is living through. In which they are incorporating children, old people, youths, everyone is incorporated to the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The children have been gained to the revolution. Not only the youth, but the children! Al Fatah, the Middle East, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia show that the children have been gained to the revolution, and participate as normal elements of the revolution. It is an immense progress for humanity, because it eliminates a concern, and attention, and waste of energy of society to educate the children when these are already gained to the consciousness that they are participating in history, and with socialist objectives, even if they don't have consciousness of this socialist objective. And this Central Committee, and the next Congress are being prepared without taking all these events into account. And it is being lived also within the Soviet Union. The declaration of Mikoyan defending Trotsky in his polemic against Stalin indicates it. The theatre play, which was put on in Germany, by the communist writer Peter Weiss, in which he underlines the essential problems of this stage, through the policy of Trotsky, through the revolution, through the Soviets, this is another indication. And the discussions in the Communist Parties, which seek the texts of Trotskyism, of Cde Posadas, and of the International, is another. They take the texts of Trotsky and Posadas in order to be orientated. They are all events ignored by the Soviet bureaucracy. But the masses live, feel and express them. And they live them, and express them, because they struggle for the necessary policy, which the masses by themselves cannot have, because it is the organisation of the Party, which achieves it.

Because of this, this Central Committee, is a provisional Central Committee, which has taken compromise measures, postponing solutions and discussions, and internal struggle, which inevitably are going to go further forward, be it in the Soviet economy, be it in the world policy, be it on the Soviet economy, on the problems of agriculture, of the Kolkhozes, of the Sovkoses, and the preparation for the war, problems about which they have discussed nothing. When on the

other hand this brutal backwardness of Soviet agriculture is in discussion, and the basis of this backwardness is the bad social organisation of agricultural production. Still they maintain the Kolkhozes, in which 30% of the production goes into the hands of the private interest of the Kolkhoziens. While there is a very great attempt to increase the Sovkoses, which is the collectivised form of production. And the bureaucracy wants to resolve this problem, but by investing more capital, not by reorganising the social forms of production. This is where this is bad. Whereas investing means a great effort, which takes away the possibility of a greater progress and development of Soviet society. This has to be discussed.

No longer are the problems of Soviet agriculture the vital problems, which concern the masses of the world, but the problem of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist World United Front. Because even without progress, even without a greater, or more elevated productivity of the Soviet Union in agriculture, this weighs and decides in the problems of the world. And the masses see it. If they don't take power, it is not through lack of productivity in agriculture, but through the lack of a revolutionary policy, of a conservative attitude of the bureaucracy still, even if it has to confront imperialism. All these problems have to be discussed in the next stage, and the bureaucracy feels that this is the case, and because of this, it reaches an internal compromise. Because of this the struggle is an internal one among them. And this compromise of postponing the Congress indicates in a very distant form the magnitude of the problems and the revolutionary necessities, which the Soviet Union has to create, which has the forces to hold the Congress, because it has the masses, it has the cadres, but whose leadership does not want to do it. In the next stage, there is going to have to be a much more elevated discussion of this problem. The crisis in Czechoslovakia shows this. The bureaucracy wants to make a new leadership, which responds to the Soviet bureaucracy, but also to the situation of the revolutionary democratic development of the masses of Czechoslovakia. This is what is going on internally. Not because they lack a team, but they lack a policy, which responds to this situation, they do not have a way of responding bureaucratically, and they have to respond in a revolutionary way.

they originate from a past period, and were more virulent before. Now they are obliged to place themselves in agreement, although without abandoning inter-bureaucratic disputes, the interests and the clashes of the interests of the bureaucracy of each country.

Viva the seizure of land by the Indian peasants

Because of this there is a delay in this question. And also the delay in the solution of the agreement with the other bureaucracies, because there is the development of the revolution throughout the world, which is also expressed in the interior life of the masses. Because of this now Lukacs appears in Hungary with his defence of Trotsky. It is a very, very distant expression of the concern of the vanguard, which wants to find the sources of intelligence, and reason to orientate the revolution.

This world process of the revolution expresses also the crisis of the growth of the CPs. And a crisis of growth which reveals itself constantly in the elimination of the right wings, in the constant advance of the CPs to advance in the revolution. With the welcome to Trotskyism, and the united front of all the tendencies by the communist vanguard, and the very great progress in the will of the communist vanguard to lead revolutionary actions as in France and in Italy, when it seems that is leadership is not capable of doing it, we see the new stage. The vanguard does not wait on its leadership, but itself exercises the responsible function of conscious leadership. This is part of the crisis, which shows what is happening in the Soviet Union, and the changes which it is necessary to make.

Interbureaucratic competition continues, but now they try to draw closer whether with Rumania, with Czechoslovakia or with China. The conservative interests of the bureaucracy of each country maintain themselves, but they are forced into agreements. It is the world advance of the revolution, which imposes these demands. And this is more important than the inter bureaucratic disputes, because

they originate from a past period, and were more virulent before. Now they are obliged to place themselves in agreement, although without abandoning inter-bureaucratic disputes, the interests and the clashes of the interests of the bureaucracy of each country.

Chou en Lai has travelled into Europe, making a trip answering to this necessity, to try to augment the weight, the relation, the influence of the Chinese Workers State, in Workers States like Albania, Rumania, possibly Yugoslavia, and with the other capitalist countries, to struggle with the Soviet bureaucracy, but at the same time to increase relations with the capitalist countries. The Chinese bureaucracy tries to increase its world influence, its weight, to increase its military power in order not to depend on the support of the Soviet bureaucracy, or on agreement with them, and to confront the bureaucratic interest of the Soviet bureaucracy, which are criminal interests. But at the same time, it is obliged to appeal for the world struggle against imperialism, to support militarily the struggle against imperialism. It shows the same process as the Soviet bureaucracy. This attitude of the Chinese also is registered in this Central Committee. It indicates agreements and changes, which have pushed aside bureaucratic interests of the weakest sectors of the bureaucracy, the technocrats, the peripheral sectors. The strongest sectors are those of the party, and those of the army, who determine the social, political, revolutionary life, and in consequence they are those, who stand over all the technocrats, and even the military. But in this case, as is necessary and indispensable, the function of the military, and the intervention of the military is in alliance with the party, but it is the military in the name of the party. As a bureaucratic structure, there is an agreement between them. Hence the attitude of the military leaders, being soldiers, are interventions of the political leaders of the Workers State, and of the Soviet Communist Party. It is in the role of representing the objectives of the party, of the revolutionary state, that the Soviet soldiers and the Chinese also intervene.

The intervention of Nasser in the Soviet Union, has a very great importance. It is not by chance that Nasser appeared on that date. They made him intervene in the CC and to preside there, so that he could weigh on all the Arab world, so that there might be a weight even in

Solidarity with the Arab revolutions for the anti-imperialist world united front

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The unions, the L.P. Young Socialists . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

omic crisis of capitalism. Capitalism cannot attract the petit bourgeoisie, or the Labour aristocracy and bureaucracy by the possibility of economic development. On the contrary, unemployment is rising, the economy is stagnant, while at the same time inflation continues at a high rate, and the Tory Government discusses how to cut government expenditure, and considers solutions like charging for visits to doctors, stays in hospital etc. Their only solutions will inevitably be attacks on the social services and the living standards and TU rights of the working class. All this, coupled with the struggle of the workers at the base, forces the Trade Union and Labour leaders to radicalise their line. Thus the T.U.C. issues a statement saying that employers should tell union negotiators virtually everything about their companies; sales, distribution, directors' salaries, profits, prospective mergers and closures etc. This is the trotskyst demand for the 'opening of the books', and regardless of the limited way in which the TU leadership may want to apply it, it is a fundamental step forward in the class struggle, because it is a measure of dual power, weighing the balance still further in favour of the working class. Also the TUC comes out against the economic policy of the government, and proposes a plan for economic development, and announces that it will support the coming strikes in the nationalised industries, perhaps even to the extent of organising solidarity strikes. This is a new phenomenon, which is a product of the world revolution, and which in its turn is stimulating a programmatic discussion within the L.P.

The driving force behind all these discussions, and changes is the initiative and consciousness of the working class, its constant struggle to construct better organisms of struggle. And they are succeeding in doing this, even if in a still limited way. The conference of car workers shop stewards to be held at Coventry, is a response by the middle cadres linked to the base, to respond to a necessity; the construction of a national shop stewards committee for the whole industry. We appeal to the participants at this conference to build a national committee with a proletarian democratic functioning, and with a programme, which does not just respond to the immediate problems of the factory, but which contains the demand for the nationalisation of the industry under workers control and without compensation. This will have the result of elevating the whole level of discussion on the programme within the LP and T.U.s. Just as the International Secretariat has spoken of the 'partial regeneration' of the Workers States and the C.P. leadership under the pressure of the world revolution, so we see in this country the partial regeneration of certain organisms of the class, which for years have had very little life. The sup-

port by Liverpool Trades Council for the Merseyside general strike is an example of this. It is all this together with the tremendous economic demands by the miners and railwaymen, the success of the recent dockers strike and the international support which it won, the fortnight old Sankey strike which is bringing the motor industry to a halt, the struggle for a guaranteed wage in the car industry itself, the threatened action to preserve the nationalised airlines, which today stimulate MPs like Heffer to say; perhaps the revolution is necessary in certain circumstances. It is this force, which together with the struggle of the Irish masses, which has forced together a number of Irish MPs to sink their differences and form a left wing and non sectarian party. It is a response, limited and feeble to the aspirations of both the Catholic and the Protestant exploited masses of Ireland. The programme is very limited, it is not the programme for a united socialist Ireland, but a compromise at the lowest programmatic level, which does not express one tenth of the revolutionary feeling of the Irish masses, which they expressed through the struggle with the army, the setting up of free Derry, the functioning of soviet type organisations in the liberated areas etc. But nevertheless the masses will try to use this new party, which centralises them in a way superior to the past, to push forward the anti-capitalist struggle.

The vanguard must use this period coming up to both the TUC and the Labour Party conferences to discuss in all the organisations of the class, the fundamental problems of programme, structure and organisation. The vanguard must exert all its influence and weight in these two conferences, to try to isolate the right wing and press for the adoption of an aggressive programme and plan of anti-capitalist action. It must discuss; what is the programme which will attract all the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, who are showing their dissatisfaction with capitalism? What is the pro-

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I.S. resolution

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ficient weight and basis, which shows not that he represents the conscious tendency, but that he is a very distant reflection of the forces, which there are in the Soviet Union and in the communist parties. This is the strength of the revolution, the stage of intelligence and reason, in which it is necessary to discuss, and they have to give access to a control from the masses, towards Soviet organisms, Soviet leadership. They are the impositions of history, which the bureaucracy cannot push aside, because the bureaucracy does not have the means, the world situation, impedes it. A fundamental part of the objective world situation is that the masses intervene in a decided form, and in a unified way, are expelling imperialism and capitalism throughout the world.

The IV International appeals to the Soviet proletariat, to the revolutionary Soviet vanguard, to the proletariat and the masses, and the revolutionary vanguard of all the Workers States, and all the communist parties of the world, to intervene and weigh in this discussion within the interior of the Soviet Communist Party. The bureaucratic leadership cannot organise the necessary scientific thought to understand what is happening in the world, and the role of the USSR, the Workers States and the communist parties in the preparation of the world atomic war, the final settlement of accounts, and the communist re-organisation of all humanity. Neverthe-

less, there is already a wing of the bureaucracy, which has to act responding to the objective needs of this world situation. It is necessary to discuss this in all the communist parties, to bring out resolutions to exert influence in the Soviet Union. This discussion interests all the world communist movement, and all the masses of the world. The leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, including the wing, which has to advance, and is advancing and conducting itself as an established part of the forces of the world revolution, tries to resolve the problems, discussing within the apparatus. They extend the sector, which intervenes and decides, but they do not direct themselves at the masses, so that they can discuss, and intervene, and weigh in the discussion, and decide with their strength against the conservative and reactionary wing, which resists and opposes the alliance with the world revolution against imperialism and capitalism. It is necessary to do this. The determining force is the masses, and it is necessary to make them intervene in this discussion of the Soviet C.P. We appeal to all the communist parties of the world, to the Cuban Workers State, the Chinese Workers State the young Workers States and revolutionary states in transition to Workers States in Asia, Latin America, all the Workers States, to organise this discussion with the participation of the masses, and to make programmatic political proposals for the organic anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist front.

programme for Ireland? How must the structure of the LP be overhauled, so that the vanguard can make it into an adequate instrument and so that it receives all the influences of the class and revolutionary struggle? What are the organisms for the factory struggle, and to link the factory struggle with the struggle in the workers areas against rent and fare increases etc?

The C.P. militants must discuss why the Communist Party lost nearly half its votes at the last elections.

All these problems have to be discussed using the 'Morning Star', 'Tribune'

and the papers of the T.U.s and the Y.S. to generalise the discussion. We appeal to the vanguard in the LP and the Unions and the CP to discuss these problems, to use the documents of Posadas and the International as instruments in this discussion, because they give a global comprehension of all the problems, and allow the vanguard to have the confidence which comes not just from the local, but the International relationship of forces. In this way the gap between the level of militancy and confidence of the class, and its lack of programmatic and political expression will be bridged.

Demand the immediate liberation of Dr. Primo Brandmiller, Antonio C. de Souza, Iran Rodriguez, and Claudio Vasconcelos Cavalcanti imprisoned in Brazil

Since the murder of Olavo Hansen, militant of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Brazilian Section of the IV International on the 12 May last, there has been an intensification of repression by the police and government against the revolutionary and progressive movement. This intensification of repression against the Brazilian Section and against all those, who even without being in the International, defend trotskyst ideas, has been the desperate response of the government in the face of the great echo which the campaign of protest against the death of Olavo Hansen has had in Brazil.

In the course of the last weeks, the police have arrested, beaten and imprisoned 4 progressives, who defend socialist and trotskyst ideas. The doctor PRIMO BRANDMILLER, who was the first to denounce that OLAVO HANSEN had been murdered, was arrested in the hospital, where he worked. Then on the 21 of July ANTONIO DE SOUZA, IRAN RODRIGUEZ, and CLAUDIO VASCONCELOS CAVALCANTI were arrested in Sao Paulo by the "Operacion Bandeirantes" the most murderous organisation of repression of the Brazilian dictatorship. There is a real danger that these comrades might be killed.

Claudio Vasconcelos Cavalcante has been known to the police for a long time due to his intervention as a militant in 1961 in the Peasant leagues of the North East. After the reactionary coup d'etat he was tried for rebellion by the 7th "Auditoria De Guerra" of Recife and arbitrarily condemned to 8 years in prison.

The world campaign carried on by the International since May, has had very great repercussions in Brasil, sharpening the contradictions within the heart of the bourgeoisie and the army itself, giving a point of support to the revolutionary nationalist sectors, provoking a taking of position by sectors who have not intervened up till now.

In this situation we call for a redoubling of the campaign to denounce the repression, tortures, and murders, to demand democratic rights for the Brazilian masses in struggle against the dictatorship, and to impose the liberation of all political and trade union prisoners.

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

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

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

Die Arbeidertrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCE: Lutte Communiste, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist).

CRECE: Communist Fight. Clandestine.

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

PERU: Voz Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

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

URUGUAY: Frente Obrero, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

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European Marxist Review (In English) organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2. England.

CORRECTION. In our last issue of Red Flag we made an error in the head line to the editorial. We spoke of "The new leadership of the Labour Party, ..." when we should have said "The new leadership in the Labour Party. Our headline gave the wrong impression that a new leadership was already formed and leading the L.P. We apologise to our readers for this negligence and resolve not to repeat similar errors.

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

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.
LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG**



**Out with the
Hussein regime!
For a Jordanian
Workers State**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 120 10th SEPTEMBER 1970 PRICE 6d

The Trade Unions must base themselves on the advance of the World Socialist Revolution to intervene in the Labour Party Conference and encourage the formation of the new revolutionary leadership

The 102nd Trades Union Congress is being held at a moment when there is a world wide process of civil war in progress, when forms of dual power can be seen the world over, and we are rapidly moving towards the final settlement of accounts between the revolution, and what remains of capitalism and imperialism. This international situation will be the decisive factor in the development of national events, and inevitably influences the Congress, and will weigh in the Labour Party Conference to be held shortly. The revolutionary vanguard can turn this influence to immense advantage in the organic consolidation of the revolutionary current, and the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the T.U.s and the Labour Party, by basing itself on the encouragement, that the world advance of the revolution brings, and drawing the conclusions that it teaches, to the full, for their application here.

The Middle East cease-fire has not provided imperialism and its agents in Israel with the breathing space to build up a new assault on the Arab revolution, as they had hoped; quite to the contrary, the internal contradictions, the squabbling between the hard-liners and the more conciliatory elements has used up all the energy of the Israeli ruling class and its allies, leading to an increase in their disintegration. Meanwhile, although it was opportunist of Nasser, and the Soviet bureaucracy to accept the cease-fire in the first place—there are more revolutionary ways of conducting the war—it is a policy of left opportunism, that they have adopted: they have intentionally aggravated the internal differences in the enemy's camp, and at the same time the alliance between the Arab revolution and the Workers' States is widening and being cemented. When Nasser presided at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet, this expressed in a deformed way the united front between the Soviet and Arab masses, and this is so strong that it has forced the Soviet bureaucracy to augment the material aid it is supplying to the Arab revolution, and advantage has been taken of the cease-fire to gain better strategic positions. The bureaucracy has been forced into the land of revolutionary logic, and although it still carries on reactionary policies in comparison with the revolutionary needs of the situation, it can no longer dare to be counter-revolutionary. Thus the revolutionary nationalist government of Iraq is receiving considerable aid from what often tends to be the most conciliatory sector of the bureaucracy in the Workers' States, the Rumanian bureaucracy.

The guerrilla movements, which are very closely linked to the will and decision of the masses and the revolutionary nationalist governments, have deepened their united front by refusing to accept the cease-fire. The Iraqi government is responding to the maturation of a revolutionary leadership that is growing in confidence in the masses and theoretical security when it throws the weight of the Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan in with that of the guerrillas against the Jordanian bourgeoisie and feudals. Arafat's margin of conciliation has lessened due to a similar maturation within the guerrilla movement, and he has made revolutionary appeals for support for the position of the guerrilla movement on the cease-fire. The guerrillas could overthrow Hussein, and lead the masses to power in Jordan, but for the fact that the leadership is still not sufficiently mature—it hesitates, feeling that the Israeli bourgeoisie would defend their objective ally, Hussein, his overthrow would mean

war with Israel, the first stages of atomic war, and the present leadership still has not enough confidence in the ability of the masses to emerge victoriously from this war.

It is very important when official Labour Party sympathies on the Arab revolution are confused, that the vanguard should use the opportunity of the T.U. Congress, and the L.P. Conference to proclaim its support for the Arab and Israeli masses, and form links between their organisations and those of the British exploited masses. But most important of all is the conclusion to be drawn about the need for revolutionary leadership, which is equally true here, where atmosphere of class civil war also exists and increases with each major strike, breaking out openly in Ireland.

In Chile, Allende has won the largest popular vote in the elections, fighting on a socialist programme. His programme includes almost complete nationalisation of all key industries, genuine land reform based on agricultural co-operatives, and the establishment of relations with the Workers' States, with a tendency to encourage mass organisms. This is an enormous source of encouragement to the world masses, because they can see that the bourgeoisie cannot even maintain control in their own parliamentary organisations. It is a lesson to the Labour Party as to the irreplaceable role played by a genuinely socialist programme in attracting the petty bourgeoisie to the party of the working class. It is, however, a success that is open to misinterpretation by a sector of the Labour left that whilst it campaigns correctly for a real socialist programme in the Labour Party, tends to ignore the necessary methods for its application. The Chilean bourgeoisie will not accept the simple transfer of power to the working class through parliament, and unless this parliamentary victory is defended, and extended by the organisation of full mass intervention with the construction and strengthening of the organisms of workers power, including a workers' militia, the bourgeoisie will grasp the opportunity to use repressive methods to defend its privileges. We appeal to the current in the Labour Party reflected in the discussion at present being published in "Tribune" and in both T.U. and L.P. resolutions, to struggle for the adoption of extra-parliamentary methods of organisation at the same time as for a socialist programme.

Norman Atkinson has appealed in a "Tribune" article for the TUC to intervene in the Labour Party, saying that it must be "the trade unions, who take on the leading role in protecting working-

class interests" now, and indicating that the Labour Party must prepare to fall in with this. This article is symptomatic of a process foreseen in the resolution of the International Secretariat on the elections, which says the masses would increase their use of the trade unions as their means of struggle. But it is not so much the protection of working class interests, though this is part of the process, as participation in the direct struggle for power, that makes it necessary for the trade unions to intervene with their full strength in the Labour Party. Comrade Posadas said in his document "The Construction of a Workers' State, and from the Workers' State to Socialism": "The attitude adopted by the trade unions in Britain is not one of trade unions, but of a Workers' Party Based on the

Trade Unions..." What distinguishes the Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions is its anti-capitalist programme, together with its structure. Posadas goes on to show that the trade unions will not exchange the Labour Party for a new Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions; instead they will use their political programme and proletarian strength, their acquisition of "an embryonic form... of an organism of proletarian power aimed at overthrowing capitalism" to impel the advance of a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. Already elements of an anti-capitalist programme have been put forward by some trade unions: the dockers and air-line employees have made nationalisation demands, and the teachers are being encouraged

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Stop the political repression in Brazil

News of the World Campaign CHILE

Text of telegram sent by a group of socialist and communist senators denouncing the most recent arrest in Brazil; that of the Argentinian comrade Hugo Miguel Moreno. This telegram has a particular importance, because in the Chilean elections of the 5th of September, the Popular Front of Communists, Socialists, Radicals, and dissident Christian Democrats topped the poll. This front has a socialist programme of nationalisation of industry, a genuine agrarian reform with collectivisation, and alliance with all the Workers States.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM
INFORMED IMPRISONMENT OF ARGENTINIAN CITIZEN HUGO MIGUEL MORENO AT PRESENT IN MILITARY HOSPITAL SAO PAULO DETAINED FOR POLITICAL IDEAS WE ASK HIS IMMEDIATE LIBERTY AND GUARANTEE OF HIS LIFE INVOKING RIGHTS OF MAN.
CHILEAN SENATORS SALVADOR ALLENDE RAFAEL GUMUCIO ALBERTO JEREZ ANICETO RODRIGUEZ

Text of telegram from the National Confederation of Copper Workers of Chile.

Santiago 18 August 70

Garrastazu Medici
President of the Federal Republic of Brazil

In the name of 20 thousand Chilean copper workers, request immediate liberty Argentinian citizen Hugo Miguel Moreno, detained military hospital Sao Paulo for political ideas stop we demand guarantee of his life stop Hector Olivares Solis President of the Chilean Copper Confederation.

Text of telegram from the National Federation of Shoe and Leather Workers of Chile (FONACC)

Santiago de Chile, 21 of August 1970

Garrastazu Medici
President of the Federal Republic of Brazil

In the name of 10,000 shoe and leather workers of Chile, we request the unconditional liberty Argentinian citizen Hugo Miguel Moreno detained Military Hospital Sao Paulo for political ideas. Demand guarantee of his life. Armando Aguirre Ahumada General Secretary of Shoes and Leather Workers of Chile.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

J. POSADAS
Dec 63

(2nd Part)

An appreciation of the internal structure of the dialectical process is fundamental. This structure is developed in relation to one of the laws and principles, which render possible the conscious intervention, not in order to alter the laws, but by being based on them to direct the process consciously.

There still does not exist in nature the possibility of a total domination and intervention, while this does exist in society. The dialectical process is determined by a series of laws and of principles on which we will not dwell here. We will refer to it in a general fashion.

Any process in nature or in society is developed in relation to a process of transformation. This in its turn is determined by a series of stages in which each one is governed by a principle or a law. In society, up to the present (but in part there is the intervention of conscious action, which is altering the normal principles of nature), it is like this. The dialectical process is not eliminated by conscious intervention, but it is directed in relation to what is useful to the human being; for example, the transformation of cold into heat or of heat into cold.

In society, the dialectical process allows an intervention for its own transformation. There is an essential key in this process; to know that society and nature are developed through a process of transformation, which in a determined stage is produced not as a consequence of a constant and evolving chain, but as a change of content, of structure and of form. At a determined moment the process of evolution needs to make a leap for its transformation. This leap is not only the consequence of the evolution, but of a violent process. To understand the precise moment when the leap is produced, to understand that conditions are right for a leap is the key to the question, above all in society.

The leap called by Marx a dialectical leap, does not mean a leap into the void, for the moment of the violent transformation is only a leap in the form. It is a violent, brusque change from one state to another, but already announced by the seeds contained in the previous forms. There is the importance of the Party, in society above all. For example in France, in Italy, and in England, we take these three countries: the capitalist system is in crisis. In France, de Gaulle appears as a monarch. Apparently French society has a great force and an immense assurance. Nevertheless, each important strike shakes it totally.

From what the newspapers inform de Gaulle is preparing a new electoral farce. They are doing away with proportional representation, and united fronts for the second electoral rounds. It is a blow to the workers parties. If this attempt succeeds they are going to extend it to the legislative and presidential elections, to everything. This is not an expression of force of de Gaulle, but of his weakness. The strike of the miners, of the transport workers, any strike puts the capitalist state in question. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party have nearly forty per cent of the votes. The government brings out a decree forbidding strikes, but the strikes are made nevertheless.

In spite of the good will of Ben Bella, and with the aid of Pablo, French imperialism finds itself obliged to make concessions to revolutionary Algeria—not to Ben Bella—to revolutionary Algeria. To French imperialism it is a lesser evil. The working class enormously influences the petit bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is divided. De Gaulle does not represent the old bourgeois party, but he represents directly high finance, which clashes with the old parties.

For its postwar policy, French imperialism has not been able to base itself on the old bourgeois parties, but on a new movement, having de Gaulle at its head. The bourgeoisie didn't have the force to isolate the petit bourgeoisie influenced by the revolution. This is the opposite to Italy or Germany, where the bourgeoisie through the Christian Democracy has succeeded in centralising the immense majority of the petit bourgeoisie, and a part of the backward masses to support capitalism. But as much in Italy as in France, and in England, the bourgeoisie would not have been able to maintain itself without the services of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Labour Party. It would be dead; the capitalist regime would have been destroyed.

This is then the process ripe for a

leap. All the conditions exist. What is lacking? The conscious action of the Party. The process of evolution is over-mature. The capitalist society is in crisis, in full decomposition.

The process of maturing arrives at its highest level in this stage. A continuation of evolution is no longer possible, a transformation is possible. And this can no longer be done through the continuation of evolution, in as much as capitalism cannot yield any more. It is necessary to overthrow it; this is the revolution. This is the violent step of the transformation; that is to say its culminating point.

Such is the conception of Marx and Engels. It is not a particular conception of them, but it comes from all the historic experience. They had the responsibility of applying this experience to society. They are the ones, who have incorporated it as an instrument of progress of human history. I am not going to refer to the whole history of philosophy, but limit myself to a general conclusion on the dialectical process.

There can be in our opinion, the suppression, or the annulling of a particular form of life, but matter continues. A human being disappears in the nature of life, but matter continues.

When we speak today of the disappearance of life, with regard to death, we give, in reality, to the concept of death, an individualist, egoist notion, emphasising the aspect of individual disappearance. If a human being dies, matter continues and exists with other forms of human life. The feeling of death is in reality a feeling of solitude, of isolation, of pessimism; not only because matter continues to live, but also, because human society continues to live. When we kill a cow and eat it, we do not concern ourselves with its death, because it nourishes us, and also because there are many other cows. In the feeling of death, there is without doubt a difference between the cow and the human being, because the human being is the one who determines human progress and not the cow. But the latter is part of human progress, for example, when we have a good steak.

Matter does not disappear; it changes form, structure, importance. Analysis of the dialectical process is based on the understanding that every object, matter or society develops through a process of birth, development and transformation. The laws, which regulate this process, are the same in nature and in society. For example, capitalist society, in order to develop, needs to give birth to, and to develop the proletariat. In developing itself the latter needs to fight against capitalism in order to live; that is to say that to progress, capitalist society needs to create and develop the proletariat. But it cannot, on the other hand, dominate, contain or annul it. All of which engenders the class struggle.

The class struggle in its turn engenders the revolutionary struggle, and the latter gives rise to conceptions, consequently, of the destruction of capitalism, the harmonious organisation of this destruction, and the construction of socialism. Capitalist society arises; to develop itself, it gives birth to the proletariat, which is against it. That is to say, it gives birth to a contradictory force, without being able to suppress it, for to suppress it, would mean to annul the capitalist system. It has to accept the proletariat, not because capitalism gives its consent, or because after calculations in the university, professors say that it must exist, but because it is an intrinsic need for capitalism's own existence. Capitalism develops itself in extending the numerical force of the proletariat.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND THE SOLUTION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS

At a certain stage, the numerical force of the proletariat, is no longer the only factor working against capitalism to the extent that the conscious factor is created. The proletariat acquires consciousness of the possibility of destroying capitalism, and even if it does not advance numerically, its consciousness becomes a more powerful instrument than its numerical strength. In this process: proletariat, capitalism, which is going to decide? Capitalism has material strength, but it is a contradictory regime, which cannot harmonise society. A contradiction arises within capitalist society, between the bourgeois class, the proletarian class and the forces, structure, and regime of production, the regime of property. There is a contradiction between social production and individual appropriation, which puts a limit to production. Also history has to resolve this contradiction on the basis of one of them; either the collective social form of production impels a solution, or the form of individual appropriation will. Every contradictory process is resolved in favour of one of the poles, which constitute this process.

In consequence the contradiction, which stems from the existence of capitalism has to be resolved. Capitalism tries to benefit for its own profit. It makes an infinity of laws, persecutes, represses. The first capitalist wars were the result of an attempt and of a necessity to resolve its internal contradictions, even at its own expense, through the elimination of competitors. This attempt has been shown to be very limited to the extent that the contradictions, and struggles of capitalist competitors, do not eliminate the essential contradiction between social production and individual appropriation. This creates constantly the bases, the forces of antagonism between capitalist society, the bourgeois class, and the proletariat; contradictions which cannot be

resolved by the elimination of both.

The contradiction leads to antagonism. Capitalist society is a contradictory society. The antagonism is the existence of the proletarian class. The amplification of the antagonistic forces, which co-exist for a determined period, a limited historic period, leads to the inevitable confrontation. The solution is found in either the triumph of capitalism or of the proletariat.

The precise moment where the antagonistic forces meet in conflict is what we know as revolution. Understanding this process, dominating it in its dialectical sense, allowed Marx and Engels to elaborate the conception of the party, of the International, of the programme, and of the revolutionary policy, of the construction of the Workers' State.

In nature, it is the same process as in society, but more catastrophic, in so far as forces intervene, which are not controlled by human society. This process has specific laws. It begins with what is called negation. Capitalist society exists, it gives birth to the proletariat, that is to say, to a force, which is opposed to it. This is the negation. Capitalism creates a negative force. In its development, the class struggle is a contradictory antagonistic process. The process of contradiction exists for a whole period; bourgeoisie and proletariat exist side by side. But ultimately over a period of time one of the two must disappear.

Capitalist society must, in order to exist, impede the triumph of the revolution. It has two ways of doing this: to develop constantly so that there is no need or place for the revolution, justifying its historic role by capacity for inexhaustible existence. But, to the extent that it cannot give this justification, as history has demonstrated, it has then to try to survive, having recourse to forms, to means, which prevent it from being

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

to refuse co-operation with educational plans of Tory controlled councils, which are trying to reverse previously made decisions to introduce the comprehensive system. The TUC must co-ordinate these programmatic points, and raise them to a higher level. A discussion should be held to voice the condemnation by the British working class of NATO, and its desire to see the TUC develop an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programmatic link with the trade unions in the Workers' States. And this is the discussion that the TUC must take to the Labour Party.

The TUC is meeting at a time when the working class is full of the confidence and the determination to launch a general strike against the attacks the capitalist class is making on its conquests and as a step forward on the road to taking power. This is reflected in many of the greetings sent by the trades unions to the TUC, published in "Tribune". And it is the reason why the TUC bureaucracy is on the defensive, and having to talk of calling for solidarity strikes round the big strikes, and why Jack Jones has to suggest that the TUC may need to organise "great national demonstrations." The revolutionary current in the TUC must demand that talks about the sectors already in action like the car-workers and manual municipal workers should not be limited to the trade unions concerned. These workers are in the vanguard at present, and the full weight of their activity must be allowed to be felt in the TUC as it organises its strategy.

The bourgeoisie can no longer hope to lean on the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party to contain the working class. It has to resort to more openly repressive measures, and thus there is talk once again of using troops to break the manual municipal workers' strike, as well as increased pressure for anti-strike laws. The position of the TUC on the use of troops could be fundamental to the development of dual power. By organising

occupations with general assemblies open to the intervention of all sectors of the exploited masses, factory committees, workers' area committees and defence committees, the trade unions can combine appeals to the troops to join the workers with the exercise of proletarian power, showing the superior social organisation of the masses. The vanguard must demand that the necessary preparation be made in the TUC for these steps, beginning with the establishment of real proletarian democracy in the trade unions to turn the TUC into a genuine Workers' Centre.

The TUC has a powerful bureaucratic apparatus, and for this reason the revolutionary tendency within it is only reflected fitfully by its present leadership. Nevertheless, on the first day of the TUC, Brighshaw has had to pose the question of a confrontation between the unions and capitalism, and raise the need for the unions to implement the nationalisations they stand for. This is a response to the pressure of the revolutionary tendency. The world situation is favourable to the advance of this tendency. Any advance gains a resounding echo nationally and internationally. One of the biggest conquests of the dockers' strike was an advance in democratic functioning in the TGWU. It is the determination of the rank and file to make the leadership responsible to it that forces Jack Jones to move leftwards now. This is a conquest that will not be lost, but, within the world balance of forces, will lead to further advances. We appeal to the revolutionary tendencies in the trade unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party to read and study the documents of Comrade Posadas and the International, (the British Section is bringing out special editions for both the TUC and the L.P. Conference), to increase their comprehension of the world advance of the revolution, and use it as the basis, and the means of organising organically and building a revolutionary leadership.

dislodged from history; fascism, for example.

Fascism was an attempt of German and Italian capitalism to survive as a regime of private property. But if fascism had triumphed throughout the world, capitalist society would not have been able to survive, because regressive forms of society would have been created. The failure of fascism was not the product of the imbecility or the impotence of Hitler or German capitalism. Hitler was certainly an imbecile, which is not a term of insult, but an historical description. The reasons for this failure show that there were not and are not the conditions for the triumph of such a society.

The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is worked out through a process of antagonistic contradictions. The Russian Revolution showed that the contradictory process of the capitalist system can be solved with a progressive outcome, that is to say, by the establishment of the society of a Workers' State. By giving birth to the proletariat, the capitalist regime gives birth to a force that is antagonistic to it, and which arises from an antagonistic process. Capitalism needs the proletariat in order to exist, and the proletariat needs to struggle against capitalism in order to live. The proletariat organises its consciousness in the development of the struggle just as it creates its organisms and gathers the elements that make it possible for it to understand that it can go on from capitalist society to socialist society.

Really capitalist society develops the forces of social production that pose the conditions for passage to a new society, where private property will not be necessary any more. The development of productive forces poses the possibility from the beginning of their social domination. It also poses the possibility of the proletariat becoming conscious by basing itself on this objective reality, so that it can intervene to change and transform reality. But I insist that this is made possible by the position that the proletariat occupies in production, which makes it impossible to conceive of any other way of organising the forces capable of replacing capitalism, but by doing away with private property. The proletariat must necessarily nationalise production, for it forms part of the conception of the collective way of organising society.

The negation of capitalist society is the proletariat. The contradictory development of this process causes these two enemies to have to co-habit for a time. At a determined moment the bourgeois/proletarian contradiction must come to an end. So the process comes to the end of its time: the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Cuban Revolution etc... being a process of the accumulation of quantity, it must make the jump. It is the evolution of elements and factors that makes it possible to accumulate and centralise the forces favourable to the revolution. Evolution has a limit. It prepares the conditions for revolution; but the step from capitalist society to socialist society is not made by means of evolution, but by force. Capitalism cannot accept this change, or even certain modifications. It is forced to defend itself, when it happens that its own organisation can no longer meet the changes imposed on it by the organised strength of the proletariat during a period. At a determined moment it cannot stand anything else, and it must confront the proletariat.

The stage of revolution is the stage when the step is taken from quantity into quality. Evolution, the process of evolution is a process of quantity. What is it composed of?—the organisation of trade unions, trade union struggles, the organisation of the party, parliamentary struggles, struggles to improve living conditions, working conditions etc... But at a determined stage, the proletariat must overthrow capitalist power in order to be able to go on advancing. It must go over from quantity to quality. Evolution is no longer enough, it is necessary to take the road of quality; qualitative transformation is necessary. But strikes and trade union struggles are not sufficient to achieve this; it is necessary to overthrow capitalist power, destroy the capitalist system, and the state apparatus: the bourgeois juridical system, the army, the police force, bourgeois law and the capitalist legislative and executive structure. That must all be sent to the devil and replaced by proletarian power.

With proletarian power the legislative and executive are one. Different from capitalist power, which divides and separates its organisms of power as a consequence of its interests, and the private appropriation of the means of production, these organisms are united by proletarian power. The proletariat is the master of society and social production then, and has no interest in separating these organisms, the structure, and lead-

Fundamental problems..

erships of the State. Quite to the contrary to function, the proletariat needs them to be centralised. But centralised does not mean bureaucratised. It is certainly possible to be centralised and bureaucratised as, for example, the Cuban government is. But it is possible to be centralised without being bureaucratised with soviets. Then there is centralisation in the execution, but decentralisation in the taking of decisions with mass intervention to elaborate and decide through the soviets, in the communes, the trade unions etc....

The process of the overthrow of capitalism is known in the laws and principles of the dialectic as the negation of the negation. The historic process develops on the basis of principles and laws that are not completely fixed. There are separations between the realisation of one and the next, which means that one part of the process is not inevitably followed by another. It is the party that makes consistent intervention possible. Without the intervention of the party, the process does not develop smoothly. An example of this was German fascism.

German capitalism, like capitalism the world over, created a proletariat; the negation of capitalism. But the leadership of the Communist and Socialist Parties refused to overthrow German capitalism. This, consequently, gave them the opportunity of trying with fascism to bring the historic contradiction to an end, to the benefit of private property. A first dialectic principle was applied; the second was not. And that happened not because the conditions for the application of the second dialectic did not exist, but because a conscious leadership prevented its application.

To return to a Workers State where the masses control, are the masters of the state, a political revolution is necessary. But the question is not posed in the same way in Yugoslavia, Cuba, U.S.S.R., and in China for example. A political revolution is however necessary in all these countries. But by their different situation, the programme of each revolution differs, the degree of insurrection differs.

In the U.S.S.R. and in Albania exist criminal bureaucratic apparatuses, apparatuses of severe repression; but the bureaucratic structure is weaker in Albania. It is far from having the force of the Soviet one for example.

The Soviet bureaucracy is the consequence of a process of degeneration of the Workers State. It developed at a stage where only a single Workers State existed, unique in history, when the revolution was isolated from the rest of the world. This has, in general, caused the diffusion, and planted the roots of a strong bureaucratic structure in all the aspects of Soviet life; cultural, economic, social etc.

The Albanian bureaucracy is not in the same situation. From the point of view of its criminal character, it is like the Soviet one, but from the point of view of its internal structure, it is infinitely more feeble. Therefore, there are different levels of development, and of the struggle for the political revolution in one country and in another.

The same thing as this concerns China. The Chinese leadership is a bureaucratic leadership, administrative, but it does not have the same structure as in the Soviet Union. It is not the product of degeneration of the revolution, but the result

of a deformed constitution of the Workers State; the same goes for Cuba.

Therefore, in these four Workers States—Cuba, Yugoslavia, China, U.S.S.R.—as in all the others, a political revolution is necessary, but it differs in its level of insurrection, and, in consequence, in the possibilities of triumph on the one hand, and its repercussions on the other. Soviet, Chinese, Cuban, Yugoslavian, etc. society, is an expression of one of the fundamentals of the process: the unity of opposites.

In all dialectical processes, where the matter, the existing society, gives birth to an antagonistic form, this tends in its development to replace the force from which it was born. It is here again a contradictory process.

Neither China, nor U.S.S.R., nor Cuba, nor Yugoslavia, are socialist societies. They are Workers States, transitional states, and there is expressed this essential principle of the dialectical process of the nature of society, to know the unity of opposites. This shows that once the new organism is constituted, it lives, not only starting from the forces which have made it triumph, but it is still governed by the laws, the principles, the norms of the organ, of the matter of the society it has just eliminated. This principle is fundamental, because it shows that the new society exercises forces, and lives under the pressure of, the old one which has always the possibility of exercising an influence, fettering, deviating, of disturbing the process of constitution of the new substance or society.

This process of unity of opposites must inevitably resolve itself, by one of the two poles; the capitalist or the socialist. This is why the U.S.S.R., China, Cuba, Yugoslavia, are transitional states.

For example, there still exists in these

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The Young Socialists must intervene at the Labour Party Conference to impel the Labour Party as the instrument to take power

The abstentionism of the vanguard in the elections was a heavy defeat for the right wing in the Labour Party, and has led to a profound discussion around the problems of the programme and leadership of the party. This has found a limited expression in "Tribune"—limited, because the spirit of the vanguard workers is to take power, and this tremendous confidence and determination at this moment does not find a corresponding response in the workers party and union organisations. But the objective world and national process, and the defeat of the right wing in the Labour Party has now created a situation where this gap between spirit and will of the vanguard, and the weakness of the means to take power—the Labour Party—can be overcome.

It is only on the basis of the fullest understanding of the present phase in the struggle for power in this country, that it is possible for the Young Socialists to play their very important role in contributing to the formation of the new leadership in the Labour Party with the revolutionary programme and methods. Although at the last Conference of the Young Socialists the programme of the IV International, the programme of Trotskyism was adopted, the way to apply this programme has not been generally discussed throughout the Young Socialists and there is great slowness in stimulating the political life without which the programme agreed upon remains an item for the filing cabinet. It is true that there is a capitulator group of ex-Trotskyists, the Militant group, who would gladly keep it this way. The programme then becomes something to be brought forward like a superior agitational prop, and then, on suitable occasions, politely ignored. We know of course that the spirit of the YS is superior, far superior to the present leadership.

The fundamental task facing the Young Socialists is to draw the conclusions of this programme. And this in effect means to transform themselves into a political instrument—a revolutionary programme demands a revolutionary organisation, that is a disciplined application of the programme related to the phase and stage of the world and national advance to socialism. And all this has to be related to the fundamental task of transforming the Labour Party, making it an instrument sensitive to the preoccupations of the masses, and prepared to lead a revolutionary struggle against capitalism. THESE ARE THE CENTRAL TASKS OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS. They cannot be evaded, and in order for the relation between programme, methods and political level to be understood, it is necessary for the basic texts of Marxism, particularly the texts of Marxism of today, of Posadas, and the IV International to be assimilated.

It is perfectly justifiable for the Young Socialists to want to recruit, to want to extend their influence, to want to attract young workers to become fused with the problems of young workers BUT NOT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE PROBLEM OF CONSTRUCTING THE REVOLUTIONARY CADRE IN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS, among those that exist now and those that will come. On account of the lack of understanding on how apply the programme, and in part

the intervention of the ex Trotskyists who have no interest in applying the conclusions of the programme, there is now a great blowing of the trumpets on the part in relation to the Young Socialists Charter for Young Workers. There is obviously no objection to struggle for the minimum economic demands for young workers, as there is no objection to the vast number of struggles all over the country, waged by the masses to obtain better wages, factory conditions, better housing etc., but when this is used in a separatist spirit to the extent of proposing a youth TUC, which has no serious basis, then it is clear that, this type of preoccupation is being used to divert attention from the most serious issues facing the Young Socialists—impelling the programme, and the formation of a serious dedicated revolutionary team in the YS to make the organisation fulfill its historic responsibilities. The idea of recruiting to the YS simply on the basis of economic campaigns with a vague socialism hovering in the background is a delusion. The Young Socialist organisation has to show itself as a serious revolutionary leadership, which does not simply say "this is our programme, and somehow we are going to advance", they have to be specific about the world, and national situation at this stage—not vague and agitational. The masses, the young workers are won for socialism, the problem is to recruit and impel on the basis

of a dynamic policy and revolutionary political life, the communist life. Many YS branches have a diluted political life, and with the present lack of political dynamism in the YS leadership—in part a resistance to it—all the agitational escapades in the world are not going to build a serious YS. For example "Left" still lives at the level of general "leftism", (below the level of the best sector in the YS), describing the evils of capitalism, but giving no coherent pattern of the course of the world and national process, too much of it simply tells the youth what they already know—that capitalism is bad and causes human suffering. Youth are attracted to the YS, but when they get there, they find all too frequently a mediocre or non-existent political life, and to retain the best elements requires a political life, which gives a clear perspective—the transformation of the L.P. into an organism, which will take power as part of the world socialist revolution, the political revolution in the Workers' States, the creation of new Workers and Revolutionary States. This must be the objective of the intervention of the YS. With the social democratic political heritage of the L.P., and its elephantine plodding, spectacular results immediately cannot be expected, but the objective situation is imposing itself, and it is only with a conviction of the world socialist revolution, the changes in the structure of the Workers States, the advance of the revolution in the Middle East, the civil war in Ireland, the victory of the FRAP in Chile, the process towards the taking of power in Italy, that it is possible to advance in the YS.

Certainly the spirit of the Young Workers can be impelled, but they must be fused with the actions of the masses as a whole, fused with the factory committees, fused with the TUC and the L.P., elevated to the highest revolutionary perspectives. The Young Socialist must seriously conduct a real political discussion around the meaning of the programme, which they possess—that it means **revolutionary methods**, the preparation of the **revolutionary party**, the transformation of the Young Socialists from an agitational into a political organisation with a selection of cadres to attract the best. We know that the most thinking and energetic elements in the YS want changes—it is necessary that this is reflected in the leadership. We propose in the coming weeks a full discussion of the TUC Congress, its results, and consequences, and the necessity for the YS to intervene at the highest level in the L.P. Conference to impel the new leadership in the Labour Party.

Stop the political repression in Brazil

ARGENTINA

The full meeting of the unions of Santa Fe sent a letter to the President of Brasil, and another to the Brazilian Embassy in Buenos Aires. The letters were signed by twelve trade unions.

A letter signed by 600 students of Cordoba was sent.

A letter was sent from the Argentine League for the Rights of Man.

A declaration was made by a communist students group of Cordoba.

Telegram sent by 24 Argentinian architects.

BRITAIN

The London Area Council of the NUBE, the National Union of Bank Employees passed the following motion on the 28th of July.

"That this London Area Council requests the N.E.C. to express its abhorrence at the murder of the leader of the Brazilian Chemical Workers Union, Olavo Hansen, after being taken into custody by the Brazilian security forces. It asks that the N.E.C. requests the TUC to send a delegation to the Brazilian Embassy for that purpose."

The following petition was circulated amongst the delegates and visitors to last weeks T.U.C. Conference. It received wide support from trade unionists, including Jack Jones, and

Ernie Roberts. Altogether 166 signatures were collected from the delegates and members of the L.P.Y.S. and Y.C.L., who were lobbying the T.U.C.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST REPRESSION OF TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRAZIL

To The Brazilian Ambassador,
32, Green St., London, W.1.

Sir,

We the undersigned, delegates to the 102nd Trades Union Congress wish to register a protest to your government in relation to the treatment of trade union and political prisoners held in Brazilian jails.

We denounce the murder of our brother trade unionist, member of the Chemical Workers Union, Olavo Hansen, who after being arrested on the 1st May, was brutally tortured, and died as a direct result of this on the 9th May 1970.

We demand an end to the torturing of T.U. and political prisoners in Brazil, and call for a guarantee of the prisoners physical safety, and appeal for their immediate release.

We are particularly concerned with the imprisonment of Dr. Primo Brandmiller, arrested on 13. 7. 70, and whose only 'crime' is that he has proved quite conclusively, that Olavo Hansen was murdered in jail; also, peasant trade union leader, Claudio Cavalcanti, and Antonio de Souza, and Iran Rodriguez, who are both known for their progressive and revolutionary ideas. All of them were arrested on 21. 7. 70.

We also take this opportunity of appealing to President De Medici that he holds to the promises he has previously made, that trade union and democratic rights be immediately restored to the entire Brazilian population.

Fundamental problems of Marxism

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)
societies the bourgeois norms of distribution. If they were socialist societies, such norms would have no reason to exist. Socialist society distinguishes itself from capitalist society by one essential conclusion: that distribution is determined by needs and not capacity. The norm of capitalist distribution is according to capacity, but not that of eating, that of producing. Salary is paid for what is produced, and this salary determines what each person can buy to eat, to live. Socialist society is determined by what each person needs.

The process of unity of opposites shows that the process of transformation has reached a stage, called the critical stage. The Workers State still contains bourgeois norms and forms. The bourgeois forms of distribution exercise an influence in society. The development of Soviet society must eliminate this contradictory pole, that is to say the bourge-

ois forms of distribution. If the Soviet society does not eliminate them, then there is always the possibility that they will develop and stimulate forces, or that society will go backwards, and will develop chains, prejudices, elements of degeneration, and a series of hurdles on the road to socialism. This principle of unity of opposites must be resolved, otherwise the society stays permanently in this transitional stage. It functions as a transitional stage, and not as a socialist society.

We insist on this characterisation which is necessary to qualify exactly the situation of the Workers States, and because there is always a danger of degeneration, of recoil, of fetters, and of a process of bureaucratisation still larger than history will allow.

J. POSADAS

December, 1963.

To be continued in the next issue of Red Flag

VIVA THE STRIKE OF THE SPANISH WORKERS!

FOR A EUROPEAN STRIKE OF SOLIDARITY TO BRING DOWN THE FRANCO REGIME

URUGUAY

Resolution adopted by the National Convention of Workers, and sent to the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Montevideo, 26 May 70

Senor Director of the International Labour Organisation
Geneva, Switzerland

We demand the urgent intervention of the ILO before the wave of tortures and murders committed by the police of Brazil.

Previously the bankworkers leader Salvador Toledano was murdered (in February), and recently the militant of the chemical sector of San Andres (Sao Paulo) Olavo Hansen was murdered. The latter was detained by the political police (DOPS), after participating at a meeting authorised by the dictatorship itself on the 1st of May, and some days afterwards his corpse appeared with multiple signs of torture.

We believe that the ILO must demand of those who took and occupy power in Brazil, to respect, and carry out the rules and agreements which, at the level of the United Nations, and of the ILO, they have signed.

To allow this brutal situation to continue, violating the most elementary human and trade union rights, without an active intervention of the ILO, will cause irreparable damage to the ILO, and will definitely put in question the very reason for being the International Labour Organisation. Faced with the possibility of a manoeuvre of the dictatorships delegates at the next Geneva meeting, trying to use the usual subterfuge of speaking of 'subversion' the Uruguayan workers delegate will bring documents proving this denunciation and demand.

National Convention of Workers of Uruguay (CNT)

Declaration by 20 intellectuals, artists, and film makers.

Declaration by the Christian Democrat Party.

Declaration by the CNT, CSEU, the Young Communists, the Bank Workers, FEU (students union).

In the last days we have heard of the arrest of the Argentinian citizen Hugo Miguel Moreno, who is now in the hands of the police, after having spent several weeks in a military hospital, where he was sent after having been tortured, when he was first arrested.

We have heard that all the militants arrested have been tortured in the most barbarous way. It is necessary to intensify the campaign for their safety and release, sending telegrams and resolution to the Brazilian Embassy 32 Green St. W.1., and to President Medici in Brazilia.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG**



Special
Labour Party
Conference
Edition

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 121 29th SEPTEMBER 1970

The Labour Party must impel the struggle for power with the adoption of the Socialist Programme and the perspective of a General Strike to impose all the immediate demands of the masses

This conference is taking place when the civil war in Jordan focuses world attention on the triumphant struggles of the world masses to be free from every form of feudal and capitalist oppression. Now a soviet has been formed at Irbid, and the forces of the Syrian Workers State have intervened to help the guerrillas. Hussein has desperately made a last throw in the interests of his feudal regime and imperialism and is failing. The conflict has again brought into focus the necessity of the final encounter between the forces of human progress, that is socialism, and the forces of reaction and capitalism. Dr. Habash of the PFLP has said that the guerrillas want a socialist Palestine even at the cost of the third world war. It is in the shadow of these great events that the Labour Party is meeting. The cadres of the Labour Party have to fulfill their responsibilities as part of the world advance to socialism.

The conference could hardly take place in more favourable circumstances from the point of view of the advance of the world socialist revolution. No longer is the advance of this process obscure and tortuous. The international weight of the world revolution plays now a decisive role in sustaining and impelling the revolutionary vanguard, and the struggles of the masses to take power in Britain. In a limited, but decisive way, the attitude of the working class showed itself in the recent conference of the TUC. This conference was in effect a declaration of war against capitalism by the working class. It rejected all the policies, which capitalism wished to impose, and it provides no means of conciliation for capitalism. The bourgeoisie have tried to ridicule it by saying that everyone said the same thing, and there was nothing new, but in effect capitalism has been confronted with a united front of the masses which it cannot break nor comprehend. Certainly a coherent discussion of a revolutionary alternative programme was absent from the TUC, but the will to organise united opposition to capitalism was very much in evidence. Such a conference, which after all is a conference of the trade union apparatus is only a small reflection of the weight and struggle of the masses, and even so the rejection of capitalist policies was unequivocal.

The new revolutionary leadership, which is necessary in the Labour Party, can lean on the whole world process, and the struggles of the British masses. The TUC Conference confirms the process of centralisation of the masses around their organisations, the desire of the masses to continue to use and control these organisations, however much they are affected by bureaucratic and routinist functioning. The trade unions by their position as the base of the Labour Party inevitably are going to impel the left elements more and more, to push aside the pro-capitalist elements in the leadership of the Labour Party. The clash between the interests of these people and the interests of the masses, who wish to make of the Labour Party—and are in process of making—a

weapon to take power, is reaching a critical stage, and it is necessary for the left in the L. P. quite fearlessly to take the initiative against them, leaning not just on this or that constituency party, but on the struggles of the masses as a whole—this is the source of strength of the leadership, which has to be formed in the Labour Party. Already in limited ways the masses feel changes have been made. The L. P. and unions are responding more to their wishes. The Miners Union has to support in a militant way the demands of its members. A discussion has started in the L. P. and the clock cannot be put back. And the discussion has to be extended not only calling for a socialist programme, but revolutionary methods to match this programme.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS FOR THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY

From the point of view of the international basis for the development of a new revolutionary team in the Labour Party, it is necessary to take account all the time of the new relationship of forces, which exist between the Soviet bureaucracy in particular, and the Workers States, and the new relationship existing between the Workers States and the world revolution. The programme of nationalisations, and the total planning of the economy, which finds expression in clause 4 of the L.P. constitution, and which has been maintained there as the result of the struggles of the workers, finds a solid basis of support in the world wide process of nationalisations, and the establishment of Revolutionary States such as Peru and Bolivia, lead to a condition where the normal cycle of capitalist reproduction and accumulation is interfered with, to such an extent that the state becomes one transitional between a capitalist and a Workers State. Now we see the unusual condition of a government actually elected on a socialist programme in Chile. Whatever the succession of events there, it is clear that such a programme elected on a mass basis is the true historic current of our time:—nationalisations, planning of the whole economy in the interests of the masses. But it has to be pointed out—particularly in view of the discussions that are taking place in the Labour Party, Tribune etc. that the process in Chile has only begun. A parliamentary victory is only a prelude to the extra-parliamentary struggle of the masses to impose their will—which is why the pro-Allende (Allende was the Marxist presidential candidate) committees have to be continued and extended to impel the process to smash the state apparatus, and establish the organisms to construct the Workers State.

Together with this process there has line apparent in the position of the Soviet to be taken into account the change of bureaucracy. Whereas in relation to the

Cuban missile crisis, the bureaucracy capitulated in front of the imperialists, today the Soviet bureaucracy goes along with a "peace" arrangement, disadvantageous to Israel, but send the SAM missiles into Egypt, so that when the hostilities recommence, an even greater weight of the Workers States will be thrown against Israel. The bureaucracy has been forced to sustain the guerrilla movement although at one stage it was denounced as "Trotskyist". And it will not be able to confront the consequences of the Soviet functioning at Irbid. If it makes an arrangement with West Germany to profit from inter-capitalist contradictions, at the same time its fleet enters all the oceans, and the Soviet military speak of the victory of communism after the nuclear war. The postponement of the Soviet Party Congress is only a delay in the profounder crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, as the party and military wings enter into conflict with the technocrat sectors, whose tendency is to dismantle the centralised planning in favour of autonomous enterprises, and the criterion of profitability. The intervention of the Soviet bureaucracy against Hungary was counter revolutionary, the intervention against Czechoslovakia was reactionary in its methods, but directed at the right wing. The fact that Nasser attended a meeting of the central committee of the central committee of the CPSU, and that the Soviet bureaucracy diminishes its attacks on China, all confirm the line of the Moscow Conference, the appeal for the united anti-imperialist anti-capitalist front. Brezhnev's line is now one of armed "peaceful" co-existence. It is still a left opportunism, it still, as in Europe subjects the interests of the European revolution to the manoeuvres of diplomatic advantage, but the bureaucracy can no longer betray. The political revolution is a necessity in the Workers States, but it is going to take place in a situation where the bureaucracy has lost the united front of its different sectors, it has lost its apparently monolithic character and is in a profound process of disintegration, and the greater capacity of the Soviet proletariat to respond to this situation can be seen in the fact that the dockers strike in Britain was supported by the Soviet dockers, an unheard of event since the onset of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union.

Within the capitalist camp only confusion and defeatism prevail. Imperialism has proved unable to smash the masses of Vietnam or the Middle East.

THE NECESSITY TO OVERCOME THE INERTIA IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE INJECTION OF MARXISM INTO THE LIFE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

At the moment of writing the level of discussion in the Labour Party is limited and does not correspond to the revolutionary level and spirit of the vanguard workers, who defy capitalism and ignore the interests of its functioning. Nonetheless a line of advance can be observed principally at the moment on the part of the unions and some M.P.'s. In a recent speech at a meeting organised by "Tribune", Jack Jones of the T.G.W.U., although saying now was not the time for the general strike, said that in the future there could be mass demonstrations on working days, implying a general strike. He spoke of the need to struggle for a national minimum wage of £20 a week, the need to revitalise the Labour Party. And this was echoed by Daly who spoke of the need for the Socialist Programme etc. The demand of the TUC for the "opening of the books" is also of

All the capitalist states are marked by political and social instability, complicated now more and more by economic crises and by the vast expenditure needed to sustain the war machine. It is only necessary to regard the regimes of Franco Spain or of the centre left government in Italy, or the paralysed Pompidou regime in France, or the meandering government of Heath in England, to see that capitalism whatever its acts of brutality and repression is objectively weak, and lacking in the social strength to subdue the workers and petit bourgeois masses, who reject capitalist society. It is on the basis of assimilating the nature of the victorious course of the world revolution that it is possible for the left leadership, which has to emerge in the Labour Party, to find the confidence, to reject all the policies of the right wing and conduct a policy to lead the masses to take power on the basis of revolutionary struggles.

Within Britain the blow delivered to the right wing of the Labour Party by the abstentions of the vanguard has caused, as can be seen from the resolutions for the L.P. Conference, the discussions in "Tribune" etc., a profound discussion on the way forward in Britain to overthrow capitalism. During the elections the only issue, which both party leaderships discussed was the question of the economy; certainly the stagnation of British capitalism is notorious, and the increasing inability of capitalism to satisfy the needs of the masses becomes more and more apparent, but the real crisis is not economic. The huge wage claims, the lack of interest in the capitalist economy, the way in which the workers throw out union officials, whose conciliations they reject, the civil war in Northern Ireland, are all symptoms not of some economic problem for capitalism, but of a desire on the part of the masses to be liberated totally from the wage slavery of capitalism, the desire to take power. This is a world wide desire, and in Europe it has received its most graphic illustrations from three events—the French revolutionary general strike of May 1968, the hot autumn of 1969 in Italy and the civil war in Northern Ireland spread over the last two years. So long as discussions in the left of the Labour Party are conducted on the level of "economic" problems only, or are detached from a clear view of the international context of these problems then the construction of the leadership is so much the slower.

the highest significance—at the moment it is a Trotskyist demand, deprived of its accompanying revolutionary methods, but it shows the inevitable line of march of the process. At the same time, the Labour Party has had to organise a demonstration in favour of the banning of arms to South Africa, and has intervened in support of workers resistance to the Franco regime in Spain aiding the Socialist Party. The fact that someone relatively remote from the vanguard of the Labour Party, such as Wedgewood Benn speaks of the need for "workers control" however eccentric his understanding of the process, underwrites the force in the Labour Party for fundamental changes in programme and methods. In the Young Socialists the level of discussion has reached the full acceptance of the programme of the IV International—although this is not acknowledged as such—but

The Labour Party...

as in the Labour Party a new leadership is required, which is prepared to apply the programme, which means the acceptance of the revolutionary methods and perspectives, and the selection of the revolutionary cadre on the basis of this acceptance.

Without question the outcome of the TUC Conference together with the discussions, which are going to take place at this conference are going to impel in a decisive way the formation of the new leadership in the Labour Party. The pressure to mobilise the masses directly, to impel demonstrations, to support programmes of nationalisations, to place events in Britain and Ireland within a world background, is going to show itself in various ways, and this is going to create the conditions for an improved relationship between the Labour Party and the masses. In the past the prevailing conditions of inertia have allowed a rightist leadership to ignore a leftist conference, now the conditions are different, the lethal blow delivered by the vanguard in the elections make it possible for the conference of the Labour Party to ignore its bourgeois leaders.

Two aspects of the life of the Labour Party need to be developed, the interior political life, and the external relationship with the masses. They are interdependent, it is necessary that the means are open for the life of the masses to flow into the L.P., and for the organisms of the L.P. to respond to this with a marxist understanding. We appeal to this conference to take steps to remedy the lack of political life in the L.P. This can be met by the elevation of the programme, which we pose below, but together with this, we propose the reorganisation of political education throughout the party, so that marxist texts are discussed. And apart from the classics of Marxism "State and Revolution" by Lenin, "Permanent Revolution" and "Revolution Betrayed" by Trotsky etc.—we appeal particularly for a study of the texts of Posadas and the IS on all aspects of the world situation—"Soviets and Communes" "From Nationalism to the Workers State", the Role of Vietnam as

the centraliser of the world masses, the documents on the French Revolutionary General Strike, the Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia; 'Interior Entrism' in the Workers States and Communist Parties etc. And we appeal so that movements who wish to impel the L.P., such as the CP or the IV International are allowed to work in the Labour Party as genuine tendencies. And as a result, with a superior, more dynamic comprehension of the objectives of socialism, the trades councils, constituency parties, will be enabled to conduct a more dynamic intervention in the activity of the masses. These are the only ways to overcome the sluggardly political life in the L.P., to begin to make it an adequate weapon by which the masses can take power. And the left by appealing to the masses, by leaning on the masses can see to it that all Socialist decisions taken by Conference are acted upon. A decided and resolute left leadership cannot be stopped by the right, because in effect this right wing was prostrated by the conscious decision of the vanguard to abstain in the elections. And we also appeal for the revolutionary left to impel whatever currents and forces exist in the Second International to take up direct positions of support for the world socialist revolution and the anti-capitalist programme. We appeal for the United Front between ourselves the IV International, the C.P. and the L.P. Already in Italy and in France, a close united front exists between ourselves and the cadres and leadership of the C.P. The French C.P. traditionally one of the most Stalinist in Europe has called for mass meetings on a national scale in which all subjects can be discussed without restraint—in other words the inner life and structure of the C.P. is changing allowing the revolutionary currents to breathe and develop. In Italy our comrades are applauded at mass C.P. meetings and asked to attend cadre schools etc. We are welcomed as the "real communists".

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST CONCENTRATE AND LEAD THE FORCES OF THE MASSES WHO ARE SEEKING TO TAKE POWER

The situation for capitalism is disastrous in this country. A confrontation is preparing for which capitalism is wholly unprepared. It has lost the authority which it once possessed over the petit bourgeois sectors—teachers, bank clerks, local government officials, and it is faced with a confident and aggressive proletariat, who will not endure the rationalisation of the economy, the price inflation, the super exploitation stemming from the introduction of automation. Without doubt there are going to be divisions of opinion within the Tory Party, because neither "hard" or "soft" lines are going to be effective in this stage of history. Capitalism is paralysed, which does not mean that it will not try to utilise repressive measures. Already in Ireland it has shown what it intends, but Ireland has also shown the total failure of repression, the fact that the masses responded with organisms of dual power, and the decomposition of the Unionist Party. And how can capitalism intimidate the massive concentrations of the British proletariat? It can attempt to intimidate the students, it can attempt to intimidate particular pickets, but it has no social support, which can overpower the proletariat. Moreover, it cannot lean on world relations of forces favourable to capitalism. It has been unable to stem the revolutionary tide in Libya, S. Yemen etc.

THE DOCKERS STRIKE AND THE SHARPENING OF THE CIVIL WAR IN N. IRELAND ARE THE IMMEDIATE REPLY OF THE MASSES TO THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

We are publishing this short article from "LOTTA OPERAIA" the paper of the Italian Section of the IV International, because it gives a very rich analysis of the situation in Britain, and because it shows the role and capacity of the IV International in generalising the most elevated experiences of the world proletariat, and in organising international solidarity.

The British dockers strike is an aspect of the masses struggle in Great Britain against the Government and the capitalist system. The dockers are striking at a moment in which the capitalist government is led by the conservatives, which means a strike against the Conservatives. The British dockers haven't had a strike of such importance for 44 years. In the conditions of crisis of British capitalism up to the recent defeat of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party the working class is showing that it doesn't feel crushed. This is the analysis 'L'Unita' (The daily paper of the Italian CP) has to make; that the election results are not reflected in the number, but in the actions of the British working class, which force the Government to give in, to make concessions, as for example the unsuccessful imposition of the anti-strike laws which were an important part of the Conservatives' programme. The British dockers don't feel crushed by the electoral results. If they had been, they would not have had the force to call a national dockers strike. The working class's attitude is not just to struggle for wage demands, for a shorter working week, but is much more elevated. The dockers are demanding among other things the nationalisation of the docks, and this shows the real dual power existing in Britain. The ports are the basis for the trans-

porting of exports and imports into Britain. When workers strike, knowing this, it is because they feel strong and sure of themselves, it is the British proletariat's immediate answer to the conservative government. The dockers would not have been able to call a national strike without there being this climate within the British proletariat. This is the most eloquent demonstration that the British proletariat does not feel defeated. This is why the Government is restrained.

A sector of the Labour base has abstained to express its rejection and condemnation of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party. If the Government felt strong it would have been different, they would have launched the offensive imposing anti-strike laws. They are not doing this, because they are afraid of the working class's reaction, afraid of the proletariat responding with a general strike. English workers are demanding better conditions (the dockers are asking for £20 a week instead of the £11 they are getting now), which will destroy the economic plans of the Conservative Government, and at the same time they propose nationalisations. This is an indication of the prospects of struggles there are in Britain, and the development and elevation of the struggles towards civil war. The mobilisations of the masses in N. Ireland are part of

The development of the revolutionary left in the Labour Party, a new leadership, must take as its starting base, confidence in the international process as it is developing, and confidence to lean on the independent revolutionary activity of the masses. Struggles in the Labour Party, in the Conference of the party, only acquire significance, if they are constantly made to relate to the interests of the masses outside the Labour Party to the organisms of dual power of the masses, the factory committees, the workers area committees, ultimately soviets. The leadership must constantly call for these and orientate them at each stage of the

struggle. It is only by the Labour Party continuing with the policy of meetings and demonstrations (as begun with the South African demonstration) that it is going to be seen increasingly as an organising force, which responds to the needs and problems of the masses. The left of the L.P. must constantly intervene in all the great strike situations, not simply leaving the conduct of the issues to whatever union is concerned, but intervening as the party

On the basis of the preparation of the coal miners strike, we appeal to the revolutionary left in the Labour Party to impel the struggle for a general strike—unlimited if necessary—and accompanied by factory occupations for the following immediate demands:

FOR A 35 HOUR WEEK IN ALL INDUSTRIES.

ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ALL THE WAGE DEMANDS PUT FORWARD BY THE MINERS, RAILWAYMEN, PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ETC.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN NOW.

ABANDONMENT OF ALL ANTI-TRADE UNION LEGISLATION BY THE GOVERNMENT

FOR A FREE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE.

OPENING OF THE BOOKS OF ALL ENTERPRISES SO THAT THE RISE IN PRICES IS SUBJECT TO THE SCRUTINY OF WORKERS, SO THAT MANAGEMENT CAN NO LONGER MAKE ARBITRARY DECISIONS OVER EMPLOYMENT, HIRING AND FIRING ETC.

ALL WAGES AND PENSIONS TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING.

FOR A £20 A WEEK MINIMUM WAGE AND A GENERAL INCREASE IN PENSIONS SO THAT ALL PENSIONERS ARE GUARANTEED A REASONABLE STANDARD OF LIFE.

FACTORIES ABOUT TO BE CLOSED DOWN, TO BE NATIONALISED.

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE DOCKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. NO PRIVATE AIRLINE TO TAKE OVER ROUTES FROM THE STATE AIRLINES. WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BERNADETTE DEVLIN ETC.

And we appeal for the adoption of the anti-capitalist programme (already passed by the Labour Party Young Socialists) which includes such basic proposals as:

EXPROPRIATION OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES AND BANKS WITHOUT COMPENSATION, TO ENSURE A SOCIALIST PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY.

FOR AN IMMEDIATE ORGANISATION OF PUBLIC WORKS TO MEET PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND REGIONAL DECAY.

ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER WAGES.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE LAND AND ALL LARGE FARMS, COLLECTIVISATION OF AGRARIAN PRODUCTION.

EXPROPRIATION OF ROYAL PALACES, UNOCCUPIED BUILDINGS, LUXURY DWELLINGS ETC. TO MEET THE HOUSING SHORTAGE.

STATE MONOPOLY OF FOREIGN TRADE.

FOR A WORKER STUDENT TEACHER GOVERNMENT OF SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, FOR AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM INTEGRATED WITH THE NEEDS OF A WORKERS STATE, BASED ON THE TEACHING OF MARXISM.

FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE.

FOR A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

FULL SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB AND VIETNAMESE MASSES AGAINST AMERICAN AND ISRAELI IMPERIALISM, INCLUDING STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS ETC.

OUT OF N.A.T.O. LIQUIDATION OF POLARIS AND ROCKET BASES AND THEIR MEANS OF SUPPLY.

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE, AS PART OF A WORLD FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST STATES.

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN.

this process. If the N. Irish masses felt crushed, they would have beaten a retreat after the Conservative electoral victory, expecting to find less willingness from the Conservatives to meet their demands. But on the contrary, the struggle has elevated, because they feel existing an atmosphere of civil war, of struggle, of dual power both in England and in Ireland.

The dockers' strike and the facts of N. Ireland are showing the need for a new trade union and Labour Party leadership, a revolutionary leadership with an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme uniting the population with this programme, something the Labour Party leadership has not been able to do.

The fact that the Labour Party obtained 13 million votes indicates that it maintains its force. What it hasn't maintained has been its authority with the Proletarian vanguard, which abstained in the elections to show its rejection of the bourgeois conciliatory L. P. leadership as analysed by the resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International.

It is necessary to promote discussion on the need for a new Labour Party leadership as set down by the International leadership, and the texts of the British Section of the IV International in its organ "Red Flag".

We therefore appeal to the Italian Communist Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Party for Proletarian Unity, left wing Catholics, and the Italian Trade Unions to draw conclusions from this process towards civil war in England, and to discuss it within the Italian Workers Movement. This discussion is necessary in order to propose and carry out concrete actions of struggle in support of

British workers, and in this moment particularly the dockers. The resolutions of support published by the 3 trade unions are very important, but it is possible to go further with concrete action by Italian dockers, with assemblies, discussions, agendas in support of British dockers, delegations of Italian dockers taking with them solidarity on the basis of the struggle, entering into direct contact with them, speaking in their assemblies, with proposals for common action with dockers trade unions throughout Europe, in solidarity with British dockers, following the example of the Dutch and Danish dockers who refused to load and unload cargoes off British ships.

It is necessary to link these strikes with the movements in N. Ireland, and the need to construct the revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party, basing oneself for this work on the force coming from the revolutionary camp. The civil war in N. Ireland poses also the necessity of a united front between the trade unions and the movement, aiming at a united socialist Ireland, for the struggle in common with the Irish Republic, with Britain, with a programme of expropriations, nationalisations, workers control, the creation of organs of dual power in the districts and factories in support of a Socialist Ireland.

WITH A PROGRAMME WHICH PUTS IN FIRST PLACE—OUT WITH ENGLISH IMPERIALISM FROM IRELAND! OUT WITH THE BOURGEOISIE FROM IRELAND!

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TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG
FLAG**



Extract of a letter of the I.S. on the Rogers Plan

PAGE 2

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 122

10th October 1970

For a full discussion of the results of the Labour Party Conference in the factory & workers area meetings, the L.P., C.P. & T.U. Branches to stimulate the formation of a new leadership

IMPEL THE POLITICAL LIFE IN THE LABOUR PARTY ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AND METHODS

The Labour Party Conference has just taken place in the context of the extremely rapid elevation of the whole world revolution and the concentration of the forces of imperialism on the one hand, and the forces of the Workers States and the world masses on the other, for the final encounter, expressed most clearly in the Middle East situation. Before the Labour Party Conference took place the forces of imperialism, using Hussein, tried desperately to exterminate the guerrillas, but despite the intimidation of the sixth fleet, imperialism was unable to intervene directly for fear of the inevitable response from the Workers States. Brezhnev has underlined the fact that there will be no tolerance for imperialist aggression in the Middle East, and on the death of Nasser, Kosyguin and leaders of the Red Army hastened to Egypt to maintain and strengthen the relations between the Arab revolution and the Workers States. Objectively the tremendous demonstrations of the Egyptian masses at the funeral of Nasser, and the reaffirmation of the ties between the Workers States and the Arab revolution impede the efforts of imperialism to encourage pro capitalist sectors in Egypt and elsewhere, who would like to contain the struggle against Israel. The force of the guerrillas in defeating the plans of imperialism and Hussein, the lack of any serious possibility to secure a period of peaceful co-existence in the Middle East means inevitably whatever the complexities in the process, an elevation of the programme of the guerrilla movement and a deepening of the discussion of the way forward in the Middle East to find the leadership and the programme, which corresponds to the needs of the masses. The present teams of Ghadafi, Numeiry, Nasser himself advanced in their attacks on Hussein, and their defence of the guerrillas, but the whole recent experience in the fighting in Jordan has raised the profoundest questions on the need for a socialist programme and policy to unite all the masses of the Middle East, to eject imperialism and its allies, feudal and capitalist throughout the region. It is noteworthy that in comparison with all the heroic and confident struggles of the guerrillas, indeed of their base, the Jordan masses—despite criminal lack of full support from the Soviet Union and states such as Iraq and Syria—imperialism behaved in a panicky and decentralised manner. France looks after her own capitalist interests and refuses to support projects of intervention in the Middle East—French capitalism wishes to defend its own political and commercial interests there, and Britain similarly shows no enthusiasm to intervene directly in the Middle East. As for Yankee imperialism, Nixon moves from country to country, like a hunted criminal, not daring to face the masses in any country save Spain—and there he took shelter with Franco, and his decomposing regime, pretending to find reliable support for American policy.

Nowhere do the Imperialists gain ground, and now in the heart of British capitalism, one of the last centres of capitalist authority, the Labour Party Conference has delivered a powerful blow against capitalism, and opened the way for a tremendous advance by the revolutionary vanguard in this country, in the transformation of the Labour Party into an adequate instrument, by which the masses can take power, and an elevation of the struggle for power throughout Europe. It is a conquest of the masses which is the direct result of the conscious blow delivered by the vanguard against the bourgeois leadership in the Labour Party when they abstained in the last elections. (see the article of the IS of the IV International on the results of the last elections No 115 Red Flag). As with the Trades Union Congress, the bourgeoisie have tried to play down the consequences of the Labour Party Conference. They have tried to dismiss the resolutions which demanded that the party leadership submit to the wishes of conference, and the total rejection of the

incomes policy as merely inevitable consequences of defeat in the elections. But they cannot conceal their alarm at the militancy of the trade unions, and the obvious weakness of the Wilson team in face of the new struggles in the Labour Party. They have a nostalgia for the period of Gaitskell, who for a period was able to defy the vanguard of the Labour Party (and even he was forced to abandon his efforts to remove clause 4 from the LP constitution). There is no possibility of any retreat on the level of discussion now reached in the Labour Party—whatever the particular problems of constructing the new leadership in the LP, improving the relations with the masses etc., a level has been reached on which advances are going to be made, not retreats. All the pressures of the world revolution are going to accelerate, and mature the development of the new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

As has been analysed by Posadas and the IS of the IV International, in the present stage of the search for a new

leadership in the existing mass organisations of the class, the communist and socialist parties, a fundamental role is played by the unions as a stimulus to the political parties. As a result of lack of political life, lack of marxist understanding, previous defeats, bourgeois leaderships etc. frequently the political party does not reflect in depth the will, understanding and resolution of the workers vanguard. On the other hand the workers have impelled and felt able to impel major unions to defend their interests, because factory struggles are more amenable to their pressure. Thus over a whole period the workers have impelled leaderships in the principal unions; Engineers, Transport Workers, Miners etc., to take up advanced positions, which at this years Labour Conference resulted in a shattering defeat for the bourgeois leadership. Not only was that leadership forced to swallow resolutions, which demanded adherence to the decisions of Conference, and the rejection of incomes policy, but had to put up with a resolution, which called upon the whole Labour Movement to give "full support" to the trade unions as they face the coming struggles. Such a generalised resolution inevitably poses the question what is meant by "full support"? But, however general and undefined the resolution, it shows categorically the line of advance, the imperative necessity for a co-ordinated planning of action, so that the industrial struggles are harnessed to unambiguous political and social objectives. It stimulates discussion as to the necessity for a general strike and further questions on how is power actually to be wrested from the bourgeoisie, the necessity to see electoral struggle as only a weapon in a much more profound struggle to take power from the bourgeoisie. The great importance of the role of the unions in the Conference was shown not only by the various resolutions that were put forward, but by the strongly worded interventions particularly from Scanlon and Jack Jones. The former made it quite clear that the only incomes policy that the engineers were interested in was one founded on the basis of the workers owning the "means of production, distribution and exchange", and Jack Jones approached the whole question of the in-

tervention of the masses in the organisation of society by making reference to terms such as "shop stewards of the streets" and "peoples' democracy". Such observations are very generalised, and do not tend to organise the masses, but their tendency is clear, and acts as an encouragement to the vanguard to redouble their efforts to really dominate the Labour Party and utilise it as the means to take power. The shadow of proletarian democracy lies behind remarks such as these—the need for regularly held factory and workers area committees and mass assemblies to discuss all the issues facing the masses, the need for Labour Party meetings to become centres of mass discussion, so that the party begins to be a real part of the life of the masses, so that it responds to their needs.

Although the weight of the most powerful unions was particularly impressive at this conference, the role of the left MPs was also important. Stan Orme stressed the importance of co-ordinating parliamentary and extra parliamentary action in relation to the coal miners' strike, Mikardo emphasised the importance of the need for the party to have a programme of fundamental nationalisations, making the point that the LP won the election after World War 2 on a programme of nationalisations. Demands were specifically put forward for nationalisations of the banks and the car industry. In the case of renationalising industries, one speaker made the point that compensation should not be paid.

Naturally there were obvious limitations in this conference; the mood of the conference was in many ways not reflected adequately in the various voting figures, but it has to be remembered that the delegates are selected some time before the conference, and particularly in the constituency parties the new mood has not shown itself adequately. But the overall qualitative leap made in this conference is going to have a great impact on the constituency parties and promote the development of the revolutionary tendency. Some important resolutions were rejected, those calling for the public ownership of the monopolies, free public transport, release of all political prisoners

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Campaign for the release of Claudio V. Cavalcanti,
Dr. Primo Brandmiller, Iran Rodrigues, Antonio
C de Souza, Tullo Vigevani and Maria de Sodorro
de Vigevani, imprisoned in Brazil

The impossibility of carrying out the Rogers Plan and the Programme of Advance of the Arab Revolution

Introduction

All the developments in the Middle East, which have occurred since the signing of the Roger's Peace Plan, bear out the analysis, which has been made by the I.S. of the IV International in the letter which we publish below. The agreement by Nasser to a cease fire was not a counter revolutionary act, because it was imperialism, which had to make the biggest concessions, and because Egypt and the Soviet Union have used it to strengthen the system of Sam 3 and Sam 2 missile bases along the Suez Canal. It was as the International analysed, an expression of the "left opportunism" of the Soviet bureaucracy

and of Nasser. Imperialism was prepared to make concessions, because it could see that the war was stimulating the advance of revolutionary currents throughout the Middle East, and it wanted to put a stop to this. The letter analyses that the war would break out again within three months, if not with Israel, then in an internal form, and this is precisely what we have seen with the civil war in Jordan.

Soon after the cease fire agreement came the hijackings, a tremendous display of the organisational ability by the guerrillas. This is not the best way to push the struggle in the Middle East forward,

a better way would have been to make an appeal to all the Arab Trade Unions, to the European Trade Union centres and workers parties to support the guerrillas with general strikes. But nevertheless we support the actions of the guerrillas in the hijackings as a legitimate action in their struggle against imperialism in the Middle East. A resolution of the I.S. of the IV International will appear in the next issue of Red Flag specifically on the hijackings. After the hijackings came the organisation by the guerrillas of the Irbid "soviet", which in turn was the final straw for Hussein, who, encouraged by imperialism, launched his army to try to smash the guerrillas. He thought he could smash the guerrillas in 48 hours, but after 6 days of fighting still his army was not even in control of the centre of Amman. Hussein is left with a divided army, and in control only of certain areas of his country. He will never smash the spirit of the masses of Jordan and the guerrillas. All this has been foreseen by documents of Posadas after the 6 Day War and later documents.

The role, which Nasser played in this, the setting up of the Arab summit meeting and arranging cease fire talks between Arafat and Hussein showed the conciliatory side to his manoeuvres, showed that he did not have sufficient confidence in the masses, and in the guerrillas to support them fully, and to go forward to the overthrow of Hussein. But this attitude was not shared by the Egyptian

and Arab masses, who used his funeral as an opportunity for one of the biggest mobilisations ever seen in the Middle East. From the tremendous demonstration on the day of his funeral in Egypt, to the almost solid general strike in the Lebanon, and the strikes and demonstrations in the occupied territory, the spirit of the masses was not one of sorrow, but one of aggressivity towards Israel and imperialism. The masses were not mourning saying "Nasser is dead what shall we do?" But "Nasser is dead, look out Dyan, we are all Nassers".

Nasser has played a progressive role in spite of his hesitations and conciliations, he has responded in general to the pressure of the masses, and has advanced under this pressure against the Egyptian bourgeoisie and imperialism. But now his death means the removal of a moderating influence on the Arab revolution, for whoever comes now will not have his authority. The concern of the Soviet Union that Nasser's successor should carry on the same line of alliance with the Soviet Workers State was shown by the powerful Soviet presence at Nasser's funeral, and it is this line, which is going to be asserted. All the events of the last week, the civil war in Jordan, the death and the funeral of Nasser, have shown that the Roger's peace plan has completely failed, and that the advance of the process of the construction of the revolutionary leadership of the Middle East is going on despite the cease fire.

(Extracts of a letter from the International Secretariat of the IV International)

The agreement between the Yankees and the Soviets expressed in the Rogers plan is a compromise. But it is a compromise that goes against imperialism, only being the lesser evil for imperialism. It is a bad thing for imperialism, and not for the revolution. It is a blow against imperialism, because the plan means that imperialism has to make concessions to try to contain the revolution in the Middle East.

But the revolution cannot be contained any more. Before three months have gone by, there will be war again in the Middle East. Even if the war against Israel is not re-initiated, because the compromise could last some time, the internal war will develop. The class war will go on between the tendencies that wish to advance gradually in the field of socialist measures, those in the bourgeois camp, that would like to profit from an alliance with Nasser, and other tendencies that have already realised that the solution lies in the socialist field, and want to take revolutionary socialist measures.

There exists in the Middle East a revolutionary and socialist left tendency, dispersed amongst about 20 groups and organisations, but all of which are to be found in the socialist camp, and which adopt a socialist point of view, not merely seeing the solution in Arab Muslim liberation, but in liberation from the capitalist system. This tendency puts the accent not on the problem of Muslim liberation, but on liberation from the capitalist system. It is not centred in Al Fatah, or any other of the groups, but in sectors—small in their form—that are in the midst of action in Jordan. They have appeared as a consequence of the war, which opened up possibilities to them, and freedom of action, and Nasser has not been able to prevent their appearance or their activity. On the contrary, he needs them to justify the war.

The compromise that Nasser has just made with the Soviets brings a great deal more to the Arab revolution than the compromise reached with the Yankees. The Soviet bureaucracy has accepted the Rogers plan in an effort to contain a process that is leading it into the war. Out of the bureaucracy and the Yankees it is the Yankees, who have had to make, and must make the greater sacrifices. This plan is not a defeat for the Arab world; it is a concession, which contains the Arab revolution, but it is not a defeat. It is the Israelis and imperialism, which have been defeated, and for this reason it must be expected that the war will break out again at any moment.

The struggle must not be merely armed struggle. It must be a struggle for a programme. It must be shown that Al Fatah and the other organisations need to appeal for the struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. This would gain an immense echo. It is true that arms are needed from the military point of view, so that the Palestinians can break their isolation. This compromise could mean their isolation, but neither the Soviets, nor Nasser can hand them over to the Israelis, repress them or dissolve the guerrilla organisations. That would provoke tremendous internal struggles, and stir up the sentiments of the entire Arab masses.

Thus it is necessary to be prepared for a programmatic, political and military struggle; not solely a military one, but a political and programmatic one, which will show that to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the Arab peoples, and for them to develop and progress, it is necessary to struggle to smash the imperialist army in Israel with the aim of making it possible for the Arab masses to live with the Israeli masses under a form of self-determination. But at the same time the struggle must be to liquidate the capitalist system in the Arab world.

The Soviets have to make the concession of containing the socialist revolution, but by keeping up the revolutionary struggle against imperialism—the revolutionary struggle with arms in hand. The plan is intended to gain positions from imperialism through a conciliation, which means a momentary detention of the war, but the war goes on nevertheless. This only limits and postpones the struggle.

The left groups that want to keep up the armed struggle against Israel are expressing their distrust of the compromise, because they feel that the big pro-capitalist sectors and the capitalist sectors, like Kuwait and N. Yemen, can see that socialist inclined tendencies, but which remain allied to capitalism, like the Nasser tendency, have an interest in containing the development of the socialist revolution. Countries like Iraq, Syria, Algeria, and South Yemen, and the Palestinians, which are more directly influenced by socialist tendencies, resent the compromise, for it goes against them: according to the plan Israel will continue to exist at their expense, and with the territory of some of them, even if the Roger plan does provide for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

There already exists a tendency in the Arab revolution that wants to go much further. It is necessary to intervene in the struggle: the programmatic, political and armed struggles. To win this tendency must gain support and authority in the Arab countries by appealing for a programmatic discussion about the solution of the situation in which whilst Israel exists, imperialism will exist. The solution lies in the programme and the organisation of the socialist revolution throughout the Arab world.

31st August, 1970

RED FLAG

supplements

by CDE. J. POSADAS

- THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS, THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYISTS, THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS DURING AND AFTER THE NUCLEAR WAR APRIL 1965
- FROM THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE FEB 1966
- THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER FEB 1966
- THE STRUCTURE AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL MARCH 1966
- FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE MAY 1968
- THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL OCT 1968
- THE STUDY OF THE TEXTS OF OUR MASTERS, MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY, THE APPLICATION OF THE MARXIST METHOD AND MARXISM TODAY OCT 1968
- All obtainable by post from
IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St. W.C.2.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

J. POSADAS
Dec 63

(Concluding Part)

It is no longer the problems of the phenomenology of the spirit, of the conscience that occupy us. They also have been resolved. Humanity has already passed the stage, where it was dominated by the forces of nature. Today it dominates them. It is in this way that today it can

make of water, wind, hurricane, the forces of production. Thus in a short while, when capitalism is eliminated (at the cost of the atomic war) humanity will not start from zero, but will start off from all the acquired knowledge.

THE ATOMIC WAR

The most important conclusion of the Marxist conception of existence does not refer solely to the class struggle, to the construction of socialism, but to the assurance of society, and of the human being in himself. The continuity of the historical thought of humanity is centred in the already proved surety that it can dominate nature. Class society has been able to develop thanks to an essential principle: it has had to seek to conquer the contradiction between the need to feed itself and the possibility of doing it, the lack of food due to the lack of knowledge, the limitation of the human being in relation to nature. Today this is eliminated.

The atomic war is going to destroy a very important part of the development of humanity, but it will not destroy its confidence in itself. There we see the most important aspect of historical continuity. The machines can be remade, but what cannot be destroyed, is the historical security accumulated by means of thought.

Human thought has been shown to be the most perfect and complete organ; and this cannot be destroyed. This is why capitalism trembles. When the bureaucrat wants to terrorise capitalism, it says—as Khrushchev has just done—"The war is the end of capitalism". But when he wants to contain the masses and the revolution, he says "The war is the end of humanity". That is to say the bureaucracy uses the slogans according to its needs. And this idiot believes that he is going to win, because he uses such and such a slogan. For a long time the masses of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America have lived in conditions of the nuclear war. In Africa the annual revenue per inhabitant is 15 dollars, when it is 2500 in the United States! These masses are continually tortured, beaten, oppressed under the most inhuman forms, which one can imagine, and in spite of this they daily defeat capitalism.

They are not frightened of the nuclear war, and for this reason the conservation of humanity is assured whatever be the sinister intentions of imperialism, whatever be the number of inhabitants who remain. There will be many, and this humanity will recuperate in a short time, the time, which has been lost. It is not a question of a price to pay. If to prevent the nuclear war, and pass to socialism, it was necessary to wait for 30 or 40 years, we would do it. But this is impossible, for capitalism has no other solution than the war.

The fundamental conception of Marxism, which is the synthesis of all the class and revolutionary struggle, starts from the fact, that the behaviour of the humanity, is measured in relation to classes, their interests and their historical solutions. The historic proof of this conception is indestructible. All those who speak of Marxism today—the Chinese as much as the Soviets—determine the plans of imperialism not in relation to a historical class society, but their own possibility of preventing that imperialism accomplish its class needs, and this with all the means, which they have at their disposal, their atomic weapons, their structure, their leadership etc.

THE PREVENTIVE WAR AND CULTURE

Consequently we say that in this historic world stage, the correct policy, the correct historical solution, the least damaging for humanity is the preventive war. In a certain way the Chinese understand this, but their theoretical confusion is very great. They lack confidence and assurance. When they say that it is necessary to support the colonial revolution unconditionally, even if it means the atomic war, they are only in part applying our line, which is the following:

We do not say solely that it is necessary "to support the colonial revolution" but that "it is necessary to intervene in the colonial revolution". We say that the

In referring in the opening speech of this school to the development of the International in Europe, we have shown that it was not necessary for this process to pass through all the stages, which we have known in Latin America. I have shown in this sense the aspect concerning the maturing of the revolutionary struggles in Europe and in the world, without referring to the principal thing, which is the construction of the sections in Europe, Asia, Africa as already making a part of the experience, the maturing of a leadership on the basis of which our sections are developing and will develop. It is in this process that the revolution continues to mature and elevate.

The present situation in the Workers States is different. The comprehension, the application of the fundamental problems of Marxism today is above all the understanding of the the organisation of action, of forces, to put down what remains of capitalism, to develop the cadres, the masses, the organs, to develop the Workers States towards socialism. These are the fundamental problems of Marxism in this stage.

The relationship masses - society - leadership - revolution - atomic war is made up of elements united between themselves, and of which none can be eliminated or evaded. This is a fundamental problem of Marxism today. Society cannot advance anymore either in its scientific knowledge, nor in its social knowledge, if it does not resolve the problem capitalism-socialism. 80% of the energy, of the intelligence, of the richness, of human thought are utilised for the organisation of the forces of destruction of humanity. On the side of capitalism the objective is to make human life retreat, on the side of the Workers States the objective is to defend itself. All this energy is lost.

If humanity does not advance more in the domination of nature, of science, of everything which exists, in the development of the productive forces, it is because it dedicates all its energy, all its strength to military objectives. There is not any scientific discovery in medicine or any other branch of science, which can be compared to what it being done in going to the moon. For this research does not reply today to any social need.

It is true that we do not criticise the Workers States for launching themselves towards such conquests; it is an expression of their scientific capacity; but this matters little to humanity. We approve of it, we defend it, to show the advance of the society of the Workers State. But the struggle, which is going to decide the historic solution, the final settlement of accounts, limits and will limit more and more the scientific, social, economic advances, be they in Soviet society, be they in the capitalist state. On the capitalist side, all the energies are concentrated to make an attack, and this limits consequently this state's own capacity to develop itself any more, even today. It can develop production, as it does for example in the United States.

In the Workers States, the biggest part of the energies are destined in preparation and defence from the world atomic war, which capitalism is preparing.

Chinese should intervene, that they call for the taking of power, that they give all their support to the struggle of the masses for power. And if the war breaks out in this process, it is necessary to take the initiative to destroy Yankee imperialism. This is not a problem of the respect of laws, but of what is best for the class. Nothing more. The solution will be like this in a short while.

The problems of marxism today start from a fundamental principle, which regulates all the others; humanity is going towards the final settlement of accounts. This is not a problem of the payment of a debt. It is going to signify immense

damage for humanity, but it is no more than the normal and common damage which capitalism causes daily in the entire world. It has no other way of surviving except through the atomic war; it has no other solution. Classes act in relation to their class interests, and they do not give up their place in history, because they have lost their right to it. Class society is an egoistical society. Private property signifies the complete annulling of human sentiments, and equally the loss of the human conception of existence.

Marx is often called the most complete humanist. This is not a correct definition, but an approximate one. In effect, all the calculations, the deductions, the intentions and works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, independently of their own existence, represented the interests of humanity. But they are not the only ones to have acted like this. They have reflected the best of humanity, without being an exception. Through their famous place in history, they have been able to reflect it best. But the millions of strikers, the millions of revolutionaries, who are the colonial and semi-colonial masses,

want to fight without expecting that someone gives them a post or a palace. They are impelled by their desire to improve their existence, without expecting individual recompense. They are impelled in the last instance to struggle through a sentiment of justice, of the progress of existence, to eliminate injustices. These sentiments give them the possibility of acting even without being immediately the beneficiaries of these actions.

Capitalism cannot act in this way, but acts directly linked to its class interests. Capitalist property has formed a type of human sentiments, a type of thinking directly linked to it. Life, existence depends on what it has or doesn't have, and for this reason Marx said that capital is inhuman. The laws are not made in relation to what is good or not for humanity, but to what is convenient to their interests. Such is the life of capitalism; its factories, its armaments etc. Apart from this it does not have any other.

There are simple examples of what capitalism is capable of doing, without still arriving at the atomic war. These swine, for example, poison bread, meat,
(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

in Northern Ireland; on the other hand resolutions were also passed calling for more "social ownership" and "greater public participation" in discussions, which affect the masses. However, unsatisfactory these abstract formulations, they still reflect the general tendency leftwards, and the fact that the defeated resolutions were nevertheless discussed, and have a strong base of support, shows that in the new relation of forces in the Labour Party it will be possible to construct a new leadership without the mass of obstacles of a previous period. The great limitation from the point of view of discussion and understanding was shown undoubtedly in relation to the world socialist revolution. Here there was no proper discussion of the situation in the Middle East—in order to progress it is necessary to be liberated from the incubus of the pro-Zionist confusionists in the Labour Party—and the result was a demand for a cease fire, which showed no socialist understanding of the issues involved whatsoever. And indeed the importance of the role of the world revolution in impelling the process in this country was not referred to.

The LP Conference marks a great step forward in the improvement of the conditions for the development of a revolutionary left, but there is still an immense need for greater theoretical and organisational clarity on all the issues facing the Labour Party. The adoption of a socialist programme and demands is not enough, it is necessary for any new team in the Labour Party to realise that revolutionary methods are necessary, to realise that power does not reside in Parliament, but in the state apparatus, and this has to be smashed, and this means the constant appeal for the construction of the mass organisms, factory committees, workers area committees, price committees, mass assemblies. Only a superior political understanding is going to lead to the confidence to fight the inertia in the LP, work openly in united front with other revolutionary tendencies, and lead to improved relations with the masses (it is a characteristic imprint of the LP that there is a separate women's section, a phenomenal example of backwardness) and this means essentially a superior understanding of all the course of the world socialist revolution.

There is now in this country quite clearly a new phase developing in the class struggle. It is a phase of fundamental class confrontation, in which the bourgeoisie to maintain their authority, and because they cannot afford any concessions to the masses are preparing to meet a general strike situation, hoping to gain time, to intimidate the unions, hoping to benefit from lack of co-ordination or lack of leadership among the masses. But capitalism is very weak nationally and internationally (the recent struggles of the Protestant masses against the army in Belfast is a new and funda-

mental blow at the Unionists in Northern Ireland). A co-ordinated general strike to support the basic wage claims of the masses, for a 35 hour week, demanding the opening of the books to investigate price rises, opposing all cuts in the social services, all wages and pensions to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for women now, abandonment of all anti trade union legislation, nationalisation of the docks under workers control, for a £20 a week minimum wage, no private airline to take over routes from state airlines, for free public transport, withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland, would have a tremendous value to unify the masses, throw capitalism into confusion, and perhaps open the way rapidly for the revolutionary general strike to overthrow capitalism, but for this to succeed will require the maturing of a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party with authority among the masses and with the capacity to appeal to and rely upon the support of the masses expressed in their organisms, factory committees etc.

The Wilson team are a row of political mummies; the conditions now exist for a leadership, which pursues a revolutionary line and ignores their posturings, but this can only be done by a team, which has great confidence in the masses, and in the course of history. We appeal for the revolutionary vanguard in the LP and the CP and the Unions to study the texts of marxism of today, the texts of Posadas and the IV International to help construct the revolutionary tendency and leadership in the Labour Party, to impel superior reciprocal relations between the Labour Party and the masses. The whole objective process in Great Britain goes towards a general strike, even if not immediately. The miners expect a full support from the workers if their demands are not met—the fact that Jack Jones of the TGWU goes to a meeting of the miners is indicative of the tendency towards unification of the mass struggles at this stage. Whatever the precise course of events, the final confrontation of the British masses with capitalism is on the agenda as part of the process of the final encounter between the world masses and the forces of socialism, and on the basis of yet another defeat for the bourgeois leadership at the Labour Party Conference, it is necessary that the development of the new revolutionary team in the Labour Party is accelerated.

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The Fundamental Problems of Marxism

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

milk, coffee every day. They poison humanity every day. There are collective deaths, collective poisonings of entire rivers, of entire populations. They poison the food that they sell to everyone; even without the atomic war. They have killed in ten years by adulterating food, by hunger, by repression, by bombardment of rebel villages more people than are going to die in the atomic war. A small calculation is enough to see it. China had 240 million people die under capitalist domination. In the course of the conquest of Latin America they killed 22 million natives in 80 years. They killed them by exploiting them.

These types have already shown in history that they are doing little for

humanity. Without property capitalism would not exist. Faced to these people, Pablo, Germain, Krushchev etc. unite and say; no, capitalism is frightened of the atomic war, because they themselves are going to disappear. It is absurd! This is to reason, not socially and historically, in relation to class interests, but in relation to falsely humanist sentiments.

This is all the philosophy of today. We invite those who study philosophy to study this; that they should go to speak with the peasants of Peru, of Bolivia, of Angola, of Congo etc., When they ask them, "What do you think of Hegel?" they are going to reply, "Ah, I don't know him. I have never seen him in my trade union, whereas on the other hand I saw Mao Tse Tung".

THE EXISTENCE OF THE WORKERS STATES IS THE BASE FOR THE TOTAL DOMINATION OF NATURE

In the struggle to eliminate the differentiation in distribution at the moment where the socialist society would have sufficient to distribute to all, one of the contradictions disappears, that is to say the bourgeois form of distribution. This is an elementary principle, which implies the negation of capitalism, but also the negation of the negation from the point of view that the proletariat ceases to exist. Today there still is a proletariat in the Soviet Union, and for that reason there are unions. All the theoretical learnedness of Khrushchev, and also Fidel Castro and Guevara on this subject are stupidities. We do not say that to insult them, but to qualify them, because they compromise the whole concept of socialism.

The single factor that the unions exist signifies the existence of an unequal distribution. Under socialism the unions would not be necessary. What function do they perform? The union has only one origin—as we have already said: capitalism and the struggle which follows for a better distribution of the national income. On that basis, the party organises the action for a better distribution, basing itself on the action of the unions to organise the struggle for the overthrowing of capitalism. In the Workers State the union has the same function: to struggle for a better distribution of the national income, but in a different way, which means the defence of the Workers State.

The analysis of this stage of the process of the transitional state to the socialist society, the principles have already been laid down by Trotsky, but we are in a different historical situation. Neither the objectives nor the principles have changed, but the tasks have, from the point of view that there is no longer a single Workers State but several. The existence of so many Workers States, even with an insufficient production, allows them to be planned in a manner which eliminates, at least in the essential aspects, the social and juridical consequences of an unequal distribution. It is possible to encourage the socialist forces of the Workers State so that they will be able, even without being able to suppress the bourgeois distribution, to weaken it, make it retreat, and allow in consequence a considerable advance of the Workers State, of the transitional society. That will make it possible to plan the advance towards socialism, better, with all the influence that that signifies for the rest of the world.

These are the general principles of the dialectical process; be it in society, be it in nature; with the difference that, in society there is a conscious intervention, organised by human beings at an infinitely superior level than in nature. In the last instance and on a world historic scale, with socialism installed on a world scale, the struggle would be between nature and human society, to the benefit of the latter. Society has already all the means of dominating nature. It dominates

the splitting of the atom, it can reconstitute matter, pass from the inorganic to the organic, reconstitute life, the human being. It is in a state of doing what it wants to do. There is no more the mystery attached to existence.

Already the social, historical and concrete bases exist to carry out all these tasks starting from the existence of the Workers States. The fetter is the bureaucracy. Capitalism is the natural enemy. The fetter presents itself as the leadership of the new society, this is what creates an enormous confusion in the masses of the Workers States, in the masses of the capitalist states. If nature is not yet completely dominated today, it is above all because the Workers States cannot exercise all their influence, all their force and authority, because of the bureaucratic fetters. Matter has ceased to be a mystery. The discussion on the material origin of existence and the material origin of movement is finished. Movement, dynamism, action, light, body, all that is dominated. It is constantly possible to transform matter into another form. There is no longer any physical principle which is not dominated. If this domination is not applied, it is only, because there is a lack of interest in the society of exploitation to push further the applicable sciences. The Workers States have this interest, but they are fettered by the action of the bureaucracy.

One day, when there were Yanks in Cochabamba, the peasants, who had sold their labour were going to buy radios to listen to Mao Tse Tung. In the shop they found the Yanks. They looked at them and asked the peasants: "What are you buying?" They replied: "Transistor radios". And the Yanks retorted: "But why aren't you buying food and clothes?" "What stupid people, they deprecate culture". And one of the peasants said to them: "You are wrong, we are very cultured, because the radios are for listening to Mao Tse Tung". For the peasants of Bolivia, that is culture and today they listen to the Fourth International. We ask the philosophers and Marxists of this period to study that.

The problems of Marxism in this stage consist of understanding the colonial re-

volution, why the masses act as they do, where their assurance and firmness comes from, why to advance in culture and civilisation, in the understanding of nature, it is necessary to change society. Already the conditions exist for doing it. The masses no longer wonder if historical materialism or historical idealism is correct; they act on the line determined by Marxism, in the revolutionary class struggle.

To elevate human culture today, it is necessary to finish with capitalism as quickly as possible, otherwise it and the Soviet bureaucracy are going to try and make history go back... This process of constant advance develops on the road of Marxism, which is Trotskyism. There does not exist a world Marxist current. The principal contradiction, which prevents a greater influence of the Workers States on the masses of the world is that the leadership develops in a political opportunist way, conciliating with capitalism. The authority of the Workers States weighs on the masses, but the existence of a conciliatory leadership, confuses and limits them, and Marxism cannot in consequence weigh with all its force.

Workers States, revolution and Marxism are one and the same thing. Not

much time remains before the elimination of the bureaucracy, of capitalism and the unlimited extension of Marxism on a world scale. Although not central to this theme, we must say that if the Fourth International has not known a great development in humanity and the class and revolutionary struggle, it is because there does not exist a world Marxist current.

There exists certainly a revolutionary will power and world action of the masses, but this develops in an empirical manner, without the party, without the programme, without leadership. The International has not had the historic possibility of developing at a moment when, faced with the Soviet bureaucracy and its scoundrel politics and conciliation with capitalism, the masses see the development of the Workers States. This creates in consequence a contradiction and a confusion amongst them.

In the next stages, this contradiction is going to be resolved in favour of the conscious action of the masses, and the consequence will be an opening without limit to the development of the Fourth International in the world.

J. POSADAS

25 December 1963

Viva the Nationalisation of the Refineries of French Imperialism in Congo Brazzaville

We salute with immense revolutionary joy the measures of nationalisation of the two biggest sugar refining factories in Congo Brazzaville, by the revolutionary government of that country. This nationalisation of French enterprises is an important new blow at French Imperialism, and therefore a direct help to the struggles of the proletariat in France to overthrow capitalism. It is an important measure in the progress of Congo Brazzaville towards the construction of a Workers State.

When President N'Gouavi announced these measures he denounced the participation of the directors of the enterprises in the last reactionary plot intended to overthrow the revolutionary team in power, and to liquidate the revolutionary regime of the country. It is necessary to draw the conclusion that as long as there exists an economic, military and political point of support for imperialism in the country, it will use it to the full in its desperate but un-

interrupted efforts to make history go backwards, and to destroy revolutionary power.

We give all our solidarity and support to the revolutionary government in Congo Brazzaville on the occasion of its decision to nationalise these two important French refineries and to nationalise in the nearest possible future everything that remains in the way of imperialist property, particularly French imperialist property, nationalising all production under workers control.

DOWN WITH ALL REACTIONARY AND COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPTS BY FRENCH IMPERIALISM!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE OF THE MASSES IN CONGO BRAZZAVILLE!

FORWARD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF WORKERS STATE IN CONGO BRAZZAVILLE!

(Taken from Lutte Communiste. 2. 10. 1970.)

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In the next issue of RED FLAG the following resolution of the I.S. of the International will be Published.

"The hijacking of the Planes, the struggle against Imperialism and the Socialist Revolution in the Middle East"

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG**

Viva the advance
of the
Bolivian
Revolution!

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 123 25th October 1970 PRICE 6d

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The hijacking of the Planes, the struggle against imperialism and the Socialist revolution in the Middle East

The IV International considers that the hijacking of aircraft on the part of the Fedayeen is a just method as a method of revolutionary war. They have not killed or assassinated anybody; they have not taken reprisals against anyone. While in Vietnam the Yanks murder the population, and the Israelis invade the Arab countries, killing, destroying houses, murdering children. In these cases, no capitalist country protests or condemns, nor acts so that the Israelis leave the occupied territories. They simply make requests without any resolution to apply them, and without showing the least interest

that they be accomplished. Moreover, capitalism uses these methods.

The guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine use these methods as a means of political pressure. If they reach the point of having to kill the hostages, the responsibility will be with capitalism and not with the guerrillas. Murder is a method which capitalism uses at all times, as one sees in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in Latin America, as when it invaded Santo Domingo. Yankee imperialism invaded this country killing tens of people without the slightest concern. Duvalier of Haiti kills tens of opposition people a day. Thus the capitalist system acts,

APPLY THE BOLSHEVIK POSITION ON TERRORISM

One must make the defence, which the Bolsheviks made of terrorists, but not terrorist action, showing that historically it is not the way to win. But revolutionaries must not put themselves at the side of world capitalism, condemning the terrorists, because they are impelled by a human sentiment of progress. They die in order to kill the oppressors. It is necessary to be very clear on this. This was the line of Lenin. The Bolshevik Party never condemned terrorists. It condemned their programme, their method of action, but they gave them all their respect. These are the individuals, who gave their lives and their families to eliminate the oppressors, the assassins.

It is quite certain that the method used is not a good one, for it does not lead to unification of the population making it intervene and organise. And this is what we condemn. Terrorism is not historically useful. Trotsky said "Historically it is useless, but can be useful in concrete circumstances". In war certain acts of terrorism are necessary to intimidate the enemy. Within a general correct strategy, in a concrete form, certain terrorist actions are necessary and useful.

Marx was the first to speak of terrorist actions at the time of the commune; he never condemned the communards for such actions. On the contrary, he criticised their lack of decision in eliminating the bourgeois apparatus. All these people who condemn the Fedayeen for terrorism, cannot condemn one inhuman act. They have a political fear of the consequences

of the actions of the Fedayeen, from Nasser and the Soviet bureaucracy up to Hussain. They are frightened of the stimulating role that such actions can play. They are frightened that the new forces will employ violence, not in the form of terrorism, but in the organised form of the struggle to take power. They see the development of dual power towards workers power in a short delay in Jordan. From this comes their fearful attitude, their fear, as much on the part of imperialism and Israel, as on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, and Nasser, and the Jordanians.

The Soviet bureaucracy nevertheless remains more linked to the revolution than to the counter-revolution, and they cannot for this reason condemn publicly the abduction of aircraft. Nasser, who made such condemnation, afterwards had to retreat. These acts, which are called terrorist acts, are acts of war, which have this particular form. Politically they are not the best, because they do not lead to an elevation of the population, to make it participate. It doesn't win over or influence the sectors, and the exploited masses of Israel, which is what we want to do. But in no way are these measures excluded. Terrorism is a historic necessity. It is enough to read Lenin, Trotsky and "The History of the Russian Revolution". Terrorism is an action directed at intimidating, in certain moments within a plan of the struggle for power. If the Fedayeen have to employ today funda-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

CAPITALISM MURDERS CONTINUALLY

In the Middle East, the Israelis invade villages, and kill the children and the women indiscriminately. In Vietnam, in Cambodia, Angola, imperialism kills hundreds and hundreds of people without anybody saying a word. They use all the criminal means of war, while the Fedayeen have not killed a single hostage. The hijacking of aircraft is a means of political pressure and coercion. It is just and logical. It is neither terrorism nor murder. They have not killed or let anyone die. They have given the hostages all the necessary attention, going as far as vaccinating them against cholera. Thus the methods which the Fedayeen use are neither reactionary nor criminal. They are methods of action imposed by the circumstances in which they have no other method of making their protest felt, to obtain their liberation.

We condemn all the communist parties and Workers States who have not shown solidarity with the Fedayeen. To express solidarity does not mean to support all the methods which they use, but to support on the other hand the objective which they want to reach. In this case anyway, the methods are not condemnable, because they come in the middle of a revolutionary war.

While the Fedayeen and the Palestinians seek to liberate themselves from the invasion and oppression, which they suffer at the hands of a country like Israel, which plays an imperialist role, so as to be able to take measures of development, to apply a programme which leads to socialism, the action of Israel has on the other hand the objective of eliminating and crushing all socialist action in the Middle East. This is how one must judge it. One cannot take the actions one separated from the other, but globally in the struggle, which is being carried out.

In the present crisis in the Middle East, the action of the Fedayeen has unleashed an interior process, putting revolutionary forces in movement, which up till now could not express themselves. This changes all the situation. The general objective sense of the struggle is not modified, but the relations of forces are, the process becomes accelerated, and made more dynamic, which is going to have very important consequences in the struggle for the conscious organisation of the leadership, of the party, of the programme, of the action, in the internal struggle of fractions, with a view to responding to all the new needs.

What are the objectives of the methods and the forms of struggle? Against whom are they directed? This is what is determining. If it were simply, a question of a struggle of a clique, the hijacking of aircraft would not have any sense. When the objective is to liberate oneself with revolutionary methods, which impell the socialist struggle, then these are acceptable. They do not bring about the death of anyone, while the Israelis kill even without having to hijack aircraft. Their planes bombard factories and schools directly, killing and murdering; their army invades countries. What do they do this for?

It is necessary to say to the world "Israeli imperialism detains 2000 political prisoners, who are not prisoners of war, but prisoners taken in police raids."

Oppose the anti-trade union laws of the Government by organising nationally strikes and demonstrations preparing for the general strike

The decision of the TUC general council to recall a full congress of member unions in February is an example, like its own congress and that of the Labour Party of how the workers vanguard is making its weight felt at the very tops of the bureaucratic apparatus. Nevertheless the response of the TU leadership is inadequate, completely inadequate when measured against the enormous combativity of the working class, and the plans of the ruling class to try to smash the unions, and deprive the masses of their political and trade union rights. But to recall is a symptom of a very profound discussion which is going on within the working class, which is going to show itself very soon in concrete organisational and programmatic forms. Already in certain actions and statements by regional organisms of the class we see more direct expressions of this discussion, as for example the resolution of Merseyside Trade Council for a one day general strike, or Glasgow Trade Council's demand for work sharing in the shipyards, with nationalisation of the yards without compensation and under workers control. The vanguard of the British working class is full of confidence, it receives all the influences of the advance of the world revolution, it wins over to its side the middle cadres of the TU and the Labour Party, and forces even the top leadership of the T.U.C. to yield, in part at least, to its demands,

It is not possible, however, to wait passively, as the TUC leaders would like, for the February recall conference to come. The capitalist class is hoping that because of the lack of a revolutionary leadership of the working class, and because a sector of the TU leadership fears to mobilise the masses, it will be able

to push forward its anti-trade union laws, isolating and defeating the resistance of the vanguard sectors. If it was just a question of the Trade Union leadership the capitalist class would succeed, but it is the question of the world balance of forces as it is expressed in this country, the lack of social support and authority

of the ruling class, and the tremendous combativity of the working class, which limits the margin of manoeuvre of the bureaucracy. The left, which is advancing in the unions, and the LP and the Young Socialist must, without waiting for February, begin now to organise the opposition to the Tories anti-union bill, organising strikes and demonstrations against it, and in solidarity with the council workers strike, and the impending miners strike. Still at this stage, the council workers are left to fight their struggle on their own, despite the widespread support for them, even among quite prosperous petit bourgeois sectors; and this is absurd and criminal. A sector of the trade union leadership will try, as it is trying, to mask its inactivity with words, hoping to frighten the bourgeoisie with threats of strikes and demonstrations, but drawing back from really mobilising the workers, because it fears the revolutionary implications of all this. But it is going to be only the most aggressive actions of the working class, which are going to force the Tories, acting in the interest of the ruling class, to retreat.

These trade union proposals of the
CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The hijacking of the Planes, the struggle against imperialism and the Socialist revolution in the Middle East

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1
mentally individual actions it is because they have no other remedy. What one

has to measure is what historic objective they have.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE FEDAYEEN CONCERNS THE MASSES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

We call the communist parties to bring out resolutions, and organise mobilisations to expel Israel from the occupied territories and imperialism from the Mediterranean, taking this as a means of agitation not letting it be limited to a military action. A means of agitation: "Out with Imperialism from the Middle East!" "Out with Imperialism from the Mediterranean!" Out with imperialism not the Soviet Union. It is imperialism which exerts the function of a gendarme assassinating people, which has atomic arms to launch against the revolution. Israel is a spearhead of all this.

One cannot take the struggle independently of this. There are no innocent people here. This conclusion which the bourgeois press says, that there are "innocent people who do not participate" is totally false. Here everyone participates. The American masses, the 40 million who stopped for Vietnam, are they innocent people? The Negroes of the United States are they innocent people, who have nothing to do with it? Everyone participates in this struggle. There is no measure which is excluded, there are two defined camps: imperialism which tries to sustain itself by means of atomic war, of actions of atomic war, and the masses of the world who try to liberate themselves from the capitalist system. It is in this way that it is necessary to take it.

It is absurd and anti marxist to give a partial, local, regional, interpretation in relation to the problems of the Middle East. In the Middle East, as in Indo China, it is the same problem. Why do they not protest about the hijackings of journalists for which the Vietnamese have been responsible. Why don't the bureaucrats protest? Are they not innocent? No, they all participate. The Vietnamese, the "hijackers", hold the prisoners, indoctrinate them, show them the greatness of the revolution and win

them. What are the Fedayeen doing? The guerrillas have no other remedy than to defend themselves from this. They do not struggle to get money or property. They defend themselves and struggle to expell the Israelis from the occupied territory, the Israelis, who are led, supported, organised through Yankee imperialism. It is thus that it is necessary to resolve it. This is part of the world revolution, and it is necessary to have a party now in defence of the Fedayeen. This is the conclusion and the logical necessity of the revolution. We are not independant, or spectators, or impartial. We are directly involved in the camp of the revolution. In this way, it is necessary to support every action which goes against Yankee imperialism, even although it does not coincide strictly with the political necessity, as in this case. We support them, because their action goes against Yankee imperialism. Our task as revolutionaries is to educate this leadership, trying to orientate it politically.

We make an appeal to the Fedayeen, so that at the same time as this hijacking, they call upon the Arab masses, the Israeli masses, to the masses of the world, so that they support their guerrilla struggle, saying that there is no other solution than this. Let them call upon the masses of Europe to strike against Yankee imperialism. Let them appeal to the communist, socialist, left Christian Democrat masses a strike in Europe against imperialism in support of the masses of Spain, Greece and Portugal. This compensates a hundred times over for the hijackings of the airplanes, but facilitates the action, which the hijackers seek by the hijackings. They must appeal to the communist parties, so that they make resolutions of support and mobilisations for the masses of the Middle East.

lution, to appeal to the Israeli masses to incorporate themselves in this struggle to overthrow the capitalist system in Israel, to oppose themselves to the war in Israel, and to appeal for the making of a unification with the Arab countries, to make a unification, a socialist federation of the Arab countries in which Palestine is included also, proposing self determination for the Israeli masses without separating themselves from the Arab world, in fact as they lived before. The problem is not one of being against the Israeli masses but against the capitalist and imperialist leadership of Israel. The Fedayeen have to organise this campaign.

There is no clarity, no orientation, no precise political objectives in the Arab leadership, because there is a combination of bourgeois leaderships, petit bourgeois leaderships, socialist leadership in which the bourgeois wings still dominate politically. But already this section has made a differentiation between Iraq and Syria who represent more closely the interest of the anti imperialist struggle compared with Nasser. The proof is that Nasser passed from a first attitude of condemnation and of exerting pressure on the Fedayeen, depriving them of radio and military economic support to saying that they are hijacking now "because it was forced on them". Within Egypt, the Arab masses have forced him to support and allow the development of the Fedayeen.

The Fedayeen must appeal for, and explain to the European and world proletariat, that they are fighting for the liberation of their country from imperialism and Israel which is the agent of imperialism. At the same time they should make an appeal for a socialist programme. They want to make a socialist unification of the Middle East; they have to do this. They want to construct the whole of the Middle East as a single Arab state, as a base for socialism with measures, programme, objectives, the construction of socialism. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the Middle East, to the masses of Israel, to the European and world proletariat, which supports this struggle. And it is necessary to conduct the interior struggle with this objective, not only the liberation of Palestine or Jordan. There is no possibility of liberation if the capitalist system remains, because the capitalist sectors of Egypt are going to try to smash the revolution. We appeal so that the guerrillas call upon the masses of the world to support the struggle in the name of the socialist objectives of the revolution with the programme for the construction

of socialism. This does not go against military interests nor social interests nor against the objectives of the revolution. On the contrary, it facilitates them. In their explanation to the masses of the world, they must show this, that they are obliged to take such measures, and that if they have the world support with other measures, they would have no need for hijackings, because they would overthrow the capitalist system. These declarations have such an importance in relation to the discussion with the communist parties. It is necessary to appeal for these discussions in the communist parties, so that dual power in Jordan is transformed into power directly. They must appeal for the stabilisation and solidification of revolutionary power.

One of the objectives of the struggle of the Fedayeen and of the Arab masses is to win the Israeli masses; not to appeal to smash Israel, but to win the Israeli masses, and smash imperialism, Zionism and the imperialist leadership of Israel, to win the Israeli masses, to offer a united front to the Israeli masses; to appeal to them to "Overthrow imperialism, we support you without discussion and we can live as before, but better than before. Before we lived in misery together, now we are going to love in abundance with the elimination of oppression, of terror and fear which is the greatest misery for humanity". Now in the minds of these people, capitalism is eliminated. 80% of humanity is not terrorised, does not feel itself to be oppressed, is not afraid. Capitalism oppresses them, but they are not afraid.

We condemn the hypocrisy both of the church and the capitalist countries when they speak of the "hijacking of innocents". They assassinate countries and people. The capitalist system with the contamination of the water and the atmosphere kills daily thousands and thousands of children throughout the world. To speak of hijacking of "innocents" is an expression of hypocrisy. It is simply a political measure to try to weaken the front of the revolution. For this reason it is just and logical not to associate with the condemnation of the bourgeoisie but on the contrary to support the Fedayeen. At the same time as we support them, we ask them to establish a political relationship with this military action. It is necessary to give organizational and political meaning to the tactic of hijacking planes so that the world masses see its socialist objective and put pressure on their parties and trade unions so that they give the necessary support.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS DEVELOPING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In Israel, imperialism is developing a base for the atomic war against the development of the socialist revolution. There are the battle fields. It is not possible to be impartial in this struggle, and to claim to be neutral in an action in which the interests of the anti imperialist revolution are involved, even though still it does not possess a socialist character and form. But it is an anti imperialist struggle, which leads inevitably to the socialist revolution.

We appeal to the Fedayeen to extend the declarations which they have made, explaining why they have acted in this way, and that they extend their explanations to the rest of the Arab masses and the masses of the world. They have made good explanations to these who have been hijacked, explaining the meaning of the struggle which they have undertaken, but this is limited. It is necessary to extend explanations to the rest of the Arab masses, the masses of the capitalist countries, and the Workers States. It is necessary to explain that they are obliged to act in this way, that they have no other means of action. If they had the means to overthrow capitalism they would do so, and these actions would not be necessary. But they are obliged to act in this way, because they have no other means of pressure, because at the same time that they are doing this, they are defending the lives of hundreds and thousands of children, of old people, of men and women, who

are assassinated by the army of Israel. It is necessary to show that this is not an arrogant, assassin type action, one of extermination as the Israeli are doing, but it is an action of war imposed on them. The Yankees in the war as in the Middle East and in Vietnam assassinate and kill people. Lon Nol has killed thousands and thousands of Cambodians and Vietnamese. They put them in ships and bombard them. They place them in one place and make it appear that it is the Vietcong who are assassinating them. They have murdered hundreds and thousands. The Arab guerrillas do not assassinate anyone. It is capitalism which assassinate. If they are obliged to capture the planes, it is capitalism which is responsible. To avoid this capitalism simply has to liberate the arrested prisoners which the Arabs have. Why do they not do so? Capitalism does not do so, because it is of much more interest for it to maintain its interior political stability than to yield to save human life. This is the capitalist system. The Fedayeen have not been responsible for any assassination, in the same way as the Vietnamese have not been responsible. On the contrary they have won people, have persuaded them. If they are obliged to act in this way it is because they have no other means of struggle. We appeal for the organisation in a political party with a programme. It is necessary to discuss, to organise a party on the basis of the programme of the socialist revolution.

THE WORKERS STATES AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB MASSES

We appeal to the World Trade Union Federation and to all the European trade unions to give their support to the struggle of the Arab masses, and to make declarations in favour of their struggle, but in favour of a socialist struggle, not just an Arab struggle. This struggle cannot be presented as being between Arabs and Israelis, but in name of the building of socialism. The Fedayeen must launch these appeals and they are going to find that they obtain an immense echo.

It is not true to say that there is a division between the Jewish and Arab workers. In the first place the Jewish workers are a minority and then they react as workers, not as Jews, as workers do anywhere in the world. Appeals for a struggle with socialist objectives must be made in the Middle East. Neither Nasser nor the other Arab leaders express this. The Habash and Hawatmeh movements must reach an agreement, try to put their programmatic conception in order and bring out a socialist programme. They must make appeals in the name of such a programme to the world masses, and to their hostages as well, (as they have done to some degree). They must explain what they seek and want, and that if they reach the extreme of having to blow up planes, this has the same character as when 30 Saigon workers killed themselves in an attempt to blow up the Yankee Embassy. Why wasn't there any outcry in the capitalist press

then?—it was 30 worker militants! It is the same thing in the case of the hijackings. If they blow up planes with the people inside, 10 or 20 guerrillas could die with it; they cannot exclude themselves. This is revolutionary action, the same as that of the Vietnamese, when 8 or 10 year olds give their lives to free their country. That is what should move human conscience. The conditions that make it necessary for children to struggle with arms in hand, in order to live, must be eliminated; it is necessary, therefore, to eliminate the capitalist system which does not care a thing about this.

We appeal to the Workers States to support these struggles unconditionally and to the Soviet trade unions to bring out a declaration, launch appeals and make collections for the Fedayeen whilst passing resolutions of support to the struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism. We make an appeal at the same time for the construction of socialism in the Middle East.

The IV International support the struggle of the Fedayeen, but by appealing to them at the same time to raise the political level of the struggle, by giving it a clear socialist sense, and by carrying on a world campaign, which will gain an echo to the extent that the socialist sense of the revolution is seen. They cannot simply act militarily, kidnapp and carry out reprisal action against Israel.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

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The hijacking of the Planes, the struggle against imperialism

This must all become part of general action for socialism. It must be made clear that when they have recourse to these methods, it is because there are no other possible means for the moment.

Socialism implies the elimination of private interest, exploitation, and terror, and the development and collective, social, economic and moral ascent of humanity. Any method of struggle is correct for that, including warfare and killing for this aim. We make use of the means that lead to the objective.

That implies being conscious, developing understanding and full comprehension. If the Palestinian Resistance as represented by the Popular Front and the Democratic Popular Front, in spite of their weakness in numbers and material means, and in spite of the possibility of being crushed militarily by either Israel or other Arab tendencies, has decided to intervene with such decision and assur-

NEW LEADERSHIP FOR THE ARAB REVOLUTION IS IN PROCESS OF ARISING

With the world revolution in full ascent, it is not possible to adopt the attitude of the hijackers without wanting to go further. This type of action corresponds to the need to overthrow all regimes of oppression and to impose the will of the world masses by force. That is the most significant thing about the action. What the Soviet bureaucracy, Nasser, and the Ba'ath leaderships fear to do is being done by the Fedayeen, basing themselves on the will to struggle of the masses. Without organisms, without transmission by means of the mechanism of organisation, they have done this directly. It will have repercussions and start a process of modification in all the leaderships, which are going to have to think and act with a new audacity and decision. The middle cadres and the militants will transmit these needs. It is through this process that the new leadership will be formed.

If a revolutionary party had existed in the Middle East, then action of the type like the hijacking of planes would not have been necessary. Everything is possible if it goes towards the needs of the revolution, including kidnapping and the execution of hostages, if the objective is to move towards the triumph of the socialist revolution. All means that are shown to be necessary to the progress of humanity are correct. But to the extent that organisms do not exist, action demands immense audacity, and a great effort of organisation for a very limited result. Each action must, before all, mean progress in the construction of the organism itself, which must raise its capacity of understanding, action, decision and historic vision. When it intervenes, the organism itself sees that the audacity, decision and understanding of the process that it had before, have been outspanned and must be widened. The first repercussion of such action is in the heart of the organisms itself.

The type of action like the hijacking of planes, even if the aim is the expulsion of imperialism, has very limited repercussions. It is in this sense an inferior action. It cannot be condemned as not being a military action, or as revolutionary action, but its social and political repercussions are very elementary, and the historical contribution made by it is reduced. Such action does not convince, persuade, attract, and does not raise the capacity for revolutionary action. All action that organisms must have as a result the elevation of moral, organisational and persuasive capacity. The revolution triumphs, because it is persuasive. It is imposed by military means, because it has to conquer the armed resistance of the enemy. If the enemy had no arms, it would not be necessary to employ them to win.

The revolution persuades, wins over and disarms the enemy by showing that it is a superior force, and if it has to employ arms it is because the enemy is doing so. And even though the revolution is imposed by armed force; it is thanks to its moral, objective and social superiority that it wins. This is the way in which it disarms the enemy. The enemy sees that the historic position, perspectives, and objectives of the revolution are morally superior to his own when he is fighting to gain more power, money and possibility of exploitation to his own advantage on an individual basis. The revolution aims at feeding the whole of

ance, it is because it understands the milieu in which it works. The resistance works in the milieu of the masses where it finds the sympathy and the will which support it. As it has not the organisation to transmit the will to struggle in the form of organisms, programme and objectives, this is expressed in a military and empirical form. The military action of hijacking planes will be followed with more conscious actions, for it indicates a search for a revolutionary solution.

humanity by trying to eliminate exploitation. Its direct behaviour, on the individual and collective planes, is disinterested, freeing all the heroic decision, audacity and resolution of each revolutionary of the search for personal gain. That explains how children of 12 years can be revolutionaries.

Historically, revolution has always triumphed due to its moral superiority. But it has to be imposed by means of arms, because the enemy is armed. If the question of arms did not arise, it would have conquered a long time ago on the basis of moral and social superiority alone. But the problem will be resolved with arms. That is why it is necessary and right that the Soviet Workers State should increase its atomic capacity and that the Fedayeen should employ arms.

The Soviet bureaucracy is trying to prepare for the atomic war without having recourse to the revolution, hoping on the one hand to eliminate imperialism, but on the other hand to prevent the masses from taking power. But that is impossible. It is the reason why the bureaucracy lets time and opportunities go by, however, and does not profit from the organisms and forms of organisation that exist to intervene. It is the case with this precise action. The bureaucracy has a resolute attitude, but this is politically inferior to the contribution that could be made by a revolutionary political organism.

We give all our solidarity and our support to these comrades, but it is necessary to raise the level of the form of the struggle. This action has a double objective: it goes against Israel and imperialism, and against the bourgeois Arab leaderships, obliging them to make concessions. But it is an inferior form of combat. If its objective were to replace the existing power with that of the guerrillas with the aim of continuing the exploitation of the masses, then our support for it would make no sense, but as the aim is to advance the revolution, our support is justified, but we must also show the necessity of raising the movement at a higher level through political discussion.

The dual power which exists in Jordan is one of the bases on which the Fedayeen triumph. The ascent of the struggles of the masses throughout the world against imperialism and capitalism, the progress of the communist, socialist and left Christian Democrat parties, and of the Trotskyists of the IV International, the progress of the programmatic struggles of the masses prevent imperialism from intervening when and where it would like. There is a world structure already in existence which forces the Workers' States to intervene in any event of even middle importance. This is why a small group like the guerrillas has been able to decide on action like the hijacking of planes.

We appeal to these comrades to understand the world process as we have explained so as to employ the same means as they have just used in the hijacking of planes in the internal struggle in the Arab states. They must immediately struggle for a socialist programme in this way, beginning with Jordan. They must be conscious of the level that dual power has reached and the possibilities that are encompassed by this.

jacking of the planes and in this sense its action has not been counter-revolutionary. In Spain the bureaucracy sold the revolution; in the Middle East it is not able to do so any more. It is necessary to measure with a great deal of precision the behaviour of the Soviet bureau-

cracy in each stage. It can undertake action that is partially counter-revolutionary now, but which is of little historic importance, because the structure that the Workers State has attained is opposed to this. But it can still act, even if in a minimal way, and without historic consequences, in a counter-revolutionary way.

The hijacking of planes makes an immense historic contribution. What a marvellous basis for negotiations and conciliation with imperialism! Why doesn't the bureaucracy step in to control this? Because its power of decision does not reach to this. The structure of relations approaching the atomic war does not allow for any concessions. On the contrary, it is the will of the Fedayeen that is being imposed either directly or indirectly.

"Red Star", the organ of the Soviet army, addresses itself to the Yankees in the name of the Egyptians to say; "If you intervene we will intervene as well." "If the Israelis attack, we will crush them." That is their conclusion. The Israelis are the direct spokesmen for Yankee manoeuvres. Their preparations are those of the Yankees, to force an agreement and to intervene if possible. The reply from "Red Star" is completely decided, "The Egyptians are expecting the intervention of the Israelis and will repel it." To repel the attack means to crush the Israelis, and not simply to respond blow for blow. This indicates that the Soviets have moved in more arms with which to manoeuvre. And no-one can prevent the Soviet volunteers from going to Egypt. What is in the process of occurring is the reverse of what happened in Spain. In 1936, the bureaucracy allowed the volunteers to be killed, but today they are sending more in, which is an indication of the situation that exists.

The Fedayeen profit from what the world revolution brings them. This is the quality of the quantity. All the quality of the concentrated process of world revolution is expressed in this small quantity, and this is what the Fedayeen are making use of. They are not doing it in a conscious manner to the extent that they have no Marxist instrument and the benefit that they are getting out of their action remains limited by this. In the same way as they are discussing with the passengers on the planes, they must hold a Socialist Conference for them and the journalists, and even if there are some bourgeois present, they must state, "We are struggling for this and that objective."

They must address themselves to the world and say, "This is what we want. We have children of 12 years on our side who take part in guerrilla action, and mothers who give their children to us. Our objective is not criminal. The whole world is concerned. The atomic bomb dropped on Japan by the Yankees killed 300,000 people, how can you speak now of the hostages being 'innocents'? Did the people of Nagasaki and Hiroshima participate? Didn't the ones who were only fishing disappear as well? Hundreds upon thousands of people disappeared. You are assassins, hypocrites!" The communist press must be accused of having participated in this hypocrisy. It is not the Fedayeen that must be condemned, but capitalism which explodes tons and tons of bombs daily to keep up its oppression by means of terror. And the Fedayeen have acted to put an end to this oppression and terror.

We appeal to the communist parties and the Workers States to support the struggle of the Fedayeen and the Palestinian masses for the expulsion of imperialism and all its agents, from Hussein to the Israelis. We appeal to them to give aid in the form of arms, medical supplies and the sending of volunteers. The trade unions in the USSR and all the other Workers States must contribute with each worker giving a day's wages in support of the struggle of the Palestinian masses. A mobilisation of all the communist, socialist and left Christian Democrat parties must be called for throughout Europe, and a mobilisation of all the European trade union centres for a common action in support of the struggle of the Fedayeen, against the Nixon trip, for the expulsion of imperialism from the whole of the Middle East and Europe. Out with the NATO bases in Europe!

We appeal to all the trade unions, workers' parties and revolutionary nationalist movements of Latin America, Africa and Asia to give support and mobilise in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian masses, for a World United Front against imperialism and for its expulsion from the whole world.

It is necessary to prepare to respond to a possible intervention by Israel or directly by Yankee imperialism in Jordan, with a general mobilisation of all the Arab masses. Appeals must be made for the occupation and expropriation of all imperialist and feudal property. The embassies of imperialism throughout the Middle East must be occupied and the ambassadors must be taken as hostages, like all the diplomatic personnel, agents of the CIA, military attachés and other imperialist agents and assassins.

We do not regard hijackings as a normal method of struggle, because they do not mobilise the masses, they do not exert a social pressure in the rest of society, so that this can see that it is the majority of society, which is mobilising itself, and which feels itself capable of imposing its power and leading the country. For this reason, no terrorist action can suppress, supplant or compare with an action of the masses. The action of the masses means the mobilisation of the masses, so that they feel that they are capable of acting, deciding and attracting with their authority the rest of the population; all this disintegrates the enemy, because it confronts society. For this reason every hijacking and terrorist act is incompetent compared with an act for the organisation of the revolution. It is a transient means, which is employed when there are conditions as in the Middle East, which still cannot be organised or where the capacity to organise is not developed.

In the hijacking, the terrorist groups act as substitutes for the masses, substitute for the programme, the progress of the masses in the programme. They can then decide to change, to limit, to negotiate or to impede a greater advance of the revolution than that which they can give. With the intervention of the masses the objectives are attained.

The mobilisation of the masses and expropriation disintegrates the action and the unity of the enemy, attracts the population, and the stimulating and decided influence of security from the population, encourages the revolutionaries to continue. The masses see a necessary action, the control of property passes from the hands of the enemy to theirs. With the hijacking they do not see this. It is an indirect action. For this reason revolutionary action cannot be compared with any hijacking.

As Trotsky and Lenin said "terrorist actions are necessary in civil war as a means of a programme, but the programme is not hijacking nor terrorism".

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

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REPLY TO ATTEMPTS TO BRAKE THE REVOLUTION WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

One of the reasons why the Soviet bureaucracy as much as imperialism have concocted the Rogers plan, is to prevent the progress of the revolution. Imperialism wants to contain it and the bureaucracy wants to control it. The bureaucracy has not come out against the hi-

EDITORIAL

Government, as also their proposals for the social services, the nationalised industries and research establishment, all show the complete absence of historical perspective of the bourgeoisie. If it felt that it had the possibility of developing the economy for the next 10 or 20 years it would be concerned with the infrastructure of capitalism, its roads, its cities, railways, power supplies, cultural, educational and scientific facilities; but now everything is subjected to the criterion of whether or not it yields an immediate profit. Of course capitalism has always been governed by the profit motive, but in the past it has been capable of looking a little way ahead, of seeing that if something does not yield an immediate profit today, it will bring benefits to capitalism later. But now it can see only the revolution coming, and it prepares itself economically, militarily

OUR PROGRAMME

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

and spiritually to confront the revolution. It concentrates its industries, creates huge monopolies, destroying its own social base, tries to increase the exploitation of the working class, the better to pay the expenses of the war preparations, and attempts to take away the political and trade union rights of the masses.

These plans to 'reform' the trade unions come together with the proposals to sell arms again to the racist South African regime, and form part of the strategy of imperialism. It is not just a question of the economic advantages, but more important an attempt to bolster the South African regime and to try to give heart to the bourgeoisie who feel that the revolution is coming, and they are going to be destroyed. Everywhere we see examples of the defeatism of the world bourgeoisie, its search for its own particular arrangements with the Workers States weakening the overall strategy of imperialism. Pompidou's visit to the Soviet Union, or the 'Ostpolitik' of Brandt are examples of this, but the British ruling class, which is most closely linked to US imperialism, tries to present the Tory electoral victory (as the IS of the International foresaw) as an expression of the re-animation of the classical forces of capitalism, and uses it to impose repression at home and strengthen its reactionary allies abroad. But already the plans to sell arms to South Africa stimulates a response from the revolution, even though expressed in a very limited way through Kaunda of Zambia. The threat to throw Britain out of the Commonwealth is going to cause a crisis in the Tory Party, because there are sectors who feel that the best interests of imperialism are served by Britain remaining inside, because it maintains a bridge to the conciliatory and pro-capitalist leaderships of the underdeveloped countries, exerting a pressure against their advance in a non-capitalist direction. These bourgeois sectors feel, quite correctly as Nixon (who has shown no enthusiasm for the plans) that it is not just a question of being thrown out of the Commonwealth, but of the expropriation of the assets of British imperialism in these countries. Thus an attempt at a counter revolutionary action immediately provokes a far more powerful reply by the revolution, as Hussain's attack on the guerrillas, or the right wing coup of Miranda in Bolivia, which prompted the organised intervention of the worker, peasant and student masses, which in turn stimulated the revolutionary counter coup of Torres. Such is the world structure of the revolution now, that anything imperialism does to stop the advance towards socialism, immediately provokes a far more powerful blow by the revolution. This is going to be the situation with Carr's anti-union bill, but it is necessary to prepare the response so as to make it a means of elevating the political, programmatic and organisational level of the struggle in Britain basing oneself on the world relationship of forces.

Canada is an expression of this world balance of forces. Superficially it was a country a little apart from the world process, with a capitalist stability and a

tradition of bourgeois democracy. Now in Quebec abruptly all this is finished, the "war measures" act has been implemented and 305 workers, students, academics have been imprisoned without trial, and Trudeau speaks of the danger of insurrection. 305 people is twice the estimated membership of the FLQ (the Front for the Liberation of Quebec) whose kidnappings of ministers and diplomats have given Trudeau the excuse to embark upon a wholesale repression of the socialist movement, which is developing in Quebec, and which is much greater than the FLQ. The trade union movement and the Labour Party, and Young Socialists and CP in this country, must demand the release of all the trade unionists, and socialist, students, and intellectuals who have been arrested under the "War measures" act, and support the objectives of the FLQ for a socialist Quebec.

The advance of the socialist movement in Canada, the revolutionary counter-coup in Bolivia, the triumph of the guerrillas in Jordan are all part of the strength of the British working class. Capitalism has no social basis to impose a harsh policy of repression. At the moment when it talks about its plans to discipline the trade unions, the Scottish Police Federation Central Committee votes 13 to 6 to ask for the right to strike, and already has a pay claim for a 35% increase. The revolutionary tendencies developing in the unions must begin a campaign against Carr's bill now, not restricting themselves just to a defensive struggle, but making an offensive one. They must oppose the constant rising of prices, rents and transport costs with the fundamental demand of THE SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES, ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, because this is a demand which preserves the standard of life of the masses, and does not permit capitalism to gain any advantage from constantly rising prices. It is necessary to impose the demand which the TUC has made for the opening of the books, but this can only be done through struggle, by strikes and demonstrations, by imposing workers control over the running of the factory, and by the formation of workers organisations within the factory, the factory committee elected from mass meetings with all re-

presentatives subject to instant recall. This struggle has to be begun now, supporting the council workers strike, and the coming miners, which is going to be a powerful blow against capitalism, with the perspective of a general strike to be organised before the end of the year. The Labour Party at its last Conference said that it would support the industrial struggle of the working class; but what form can this support take? The best form of support is to elevate the programmatic level of discussion in the LP, countering all the plans of the capitalist class for rationalisation of industry with the clear unequivocal demand for the nationalisation of industry without compensation and under workers control, and to deepen the discussion at all levels in the party about the method to achieve a socialist Britain. Also together with the YS it must organise demonstrations and meetings in support of the strikes thus overcoming the inertia and lack of life in many of the party branches, and attracting new members from among the most advanced sectors of the working class and petit bourgeoisie. Also the CP has a very important role to play in this process, because of the authority of its militants in many sectors of industry, and it already is playing a limited stimulating role, but it can do more. The British CP is not immune from the changes, which are taking place in the Soviet bureaucracy, and the French and Italian CPs even if the weight of the communist vanguard on the leadership is smaller here. John Gollan speaks of the 'Socialist Revolution' now when in the past he has only spoken of the parliamentary road. Now he reflects the greater confidence of the communist vanguard which is advancing under all the world influences of the revolution, and the theoretical intervention of Posadas and the IV International, which is clarifying the process of crisis of the Workers States and the bureaucracy, for the communist vanguard. This communist vanguard must launch itself into the struggle for the general strike on the demands of all the exploited masses, which will mark the beginning of a new stage in the class struggle and in the construction of the new revolutionary leadership in the political and trade union organisations of the working class.

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The hijacking of the Planes, the struggle against imperialism

For this reason in the Middle East, we justify and support it, because they do not have another means of struggle, and they have to defend themselves as well as they can. This is directed then to try to elevate the struggles. They have no other means, and it is necessary to intervene.

Expropriations, nationalisations, workers control, planning must be the principal appeal to act. Together with this, tactical means as terrorism and hijacking are secondary tactical means. There is no terrorism, no action of hijackings which can replace a general strike. The general strike envelops the whole country, demonstrates the weakness of capitalism, divides capitalism, demonstrates its disintegration and unites the population behind those who make the general strike, because they see the strength of society. In the case of terrorism, no. It attracts sympathy and support, but it does not impel society to intervene.

In the Middle East there is a particular situation in which terrorism has a certain effect, but it does not mobilise the masses. The struggle of the guerrillas in Jordan mobilises all the masses of the

country, but the hijackings no. The guerrillas mobilise the masses to dispute issues of power, and thus they can exercise power, whilst with the other method it is not possible. The hijacking is a tactical action to lead on to other objectives.

It is necessary to appeal to all the movements and parties, like the Ba'ath Parties of Syria and Iraq, the United Socialist Party, the Democratic Popular Front, and the Popular Front of Palestine, the Arab trade unions, their confederation, the National Liberation Front of South Yemen, the UGTA and the Algerian Government, and the trade union centres in Morocco, and Tunisia for a general mobilisation and a United Front in support of the Palestinian masses and for the expulsion of imperialism and its agent Israel.

We appeal to the Israeli masses to rebel against imperialism, and to struggle for a socialist programme, for the socialist revolution and for a Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East.

International Secretariat
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RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (8 SEPT 70)

The electoral triumph of Allende, the failure of capitalism, and the development of the Socialist revolution in Chile and in Latin America

The elections in Chile show that the Chilean problems cannot be resolved by electoral means. Elections are a completely superficial form of resolving problems. They resolve nothing. Capitalism has felt that a blow is going to be aimed at it. The very great awareness that it has of this is expressed in the fact that it presented two bourgeois parties in place of one, as would normally have been the case i.e. one conforming to its interests. Capitalism has understood that if the Christian Democracy and the Popular Union presented themselves alone, half of the Christian Democracy would go over to the Popular Union.

The objective interest of capitalism was to continue with Frei, to continue his experience, to maintain his authority. Also when the Christian Democratic Party supports Tomic, it is because it is clear, that Frei now no longer has any authority over the petit bourgeois masses, and that he is no longer sufficient to contain them. But even in the case where Frei would have presented himself and won, the power of decision would no longer have been placed in his hands; it would have escaped him completely. In all this, capitalism showed that it understood that a process of civil war was approaching.

THE BOURGEOISIE FEELS THAT A PROCESS OF CIVIL WAR IS ADVANCING

If it was not conscious of such a process, if it did not feel it in social relations capitalism would not present two bourgeois parties: the Christian Democrats and the Alessandrists. One sector should retire in order to concentrate the forces in a single party. It was the class duty of capitalism. Also when despite its class interests, it has not acted in this way, it has revealed how far it has become disconcerted, it lacks means to meet revolutionary situations, which are appearing in the country. Well before the elections the Chilean electorate had already decided—whether Allende wins or loses—that it would not accept being defeated.

The struggle for Agrarian reform, for housing, the work stoppage, strikes, armed confrontations, the mobilisation of students, the organisation of revolutionary groups like the MIR, indicate a climate of civil war to resolve the problems. The government is not able to confront it. The insurrection of the army on two occasions, the attempts at a coup d'etat indicate also solutions of civil war, non electoral solutions. If the bourgeoisie felt itself to be firm and convinced in its security, it would not have recourse to such means. When the right wing launches itself to strike and Alessandri declares; "Holy mother of the Virgin save us from communism" it is, because the bourgeoisie has no confidence in electoral solutions, for otherwise it would utilise the majority of which it disposes in the Chambers. Why has it not sought for such an electoral solution. Precisely because it feels that the social climate is not prepared to maintain political power in the hands of capitalism. It could refuse to call elections and obtain in the chambers a majority for that. But who is going to respect these decisions when the masses would show that they no longer respect civil, ecclesiastical or military authority?

To the attempted coup d'etat of Viaux, the masses immediately replied with the occupation of half of Santiago. Without directives, the workers took to arms and occupied the factories. The bourgeoisie is conscious of this climate of civil war and of the decision of the masses. It is for this reason that the right wing has launched preventive coups trying to attract the bourgeoisie. These attempts have failed. They have however, to justify them by making in practice no con-

demnation of the insurrectionists. They have all cried "subversion", "sedition", but they have set all at liberty! And bourgeois justice has continued to stimulate this right wing saying to it "continue, but do better next time"! They wished to do so, but it is Allende who has won...! They are going still to try to do better next time, but... it is to the Workers State that they are going to lead!

When Viaux tried to make a coup several regiments came out against him, and the bourgeoisie saw that there was nothing certain. Capitalism can only support itself on Carabinieri, which is a specialist body of reactionary repression. But even these are not as sure as they must be, to the extent where they were organised as

a nationalist movement, becoming finally a repressive movement. It is not less true that the nationalists are permanently among them.

If the bourgeoisie had found the means to subordinate the popular masses before the elections, it would have employed them by making a coup d'etat. If on the other hand it had had the means to resolve the problems electorally, it would have entered the elections as a unity. When it has not been able to do either one or the other, it is because it is profoundly disconcerted and feels itself incapable of responding to this process in the form and with the dynamism, which is necessary to contain it.

The two bourgeois parties should have been able to unify themselves according to their intention. But in this case half of the Christian Democrat electorate would have voted for Allende. The two camps would have been seen precisely differentiated, and such a polarisation would have incited the masses to mobilise themselves to weaken still more the capitalist system and the right wing, with which many of the sectors of the Christian Democracy do not want anything to do. All that would have forced the bourgeoisie to a unification when it has not been prepared. But more important than this unification of the bourgeoisie, such a situation would have impelled the unification of the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants with the workers parties establishing behind them a national unity of decisive weight.

But even thus the elections are not an expression of the will of the Chilean people to the extent that the age of voting is 23, and illiterates have no right to vote. This means that the strength of the proletariat is not presented electorally, but only in a completely limited way. There is thus a million people

between 18 and 23 who do not vote, of whom 860,000 are workers at least. The elections absolutely do not reflect the real relation of social forces. Allende has won electorally, but the social triumph is infinitely superior, and the bourgeoisie has measured it very well. It has rendered account of the fact that in the occupations of the land children of 8 and old men of 80 bring water and provisions to the armed men. The bourgeoisie has realised very well that it was not a question of persuasion or intimidation, but of a climate of civil war.

It is for all these reasons that Frei has inclined himself to the left in the last period partly in appearance, but partly in a real way. It is for that reason also that the Christian Democrat Gabriel Valdes said; "it is possible that the communists may enter into our next government". They tried to make a united front with the Communist Party to win time and try to dissuade, confound weaken the front directed by the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. But it is the workers parties who won half of the radical party and the Christian Democracy. The joint action of the Socialist Party, the trade union action of the masses showing all their authority on Chile have won these radical and christian sectors. Hence among other things, the importance of the influence of trade union action.

The masses of the copper industries, the coal miners, wood workers, textile workers, engineers, sanitation workers, the student masses, have won the population, showing that they were the masters of the country. Two years ago the students mobilised themselves in a very important way, occupying the universities imposing a tax to maintain this occupation. The cars going through the university had

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

The Communist Party can only impel the formation of the new leadership in the Labour Party on the basis of genuine revolutionary Marxism and Proletarian Internationalism

As the IS document on the result of the general election predicted, the abstention of the revolutionary vanguard, was a major blow at the bourgeois leadership in the Labour Party, and on the other hand capitalism has vainly tried to renovate itself, give itself confidence to impel a stronger response to the offensive of the working class. This last has no perspective, it is the final utopian delusions of a class, which is sinking, briefly reminding itself of a time when it really counted in world history. The last Labour Conference showed conclusively that the blow caused by the abstention of the vanguard has gained results immensely favourable for the development of a new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. It has presented the opportunity for a greater and profounder discussion of the way forward, the opportunity to organise mass meetings in a way unthinkable until recently. However, the level of the discussion in the Labour Party does not correspond still to the mood and will of the vanguard, who are engaged in the struggle for power, and this is due, as we have stated many times before, to the lack of any marxist tradition in Great Britain. This in turn has led to a low political level in the LP, and the victory of all manner of political delusions such as the vogue for socialism via evolution and victory in Parliament.

We do not need to dwell on the past limitations of the Communist Party in this respect, but it has to be stressed that the policy of peaceful co-existence, the tendency towards class collaboration

on the basis of parliamentary perspectives, and the support given to the Soviet intervention in Hungary, and then the general support for Dubcek and co, has not facilitated the influence of Marxism

in Great Britain. Frequently it has isolated the CP, which has been seen as either conniving with the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, or later aiding and abetting the rightist "liberalisers". British imperialism, as Posadas has repeatedly pointed out, succeeded in isolating the British proletariat for long periods from the effects and influences of the world revolution-discussion in "socialist" circles, has seemed to be based on the view that the arrival of socialism in Britain would be by some special circumstance isolated from the world revolution. The recent discussion in Tribune was a particularly bad example of the way Britain is seen as isolated from the course of the international socialist revolution. Objectively it is quite clear that the world relation of forces more and more determines the nature, level, and tempo of revolutionary development, but there is still lacking a deep conscious understanding of this process in the area that counts—

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THE ELECTORAL TRIUMPH OF ALLENDE, THE FAILURE OF CAPITALISM, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHILE AND IN LATIN AMERICA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

to pay a toll to the students. Everyone contributed. The students demanded the expulsion of the reactionary rectors, organised discussions on revolutionary themes, on Marxism, imposed the right for the students to present marxist texts. It was a real cultural revolution in the university. The strikes progressed constantly with occupations of factories. The reaction of the masses was instantaneous faced with the attempt at a coup.

Capitalism felt that it needed a dictatorship and that the Christian Democracy was not able to respond with the dictatorship. It tried, but had to retreat from fear that half of the party would go over to the other side. Whilst the Christian Democracy tried to maintain this process under its control, there developed within itself a discussion on Marxism and sectors like Gumucio and Jeres broke with it, to go to the workers parties and to the Marxist programme. A whole radical wing was developing in the Christian Democracy. All this showed clearly that the bourgeois parties were in a process of splitting and that a part was being won by worker influence. The petit bourgeois and peasant base of the Christian Democracy was won by the workers parties, and the bourgeoisie saw a disaster approaching. This was the reason for the military coup of Viaux.

They did not make this in a blind way. The attempt failed, because it was incapable of attracting anyone. Faced with this failure the bourgeoisie saw that it had no other way than to accept the elections. If the military coup had met with a certain success, there would not have been any elections, because the bourgeoisie knew very well that it was going to lose. It would have prepared another military coup. If Frei had to oppose this, it was under the pressure of his party in a majority won by the Popular Union by the socialist and communist party and the trade unions. That is why the bourgeoisie had to allow elections against its own intentions.

The bourgeoisie presented itself in the elections as two parties conscious that if it presented itself behind a single party, half of the radicals and of the Christian Democracy would pass to the workers side, weakening thus its own forces and opening a conflict about who commands in Chile. All that showed their powerlessness. If today the Christian Democracy and Alessandri says that Parliament must ratify the election, it is to win time. These people have no intention of giving power to the Popular Union. They want to suffocate it, contain it, stop it, hinder all these mobilisations. But the masses have shown that they have learnt, and have come out in hundreds and thousands in the streets when they knew the victorious results for Allende. They occupied all Santiago. The right wing of Alessandri wanted to provoke, but the police rejected this which means that it is obliged to dissolved itself.

The triumph of the Popular Union indicates the progress of the revolution in Chile, which has already won the poor and middle petit bourgeoisie, and even those with much money. To that can be added the whole intellectual sector, which by tradition is won to the revolution. Nothing of that is new. In 1919 there was the uprising of the navy; in 1932 the socialist republic of Marmaduke Grove and other great permanent movements. There are also the great struggles of the

Chilian proletariat, its great heroic actions, which have led the petit bourgeoisie and peasant many, many times.

The National Society of Agriculture, which is the most reactionary centre of the landed proprietors, is the essential factor in the counter revolution. It is on this that the Yankee imperialists base themselves. Fundamentally, and in reality Alessandri is an attempt at compromise, because imperialism does not have its own candidate. If the Society of Agriculture had presented its own candidate, no one would have voted for it, and this is the reason why they supported Alessandri, who is a combined representative of the financiers, of industry, of the landed sectors in liaison with the Yanks. Alessandri has not shown himself to be opposed to economic relations with the Workers States, presenting himself thus as an acceptable candidate for the capitalist sectors linked to the Christian Democracy. But Alessandri lacks bases. The bourgeoisie is overtaken by the social crisis, which it cannot control. This is why it has to accept the elections.

The electoral result implies the gravity and depth of the social crisis. This is not a triumph of the person Allende, but of the programme, which goes in a declared way towards marxism. In the preceding elections, Allende paid great attention to declaring, that he was going to respect private property, the bishops, God etc... which is not the case this time. He has to say: "We are going to apply marxism, we are going to make a socialist state, we are going to establish relations with all the socialist states, with Cuba, we are going to combat the OAS..." It is for this programme that people have voted, for a programme which is not camouflaged. Now they are afraid to apply it, but the masses are going to impose the application. Allende has launched the electoral campaign with a revolutionary programme, and if he has had the decision to do this, it is because Chile is ripe for these conditions.

But Chile is not a tree in the middle of the desert; it is part of South America, of all the process, which encloses Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador. Turned towards the Pacific, it also faces Argentine and Brasil, and says to them "what are you waiting for?" These elections are not a phenomenon particular to Chile. The Peruvian process appeared unique in its time; then came Bolivia, Ecuador and now Chile. These elections will have as a consequence the impelling of the revolutionary process throughout Latin America; for they are the expression of an interior process in the cultured and well off petit bourgeoisie, who are won by the revolution.

The policy of Frei was one of containing the revolution. He addressed himself to all the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to a part of the peasants and backward sectors of the proletariat, who did not intervene in politics. In the past election Frei obtained an enormous success. He won with an absolute majority: more than 50% of the votes. Today the Christian Democrats lose more than half of their votes. This means that in this process of "revolution in liberty" the Christian masses have left liberty, and gone with the revolution. The authority which Frei had tried to win, authority as a means of winning the bourgeoisie and imperialism to respond to the revolution has gone. All that has been a failure, and this is going to liberate an immense force throughout Latin America.

weak. In Chile the bourgeoisie is infinitely more structured as in Argentine and Brazil. In these countries it disposes of a solid strong economic apparatus, which does not depend simply on the type of production. Chile is one of the countries with the highest standards of life in Latin America.

The Chilean bourgeoisie has been defeated by a feeling already common to the whole of Latin America. It is true that the same economic situation, social or political does not exist in each country.

But their defeat indicates a state of spirit of the petit bourgeoisie, which observes the progress of the revolution. Symptoms and demonstrations of that have already been shown in Bolivia. This situation is going to impel again nationalist, catholic radical wings, and reanimate their revolutionary process by including them in the general process of the revolution. It is a revolutionary process, which goes directly towards socialist measures, for either Allende applies socialist measures, or is shown the door. He must at the least nationalise copper, recognise Cuba, leave OAS, put a stop to the efforts of the CIA, and make the agrarian reform.

The conclusions of these elections show in consequence three great possibilities for the united front in the extreme south of Latin America, a united front of revolutionary countries, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, even if they are at different stages in the evolution of the process.

The Popular Union in power must launch appeals for the United Front, an appeal to the masses of Latin America, to the governments, to take measures of protection, and of development in Latin America against imperialism, against the landowners, to take measures of nationalisation. It is necessary to launch appeals showing the immense possibility, which exists for the development of Latin America. These are the first measures which the government of Allende must adopt.

But it is necessary to prepare before it enters the government. It is necessary to expect attempts at coups d'etat, sabotages, uprisings, a thousand things from here to the end of October. The immediate conclusion must be the mobilisation of the masses through demonstrations, meetings, committees, which control the workers areas, which take power and function as the popular power. It is necessary to appeal for the police and the army to support the triumph of Allende, to appeal for the formation of vigilance and action committees to discuss an economic programme. It is necessary to appeal to that Chile functions, now as a Workers State without it being as such. As in Peru, with its committees in defence of the revolution, of the defence of the Law on industry, it is necessary to give political life to the popular organisations. The committees must not be simple limited organisms, seeming to support such and such a regulation, such and such law or measure. They must allow the masses, workers, peasants all the masses to intervene.

It is necessary to organise demonstrations, to appeal for the army to support the return to power of Allende, but also to support the application of his programme to develop the country for the benefit of the Chilean people. It is necessary to demonstrate that to answer the

necessities of life for the need of cultural elevation and social elevation of the Chilean population, the application of this programme must be assured. It is necessary to appeal to the other countries to make agreements in this sense with Chile for a federation of socialist states of Chile, of Bolivia, of Peru, of Ecuador, and as a preliminary the federation of revolutionary states. Without waiting for this to happen, it is necessary to call for the making of a bloc of states, which discusses this programme. If a good number of countries are afraid today, it is necessary to continue to appeal to them for tomorrow they will have to do it.

The Peruvians have tried to do it, but they were afraid afterwards of the action of the Yankees and retreated. They have not instituted a series of measures which they wanted to do against the Yankees in order to conciliate still with the right wing. They still accept, for example, the agreement of Cuajone, but do not apply it. They accept that a mission comes, and then they do not allow it to enter. It remains, however, a point of support so that they can enter tomorrow. It is necessary that they finish with all this. It is necessary to call for an anti imperialist declaration, to plan production, to eliminate the OAS and the CIA throughout Latin America, to recognise Cuba. It is necessary to form a new Latin American organism, which takes into consideration the needs and the interests of the Latin American peoples, and which struggles to show the door to imperialism throughout Latin America, to overthrow feudalism, the landed proprietors, great private industry, and to nationalise the latter. It is necessary to appeal for all that. Chile can do so, and Peru is going to support it, but also Bolivia, even if this will not be done immediately. The same for Ecuador. It is necessary to support this programme now with mobilisations, and with an appeal to confront in this way the civil war, which is coming before or after the taking of power. The civil war is in any case inevitable.

Chile must launch appeals to the Argentine, to Uruguay, to Brasil to do the same. Let the socialist and the Communist Party in the name of the Popular Union launch appeal for the Latin American united front, not for the simple development of the economic and social forces of the done—which is good—but for the expulsion of imperialism, the expropriation of all its property, for the liquidation of the OAS, and the organisation of the planning of all the countries among them. The echo of a similar appeal is going to be immense and stimulate considerably the nationalist tendencies.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Manchester

THE PARTY ANNOUNCES THE OPENING OF A PARTY CENTRE IN MANCHESTER.

WE INVITE SYMPATHISERS, LABOUR AND COMMUNIST PARTY MILITANTS, TRADE UNIONISTS AND STUDENTS, TO CALL THERE BETWEEN THE TIMES LISTED BELOW, FOR DISCUSSION AND TO OBTAIN OUR DOCUMENTS.

THE CENTRE WILL BE OPEN

Monday 4 pm to 9 pm, Wednesday 2 pm to 5 pm, Friday 5 pm to 8 pm

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Near Victoria Station

THE SOCIALIST ASPIRATION OF THE CHILEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN MASSES IS IRREVERSIBLE

This is not an isolated triumph of the Chilean masses, but the expression of a state of feeling and of social decision of all the masses of Latin America. Peru, Bolivia have already expressed this. Today Chile shows in a particularly decisive way this aspiration of the masses in a situation where it is necessary to take account of the existence of a quite strong enough bourgeoisie in this country. The anti imperialist movements in Bolivia and in Peru are able to triumph, because it is there that the bourgeoisie is very

weak. In Chile the bourgeoisie is infinitely more structured as in Argentine and Brazil. In these countries it disposes of a solid strong economic apparatus, which does not depend simply on the type of production. Chile is one of the countries with the highest standards of life in Latin America.

The Chilean bourgeoisie has been defeated by a feeling already common to the whole of Latin America. It is true that the same economic situation, social or political does not exist in each country.

THE ELECTORAL TRIUMPH OF ALLENDE . . .

THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT MUST LAUNCH THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The proletariat through its trade unions and parties maintains its class function by developing the revolution in Chile, by preparing an armed surveillance. It is necessary to call for such vigilance, to call that the soldiers and the army gives arms, to appeal so that the army is disposed to intervene in defense of the right of the Popular Union to govern in Chile. It is necessary to appeal at the same time to all the rest of Latin America for a common front with mobilisations on a programme of nationalisations of the principal enterprises, in relation to the interests of Latin America, of the recognition of Cuba, and of all the Workers States. It is necessary to appeal to them, so that they help, so that they install copper refineries. They must aid, as in Peru, without interest, where they sent an enormous aid after the earthquake. They have made loans repayable in between 40 and 100 years. They have installed a refinery for nothing. It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union for a military and economic support for Chile immediately. The trade unions and the workers parties of Chile must prepare themselves for this from this moment on.

It is necessary to appeal for the development of commerce with Cuba. All this programme must be realised on the basis of the mobilisation of the masses on the concrete objectives of developing their participation, their control on the economy, production and distribution. It is necessary to appeal for the nationalisation of the principal sources of production, to realise the agrarian reform, to make a plan of production under workers control, to recognise all the Workers States, to nationalise the banks and through it, credit. It is necessary to appeal to all the Workers States, and not only the Soviet Union, but to China and Cuba, amongst others, to intervene. It is necessary to appeal to all the workers parties of Latin America and all the anti-imperialist, Left Christian Democrat movements, the nationalist movements, and the Latin American masses to mobilise for these objectives.

The trade unions and the workers parties of Chile must hurl themselves into such actions, independently of the declarations of the government. These, as workers organisms must act in a revolutionary manner, and launch all these appeals to the Latin American masses, appealing for a Latin American anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front, to plan production on the basis of the interests of the masses, of the social and economic development of Latin America. Out with Imperialism! Out with the OAS! These

BE PREPARED TO CRUSH ALL THE ATTEMPTS AT A REACTIONARY COUP

The bourgeoisie feels that the elections of Allende modifies the relation of forces, not so much from the social point of view, for this was already unfavourable, but from the political point of view, in as much as there are now sectors, which are going to turn towards the revolution. The relationship of forces was already favourable to the revolution from the social point of view, but was still not politically. In the measure, where there are still the apparatuses which lead, their political decision has some importance. Thus these elections are a political blow to the bourgeoisie. All its Christian Democrat strategy collapses, and this was the support of imperialism. The bourgeoisie is going to have to confront a new situation, a desertion of half its forces.

Repercussions of this situation are going to be immense in Italy, where there is a process similar to that in Chile, and which also marches towards the civil war. The Left Christian Democracy, the people like Donat Cattin, the Acli and Acpol, are the centre of the agitation. Conditions are those of civil war, and do not permit any electoral solution. Imperialism cannot allow the triumph of Allende; but the masses can no longer put up with a defeat.

It is necessary to expect that the land owners form, as they are doing already, their own army to go against the government and the masses. To do anything, the government must make the agrarian reform, and support the peasants against the land owners, who have no other social means than to act militarily. Thus it is the civil war. It is necessary to prepare to prevent the counter-revolution by developing the intervention of the masses under the form of soviet control and intervention. It is like this that it is

are what the conclusions of these actions must be.

It is necessary at the same time to appeal for a public discussion in the workers camp on all the problems, which have to be resolved. What are the ideas, which must be put forward? Public discussions must be made, in the universities, in the public squares to discuss all the problems of the economy, of policy and perspectives for Latin America, about relations with Cuba and the other Workers States, about the development of socialist measures and for a concrete planning, which starts from the real state of affairs in Chile. Every day, hundreds of children live and die in the streets. The slums are growing, and the most scandalous promiscuity, which can exist, reigns there.

The people have made them today into really livable neighbourhoods, without dirt or mud, without rats, with water and electricity. People have made among themselves true socialist communes where they don't smoke, don't drink, and where the husband does not have to pay to take a wife. Every problem is discussed, and this is communism. The bourgeoisie has seen all this, and cannot understand it, for it is an expression of the socialist sentiment of the masses. Such situations are produced in Santiago, Valparaiso, for thousands of people in entire districts. They have eliminated drinking, have advised people not to smoke, doing it in a conscious fashion. Family disputes which could not be eliminated, have been tranquilly discussed, just as the Chinese are doing. All this has had an immense echo. People have resolved these problems with a communist spirit.

These elections are a triumph against the bourgeoisie and the working class feel that they have won. They do not feel it as a triumph on the electoral plane, but on a social plane. For the working class it is a revolution, it is the first step towards the taking of power. Previously it conducted itself with a spirit of civil war. It has to speak, live and act as in the civil war, even if it still does not have arms.

The bourgeoisie feels this and this dislocates its preparation. The military coup has failed, and it must present itself in the elections with two parties. Now, it is going to try to come back to a military coup; it is going to do it to sabotage. The Yankees are going to intervene and launch themselves with all their strength in the preparation of a counter-revolutionary intervention. "Le Monde" underlines that "This is the first time that a socialist president is elected in Latin America". And in what conditions!

necessary to declare the march of the popular union to the Presidency and to power; from the government to the power. But for this it is necessary to prevent the armed reaction of the bourgeoisie which is going to try a coup. One cannot allow it to, and it is necessary to go from the government to power. It is with this objective that it is necessary to appeal to organise the armed action of the masses, to form organisms and to liquidate the bourgeois organisms, beginning by the police, bourgeois justice, the army, and finances. One must appeal to the masses to organise themselves and participate. The bourgeoisie is going to try to strike a blow, but as recently, it shows that it is without the forces to prevent the action of the masses. It can no longer prevent it, in Argentina and in Brazil, and it fears the influence of Chile on the masses of these countries.

The capitalists seek the intervention of the Yankees in Chile, for the Chilean army on its own cannot do anything. World capitalism is frightened and wondering "how is this possible", "how did this happen?" They are scratching their head, cannot understand such a process. They make comparison with what happened before. But calculations and comparisons cannot be made only with what is passing in Chile, but on a world wide scale. In their time the English Labour Party triumphed on a bourgeois programme, but today Allende triumphs by saying what he is going to do and Tom's of the Christian Democracy must say that he is going to support him in the Chamber.

There is contained within this support an attempt to contain the popular union; but there is also the support of a petit bourgeois tendency, which has passed over from the other side. To obtain his

votes, and to contain, Tom's has had to take a programme of the left. Allende has gained with a socialist programme.

It is the revolution which is going to push many people to think; "but why should we hide ourselves, make manoeuvres, act behind the scenes?" The defeat of the Christian Democracy—not solely the conservatives, who are openly in the camp of imperialism—who presented themselves as partisans of social progress, of forms and methods of progress without revolution, means the defeat for all the Latin American reformist tendencies. This is going to have very great repercussions within all the communist parties. The revolutionary life within the C.P. is going to be stimulated by this, the discussions are going to be elevated as is the preoccupation for the texts, and the need to be guided in relation to a comprehension of all the process of history from which they have been distant. The way in which the process develops at the moment is certainly the last thing which they thought was going to happen. Up to the last moment, the communists tried to present themselves alone; they didn't believe that they would triumph. This is what they were saying by presenting their own candidate, Neruda. They thought it possible to receive a very great number of votes, but not to win. The masses, it is they who believed in success. And one of the essential aspects of this process is precisely the behaviour of the masses which has allowed them to gain a part of the Christian Democracy. This is so true, that Tom's has had to present himself with a left anti-imperialist programme in order to obtain votes. Half of the votes, which he obtained, are votes in the camp of the revolution and not for capitalism.

The triumph of Allende in the world revolutionary process is going to mean a stimulus to the already existing move-

ments; which is also going to have repercussions on Allende himself. The defeat of the Christian Democracy in Chile breaks one of the essential social bases of capitalism. This is going to have immediate repercussions in Venezuela, but also in Colombia. All the perspectives, all the organs on which capitalism counts in Latin America and in the world, disintegrate.

The repercussions are going to affect all the Christian Democrat movements. The social weight of the Christian Democracy is going to evaporate with the triumph of the Popular Union.

The repercussions are going to be felt in Germany and in Italy. Allende is already speaking directly in the name of the socialist programme. Thanks to this success, nationalism in Argentina is advancing now by several lengths. This triumph is going to stimulate a series of tendencies to pass openly to the offensive, and not to let themselves be limited or stopped before the limitations of lack of means, overcoming their fear. This triumph is going to stimulate enormously the whole maturing of the process; it is going to mark out the field, polarise the tendencies, showing clearly that a majority sector of the petit bourgeoisie has passed to the camp of the revolution.

The bourgeois duty of Frei should have been to go over to the conservatives and prepare the coup d'état. Also when Tom's supports Allende openly today, it stimulates the army to defend legality.

Basically Tom's acts against the conservative tendency of the CD, and takes measures faced with the attempts at a coup. In this way, he stimulates the army to respect the constitution. By supporting Allende, Tom's wishes to prevent a coup. It is not excluded, moreover, that a number of Christian Democrats will pass to the side of the government now.

FROM THE GOVERNMENT TO POWER

It is not bad to use these contradictions in a tactical way, but to prevent a coup it is necessary to mobilise the trade unions, to call the masses to mobilise to make meetings, and demonstrations on the programme of socialist measures, in support of Allende. It is also necessary to launch an appeal to the priests of the "Third World movement," who have declared that the revolution must be socialist and violent. To appeal so that they intervene, that they use the pulpit and all the means, which they have, to call to the masses to take power. It is necessary to make appeals with programmes and concrete actions, on the basis of the expropriation of imperialism. OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM ALL LATIN AMERICA! This must be the slogan.

It is necessary to appeal for concrete mobilisations to expropriate imperialism and for the unification of the CGT in a Single Latin American TU centre on the programme of expropriation of imperialism. This struggle must signify occupations of factories, movements of agitation, using all the organisms, including the church, Parliament, University, Trade Union, factory. In the latter it is necessary to make brief stoppages with short meetings. It is necessary to make agitation above all outside the factories, to demand of all the communist and socialist parties of the world, and to the left nationalist movements, that they pronounce and mobilise for the Chilean triumph, and launch warnings to imperialism against any attempt at a coup.

The communists are going to want to show that Chile is the demonstration of the possibility of electoral peaceful roads towards power, of the possibility of penetration from inside. But everyone understands and sees that an electoral triumph does not exclude the need, on the other hand, to break the capitalist apparatus and take power by violence. For otherwise, power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Yanks must make a coup, for they cannot tolerate that the Chilean bourgeoisie yields, for this means the collapse of all of them.

The triumph of Allende marks a road for the development of the Latin American revolution; it is the road of the united front directed by the proletarian organisms and tendencies, with the objective of linking up with the Workers States. It is necessary to break immediately the juridical, police repressive apparatus. To appeal to the army, the socialist, nationalist, revolutionary officers, so that they discuss with the soldiers and form committees in all the barracks, in defense of the triumph of the masses; committees, of respect of the popular will. The right wing of the CD is going to want to impose its conditions on the

Allende government, so that he surrounds himself with people, who respect capitalist structures. These negotiations are going to take place. It is necessary to appeal to the popular union, so that it respects nothing, changes all the apparatus. It is necessary that militias are formed and organised with the support of the military. The factories must be ready to come out, armed, to make the popular will respected. It is necessary to appeal to the socialist tradition of sectors of the army and to the mass organisations.

One can measure the world maturing by the triumph of the revolution. Chile is a small country, with a proletariat quite small compared to the population of Latin America. It has intimidated and terrorised capitalism, and every country of the world feels this. The proletariat has pulled along the petit bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and the peasants. The popular union, which is a front of left parties; socialist, communist and left democratic movements, the left Christian Democracy is seen by capitalism as a movement, which is going to stimulate the rest of the world. It is this centralised and concentrated process, which gives a small group the quality of the quantity. On a world scale, Chile is an insignificant thing from the point of view of the weak economic or even social weight, which it can have. Copper has a certain importance, but it is not the decisive thing.

When world capitalism is so frightened, it is because it understands that this triumph is going to influence the conditions already apt and ripe for socialist solutions everywhere, where a system of exploitation still exists. The influence is going to penetrate into the Communist Parties, and make them feel the need, and show them the possibility of the taking of power in Italy, in France and in the rest of the world, where there they have an importance, and where the socialists are important. Capitalism sees that this triumph is going to cause a leftward movement of a whole series of tendencies, and of parties, who depend on the working class. This is why it is frightened of an election in a country, which up to yesterday didn't count for anything.

United front against imperialism! Out with O.A.S. and all the agents of the C.I.A! Nationalisation of all the goods and enterprises of imperialism! Planning of the economy on a regional and Latin American scale! A regional pact and federations of the countries that are against imperialism! Organisation of the defense of the popular will on the basis of committees of anti-imperialist soldiers and officers in the barracks! For the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The Communist Party can only impel the formation...

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the Labour Party, and this has been reinforced in a past period by positions of the CP, objectively sustaining the bourgeois leadership in the LP and sustaining the various efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to contain processes in G. Britain and the world.

However, the changed relation of the world forces has meant that the Soviet bureaucracy can no longer act as in the past. A partial "regeneration" of the Workers State takes place, and the bureaucracy, although seeking to contain the revolution, also in part actively stimulates and defends the revolution (see IS document on the last meeting of the CC, of CPSU). Inevitably this effects the whole international movement as was shown at the Moscow Conference. The CPs turn to the left, and begin to sup-

OUR PROGRAMME

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

port, and lean upon, the struggles of the masses, instead of simply detaining them. With the added impulse of the new phase of the class struggle in Great Britain, the CP has been forced to make a vigorous, if insufficient, response. Thus in recent speeches Gollan has used the term "socialist revolution" even if in a somewhat ambiguous context. And at a meeting on the 50 anniversary of the foundation of the CP, referring to the struggle against the anti trade union laws, he said: "It will never be done just by gentlemanly parliamentary opposition. It needs mass action in the factories and localities". And we would remind the comrades in the CP that in the days of Lenin, when the CP was formed, the need was not felt for a special "British Road to Socialism." The CP has called for the organisation of industrial action—but like the trade union leaders, they have not accepted in a clear way the need to organise for a general strike on a clear programme of class demands, not simply defensive, but offensive in character.

Nevertheless the CP's attempt to mobilise mass action for December 8, day of action is going to act as a great stimulus to the working class. They feel that at least in part one of their instruments is responding vigorously to the needs of the struggle for power. The response to the call for the Nov 14 meeting in defence of trade unions, shows that despite its relative smallness, the CP carries considerable weight with the vanguard, and in the process that is developing, there is no doubt that this weight is going to increase.

But just as there is constant need for ideological clarification in the Labour Party, it is necessary that a similar course is necessary in the CP. Above all as the IV International has pointed out in analyses of the Ostpolitik of Brandt and the policies of Soviet bureaucracy, there is no need for communist parties simply to adapt themselves to those policies. The Soviet bureaucracy follows a policy of left opportunism, as opposed to the right opportunism of past period, but it still remains one of opportunism, and this is shown in the most glaring manner in relation to the Soviet diplomatic offensive around a projected European security pact. It is true that the Soviet bureaucracy is arming Egypt massively, and ignoring threats of imperialism, but at the same time that it carries out the immensely progressive task of sustaining the socialist revolution in the Middle East, it subjects the revolutionary interests of the European proletariat to the utopian

fantasies of dislodging imperialism by stages i.e. the projected European Security Conference. It is not marxist to speak about preserving peace, when imperialism is openly preparing for world war, and it is not possible to advance with the necessary speed, when the policy of the British Communist Party is geared to supporting this line and lining up with bourgeois interests in support of the right wing elements in Czechoslovakia. Jack Jones of the TGWU has supported the idea of the European Security Pact, in other words the limitations of the union leadership sustain themselves on the banalities and opportunism of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Party. On the contrary, it is necessary to discuss the genuine revolutionary marxist platform of this stage—the independent single trade union centre in Europe, linking all the European proletariat together, on the anti capitalist programme, the perspective of European political general strikes, to bring down the regime of Franco etc. The CP cannot claim to be marxist when it attacks Heath on the domestic front and goes along with the Gromyko-Heath opportunist diplomacy.

Similarly, it is not enough talk in general terms of opposing the legislation of capitalism, it is necessary to specify the programme and the methods. It is necessary to abandon the idea that Parliament can be taken over to impose socialism, it can be used as a mouthpiece for socialist propaganda, but the serious business of taking power is done by the organisms of the masses, and means the organisation of revolutionary violence to smash the state apparatus by the working class. To pose doubts on this is to open the doors to class collaboration, as has happened in the previous history of the CP. And for this, it is necessary to realise in all its significance the process in Northern Ireland—it is not possible to segregate the course of history there from Britain. There in direct brutal terms we see the army of imperialism, confronting the revolutionary aspirations of the masses, and there is no hope of eliminating imperialism in Ireland, save by revolution in a united front with the British masses. It is not possible to say the solution in England is different in principle from that in Ireland.

It is well known that there are extensive disagreements in the CP as to the way forward. This was clear in relation to the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, where a sizeable minority at the last Congress rejected the rightist statement of the CP leadership, supporting

Dubcek and Co. There are wings who desire discussion of Trotskyist and Posadist ideas, and wings wedded to inertia, and petit bourgeois conceptions. We call upon the best elements in the CP to impel a serious ideological struggle in relation to the programme to follow. We are against arid discussions about what Trotsky or Stalin said or did at a particular time, but it is necessary to discuss the perspectives for the international socialist revolution, what type of programme is necessary to put forward, what sort of party is required to impel the victory of socialism in this country and the rest of the world, and it is impossible to do this if there is no serious and honest discussion with the IV International. For example, it is rank dishonesty on occasion for the anti Trotskyist group "International Socialism" to be referred to in the columns of the "Morning Star" as Trotskyist, so as to conceal what real Trotskyism is all about.

We appeal for the Morning Star to become a real forum for an honest ideological discussion, and that the Communist Party aligns itself firmly and unequivocally with the revolutionary course of the world process, and eliminates—on the basis of discussion—from its ranks the elements who want to stay in the safer paths, or openly anti communist paths of the Oto Siks and Garaudys. We appeal to the CP to call meetings, a policy now being pursued by the French CP—in which there is no bar on political discussion, so that revolutionary marxism can intervene. And we appeal for an elevation of the attitude of the CP in relation to the guerrilla movement in the Middle East i.e. an end to "humanitarian" objections to highjackings, and for a real Bolshevik comprehension of their utility or not. Finally in the context of the class struggle now taking place in Great Britain, we call for the perspective of the preparation of a general strike using the term boldly, and not concealing it as days of action. A general strike is after all part of the preparation for the taking of power, its use is a fundamental part of revolutionary strategy. And we call for the CP to adopt the anti capitalist programme for the imposition of workers control in the factories, for all wages to rise with the cost of living—as a natural attachment to all wage agreements—for equal pay for women now, for all the profits of automation to the workers, for single unions in all the factories, for a single European workers centre, and for the ending of NATO and the imposition of the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe.

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The electoral triumph...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

arming of the factories and the workers areas! Support the triumph of the Chilian masses in all the workers and revolutionary states in the world! Application of the socialist programme, without conciliation, and by basing it on the mobilisation of the masses to guarantee the government, and impose the popular will against the 'putchistes' who prepare a coup! From the government to power by the action of the masses, and an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme by the united front of the workers movement, and of its parties and organisations with all the exploited and repressed.

International Secretariat
of the IV International

8th September, 1970

CORRECTION

In the editorial of the last issue of Red Flag we made a short analysis of the process in Canada, which was not correct.

It is not correct to speak about the struggle for a Socialist Quebec, separating it from the rest of Canada, but only of the struggle for a Socialist Canada of which Quebec will form a part, and in which it will have the right to self-determination. To struggle for a Socialist Quebec isolates the French speaking workers from the whole process of revolutionary maturing, which is expressed throughout the U.S.A. and Canada today in a great number of different ways—the student struggle, the huge General Motors strike, the American Negro struggle, etc. We make a self criticism for the incorrectness of this analysis, and resolve to raise the level of our comprehension and analysis in the future.

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 125 25th October 1970 PRICE 6d

Make December 8th a General Strike with factory occupation and mass assemblies to defeat the proposed anti trade union laws and for workers control, the sliding scale of wages, and against redundancies

The bombing attack on North Vietnam by U.S. Imperialism, and the attempted invasions of Guinea, are the latest attempts of Imperialism to try to halt the constant process of the world revolution. Faced with the wars in Vietnam and the Middle East, the social revolution in Latin America, and the rising class struggle in the heart of the U.S.A., it has only one means of defence, constant bombardment of the masses, leading towards the launching of the nuclear war. The bombing of North Vietnam is obviously an escalation in the stage towards the final encounter, provoked on the one hand, because U.S. Imperialism can see that it is not winning the war, with its soldiers refusing to fight when they get there, and on the other, to give confidence to a shaken world Imperialism. The aerial bombing of the outskirts of Hanoi, and the port of Haiphong, although stated by the U.S. to be only lasting for one day, shows clearly the intentions of U.S. Imperialism that although there has been a lull in the fighting, it will never leave Vietnam, for it is through its bases there, that it controls the war throughout Indo China.

At the same time as we see these new escalations, towards the nuclear war, splits within the camp of imperialism become more apparent. A sector of capitalism, seeing that the only way forward is for more links both economic and social with the Workers States, take steps to achieve this. Hence we see that Italy and Canada take up diplomatic relations with the Chinese Workers State, Couve De Murville returns from his visit to China singing its praises, and there is a majority vote at the United Nations in favour of entry for the Chinese Workers State. These links, which are taken up by capitalism with China are not done purely for economic reasons, but to try to present to the working class an impression of friendliness and respect towards the Workers States. And this attitude damages the centralised interests of world capitalism.

The world masses are not in anyway intimidated by the violent methods of imperialism, for on a world scale, the working class, peasantry and exploited petit bourgeoisie, show in their everyday actions that they are ready and prepared to go ahead with the revolution, and the smashing of the capitalism system. Still there is no conscious organised leadership of the masses, acting as a unifying programmatic centre, but nevertheless they show that they are prepared to take on capitalism, and they are confident that they can develop this essential leadership during the struggle, as in fact they are developing it now. Using the present leaderships, which they have, the masses show how they put pressure on these and push them, and impel them into taking anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist measures. For instance in Chile, Allende has been forced to disband the riot squad of the police force, and the peasants are not waiting for the land reforms to be passed by parliament, but are going ahead expropriating the land immediately. In Italy we see that the pressure of the working class and their struggle for unity in a single workers centre has led to the discussions of the leading trade unions and their linking together. In the USA there has been the great victory of the United Auto Workers, who after a hard fought strike have won their wage increases and more important, have won an agreement whereby their wages now rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living. This has not gone unnoticed by the working class of Europe, who see that their wage increases are constantly being eroded by the ever rising cost of living, it is a

demand which in the immediate future will be fought for here. In the Middle East the Egyptian masses show that they are not prepared to continue with the cease fire agreements of the Israelis, and Sadat of Egypt, as the International analysed, is not able to carry on the role of Nasser, as a great centraliser but container of the struggle in the Middle East. Sadat hasn't the social authority which Nasser had, and hence he is forced immediately to go further to the left, in order to maintain his position. The masses want to finish with the imperialist base of Israel, they want the lands lost in the 1967 war reclaimed from the Israelis, and hence Sadat has to agree that it will be all out war till the end, when the present cease fire agreement expires.

It is within this framework of advance of the world revolution, and the constant defeats of world imperialism, that we see this General Strike on the 8th of December being prepared. This is a formidable blow to the proposed measures of the Tory government. And it must be seen as an offensive not defensive measure by the vanguard of working class, who wish to take power; in the unions, in the factories, and in the country. At the meeting held on the 14th November in preparation for this strike (as the article on page 4 shows)—there was a clear differentiation between the communist and T.U. rank and file, and some of the C.P. and L.P. leaders on the platform. The difference was most clearly expressed in the question of what type of demonstration December 8th should be, with the rank and file declaring it would be a General Strike, while the platform tried to limit it by calling it a "Day of Action". Certainly it will be a day full of action throughout the whole of the British Isles, but if thousands of workers refuse to work, and go on demonstrations for a day, what is that but a general strike! The response to the call for a strike has been magnificent, already over 300,000 workers have declared that they will not work on the 8th, and the vast majority of these workers are those in the key sectors of the industry, the big car factories, ship building, engineering, and joined to these are large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. National Union of Students Conference voted overwhelmingly to support the strike, while the printing union SOGAT, and DATA have both declared official support for it. The attitudes which different union leaderships take over this strike is very important. The AEU, for instance, has said that it will

leave its members to decide for themselves whether to strike or not, Jack Jones of the TGWU, although not openly calling for support for the strike, in the past supported the idea of massive demonstrations in working days, and the Midland region of that union are supporting it, and the leaders of the Constructional Engineering Union have declared themselves 100% behind the strike. The revolutionary leadership of the class will receive a big stimulus from the preparation of the strike and the strike itself, for the construction of a new leadership is not a rigid process, first constructing the leadership and then calling the strike. The two inter-influence each other; a part of the leadership discusses the question, encouraging the class to intervene, this in turn pushes this leadership, which then has to advance to a new level.

This problem of constructing an adequate leadership was seen in the recent strike of the miners, where after striking for two weeks, they voted to accept the £3 wage increase, and to return to work.

But the miners do not return to work defeated or demoralised, they have won a substantial economic victory, and more important, they have provoked a crisis in their union leadership, which can never be healed. The discussions will continue in the lodges and in the next Conference of the N.U.M., many changes can be expected in both the bureaucratic rules and regulations of the union structure, and in the composition of the union leadership. The miners have returned to work determined to continue the fight to gain control within their union.

We make an appeal to the leadership and the rank and file, which will participate in the strike on the 8th December, to change the approach of the strike from being a defensive struggle against the proposed anti trade union legislation of the Tories to an offensive one against all the anti-working class proposals made by the government. It is not only the workers who the Tory government are attacking, it is the children, and families of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. OF THE R.W.P.(T).

CAPITALISM IS TO BLAME FOR THE DISASTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

Capitalism has no interest in protecting the lives of the masses, and this is why conditions are such that enormous numbers of people live in potentially dangerous areas subject to flood, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and every other type of natural hazard. Cyclones hit the Ganges delta regularly, and it is perfectly possible scientifically to provide adequate warning of their advance, build cyclone shelters and "reclaim" this richly fertile land, protecting it from flood. But capitalism is occupied with preparations for atomic war against the Workers States, trips to the moon, with reactionary military aims, and imperialism tries to hold back the revolution by exterminating whole populations indiscriminately like in Vietnam. The loss of nearly a million peasant lives is nothing to capitalism, which is content to explain away their very existence with references to "overbreeding."

In a world-wide climate of shock and sympathy, even the bourgeois press and individual bourgeois have been moved to join the chorus of criticism of the callous lack of concern shown by the Pakistani government. Patching up measures have been suggested, like the establishment of a UN fund to cope with such disasters. But the capitalists, as a class and a regime, are shown to be incapable of providing the fundamental solution. It is from the masses themselves that the will to organise for the future comes. During the recent flood in Genoa it was the population, which organised its own rescue operations with a soviet type functioning in committees which discussed, came to de-

isions, and applied them in the workers' districts. They showed up the total inadequacy and lack of collective concern of the measures undertaken by capitalism. The decision to have done with the inhumanities of capitalist organisation exists in the masses throughout the world, expressed in a more or less organic way, and it does in East Pakistan too. These people have a long tradition of struggle and constantly feel the influence of the Chinese Workers State and the whole Indo-Chinese revolution. Capitalism tries to profit by painting a picture of overpowering grief and pessimism in the face of the disaster. But it is the element of revolutionary hope and optimism that sustains the survivors together with their fraternal preoccupation for one another.

We applaud the effort to help the Pakistani masses, made by the Workers' States and revolutionary states by sending material aid, but we appeal to these countries to accompany these gifts with denunciations of the capitalist and feudal regime, and declarations of the programme for its overthrow. The land in Pakistan must be expropriated by the masses and farmed collectively. All building industry and agricultural suppliers must be nationalised under workers' control and without compensation. Demand that the Pakistani ruling class recompense the masses for their losses; nationalise the bank and expropriate all imperialist capital to pay for a development scheme for the benefit of the masses—make the ruling class pay for the crime it is responsible for!

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The failure of the counter-revolutionary coup; the triumph of the revolutionary counter-coup; the worker-peasant-student-military alliance and the new phase of nationalism to the Workers State in Bolivia

7 OCTOBER 1970

It is necessary to see this popular military counter-coup as an aspect of the revolutionary process, which develops throughout the world. It has shown itself after the hijackings of planes by the Fedayeen, after the civil war and dual power in Jordan, after the triumph of the guerrillas, and the demonstrations by five million people in Cairo. The whole of these facts have been an impetus in the entire world to the deepening of the crisis of capitalism, of the bourgeois leaderships, and reactionary sectors. All this, on the other hand, has animated the sectors, which seek to progress and to go forward with social measures, and economic and political measures. One cannot take Bolivia in an isolated way, but as an aspect of the world process.

The audacity of the action of Torres does not come from, was not born from what happens in Bolivia, but the world process, and among others the decision of the masses of the Middle-East. All that has weighed on him. A part of this audacity comes also from the fact, that he bases himself on the limitations and weakness of capitalism and imperialism which could not intervene. Previously, all those in Latin America, who accompl-

THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS CONCENTRATED IN BOLIVIA

The events of Bolivia show anew that the people, the proletariat, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, mobilising in the streets, are an irreplaceable factor of triumph. The mobilisation of the masses, the general strike to intimidate, and disconcert, disintegrates all the coups of the right, which feels insecure.

But the people in the street have intimidated the enemy, disintegrated it, made it afraid, taken from it all assurance and made it vacillate, and lose all confidence in itself. Reactionary coups must imprison, and prevent their enemies from organising. For the organisation of society through the general strike of the proletariat has impelled the sectors which want to advance in the revolution, and by a counter coup have disintegrated the enemy. That is decisive.

In all this last stage in Bolivia, the masses prepared themselves to weigh and decide. Several weeks before the coup, the students attacked the fascists, and threw them out of the university, with the support of the workers, the unions, and the C.O.B. There had been stoppages at work, strikes, demonstrations of workers, demonstrations of journalists supported by the students and workers against the closing of the paper "Prensa". That situation obliged Ovando to retreat and accept the expulsion of the fascists from the university, precipitating the crisis and counter-revolutionary coup of Miranda, to stop the increasing revolutionary intervention of the masses. The reply of the masses with the general strike, the armed mobilisation of the miners and students of Oruro, the peasants of Cochabamba has been explosive. The occupation of the country by the masses impels Torres to intervene, to bombard the Government palace, and to declare a "revolutionary government".

If Torres threatened, then bombarded the government palace, it is because he thought that the proletariat were taking power, that from the mobilisations of the masses would emerge a government of the C.O.B. (Workers Centre of Bolivia), a revolutionary government of workers, peasants and soldiers. It is for that reason that he immediately bombarded, and that the right junta had to instantly capitulate, without any resistance, seeing the danger which was coming. This danger was not coming from the bombardment, which according to the information received didn't cause any damage, but of the general strike, which was in process of carrying all the country, with the armed intervention of the miners and students of Oruro, and the peasants militia of Cochabamba. It is also all that, which pushed Torres to bombard. When he saw that Ovando capitulated, and that the masses were mobilising in the general strike, decided by the unions, he decided to intervene, and to bombard the government palace.

That indicates that the moment is much deeper than Torres shows; much deeper! It is the people in the street, and the general strike, which have decided. The mobilisation of the masses, the occupation of the villages, the armed struggle of the miners and peasants have been the

ished coup d'etats found themselves under constant pressure of the armies of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. They launched their coup counting on the internal struggles of the military sectors. This time, Torres made his coup without counting on any other support than that of the government of Peru. In order to launch his coup in this way, he bases himself on the perspectives, which exist and of which he is conscious.

force of decision. The discussions on the programme, on who was going to govern the country, who was going to command were pursued up to the eve of the general strike. It is that strike which decided, which obliged Torres to impose, and the others to capitulate. The strike dominated all the country, bringing in all the masses. That is why the movement is much deeper than the declarations of Torres. In consequence it is necessary to wait for the later much deeper consequences, and it is in these conditions that it is necessary to intervene.

This revolutionary counter coup in Bolivia was produced immediately after great world events, after great mobilisations of the masses, demonstrating the initiative and revolutionary spirit of them. World unity is in the process of expressing itself through the revolution. Nothing All that has been transmitted to Bolivia. Nothing faster exists, not telephone, nor telegraph, than the revolution. The hijacking of the airplanes by the P.F.L.P. precipitated a process, a chain. That revolutionary action destined to show the power of the revolution, has also shown that by arms and civil war one can advance the revolution, and smash the plans of capitalism. It was followed by the civil war in Jordan, by dual power in that country.

The hijacking of the airplanes was an expression of dual power with world capitalism. It is in fact obvious: a little nucleus has imposed on the great capitalist forces of England, Germany and Switzerland, the exchange of the hostages for the prisoners. The guerrillas in order to triumph, leant on a world spirit, which favoured them. The civil war in Jordan, led by the guerrilla groups, the extension of dual power, expressed in the Irbid soviet, is a social dual power. These are not the aspects or forms of dual power, but a concrete dual power in the whole country.

The failure of the assassin king Hussein, and the failure also of Nasser for attempting to subdue the guerrilla comes from the fact that they saw the danger of the extension of the revolutionary war. Nasser realised that the dual power in Jordan was gaining Egypt. He had to make a declaration against Hussein and show himself in agreement with the guerrillas and El Fatah. The Egyptian masses were capable and disposed to dual power, and that was demonstrated two days after the death of Nasser with five million demonstrating in the streets of Cairo, determined to take power. They were mobilised by a common sentiment, of reflection, of understanding, by a common desire to intervene.

It is also all that which expresses itself in Bolivia. The decision was not taken by chance in two days. Miranda launched the coup counting on the fear of others, and in particular Ovando, and on the fact that Torres was not organised. Otherwise the reply would have been immediate, Miranda could therefore maintain himself in power for twenty four hours, and it was the mobilisations of the masses, and not an immediate reply of Torres—which forced him to leave, which forced Torres to intervene. The

students, the peasants of Cochabamba, in arms, the armed miners and the general strike by the unions gave an impulse to Torres to act.

It is on that that it is necessary to look for support in the stages to come. It is necessary to count with the conditions of the country, where nothing of that is new. The Trotskyists have a great tradition in Bolivia. They are the ones who gave the programme of Pulacayo, they who called for the struggle for the formation of workers militias. They are at the origin of all this tradition. The organisation of the militias arising in 1947 under the impulsion and intervention of the Trotskyists is arising again today among the peasants, students, workers. They are the ones who have made the taking of power by the masses, feared, if there had not been the arrangement between the military. And it is for that reason that Torres was pressed to bombard, and intimidated the right, and made them capitulate. It would be absurd to think that they capitulated just on the pressure of the bombardment. They capitulated, because they saw themselves, and because of this Ovando took flight. He saved himself, because he saw that the right was launching a coup counting on the fear of the left mobilising the masses. It is always that, that they count on. But this time, the coup failed, because the masses went out onto the streets, did not let themselves be intimidated, obliging Torres to go forward, to be firm and energetic. His first declaration did not correspond to the fact that they were within triumph. This demands other sorts of considerations. It is the people who have triumphed, and it is because of this that it is necessary to make a series of appeals to it for complete participation: an appeal which poses the organisation of power at the base of the

unions, for a popular government based on the unions, for a revolutionary government of workers, peasants, students, and the revolutionary wing of the army.

It is necessary to call to the population to watch out that the neighbouring armies of Argentina and Brazil don't intervene. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Chile to mobilise, to prevent military pressure, and the military intervention of armies, and in particular those of Argentina and Brazil who are their enemies. The C.O.B. must appeal for the support of the masses of these countries.

It is necessary to start off from these circumstances. It is a development, and not a change, or a transformation, of the deepening of the revolutionary process. It is from there that we must start. It is not a change, but the development of a pre-existing situation.

The attitude of the President of Colombia, Pastrana, making concessions to the masses, confronting the oligarchy; the situation in Mexico, in Ecuador, in Venezuela, where the majority of the Christian-Democrat youth is in agreement with the triumph of Allende in Chile and wants the same thing in its country, and these events in Bolivia, all this is an indication of the revolutionary state, which exists in Latin America. This revolutionary process exists also, to different degrees in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

The whole of this revolutionary elevation, the triumph of the revolutionary coup, which has repulsed the counter-revolution in Bolivia, is going to give an impulse to the revolution in the rest of Latin America. It is not going to create it, but impel it. It is in these conditions that it is necessary to intervene in the military governments, the military groups, which are leaning towards a socialising social position.

APPEAL FOR THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES IN ALL LATIN AMERICA

It is necessary to call the C.O.B. to exercise the independent function of the Workers Party Based on the Unions. It must organise and agitate as a Workers Party to apply the Pulacayo programme; it must appeal to the government to apply it; it must appeal to all the masses Latin America, of Peru, of Chile, of Ecuador, of Argentina, of Brazil, of Uruguay to support this programme. This is a possibility, because imperialism is very weak, and shows itself powerless to prevent this triumph of the revolution.

It is necessary to launch immediate appeals with this programme, and not wait till Torres gives a programme. It is the C.O.B., which should give it. It is necessary that it launches immediately into great agitation. The agrarian reform, or the nationalisation of enterprises, which Torres proposes is not sufficient. It is necessary to have an organic and social functioning much deeper than the military team can give. They can make a series of nationalisations, but they continue to function as bourgeois power, making a constant threat of a reactionary coup, or a military intervention of the Argentinian or Brazilian bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to immediately appeal and alert the Argentinian masses, the C.G.T., to support with solidarity the defence of the development of the revolution in Bolivia. The C.O.B. must agitate in an independent fashion, and put pressure on the government for power, leading firstly to the realisation of the Pulacayo programme: agrarian reform, nationalisation of industries, of all the means of production, planning of the economy. It is necessary to agitate this programme with the support of the miners, and appealing to the student movement, and making an immediate united front. It can be made around the C.O.B. on the basis of a revolutionary democratic functioning in the unions, assemblies, conferences, on the basis of the revocability of elected representatives and leaders, who do not respect, and do not struggle for this programme. Out with all those who are against it! It is at this very moment that

it is necessary to do all this.

It must not be allowed that the C.O.B. maintains a bureaucratic apparatus, like it has at present, but it must be changed by imposing the conditions outlined above. It is necessary to call for a federation of Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, as a step on the way to a socialist federation of Latin America. These countries must plan their political and social action with the object of making the revolution advance. The C.O.B. must have an independent functioning on the Pulacayo programme, and without waiting for its complete application, make a series of measures advance in discussion with the military, proposing to them, and appealing to them for a total application of this programme. They can do it without risking being smashed, which could have been the case before, but is no longer.

PAKISTAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The Workers' States must by their example stimulate the formation of popular committees to solve the problems of the population. China has a very great responsibility in this respect: conditions are very similar in parts of China, and under capitalism thousands died every year of starvation and drowning, but since mass intervention and the overthrow of capitalism no-one dies this way in China. China must make the conclusions of her experience available to the Pakistani masses.

We appeal to all workers and revolutionary organisations to pass resolutions of support to the Pakistani masses, and denounce capitalism as the cause of the disaster. We send our warmest fraternal greetings and solidarity, and appeal to the Pakistani masses to convert this tragedy into a stage in the organisation for the taking of power in Pakistan.

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T.), British Section of the IV International, November 22nd, 1970.

BOLIVIA

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

er. It is necessary to demonstrate that such an action is going to impel the revolution in Argentina, Brazil, and all Latin America. It is the reaction which repulsed, and the revolution which advances! It is necessary in consequence to maintain and elevate the audacity.

We appeal for a Latin American united front against imperialism; for the nationalisation of the principle sources of production, for a political independence from imperialism, for the planning of production. It is necessary to launch immediately an appeal to impel the left wing of the nationalist government of Torres.

It is necessary to prepare for a military intervention, possibly of the Yankees, or the armies of the Latin American bourgeoisie, Argentina and Brazil above all. It is necessary to reply with the

ORGANISE THE MILITIAS, DESTROY THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY

If the masses had intervened before, there would not have been this coup. It is necessary to make the masses intervene now. It is only with the development of solid economic progress, supported by social organisms of the soviet type, which allow the masses to intervene spontaneously, to take up guns, is it possible to advance the revolution. Without dissolving the army in a complete fashion, it is necessary to rapidly arm the militias, so that the masses can intervene instantly. There is the basis of triumph. It is not necessary to dissolve the army, but it is necessary to stimulate its political role, and for that agitate that the military must submit to the political control of organisms, where the masses can decide.

We call to demand now the disintegration of the political commandos of the army, organising militias by their side, which take over a part of the military power of the army. So that power is not in the army, which remains a constant source of corruption, of sabotage, of recruitment of the agents of imperialism. It is necessary to finish with such a functioning with the aim of dissolving the interior structure of the army. It is necessary to reorganise a revolutionary army, of which a part would be made up of the militias. A part of the army can be maintained, but it is necessary to liquidate all the military agents of imperialism, and let remain only those who have shown that they will submit themselves to the necessities of the progress of the revolution. In conjunction with that, make the militias work with the military in agreement with the revolution, showing that their role as military has changed. Its function is no longer to decide with the gun, but to learn from the workers, and the masses to make the country progress.

We appeal for a united front of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador; to make an appeal to the Latin American masses to unconditionally defend the Bolivian revolution. We call to the C.O.B. to function as a Single Centre, and call for a Latin American Single Centre, a Latin American united front of workers, peasants, soldiers, and students to lead forward the programme of nationalisation in Bolivia. It is necessary to call for a planning of the four countries between themselves, and that they appeal to all the masses of all the Latin American countries to support the Bolivian revolution unconditionally with demonstrations, meetings, assemblies, taking positions, resolutions, in support of the progress of the revolution towards socialism in Bolivia.

We call for the expropriation of imperialism, for the unification of all Latin America with a programme of expulsion of imperialism. We appeal to the Cuban masses to give all their support to the Bolivian revolution through the Cuban workers centre and the Communist Party. It is necessary that the Cuban government launches also an appeal in support of the Bolivian revolution, as part of the Latin American revolution.

It is necessary to be prepared, because imperialism is going to continue to launch coups, because it is not going to accept the situation. It is going to prepare to launch coups even in catastrophic conditions. It cannot accept Chile, and then Bolivia. It is going to attempt some measures. We cannot foresee them, but we can say that it is going to attempt to sabotage, to provoke explosions and massacres to justify its intervention. It justifies itself supporting itself partly on the Argentinian and Brazilian armies. It is necessary to take account of all this, and make a great agitational campaign in all the countries, calling the masses and the

united front and military agreements between Chile, Peru, and Ecuador, to prevent and confront all attempts of military intervention of the Argentinian or Brazilian armies, supported by the C.I.A., and imperialism. It is necessary to reject all attempts to prevent Allende from assuming power in Chile, reject all invasions of Bolivia, and the counter revolution in Peru or in Ecuador. It is necessary to arm the workers, peasants, students, women, children, old people and form factory committees, area committees, regional committees, to cut at the roots all counter revolutionary attempts, replying with progressive social revolutionary measures, with the occupation and nationalisation under workers control of all properties of imperialism and capitalism, with the planning under workers control of the economy.

military to refuse to act against them, and, on the contrary, to support the revolution.

The existence of organs allows the masses to intervene instantly, to control the economy, society and politics, it is the best way of developing all the programme above. It is necessary for soviet type organs, in the form of district committees, district militias, which can mobilise instantly, to face any imperialist or counter revolutionary intervention. It is necessary to coordinate the militias with the revolutionary part of the army, those which accept the revolution. It is necessary to organise their liaison with the unions, their districts and their factories. It is necessary to take the factories and make them function independently of the employer; take the districts and make them function under the control of the inhabitants, to eliminate and liquidate all counter revolution. It is necessary to organise a house by house control. That is what workers militias must do, the district committees, the factory committees, and region committees. It is in that way that it is possible to control all the country, also production, distribution etc.

It is necessary to liquidate immediately the police and justice apparatus, and replace them by militias and popular tribunals. It is necessary to show that the justice applied at present is a function of the conception of the bourgeoisie, charging and condemning the deprived to the profit of the possessors. It is necessary to introduce popular tribunals into the districts and factories; giving them the objective of developing the revolution in all Latin America. Imperialism is going to intervene and launch the counter revolution in all ways. It is necessary to mobilise the masses, because it is the only efficient and effective way of preventing the intervention of imperialism, expropriating all its wealth, nationalising and planning production.

It is necessary to call the Workers States to give unconditional support for the Bolivian revolution, to lend to it without interest, to send technicians, who live the life of the workers and masses of Bolivia. At the same time as giving such a technical and economic support, the Russian revolution must give its moral and social support; that would be a great stimulus to the revolution. That would give confidence and assurance to the cadres of the army, to the technicians, to members of the liberal professions, who still see the economic measures from the point of view of individual benefits to such and such a sectors of the population. It is necessary, on the contrary, to make them feel the necessity and the possibility of a social collective development, as the only way of progress.

The proof of it is given by the failure of all the previous coups. Only small groups could decide, and the masses could not intervene, or weigh through any organ. The repulse of Miranda is a new proof of it. Small groups were deciding supporting themselves on the apparatus. It is necessary to smash the structure, which allows them to decide in this way; that is to say smash the present structure of the army, of justice, of police apparatus, of the economy, of the parliamentary system. If the other countries and armies of Latin America protest, it is necessary to show that it is a function of the capitalist interests that they defend.

The whole of these measures do not go against the revolutionary military, but against the using of the capitalist structure by the army, against the reactionary sectors use of it. It is necessary to eliminate this structure. It is not going to be

inconvenient for the military, who are with the revolution, to adopt new forms of functioning: forms which eliminate the possibility of the reactionary

sectors deciding. The revolutionary sectors therefore receive jointly the influence of the population, and are impelled to go forward with the revolution.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ADVANCES IN THE WHOLE OF LATIN AMERICA

This coup shows the maturity of the conditions, which exist in Latin America for the development of the socialist revolution; not for the nationalist process, but for the socialist revolution. The masses are mobilised for the socialist revolution. The peasants of Cochabamba and the miners of Oruro mobilised, arms in hand, for the socialist revolution.

As has been posed in all the previous texts of comrade Posadas and the International(1), all the previous stage of this process of the revolution was characterised as a "revolutionary interlude" as an "interrupted civil war", where the sentiments and the revolutionary will of the masses, of the miner proletariat, of the factory workers, remained intact and ready to express themselves. The only way to progress in the revolution and the struggle for power, was the revolutionary organisation of the masses, of the workers, of the peasants and not of the guerrillas.

From 1946 to 1970, capitalism has been powerless to recuperate all its power in Bolivia. It maintained its political power, but since 1951, it has not been able to regain the economic and social control of the mines and the principal sources of wealth. A process of dual power has been maintained. The miners have defended nationalised property, the progress accomplished by the revolution, like the agrar-

ian reform, with their blood. They have constantly maintained the social structure which has prevented the concentration of capitalist forces, both economic and social, and they have maintained the bases which permit them today to advance once more in the revolution. The miners, the peasants, the factory workers have imposed the maintenance of an economic and social structure, which has prevented any reanimation, re-establishment or concentration of the forces of capitalism. It is because of this that this revolutionary counter-coup has been able to triumph. It is thanks to the level of the struggle constantly maintained by the miners, the workers, the peasants, in defense of nationalised property, revolutionary policy and the anti-imperialist struggle.

This is why a part of the army has today been able to give this counter-coup, by basing itself on the previous struggle of the masses. Now they must go forward. If the power remains once more in the hands of the army, separated from the population, once more these military groups are going to be created, which are going to try to absorb, to contain, to limit the revolution, and permit counter-revolutionary coups. It is necessary to make the population intervene, as it in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Continue the World campaign against the repression and torture in Brazil

DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR IN PERU (EXTRACTS)

Some time ago the trade union leader Olavo Hansen was assassinated in prison. Other trade union leaders and cadres have been murdered before. At the present moment it is calculated that there are 15,000 people in prison in Brasil.

The democratic movements of our country, the parties, the independent personalities, the religious groups, the workers movement and the political parties have the obligation to protest about these facts and many others, which are already public, with the noble object of liberating from prisons the thousands of men and women, who have fought with dignity for their country and for the end of a regime of terror, contrary to the most elementary principles of humanity. Lima, 1 September 1970.

The National Council of the C.G.T.P.

DECLARATIONS OF TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE UNION LEADERS IN PERU

The following trade unions and leaders have all made declarations in defence of the life of the Trotskyists and other revolutionary prisoners in Brazil, for the liberation of all the prisoners:

*SINGLE TRADE UNION OF THE PEASANTS OF TUMBE (SUCT)
REGIONAL TRADE UNION OF SECONDARY TEACHERS (general secretary Arturo Sanchez Vicente)*

*TRADE UNION OF THE FOOTWEAR FACTORY "EL DIAMANTE"
FEDERATION OF STUDENTS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
(J. M. Salcedo President)*

*COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION,
NORTH ZONE, DISTRICT "EL AGUSTINO"*

*J. CARBERA, general secretary of the TRADE UNION OF "INDECO"
J. PAREJA, general secretary of the WORKERS TRADE UNION of the "NATIONAL MAJOLICA"*

*R. GONSALEZ, Secretary for defence of THE WORKERS TRADE UNION OF "RAYON CELANESE"
G. REYES, General secretary of the UNION OF TEXTILE WORKERS IN "BELLOTA"*

LIMA 26 August 1970

Britain

MANCHESTER MOSS SIDE LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS PASSED A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE MURDER OF OLAVO HANSEN, THE IMPRISONMENT OF TRADE UNIONISTS, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THEIR TORTURING.

The Conference (Nov. 14th) of the Liaison Committee for the defence of the Trade Unions demonstrated the will of the workers vanguard to organise a 24 hour General Strike on December 8th.

The party intervened with leaflets, and the party press to impel the discussion at the Conference. The large attendance shows the tremendous desire of the vanguard to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

The conference itself was organised in a most bureaucratic manner, no resolutions were allowed from the floor, and delegates had to vote for—or against—the statement of the committee, which called for a “day of action” on Dec 8 for the formation of local committees of action to organise for the 8 for the recall of the TUC Conference, and the annual conferences of all the trade unions. Speakers from the “floor” were allowed five minutes, and were selected by the committee “behind the scenes”. However, immediately speakers were allowed from the “floor” the difference between the timidity of the organisers and the combativity of the workers vanguard was felt. For example, all the speakers from the “floor” talked about December 8 as a general strike, and not as a “day of action”. Indeed, a few speakers talked about an unlimited general strike and the overthrow of the Tory government.

At the end of the morning the Labour MP Norman Atkinson spoke and received the only really bad reception of the whole conference. His speech was very confused, but the general line seemed to be that it was not really a political strike that was called for, but a strike against the bosses who will then put pressure on the Tory government. The delegates opposed this idea, and he was finally forced to “shut up and sit down”. The chairman only managed to regain order by calling for “unity of the left” and announcing lunch.

After the break, the Labour MP Sid Bidwell spoke, and although he defended Atkinson in the early part of his speech, he later went on to attack the right wing leadership of the Labour Party. He said that Wilson, Castle and Co should have been removed long ago. He then went on to say that a new leadership both national and international was necessary. These ideas were not developed, but point to the profound crisis, which is now at work in the Labour Party—a crisis of growth—and showed a response in the most general terms to the needs of the vanguard by sectors in the Labour Party.

Despite the lack of proletarian democracy, the worker delegates made use of the instrument that was available to give confidence to the vanguard. The delegate from Stockport trades council called for support for the December 8th strike, saying that they were calling the whole town out on strike on the 8th. A delegate from the SOGAT printers union executive announced that they had made the strike official and hoped to mobilise 70,000 workers in demonstrations. The chairman of the upper Clyde shipyards Joint Shop Stewards Committee said that they would stop the whole of the Upper Clyde (Scotland) on the 8th Dec. This shows the force of the workers intentions, but little corresponding to the depth of the struggle was advanced in the way of concrete programme ideas. A Merseyside docker spoke of the opposition in his area—Liverpool docks—to productivity agreements, and their determination to prevent any unemployment. A comrade of his said that a “political takeover of all major industry” was necessary

meaning nationalisation. A CP militant from Shell (Carrington)—in the same area—spoke in favour of the general strike and the united front of the workers movement. The chairman of the London airport Shop stewards committee spoke of the struggle to defend the nationalised airlines, and he was followed by a Scottish miners official, who spoke of the anti-bureaucratic struggle in the NUM. He did not raise the question of instant recall but he did demand that all officials be elected yearly, and gave a very good picture of the current struggle within the NUM at present.

The meeting ended in semi disorder when delegates were arguing about the need for a general strike, and attacks were made on those breaking the “unity of the left”. In the Morning Star further attacks were made on the mysterious “ultra lefts” who keep on talking of “power”, and putting forward demands that were far too advanced!!! Without question the intervention by the Party, although indirectly through the press and by leaflets, was effective, and fused with the mood of many of the delegates. The Conference discussions and interventions imposed before the vanguard more and more the need for a new programme and leadership, and the need above all to make the Labour Party the vehicle of the masses by which to take power. We salute the passion to advance of the revolutionary vanguard, as shown in this meeting. The need is now to impel proletarian democracy at all levels in the unions, in the factory committees, in the Labour Party and the Communist Party. The struggle in the CP between the proletarian and rightist sectors is going to accelerate, (already open in this Liaison Committee). We appeal for the united front of the LP, the CP and the IV International to impel the new leadership in the L.P. on the anti-capitalist programme, and as part of this to impel the TUC to organise a general strike, and to impel the maximum organisation of a 24 hour general strike on Dec 8th with factory occupations, imposition of workers control and mass assemblies to discuss the way forward nationally and internationally.

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

workers, and the pensioners, who will suffer if the Tories push through their proposals. The programme and aims of this strike must be broadened to include demands for all the exploited masses, for instance, COMPLETE MAINTENANCE OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE, NO CUTS IN THE SPENDING ON EDUCATION, FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF FREE SCHOOL MILK, NO INCREASES IN THE COST OF SCHOOL MEALS, FOR AN IMMEDIATE FREEZE IN COUNCILS RENT AND THE COST OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT, FOR ALL PENSIONS TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, FOR ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, NO MORE UNEMPLOYMENT, WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY, NO DENATIONALISATIONS, NO MORE PUBLIC MONEY FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, FOR THE IMMEDIATE NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION OF ROLLS

ROYCE, FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN T.U. CENTRE. To confront the increased repression of imperialism the demands must be raised for THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS FROM N.A.T.O., OUT WITH N.A.T.O. BASES, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND, FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM AND THE HALTING OF U.S. AID TO ISRAEL, FULL SUPPORT TO THE VIETNAMESE AND PALESTINIAN MASSES.

The meetings and discussion, which will be held on the 8th December will be of utmost importance, we call for mass demonstrations in the large cities, linked with occupations of the factories. Take the factories over and use them as centres of discussion for all the problems confronting the working class. Organise discussions on the necessity of Factory Committees within each factory, where workers of all unions can discuss, and have

BOLIVIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

intervened before, and in taking up arms impelled Torres to bombard, and to maintain the level of the struggle at an elevated level.

We appeal for the organisation of the POPULAR GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS, based on the workers, the armed miner proletariat, on the peasants and the students, on the nationalist revolutionary soldiers, with the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme of the COB.

We appeal for the independent functioning of the trade unions; so that the COB functions independently as a workers party based on the trade unions, as the organising centre of the masses with the programme of Pulacayo, and a complete programme of revolution and revolutionary democratic, and not bureaucratic functioning. The immediate recall of delegates, the functioning of assemblies, where everyone can discuss, and which strictly accomplishes the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme is necessary, so that it is the workers who decide. In order that they can do it, they must have the possibility of electing and recalling those who do not apply the programme, who do not fight for it, and who do not apply the methods of the revolution.

Among the immediate measures to take, it is necessary to dissolve the police apparatus, the apparatus of justice and finance. It is necessary to change the apparatus of the army to the profit of the forms and structures, which allow the masses to control. The army must not weigh as a retrograde institution. It is possible to combine its action with that of the masses, with the workers militias, with the trade unions, with the objective of making the revolution advance. For this, the programme of the socialist revolution is necessary. These are the measures which it is necessary to take immediately. And we appeal to our Bolivian Section to intervene in this line.

The triumph of the masses of Bolivia is a true triumph of the revolution. The extent of this triumph is going to appear later, if the masses can intervene. It is a triumph, because it has made the reactionary attempt fail. It is a coup against the Argentine and Brazilian bourgeoisies above all. It is going to stimulate the nationalist sectors of these countries to go much further forward, and to make a front with the masses. As far as the masses are concerned, they are going to see that they can only decide with weapons. They cannot expect to persuade, convince, or to have a numerical majority. The revolution is not respected, because of the number involved, but the decision of triumph: the fact that the masses came out into the street made the right capitulate.

It is necessary to expect a development of the crisis within the Communist Parties of the nationalist movements, be it in Peru, be it in Ecuador, or in the Argentine, or Uruguay, Brasil, Colombia or Venezuela. The situation created in Bolivia is going to push forward the internal crisis of growth, because it is going to stimulate the revolutionary tendencies to advance, to seek contact, relation and united front with the masses, with the trade unions, with the peasants,

with the workers and students, the petit bourgeoisie. It is necessary to intervene with audacity in the process in the nationalist military government. It must be understood that there is a revolutionary sector in the army, which wants to advance, but which does not know how. It has a certain limitation and fear of communism. It is frightened of being accused of communism, because it still depends on the opinion of the army. It is necessary to act in such a way, that it comes out of the frame work of this opinion, and that it makes itself sensitive to the opinion of the population. It is necessary to make it feel that this change does not signify a retreat nor a weakening, and that it is necessary to be based on the socialist forces which decide.

The sectors of the left of the army have triumphed, because the masses came out into the streets. They decided to come out, because the masses had already done so, and because in Oruro they were fighting with arms in hand, and already there were eight dead. They decided to move because several days before, and weeks before, and months before, the students made demonstrations, strikes, occupations of the factory; they were mobilising. Otherwise the small group of Miranda, who tried to make a coup would have succeeded, counting on the isolation of the army from the rest of the population. The mobilisation in the street by the masses is what forced the revolutionary wing of the army to intervene.

It is necessary to appeal to the CGT of the Argentine, to the Peronists, the Communists, to discuss, to draw revolutionary conclusions from this triumph of the revolution in Bolivia, in order to develop it in the whole of Latin America. It is necessary to appeal for a revolutionary united front to expel imperialism, to nationalise the principal sources of production, and to plan. Unconditional support for Cuba is necessary as is the appeal to it to intervene. Production must be planned throughout the whole of Latin America. The Latin American anti-imperialist United Front must be organised. The Latin American single trade union centre must be fought for, and for the unconditional support to the masses of the Middle East, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Appeal for the world United Front to smash capitalism.

The economy must be planned in the whole of Latin America towards measures and forms, which eliminate the capitalist structure, and advance towards the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America. Appeal for the formation of workers parties based on the trade unions in all the countries, as centres of regroupment and organisation of the masses. It is necessary to appeal for a United Front of the Communists, the Socialists, the Pro-Chinese, the nationalist movements, the left Christian Democrats, basing it on the mobilisation of the masses—even without weapons—which alone can decide from the failure of the counter-revolution and the triumph of the revolutionary counter-coup in Bolivia.

International Secretariat
of the IV International

7th Oct 1970

PRINCIPAL TEXTS OF CDE. POSADAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN BOLIVIA, THE PROBLEM OF THE GUERRILLAS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE

(1)—The role of the Guerrillas in the fight for workers power (12-2-1966)

(Red Flag Supplement)

—From the Nationalist Revolution to the Workers State (Feb 1966)

(Red Flag Supplement)

—The Guerrilla in the Revolutionary struggle of the Masses, the significance of the assassination of De La Puenta and Camillo Torres and its correct historical significance. (6 March 1966)

—The failure of the military dictatorship

the opportunity to intervene; on the necessity of workers area committees, linking factory committees with tenants committees, in order to discuss and resolve any local or regional problem.

Thus make December 8th a day of offensive demonstrations, which will raise the level of programmatic demands, and the level of organisation and leadership of the class, in preparation for unlimited general strike to impose all the demands of the exploited masses.

and the new course towards the Civil War in Bolivia. (April 1966)

—The uninterrupted civil war and the construction of the Party and the organisms to struggle for the Workers and Peasant government in Bolivia (Nov. 1966)

—The assassination of Turcios by the Communist Party is the consequence of the failure of all the attempts to eliminate the guerrilla. (Oct 1966)

(Red Flag No 40)

—The false letter of Guevara, the need for a communist political discussion, and the true political thought of Guevara to apply in Cuba and in the rest of the world. (April 1968)

VIVA THE LIBERATION

OF MARTINEZ TRUCO

BY THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED
FLAG**



**The revolutionary
State, its
transitional function
and the construction
of Socialism**

J. POSADAS (Page 2)

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 126/127 23rd DECEMBER 1970 PRICE 6d

Organise the factory Committees and mass assemblies to impel the Labour Party and T.U.C. to call a General Strike on Jan. 12th

As the working class is drawing the conclusions of Dec. 8th., Heath visits the closest ally of British capitalism, American imperialism, in a vain attempt to raise the confidence of the British and European bourgeoisie. But the partial regeneration of the Workers States and the Communist Parties, as the leadership of the IV International qualifies the process, is instrumental in defeating capitalism, both on a world scale and in Britain. Thus British and Yankee imperialism announce a defensive plan to establish a communications base in the Indian Ocean in a belated attempt to counter-act the influence of the Workers States, whilst on the home front the Tories are thrown into a panic by the organisation against the anti-trade union laws in the vanguard of which is the Communist Party.

Dec. 8th was a vanguard demonstration, and the 5% of the class that came out shows just how big that vanguard is; but moreover, this is a vanguard that is closely linked to the centralised force of the trade unions, that acted unofficially in order to impel the TUC into organising

adequate official action. Gollan is stimulated to make the need to get the TUC to call a general strike the centre of his speeches, because there already exists a united front on the shop floor, in shop stewards committees and in the trades councils between communist and labour trade unionists, where the vanguard line of the communist is greeted with sympathy. This is the correct historic tactic for the Communist Party to adopt, to develop the revolutionary process in the conditions that exist though, as yet, it has not used the tactic to its full extent. The communist vanguard must intervene not holding up the Communist Party as an instrument in competition with, or substituting for the Labour Party, but as a revolutionary Marxist current with the objective of aiding the revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party to renovate the party. The expression of the results of this correct tactic evidently shows at the level of the trade unions first, but it is also causing a great echo in the Labour Party. This is especially so, because the trade unions are intervening politically. The strikes and demonstrations of the Post Office workers

were for the defence of nationalised property, and the airline workers held a mass meeting on the denationalisation of some

of the airlines, which sent delegates to parliament to demand the support of Labour M.P.s.

DEC 8th HAS IMPELLED THE LABOUR LEFT

The effects of the whole movement are being felt in the parliamentary left. When Stan Orme was interviewed just before Dec. 8th he was unable to bring himself to openly condemn extra-parliamentary action against the bill. Bidwell has already called for the building of a new leadership nationally and internationally and attacked Wilson and Co. There is no continuity in the development of the Labour because these M.P.s have never been prepared scientifically for the process of revolutionary renovation of the Labour Party, and because the revolutionary tendency in the party is not coherently or organically organised. The parliamentary left responds at times, because it is encouraged to advance, and at times to defend itself from the process. But the class draws confidence from the effect that this has on the Labour Party to advance further. Both the Communist and Labour vanguard must organise on the basis of the consequences of such statements by obliging the TUC and the Labour Party to call for strikes and demonstrations against the anti-trade union bill and by building factory and workers area committees, demanding proletarian democracy in working class organisations to facilitate the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

Dec. 8th took place in a climate of barely concealed civil war, which is growing, and was the most advanced expression of a sentiment shared by all exploited sectors of the population. The petty bourgeoisie is on the side of the working class, and in part a large delegation of teachers went on the London march; children at Holland Park used working class methods to express their will when a teacher they liked was sacked, and this shows how profound the process is. In spite of all attempts to do so, the bourgeoisie was not able to organise a mass movement against the electricians strike, and nearly went hysterical in the publicity it gave to individual attacks on them. When the printers union stops the publication of a cartoon offensive to the electricians, it is because it feels the confidence of the class to dictate a class line on the issue. It is necessary, however, to consolidate the organised force of the working class and other exploited sectors at a much higher organic level.

The Dec. 8th vanguard strike has had an effect on the TUC, which is now proposing that workers extend their protest

meetings on Jan 12th into working hours "where necessary", but this is inadequate. The whole direction of the Dec 8th movement is towards imposing the calling of an official general strike by the TUC. Many trade union branches, like the Sheffield AEU, have already called for a strike on Jan 12th, and trades councils are intervening, organising strikes and demonstrations even before, of whole cities, as the Birmingham trades council is doing for Jan 1st. It is necessary to accelerate this movement. The Communist Party must increase the organisation it has initiated, and not impose any bureaucratic limits on it. The demand for a proper functioning with proletarian democracy in the trade unions, with all delegates open to instant recall if they do not carry out the mandate of the members, must be discussed. It is only in this way that the vanguard can weigh fully in the decisions of the TUC, and the revolutionary tendency can be organically structured.

The opportunity of all mass gatherings and demonstrations must be used to discuss not only the defence of the unions, but their improvement as instruments of struggle against capitalism, fundamentally through their intervention in the Labour Party. The slogan around which to concentrate the struggle is the overthrow of the Tory Government and getting the Labour Party back to power on a socialist programme, even though the process of building a new leadership has by no means been completed. A death blow was dealt to the bourgeois leadership in the last elections by the vanguard abstention, and this cannot be reversed even by the party coming back to power, because its positions and programme have had to shift to the left, and the masses will see that this process continues. The whole of the programme must be discussed including such demands as no attacks on the conquests of the masses like the welfare state, and nationalised industries, for all wages and pensions to rise with the cost of living, no unemployment, for the immediate nationalisation under workers control and without compensation of firms such as Rolls Royce, and raising the demand for the nationalisation of all key industries and the banks; for a single European Workers Centre, the withdrawal of all British troops from imperialist war alliances like NATO and from Northern Ireland, and full support to the Vietnamese and Arab masses.

BURGOS CENTRALISES THE EUROPEAN VANGUARD

The Burgos trials in Spain are bringing expressions of solidarity from the European working class, and all radicalised sectors, because they have centred a strong underlying sympathy for the struggle of the masses in countries where not even trade union freedom exists. Both the French and Belgium trade unions have staged nation-wide demonstrations of solidarity, which have also led to advances in the struggle of the French and Belgian work-

ing class to take power in their own organisations. The demonstration of solidarity to the Spanish masses must form part of the discussion around the anti-trade union laws. The British working class has a long tradition of international solidarity from the time of the Russian Revolution, and including during the Spanish civil war. The fact that the NEC of the Labour Party has passed a re-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Campaign for the release of Angela Davis

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International, denounces and condemns as strongly as possible, before the workers and students movement, before revolutionary intellectuals, before all progressive, democratic and anti-capitalist public opinion in this country and the world, the arrest, imprisonment and threats of death against the American Communist militant Angela Davis. The American bourgeoisie and government are making her a centre of repression to try to terrorise, and contain the development of the movement against the war in Vietnam, for racial equality, and for anti capitalist demands, which is growing throughout the United States as the Resolution of the IS on the American elections (published in this issue) analyses.

We give all our support to Cde. Angela Davis, for her courage and dignity before her judges, and for her action against all forms of repression and oppression in the United States.

We associate ourselves with the campaign of solidarity organised by the British Communist Party, to prevent at all costs, that she be sent by the Californian courts, to the death cell, and we call for this campaign to be extended and intensified.

We appeal to all the workers organisations, the Labour Party and the L.P. Young Socialists, to the trade unions, to the student movement and Young Liberals to also associate with this campaign, putting all their efforts into securing her release. It is necessary to take resolutions in the factories, in the union and LP branches, in the universities, on housing estates, demanding that she be liberated. It is necessary to mobilise on an international scale as was done in 1926 to defend Sacco and Vanzetti, except that now the conditions permit a much greater mobilisation, and the effects of this to penetrate much more profoundly into the United States, intimidating the American ruling class and forcing it to abandon its murderous intentions.

**CAMPAIGN IN THE LABOUR AND COMMUNIST PARTIES,
THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND YOUNG COMMUNISTS LEAGUE,
IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT
TO PREVENT THE MURDER OF ANGELA DAVIS.**

THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE ITS TRANSITIONAL FUNCTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS 30 SEPT 1969

INTRODUCTION

We salute with great revolutionary pride this new analysis made by Posadas in relation to the emergence of the revolutionary nationalist currents, which lead to the formation of new "revolutionary states". Today with the arrival in power of Torres in Bolivia with conditional popular support, with intervention of the workers, students, peasants in arms to defeat the counter revolutionary putsch from the right, led by Miranda, the theoretical analysis of Cde. Posadas, which we publish, acquires an immense force.

This document by Comrade Posadas is the highest example of the application of living marxism to the problems of today. Apart from Posadas, outside the International, nobody, no group, or party, or theoretician from the Communist or Socialist Parties, have been able to analyse the process in the so-called 'under-developed countries', have known how to characterise the stage reached by these countries and thus analyse what this means to the whole world relationship of forces. No-one else has been prepared scientifically to understand these new phenomena in history, which our masters of marxism could not have foreseen. The characterisations made by Trotsky do not serve to understand Bolivia, or Congo Brazzaville, or South Yemen, for these countries and their leaderships are a product of a world situation, which Trotsky could not foresee; a situation where there are 16 Workers States, where capitalism and imperialism is in complete disintegration before the constant struggle of the masses, and where in these overwhelmingly favourable circumstances, the leaderships of the workers parties, particularly the CP, refuse to take power. And this situation stimulates nationalist leaderships, even those emerging from capitalist structures like the army, to take measures to develop the country, which damage irrevocably the structure of capitalism in these countries, and encourage the masses to intervene to defend the progressive measures taken. Thus a process is begun, which cannot be reversed or held in check by the nationalist leaderships, and which opens the road towards socialism. Torres of Bolivia has just said as much himself (as we report elsewhere in this issue), referring to Posadas, and basing himself on the analysis of Posadas.

It is for this reason that the Trotskyists in these countries struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, not against these teams, against these "revolutionary" states, but leaning on them, on the gains and on the dynamism of the process, which pushes them to be won to the revolution, to advance towards the Workers State.

This document should be related to the other fundamental contributions of Posadas on the partial regeneration of the Workers States. Such analyses provide the world revolutionary vanguard with a unique theoretical grasp of the process, which is developing, and impel it forward on the basis of the existing Workers States, and the power of the communist parties towards the overthrow of capitalism, and all forms of bureaucratic usurpation throughout the planet.

We appeal to the vanguard in the LP and the CP, to the YS and the YCL, to the students and revolutionary intellectuals, to study this document in order to raise their understanding, and thus their confidence in the world process, and to send us their opinions and observations on it.

The definition of the state given by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky is a function of either its worker or capitalist character. There is no other form of state, dealt with by them. But as a function of the world process of the revolution, conditions of dual power now exist locally and internationally. In this situation, while we still maintain the nature of the characterisation of a state as a capitalist state, there are some states, which even being capitalist, and having governments with capitalist interests, must take measures, and encourage forms of property, of functioning, relations and structure, which go beyond the capitalist system. And even in conserving the principal aspect, or part of the principal aspects of the capitalist system, already the structure of the state imposes new forms of functioning, which are not strictly capitalist. On the contrary, there are measures, which attack the capitalist system. Such a process is not of short duration, as with Bonapartism, but a process, in which the fundamental structure is affected. The capitalist state is characterised by its functioning for profit, for the constant reproduction of capital. And its interests as a system constantly reproduce themselves. The workers State prepares the conditions for socialism, that is to say: nationalised property, a functioning in relation to nationalised property, and on the basis of the planning of production, the monopoly of foreign trade, and the elimination of commercial interest, and the interest of exploitation.

Today situations are created, which were not foreseen in the time of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. And through the limitations of the leaderships of the Workers States, of the communist parties—who have not wanted to take power—the world force of the revolution has promoted nevertheless the existence of 16 Workers States, and

10 who are close to being so, and this creates a world situation of great pressure, and of advance of the revolution, which influences the petit bourgeois, formerly agents of capitalism, the sectors subserving capitalism, instruments of capitalism, such as the army, the police, the Church, the technicians, the professional workers, and the parties of bourgeois origin, such as the Christian Democracy, and also the influential structures of the capitalist system.

In these conditions a structure is created in history, which allows the creation of conditions, which favour the development of the revolution, without actually attaining the stage of taking power. And this situation cannot be defined as Bonapartism, because it does not arise from a struggle of the classes, for power as was the case in the Soviet Union. It is not the consequence of the direct struggle of the masses, the trade unions, of the revolutionary party, who struggle for power, but results from the forces arisen from within capitalism operating in the name of the capitalist system; and measures are taken, which go against the capitalist system. In Peru a team of military nationalists impel a series of measures, of anti imperialist, anti capitalist measures, and they do not know anything about socialism or Marx. This was also in origin, the case in South Yemen, Mali and Ghana. These countries adopt a whole series of measures, which are not capitalist. But nevertheless, they do not form part of the construction of a Workers State, nor do they have organs of the Workers State, nor the structure of the Workers States, nor the functioning of Workers States. But in relation to the economic measures, and the structure of society, they already go against the capitalist system, and in assessing the position, it is clear, that such measures are

in the last resort more favourable to the Workers State than the capitalist state. To characterise such states demands the definition of what policy to adopt towards them, what perspective they have and we must, and can count upon this force as a part of the world revolution against the capitalist system.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to define such a situation, for without the states ceasing to be capitalist states through their origin, their intention to develop the teams in power, they have to take measures for the development and function of society—as in Peru in the agrarian reform with the objective to create an internal market, which attacks the basis of the capitalist system, based on property in land and finance. How do we define this situation new in history and not foreseen by Marx and Engels? We say that they are revolutionary states, not revolutionary governments. The government can change. Another comes and it changes. But as states no, they have reached a structure of property, of functioning, of internal relations, which remain, although the present governments might fall. And to retreat requires a counter revolutionary blow, because measures have been taken, which affect the existence of capitalism, that do not allow the reproduction of capitalism. Thus, without power being in the hands of the proletariat, or of a government issuing from the proletariat, the revolutionary states take measures, which do not allow the reproduction of the accumulation of capital for the world competition of the capitalist system—which demands a very concentrated accumulation of capital. And as they do not have this, they cannot compete either in Peru, nor in Ghana or Mali.

It is necessary then to define such a new situation in history of dual power to see what tasks, what perspectives exist, taking account of these new phenomena, in the world strategy of the revolution.

There is a world process of dual power. These revolutionary states arise as a consequence of dual power. They do not arise by chance in one or other state. They arise within a world process in which there are sixteen Workers States, and ten states close to being Workers States. France and Italy are close to the taking of power in a process of crisis and power, constantly changing; all Latin America is on the road to the revolution. But outside Italy and France none of the other revolutions is led by the communist parties, but by nationalists opposed by the CPs. They are an effect of the development of the Workers States, and the world revolution, which impede the development of bourgeois forces, who want to develop the internal market in relation to the capitalist mentality in agreement with the capitalist conception and the capitalist economy, continuing with commercial interest and profit, but they have to take measures, which affect the reproduction of the capitalist system. And thus, they allow

and favour the development of the revolutionary forces, because the process allows the Workers States to influence them, because they show that the road of development is that of the Workers States—that is to say the planned economy, the elimination of private property, and the private use of property and the great enterprises.

The revolutionary state is not a new form of state, but a form of transition between the capitalist state and the Workers State. It is the form, which dual power acquires in these countries. But it is a form of dual power in which proletarian power does not exist. Their leaderships are of capitalist origin. There is the possibility of influencing them. And to define them as revolutionary states means that they have reached a structure of property, of the economy, and of development, and of functioning of the economy, which cannot turn back, which cannot serve as a means of accumulation for the reproduction and extension of the capitalist system. It is a partial form of the system. They help to disorganise, to disintegrate the capitalist system. They are a product of this stage of history in which the Workers States, the communist parties have not wished to take power, and the capitalist system does not have the strength to sustain itself. For this reason, it is necessary to understand the situation in order to be able to intervene.

Hence our definition of them as revolutionary states. It is not simply a question of Bonapartism or a dual power only, but a revolutionary state arises from this world process of dual power. This means a state in which, although it maintains itself in the terrain of profit, of the accumulation of capital, of the reproduction of private interest, it has to structure the economy so that it does not allow the reproduction of concentrated capital, but only a minimal capital, which does not allow it to compete with the rest of the capitalist system; it does not create new layers, new sectors of the bourgeois class, and on the other hand stimulates and develops tendencies towards nationalisation, socialisation, taking more as an example the Workers States. Hence the definition of revolutionary states.

And politically and organisationally, it is necessary to define these to be able to base ourselves on the correct perspectives. The bureaucracy will not allow the taking of power nor can capitalism sustain power. This is the process. But the revolution progresses, and the 16 Workers States weigh on these states on these countries. It is not a question of a revolutionary government, but a revolutionary state. This means that the economic structure of this country, the acquired social and economic relations, even remaining in the hands of the capitalist system, even functioning as the capitalist system, must function in such a way that they do not allow extended reproduction, the concentrated force of capital, and thus

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

OLAVO HANSEN

We wish to bring to the attention of the Labour and Communist vanguard, and the Labour and Communist masses that the information published in the Nov. 1970 issue of "Quatrieme Internationale" (brought out by the Frank group in France), stating that our comrade Olavo Hansen "known as a Trotskyist in Brazil, broke with the Posadist organisation of that country" before his murder by the Brazilian police, is completely untrue. This is a slander, which expresses the total loss of influence and political authority of its authors. The last words of Olavo Hansen were for comrade Posadas, for the sections of the IV International, and for the comrades of the Brazilian Section.

We denounce to the workers vanguard that the capitulators from Trotskyism did not write a line on Olavo Hansen, when he was arrested on 1st May, or when he died under torture on 12th May. There was not a line in their press to denounce this assassination. It is only some months after his death that they make this slander, trying to claim him as a militant, profiting from the situation of clandestinity of the Brazilian Section, which prevents it making the condemnation which this claim deserves.

We appeal to the workers vanguard to take note of this, and to draw the necessary conclusions about the activity of the capitulators.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

do not help the development of capitalism, but helps its disintegration. And on the other hand it stimulates revolutionary socialist solutions. It is a consequence of this stage of history in which there are 16 Workers States and ten more on the agenda, and with the revolution advancing in the rest of the world, throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia. Yankee imperialism is buried in Vietnam, and is unable to smash the will to struggle of the masses in Vietnam—in these circumstances when power is not taken, but a gigantic process of dual power exists in which the masses struggle with capitalist power, conditions allow a situation in which capitalist countries, even without being led by workers parties, by the trade unions, or by the communist parties, direct themselves, to resolve the problems of the economy, of the progress of these countries with measures, which interfere with the structure of the capitalist system. And they take forms and structure

A TRANSITIONAL STAGE TOWARDS THE WORKERS STATE

For this reason, in any of these revolutionary states, such as Mali or even Indonesia, there has been no important counter-revolutionary development. Where the military coups have given opportunity to those who want to retreat, they have not been able to retreat much. For this reason basing ourselves on this scientific definition of Marxism, we can foresee that the step towards the Workers State, from this stage of present transition, from this capitalist stage to a workers state is short, because this stage of transition is not motivated by the struggle for power of the proletariat with capitalism, the revolutionary struggle of the trade unions, of the party, it is not a dual power derived from the revolutionary struggle of the masses, but is motivated by forces of capitalist origin, agents of the capitalist structure, who turn their back on capitalism, and work as a function of structures of an economic development, which affect and go against the capitalist system.

It is for this reason that we make this definition, which means a new condition in history, which facilitates the development of the revolution. It does not alter the analysis of our masters, but makes it more precise in a specific stage—as was the case in an earlier phase, with the use of the term Bonapartism or dual power—to be able to characterise the stages going towards the taking of power, towards the conquest of power, towards the installation of Workers States.

This process means also the disintegration of the ruling class, of the bourgeoisie. Normally every revolution—it is natural—disintegrates the ruling class, deprives it of spirit, creates pessimistic and defeatist feelings. Then it disintegrates it, drives it apart in the struggles, so that it does not find any capacity for ideas, for creation, for the unification of all the struggles of the bourgeoisie to confront the revolution. They confront the revolution with reaction, but they find no ideas. Social support abandons it, because the petit bourgeois sectors disintegrate, and the bourgeoisie feels itself to be isolated, and dependant on its organs of repression. But in this stage, the organs of repression are won before the triumph of the revolution. They serve to prepare the revolution, as the army did in Peru, in Bolivia, in Ghana, in a series of countries in Asia, Africa, and in Latin America. The bourgeoisie is liquidating its base of support. And the organs, which were dedicated to sustain it, have turned their back on it. And this is not through the effect of the communist parties, and the struggle of the masses of these countries, which as in Peru the Communist Party opposed, (and for a year the CP defined as a gorilla government the regime of Velasco Alvarado), but through the world effect of the revolution. For this reason

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORKERS STATES AND OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

At another stage of history there would have been the Bonapartist state, which is today impossible, because the pressure of the Workers States, and of the world revolution is immense, to such an extent that no matter what movement proposes some objectives of development, it ends by being won by the revolution. This is also how the "revolutionary state" can be explained. It is a state, which without having emerged from a socialist revolution is revolutionary in relation to the previous conditions of existence. That is why we do not say that it is "revolutionary socialist" but simply "revolutionary". In what Velasco has done would he not be revolutionary? It is revolutionary in relation to the capitalist state! it is another state formation. That is why it is a "revolutionary

The Revolutionary State

which now do not allow the reproduction of the capitalist system. Being a revolutionary state still does not annul the fact that it is a capitalist state, but yes, it facilitates action towards the Workers State. It is a stage of accentuated transition-stage of transition, not of dual power—because dual power is distinct from the revolutionary state, because dual power means the struggle for power without the masses having succeeded still in dominating part of the property, without having succeeded in leading part of the society. On the other hand in the revolutionary state, there is already an economic structure in which development is not in favour of the capitalist system, but without dual power, without the proletariat being in power. And this allows us in understanding it, to base ourselves on the perspective of revolutionary development in all these countries in a short stage.

the world power of the revolution, as it expresses itself, and operates, has revolutionary effects in countries in any part of the world.

Revolutionary states are not phenomena, which contradict, or deny, or alter the definition of the character of the state of Lenin, but they define a stage of development of the state in which forces of the world revolution develop, impel the taking of power and there is no conscious revolutionary leadership to take power. And there are organs, which have arisen from the capitalist regime, bourgeois organs, bourgeois institutions like the army (who lead this stage of the revolution). Then such a situation arises like the revolutionary state. From the point of view of a general historic concept, it is a stage of transition between the capitalist state and the Workers State. It is a development of the state, which facilitates the progress of the revolution, where there do not exist the organised forces of the proletariat for the taking of power. Where the proletariat can take power, such a process of "revolutionary states" does not exist. There is then a process—dual power in which the masses contest the power of the bourgeoisie.

The "revolutionary state" is a new fact of history. Neither Lenin or Trotsky were able to foresee it, it is something new historically. This is neither a Bonapartist formation nor a Workers State. Bonapartism exercised another function, which history has bypassed. Bonapartism corresponds to a situation of insecurity, which is not the case today, where the process is going forwards with every assurance in a continuous elevation i.e. these teams are convinced of the need for changes from the beginning. Nothing of that is Bonapartist. There is no longer dual power. It is the result of the influence of the Workers States, and of the present course of the world revolution.

Faced with all these new developments in history, we are the only ones capable of understanding them, to the extent that we are prepared to dominate them, to explain them in dominating Marxism, and in maintaining all the confidence in the process. We are the only ones, who are prepared, and from this comes our world authority. We show ourselves capable of dominating perfectly in these new processes and new phenomena of analysing them politically and characterising them correctly.

If there is not an exact definition, it is not possible to have a correct policy. That is why it is necessary to characterise scientifically, which is the case when we speak of "revolutionary states". The forms to structure the state from the capitalist state to the Workers State certainly exist, but between one and the other there exist intermediary forms.

state".

In understanding this process, we understand its significance, which although still limited, means profound changes in relation to the socialist revolution. We understand also, and consequently the process of transformation, in which this leadership is involved, and the means of influencing it. Learning to dominate the process, we exercise our function as an International, and show how a small nucleus can influence the centres, which decide in the revolution.

This problem of the "revolutionary state" is a new situation in history, and it can tend to confuse, when there is no marxist understanding and no facility for marxist application. But there are cases which show how the relation of forces

of the revolution expresses itself in an undefined and very varied form. The problem is to understand the interior structure of the process, to define the forces, which can develop, and to be able to utilise them. One thing is a "revolutionary state" and another a nationalist government. In the nationalist government it is possible to have an interior struggle, which paralyses, which retreats, which contains, which does not understand.

On the other hand the revolutionary state has reached a certain level, a structure, a level of structure of economic and social means, which are anti-capitalist, and whatever government arises, it has to be subject to this existing relation. To overthrow this structure, a counter-revolutionary struggle has to be pushed forward, which has to confront the mobilisation of

the masses, while a nationalist government does not always confront the mobilisation of the masses, because in this case they have seen that it is progressive.

Severity in definition is important, that is, not to repeat previous definitions, but to define the process in relation to this stage of history, which is not the same as any other. Trotsky did not expect the partial regeneration of the Workers State and today, it is there, it exists. There is a real partial regeneration.

The existence of 16 Workers States, of the ten states which are on the road to being Workers States; the weight of the very profound revolution, the proximity of the revolution and dual power accentuated in France, England, Italy; the development of the struggle of the masses in Italy produce this process as a result. This is the strength, which is expressed in the revolutionary state.

A STAGE OF TRANSITION

It is not a transformation of the character of the bourgeois class of the state, but its bases abandon it. As a bourgeois state, part of its structure abandons it, and this part of the structure goes towards anti-capitalist measures, which are not dominated by capitalism. Hence we have a revolutionary state. It still does not

effect the conception of what a capitalist state is. It is not a new form of state between the capitalist state and the workers state, but a peculiar form of the process of transition between the capitalist state and the Workers State, a stage of transition.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Bolivia

EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE OF THE BOLIVIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

An extraordinary Conference of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Bolivian Section of the IV International has just been held in Oruro, the most important mining centre of the country. The single point for discussion on the agenda has been "The present political situation, and the tasks of the party and the mass movement".

With this conference the Bolivian Section of the International prepares itself to intervene as a scientific leadership in the dynamic process of advance of the revolution in Bolivia, in the line analysed by Cde Posadas "From Nationalism to the Workers State". Torres himself has just declared in an interview, that "as an eminent marxist theoretician has said, nationalism is the threshold of the socialist revolution". Torres refers in fact directly to Cde Posadas, who has more recently deepened this theoretical analysis of the nationalist process in the document, which are publishing in this paper "The Revolutionary State, its transitional function and the construction of socialism".

ORURO A "SOCIALIST STATE"

In the days in which the Extraordinary Conference of the Bolivian Section was being held, the workers of Oruro have thrown out the capitalist leadership of the trade union, and elected a leadership composed exclusively of workers cadres. They have simultaneously proclaimed Oruro a 'Socialist State', with the aim that it should play a vanguard role in the process of all the country towards the setting up of a Workers State. We salute with immense joy this decision of the workers of Oruro, the vanguard of all the Bolivian exploited masses.

THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS CENTRE DEMANDS THE LIBERTY OF THE PRISONERS IN BRAZIL

Mr President
Republic of Brazil

THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS CENTRE, the highest organism of the workers of Bolivia mindful of its principles of class solidarity, has followed with anxiety the violent repression, which the organisms of the government have unleashed against the rights and liberties of the working class and the people of Brazil.

Before these last facts, up to the murder under torture of the engineering trade union leader of Sao Paulo, Comrade Olavo Hansen, and the massive imprisonments of trade union, and political leaders among which there are Claudio Vasconcelos Cavalcante the doctor Primo Brandmiller, who was arrested while he was at work at the hospital 'Cristo Rey' in Sao Paulo, Antonio De Souza, Iran Rodriguez, and a fair number of others; in the face of the shameless actions of the so-called 'Operaciones Banderantes' encouraged by the government, the duty of solidarity weighs on us making us address ourselves to you to express our protest, our indignation in the face of this violence. We demand that the anti-worker and despotic policy be modified, and that the cells and whole prisons open their doors liberating workers and citizens, who have not committed any crime other than defending human liberty and rights.

THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS CENTRE struggles and will struggle, identified with the aspirations of freedom of brother peoples in Latin America.

Nov 1970

for the National Executive Committee of the COB:
Francisco Mercado Ayra (General Secretary), Rene Higuera del Barco (Secretary of Relations with Other Organisations), Jose Leon Sanjines (Secretary of Conflict), Lucio Mariscal Alvarez (Secretary of Armed Defence), Apolinar Caceres (Secretary of Food), Jose Justiniano Lijeron (Secretary of Employment and Unemployment).

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The World development of the revolution, the great abstentions in the elections, the necessity for the workers party based on the T.U.s in the U.S.A

8 Nov. 1970

The elections in the United States with 45% voting and 55% abstentions are a protest. They are condemnation of North American society, and this weighs on society, on the masses of North America. On the bourgeoisie the elections weigh, because it feels itself to be isolated, it sees that it has no social authority, over the masses, it sees that they do not obey it, and they are seeking another way, and that this is going to express itself later in demonstrations, in meetings, in support of the strikes. The masses are saying: "we despise all this business, because it is an obstacle", "both groups are bandits". And the sector, which voted for the democrats did so to utilise the lesser bandits in a practical way, as the ones, who were for the limitation of the war in Vietnam. This is the country, where according to Fidel Castro there is no class struggle!

In the United States, the proletariat cannot express itself, because it has no parties, no organisms. But it seeks the way to express itself, and seeks the way to show that it wants to intervene. One does not see the authority, which the proletariat has nor the world revolution over the proletariat, and this in turn on North American society, but the elections are an index of this.

The world revolution shows to the North American masses that progress must be made with arms in hand by struggling to overthrow capitalism, constructing a new society, despising, overthrowing all the systems of power, of terror, of oppression. The North American people feel all this, but do not have the means to express its feelings. If it had parties, trade unions, organs where it could speak, it would do so. The elections are a means of expression of the popular will. But this expresses itself in two ways; the refusal to vote in order to condemn, and the direct effective vote with which it can show its opinion. The effective vote was not

A DEMOCRATIC REBELLION

When there is a 55% abstention, it is because there is a protest against the war in Vietnam, but also against repression of democratic rights; it is a democratic rebellion! Abstention! In a country in which the democratic liberties—according to the North American capitalists—are complete, where they live in wealth and in opulence, not having the organs to express themselves—protest is expressed in the elections, including protest against unemployment. The North American people

fundamental, because the candidates of the two parties, the democrats and the republicans were from the bourgeois camp, representatives of the monopolies and if the electorate supported candidates whom they saw were supporting the limitation of the war in Vietnam, or withdrawal from Vietnam, at the same time they wanted to condemn the monopolies, wished to condemn repression, Yankee repression throughout the world; and internal repression, not only in the world, but internal repression. Thus the North American electorate has a very narrow margin for intervention, of possibility for intervention, and the world revolution does not have the organic means to make the North American masses feel the necessity to demonstrate. The influence which the world revolution exercises over this electorate, which is against monopoly, against the dictatorship, against capitalism, against repression, against the repression of the Negroes, democratic liberties is shown in this form.

does not protest only about Vietnam, because it has a concern not to go to war, but because it condemns imperialism and capitalism. It voted as much against the war in Vietnam as against the limitation of democratic liberties, and against unemployment. For this reason the world revolution has influenced the petit bourgeoisie, and the proletariat, and this has influenced in turn sectors of the population not to vote, because there was no campaign that they should not vote. Only

the students and some Negroes did this, but they were very few. They did not succeed in having a great influence, but 55% did not vote. And of those who voted, 30% voted against the war in Vietnam, in the vote for the senators and governors, which expressed the true popular vote. They voted for the candidates against the war in Vietnam. This already indicates the conditions and the factors for very important changes in North American society.

Changes! These factors are the will and the aspirations of the American people for change. This is also expressed in the reception, which it gives to the world revolution. It is no longer a simply a problem of the blacks, but of the whites as well.

Moreover, these elections took place in a moment where very courageous mobilisations of the blacks and of the Mexicans to shouts of "viva Zapata" took place. It is a democratic rebellion of the American masses who feel that to apply the democratic rights, which they have acquired, they have to make the revolution. Respect for democratic rights has a great authority, great transcendent significance

THE CONDITIONS MATURE FOR REVOLUTION

These elections are an index of the fact that the most vigorous and most potent sectors of the North American masses are already linked to, and united to the world process of the revolution. As a consequence the leadership of the communist parties, of the workers centres, of the socialist parties, of the revolutionary nationalist movements, the left Christian Democrats, the Cuban Communist Party, the trade unions, the Cuban government have to intervene, making appeals to the North American masses, and besides it must be expected that this is going to have a great echo within the apparatus of North American imperialism, because this apparatus is going to see its growing and constant isolation, and it is going to tend to go towards warlike solutions in the most immediate form. It is going to see more and more that it is increasingly isolated. This is going to express itself in internal struggles in attempts at coups, with an ever more marked inclination to unleash the war to try to impede a greater

for the North American masses. It is the way in which the revolution communicates with North America. It is a crime of Fidel Castro, of the Cuban leadership not to understand this process, and not to intervene. For example, the Cuban CP, the Cuban trade unions should have intervened, making declarations to intervene in the elections of the United States. It is necessary to appeal by radio, to direct attention to the North American masses.

The trade unions, the workers centres, the communist parties of Latin America, the nationalist movements should have intervened, appealing to the North American masses to sabotage the elections and prepare for a general strike. While 40 million stay away over Vietnam, capitalism did not succeed in getting 40 million votes for themselves. This is a very profound form of protest. It shows that the world revolution has a direct influence over the North American masses. It communicates directly and stimulates, impels, gives the masses strength, and resolution, because they see that all the masses of the world progress whilst capitalism retreats, retreats, retreats.

isolation. This is the second election in a few years in which the North American masses show that they feel the influence of the world revolution. For this reason it is necessary to make a programme of appeals to the North American masses, to unite the movement of the Negroes, of the unemployed, of the whites, for complete democratic liberties. Out of Vietnam! For the organisation of a workers party based on the trade unions with an anti imperialist programme, and for the nationalisation of the principal sources of production, among them the production of atomic energy, to nationalise and expropriate without compensation. For the planning of production in the United States. It is necessary to solve the problem of the five million unemployed, to solve the problem of the twenty million people who are hungry. It is necessary to pose all this. It is necessary that the twenty mil-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

Between capitalism and socialism there is a stage of transition, which is the Workers State. In these countries between the capitalist state and the Workers State there is a transitional stage, which is the revolutionary state. And it is not simply a dual power, because this can retreat.

The relation between this process of the revolutionary state and ourselves is determined by the fact that these leaderships are weak. They do not have the theoretical capacity nor the marxist understanding, nor the resolution for socialist progress. They are impelled, attracted by a social degradation of the capitalist system, by the understanding of a state of misery, and by the fear of the gravest consequences. They are impelled to contain a disintegration of capitalist society. En route, they are impelled by a lack of confidence in the capitalist system, in the capitalist political leadership. They feel that they cannot make a response to the problems with capitalist measures, and they seek others. But in seeking others what do they find? They find socialist measures, measures of the stage of the Workers State. As they do not have a marxist understanding, nor the revolutionary intention to construct socialism, but have the revolutionary intention to overcome apathy, capitalist barbarism, then they are attracted to measures, which lead to revolutionary states. For this reason afterwards the majority or many of them are won to the revolution.

It is a question of nationalist revolutions of bourgeois origin, but taking measures attitudes, positions which serve to eliminate the capitalist system. The character of the bourgeois class is not abandoned.

We do not say that these states cease being bourgeois. In speaking of the "revolutionary state" we speak of a part of the capitalist states, but in a process, which goes from nationalism to the Workers State. We do not say that there is a Workers State, in the same way that we do not say that the nationalist revolution is a socialist revolution. We do not give this state the character of the proletarian class. But the term "revolutionary state" allows one to include the revolutionary measures, which are taken, which are, neither accidental or occasional, and which contribute to the transformation of the state.

It is a problem of this epoch, which in no way changes the characteristics of the state, which remains capitalist; but the measures taken, contribute to deny it. And for that reason we say "revolutionary state" and not socialist revolution, which would imply a transformation, just as we speak of a nationalist revolutionary state, but not of a government. This serves to explain the phenomena of this epoch, and allows the establishment of our policy towards these states. A Bonapartist government, giving to the state a Bonapartist character is impossible. Today the existence of 16 Workers States, and the process of the final settlement of accounts hinders every stage of prolonged transition even in Mali. They wanted to retreat, and are not able to. They are in a stage of transition, and they have to go beyond the stage of Modibo Keito, or return to capitalism, which is also impossible. For this reason also, we speak there of the "revolutionary state".

South Yemen gives one of the most

clear examples of this process. This is not yet a Workers State. It is a nationalist revolution, which advances towards a Workers State. It is a "revolutionary state" (Today it is the same for Libya, the Congo Brazzaville among others). Such is the physiognomy of the character of these states. Today the process advances differently in these countries, where a series of state measures of great importance allow progress.

Between capitalist interest and anti capitalist interest, it is this last which wins out. The measures, which the Peruvian government seeks, for example to take to create an internal market, are measures which suppress capitalism. It is a "revolutionary state". Peron in the Argentine never reached this level.

We do not say still "socialist revolutionary state", but "revolutionary state", "nationalist revolution". These are the precise characterisations, which allow us to define our tasks towards these movements.

This is not Bonapartism. The state with a Bonapartist government, which has been characterised for an epoch as ceasing in part to be capitalist, is not correct. The state remains capitalist. This is not a valuable explanation of the phenomena of the epoch. If this problem could be one in that epoch, today this is no longer the case with the existence of 16 Workers States, which do not allow any equilibrium and no stability for a Bonapartist state. They have to oscillate towards a new historic quality, towards the revolutionary state by taking measures, which affect the capitalist system. The Bonapartist government can exist in a state of Bonapartist character, but there only exist

bourgeois or Workers States. There is no other form.

Peru is closer to a Workers State than to a capitalist state. It is a stage of transition in which there is already no longer the original physiognomy of a capitalist state. It is a "revolutionary state", but not a revolutionary government. It is a state, which has already a revolutionary structure much closer to the structure of the Workers State than to the capitalist state. It has not lost its original nature, which is capitalist, but there are already plenty of interior elements which deny it. It is not a question of government, but of structure. Whoever will take power must base himself on this structure. That is why it is necessary to understand the phenomena of this epoch, and to give them a corresponding definition.

In Poland, 80% of agrarian production is private. Poland is however a Workers State. Why can we maintain this characterisation? Because all that is fundamental in this country comes from the Workers State, whereas in the countries of the revolutionary states everything, which is fundamental comes still from the capitalist state. The measures, which they take go however against it. It is for that reason that it is necessary to give a dynamic vision of these processes, to be able to intervene in a state structure, which is in process of modifying itself. The historic quality has not yet changed, but we are none the less in a phase of approximation to this change, which allows us to intervene. Also we must understand. This is not "socialist" it is "revolutionary", thus we can speak in the manner of an image.

J. Posadas

30 September 1968.

The American elections . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4
 lion who are hungry, the five million who are unemployed, the Negroes, the Mexicans, all together influence North American society—because the Mexicans do not vote, are not the ones who decide—and it is necessary to unite them with all the whites to feel the enormous force, which there is in North America for progress. The 1,000 students who went to Cuba to cut cane were already announcing the inclination of the electorate. They saw the world revolution, and sought how to communicate. These North American elections are a very important index. It is not a question simply of an election in which one wins or another loses, or in which the electorate shows particular electoral tendencies. No. They are social demonstrations of repudiation, of social forces, which have shown themselves in the elections. The elections show a great will to oppose American Imperialism. It is not simply an electoral expression. All the bourgeoisie voted, all the bourgeoisie concentrated themselves, the immense majority of the bourgeoisie voted, while the Negro and Mexican masses did not vote. Of the electorate, which voted, which is in great part the bourgeoisie, the candidates of Nixon did not win, which indicates the influence of the revolution over all the sectors, who have doubts among the North American bourgeoisie, and which is going to express itself soon in the Senate and the political relations of the United States. It is going to show itself in two ways; the sectors of the so called doves are going to try to use the process, but also the sector of the CIA, which sees itself to be isolated, is going to try to exert a pressure for military solutions. This shows that in the United States the conditions are right for revolutionary solutions. They are ready. The organisms are lacking.

This attitude of the North American masses in the elections against the bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism was already expressed before in the car industry strikes, in the railway strikes, in the strikes of the sanitation workers, and the police. There is a whole mobilisation of the North American masses, which extends from the students to the Mexicans, from the Negroes to the mobilisations of the petit bourgeoisie against the war in Vietnam, to the organisation of the soldiers, where the feeling and the will to combat was shown, but there is a lack of organisms. And the elections are a very limited measure, a very inferior means of expression. It is necessary to help the North American masses to realise a superior elevation of anti imperialist organs directly. Already the situation in North America is mature, for very important changes of structure for the organisation of organs of power of the proletariat, of the workers party based on the T.U.s.
 For this reason the most important task is to help the North American masses to form the workers party based on the trade unions, a movement with an anti imperialist and anti capitalist programme. It is necessary to develop a campaign for this. The crisis in the car trade union, the assassination of Reuther showed also that imperialism, the CIA already saw a moment, which could be at the head of the protest of democratic rebellion. Hence they assassinated him. But the elections show that although they assassinated Reuther, the conditions remain the same

and impose themselves. And already there is a very powerful base to unite the unions, the Negroes, the Mexicans, the unemployed, the struggle against the war in Vietnam around an anti imperialist programme, for the defence of democratic liberties, and defence against Yankee imperialism, for the elimination of all the Yankee bases, the Yankee missions, to withdraw them from all over the world, for the elimination of all military costs, and the diversion of all the costs for atomic arms for the benefit of the population of the United States, and all the population of the world. It is necessary to invest, to satisfy the necessities of the populations of the world.
 For the extension of democratic rights, for greater liberties and full rights for the Negroes, of the Mexicans, so that all who live in North America should have the same full rights, whites, Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans.
 But the most important aspect of all is the organisation of the workers party based on T.U.'s, which is the instrument, the organ, and with which they could make an appeal for democratic liberties and the planning of production. It is necessary to make a national constitutional movement against the war, a war which has not even been formally declared. Out from the war! Give organic forms to the 23 trade unions, who have pronounced against the war. It is necessary to publicise and have circulated the 60 newspapers which have declared themselves against the war, but it is necessary to unite this to

the movement for democratic liberties, already the movement of Jane Fonda against the war has finished by becoming a socialist movement. Jane Fonda has declared that in order to advance quicker it is necessary to be a socialist. Any well intentioned social movement, which wants to go forward has to take account of the limitation of the struggle, limited to democratic rights. Socialist rights, which eliminate misery, poverty, unemployment, arrogance repression are superior. Against loans and the handing over the arms to Israel! For the appeal to the North Americans, for unconditional support to the Arab masses. For the expulsion of imperialism and of Israel. For the solution of a Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of the Middle East, with the right of self determination of the Israeli masses.
 The soviet trade unions have to appeal to the trade unions and to the North American masses to organise themselves in a workers party based on T.U.s against the war in Vietnam, against the repression of the Negroes, the Mexicans, for democratic rights for everyone, for the planning of the economy under workers control, for the nationalisation of the key centres of production, for the withdrawal of the Yankee military missions from the whole world. It is necessary to appeal to the trade unions to construct a socialist world in common to avoid the wars, avoid the atomic war, to avoid assassinations, so that they in the name of the soviet people guarantee that the Soviet Union has no interest in the atomic war, but has an interest in the organisation of socialist humanity, and appeal to them to take power to impede North American imperialism, launching the atomic war and continue killing and assassinating people throughout the world. The Soviet trade unions must do this.
 8 November 1970.

Chile—Huachipato

NEWS TAKEN FROM THE PAPER "CRONICA" FROM CONCEPCION

TUESDAY, 10th NOVEMBER 1970

The Trotskyists have just stood in the elections for the delegates of the Union of Employees and Technicians in the Pacific Steel Company. The Revolutionary Workers Party, affiliated to the Latin American Bureau of the IV International (Trotskyist) has succeeded in getting five leaders elected. Juan Urutia, one of the leaders elected said to "Cronica" that "for the first time in Chilean trade union history, the Trotskyists have won an absolute majority; this shows that the electoral triumph of Salvador Allende reflects the existence of a left revolutionary tendency amongst the Chilean workers". With 1,879 workers voting in the elections, the Trotskyists got 1,220 votes; the Christian-Democrats 325 and Popular Unity 324. These results brought about the election of Luis Muons (Trotskyist) with 450 votes, Juan Urutia (Trotskyist) with 449 votes, Sergio Deride (Christian Democrat) with 325 votes, Pedro Gaste (Communist) with 324 votes and Nelson Ulloa (Trotskyist) with 313 votes.

*

We salute with all our revolutionary joy this important success of the comrades of the Chilean Section of the IV International. The triumph that they have just achieved by obtaining the absolute majority in the elections for the delegates in the most important engineering factory in Chile is closely linked to the recent victory of the Popular Union in the national elections. It is the expression of a profound revolutionary current in the working class which is seeking, through the instruments at its disposal: the Popular Union, the Trotskyist Fraction in Pacific Steel, to impose the struggle for the socialist transformation of the country. The same workers as voted for Allende and won him his victory, today make it possible for the Trotskyists to become a trade union leadership. This is the clearest expression of the search made by the working class for the revolutionary, Trotskyist programme, policy and objectives.

Manchester

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WE SALUTE WITH REVOLUTIONARY JOY THE REAPPEARANCE OF FRENTE OPERARIA, ORGAN OF THE POR(T) BRAZILIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

DESPITE EVERY FORM OF TERRORISM, WHICH LED TO THE MURDER OF OLAVO HANSEN—AND THE TORTURING OF OTHER COMRADES, THE BRAZILIAN SECTION HAS REDOUBLED THE FORCE OF ITS INTERVENTION.

RED FLAG

supplements

by CDE. J. POSADAS

THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS, THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYISTS, THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS DURING AND AFTER THE NUCLEAR WAR APRIL 1965

FROM THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE FEB 1966

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER FEB 1966

THE STRUCTURE AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL MARCH 1966

FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE MAY 1968

THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL OCT 1968

THE STUDY OF THE TEXTS OF OUR MASTERS, MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY, THE APPLICATION OF THE MARXIST METHOD AND MARXISM TODAY OCT 1968

All obtainable by post from

IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St. W.C.2.

Organise the factory Committees and mass assemblies . . .

solution calling for clemency towards the Basque prisoners, and trade union, and political freedom in Spain indicates the pressure for action on this issue from the rank and file.

It is a limitation on the part of Carrillo, the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, and the British Communist Party, that, whilst they did very well to organise Carrillo's recent tour of Britain, they did not profit to concretely organise support for the Spanish masses beyond certain resolutions and financial aid. Both the TUC and the Labour Party should not just confine themselves to individual declarations, but unite with the Communist Party and European workers organisations in the organisation of a Eu-

ropean General Strike to overthrow Franco. The Franco regime is tottering; he is no longer able to centralise the bourgeoisie in a united front against the revolution. Large sectors of Spanish capitalism have lost their capitalist perspectives, the foreign minister, Lopez Bravo has made treaties with the Workers States, the church hierarchy has come out against the state controlled trade unions. The students, intellectuals and lower clergy have all shown that they are on the side of the revolution, and the democratic liberal bourgeoisie is prepared to make a united front with the workers to achieve democratic freedoms such as the right to organise political parties and free trade unions, a political amnesty and a free press.

In the absence of an organised political party that centralises the Spanish masses, the Workers Commissions (clandestine trade unions), largely C.P. organised, but including workers of many tendencies, have been impelled to act not only as a trade union leadership, but as a political leadership. In Spain the struggle for democratic rights leads directly to the struggle for power. On Nov 3rd the Workers Commissions organised a national strike for trade union freedom and a political amnesty, and it received the support of the Soviet trade unions. The Workers Commissions are beginning to succeed in unifying the proletariat, and in attracting all other exploited sectors of the population, and they are being able to do this by basing themselves more and

more on the programme put forward by the Posadists, who are working in Spain to impell the construction of a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions. In answer to our question Carrillo said in London that the Spanish Communist Party is prepared to make a united front with the Trotskyists or any other left group to overthrow Franco and to build socialism. We appeal to him to make this a reality by adopting our slogan of a European General Strike to overthrow Franco, and launching the organisation for it by all the European workers organisations. And we appeal to the British workers organisations to link action on this question to the struggle against the anti-trade union laws.

DISCUSS THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE TO BRING DOWN FRANCO, IN THE MASS ASSEMBLIES ON JANUARY 12th. FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL AND T.U. PRISONERS, FOR FULL TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. VIVA THE COMMUNIST SPIRIT OF THE BASQUE PRISONERS

POLAND

WE SALUTE THE HEROIC WORKERS OF POLAND, IMPELLING THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE WORKERS STATE!

OUT WITH THE BUREAUCRATS AND MATERIAL PRIVILEGE!

OUT WITH THE "ECONOMIC REFORMS"!

FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIETS AND PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY!

CORRECTION AND APOLOGY FOR LATENESS

.....The last issue of the paper (No 125) was printed with an incorrect date. It was not of course the 25th October but the 25th November. We apologise for this error.

Also we apologise for the lateness of this paper, which in part is our fault and partly stems from the anarchy of capitalism, its inability to provide electrical power. Because of this lateness and the coming Christmas holidays we have decided to amalgamate two issues, 126 and 127 and publish them just before the Christmas holidays. The next issue of the paper will appear, as normal, on the 10th January.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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EUROPEAN

MARXIST

REVIEW

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**Viva the strike of the
Spanish workers!
For a European strike of
solidarity to bring down
the Franco regime**