

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

65 — Trotsky

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SIXPENCE

For A Single Trade Union Centre To Unify British & European Workers

The crisis of British capitalism worsens, the trade gap widens, the enormous loan by foreign banks and the raising of the bank rate have done nothing to restore the confidence of foreign bankers in the future of the system. British businessmen and importers, worried about a possible devaluation of the pound, have bought vast amounts of foreign currency now in order to make purchases abroad later, with the result that the Bank of England has already used much of the 3,000 million dollar loan in buying sterling to keep the price of the pound up. The stock markets fall and the City speculators mourn.

The Labour Party leadership, not because of a desire to push forward the struggle for socialism, but because they see a weakness of capitalism and the impossibility of confronting the workers in this period, will be forced to take measures which will weaken capitalism. And all these measures, weak though they may be in the opening period, will all stimulate the working class to push forward for stronger measures.

But at the same time the Labour leaders are going to try to help capitalism, and the recently signed 'Declaration of Intent' by the employers and the trade union bosses to limit profits and wages, would be of enormous advantage of capitalism if it really meant anything. However, this declaration, George Brown's big achievement, is a farce because of its vagueness and because of all the loopholes through which the TU bosses, under pressure from their membership, can escape. The TU boss, although anxious to block the struggle, to provide "responsible" solutions, is acutely aware of the precariousness of his position, and will not allow himself to be bound by any agreements which allow him no area to manoeuvre, because he knows that the militant rank and file will push the struggle on without him, and he will lose control of the situation completely. This is an example of the great weakness of the bureaucracies of the LP and the Trade Union in this period.

WAR ECONOMY CONSTANTLY LOWERS STANDARD OF LIVING

The cost of living has risen by 5% in the last 11 months, forcing up the levels of the pay demands and bringing into the arena of industrial action broader and broader sections of the working class and petit-bourgeoisie. The recent award of 9% to the railwaymen and the dissatisfaction of the railway clerical staff at being offered less, shows how ridiculous any discussion on limiting increases to 3½% is. The strike of BEA stewards and stewardesses is an example of how 'white collar' workers are employing the methods of the proletariat against capitalism. This is taking place on a growing scale and demonstrates the impossibility of capitalism being able to mobilise (as it did before, with fascism) the petit-bourgeoisie against the working class.

On questions of foreign policy the Labour leadership acts, driven by the opposing pressures of the working class and imperialism, in the same contradictory way as at home. It is going to invite Kossygin to pay a visit here, it opposes the mixed manned fleet as allowing the intervention of the Germans in the decision to launch the nuclear war, but at the same time it commits British bombers and submarines to the Atlantic nuclear force. In this its policy is little different from that of the Tories, because it has kept back some bombers for unilateral use in the Far East. British Imperialism supported by the

Labour leaders will still try to terrorise the revolutionary masses of the colonial countries, and none of the so-called Left MPs have criticised the government for its actions in Malaysia or for allowing the Belgians to use the base on Ascension Island before the attack on the Congo. In practice there is no Left in the Labour party and their recent line has exposed them once and for all.

The recent visit of Clive Jenkins, the General Secretary of ASSET, to France for talks with the French TU leaders over the cut-back in the 'Concorde' jet airliner project, does not mean that the union bosses are planning a united anti-capitalist struggle of the workers of both countries, but it does show that the objective conditions for such a unification exist. This unification will never come from the Union leaders; on a national scale they are only concerned to split up and atomise the struggle, and on a European scale they will try to do the same.

The workers own committees must bring this unification about—car workers shop steward committees must contact European car workers—the same with the dockers, miners, transport workers and all other sections.

Capitalism is centralised and concentrated in Europe as never before, and to counter this and to accelerate the anti-capitalist offensive it is necessary to unify all the struggles in Europe with the formation of a Single European Trade Union Centre.

THE THIRD EUROPEAN CADRES SCHOOL

The Third European Cadre School was held in October for the European and African sections.

The sessions were held under the supervision of the IEC and ranged over the following subjects

- 1) Permanent Revolution in Africa. Dynamic advance of the African Revolution, Algeria, Zanzibar, etc.
- 2) Centralisation of the Proletariat in Europe. Crisis of the Common Market. Crisis of the Communist and Socialist parties.
- 3) Formation and selection of Bolshevik teams in Europe.
- 4) Present stage of the mobilisation of the Spanish masses.
- 5) Latest developments in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The work of the International was (continued from page 3)

Organise The Anti-Capitalist Offensive In The Mines

All The Profits Of Automation To The Workers

The crisis of both British and world capitalist economy continues to deepen and the newly elected Labour government has made it clear that it intends to try to implement a policy of 'stabilising' the economy at the expense of the workers. In the coal industry this policy is reflected in the statements made recently by the Chairman of the National Coal Board (NCB), Lord Robens. In August of this year he was quoted by the national press as saying that one-third of the country's pits would be closed by 1970 and that no more mines were to be sunk in Britain. And at an area conference of consultative committees in Manchester on November 16 Roben attacked 'voluntary absenteeism' in these words, "there are some chaps who never do more than three or four shifts a week. I say you are better off without them even if it does mean reducing the labour force." And yet, in an interview with the labour correspondent of the "Times" which was reported in its November 10th edition Robens is quoted as saying that the increase in productivity in the coalfields in recent years exceeds anything that has been done in British industry. In other words capitalism expropriates the production of the workers—and then sacks them.

NUM OFFICIALS REFUSE TO ACT

In fact, the productivity of the coal industry has risen by an average of 6% per annum over the last three years and this with a shortage of 13,800 workers in the industry. It is clear that the Government intends to produce more coal with less men and to keep wages as low as possible. The automation of pits is being used to this end. Thus the introduction of the automated coal face will be used to attempt to lower the whole level of wages in the industry. In the words of a recent "Daily Telegraph" report on the automated Beavercotes colliery: "It is recognised by the (coal) board and the union that extensive mechanisation is making piece work payment increasingly inappropriate." Underground supply and surface workers are already grossly underpaid compared with some miners.

In the face of this campaign being mounted by the NCB the bureaucrats of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) have provided no answer.

The best they have been able to do is to 'advise' their members to attend the area 'conferences' of the consultative committees and to promise that proposals for a new wage structure will be produced next year. The refusal of NUM

executive to allow its members to attend the area conferences has given Robens, using the national press and the NCB's paper "Coal News," a platform for advocating government policy without any hindrance. The official leadership of the NUM is little more than a wing of the NCB and the Government. They provide no answer to the problems facing miners because they have only their own sectional interests at heart. Nationalisation by the 1945 Labour government was only a means of propping up a collapsing capitalist economy at the expense of the workers and the present Labour government intends to carry on this policy with the help of the NUM bureaucracy.

STRENGTHEN THE PIT COMMITTEES

Miners! Do not wait for proposals from a union executive that has no interests other than its own privileged position, but organise around your own demands. A new wage structure is necessary, but it must be a structure formulated by miners and not by NUM officials.

All the fruits of automation to the miners! The call should be made immediately for a six-hour shift and a four-day week—an immediate 100 per cent rise in all day wages to bring them up to the level of face workers—a production bonus for each individual pit to be shared by all workers including surface, clerical and canteen workers—full pay when sick—equal pay for apprentices—free travel to and from work—free tools and protective clothing. The control at each pit of all production, bonuses, housing and general welfare by a miners committee elected at the pithead and representing all workers—average wage for all representatives and the right of instant recall of all representatives.

Miners! It is necessary to build your own 'pit committees' which are the only effective means of waging the struggle for higher pay and better conditions. Organise these committees on an area and national basis and wage a unified struggle with workers in other industries. Join the workers in other nationalised industries such as electricity and the railways in a struggle for workers' control of all nationalised industries.

Recently European miner and railway delegations met in Germany, under the auspices of union bureaucrats. Miners committees must press for closer contacts with European workers on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme for the United Socialist States of Europe.

The Failure Of The Common Market And The Crisis Of The Communist And Socialist Parties

(Extracts) J. POSADAS

In the previous articles and resolutions we have analysed that there is a more powerful concentration of capital than ever before, and that there is a mightier increase of capital than at any other time. But with the difference in this stage, and even in the previous stage at a slower rhythm, that the concentration of capital is going to accelerate the elimination of capitalist competitors and for the same reason is going to accelerate the diminution of the area in which capitalism can intervene. The development of more workers states, of colonial revolutions, the socialist development takes away from Imperialism areas which it controlled, and the capital which is now concentrated does not have anywhere to be reinvested. Because of this there is furious competition between the capitalists.

From the point of view of rate of profit, Africa and Latin-America are much more important than Europe. But the capitalists cannot go to Latin-America or Africa because the revolution hinders them, because of the insecurity for capital, but also at the same time because they cannot create in these countries a market for this enormous mass of capital. Consequently they have to go to Europe where such a market and such consumption already exists. And even though from the direct point of view, proportionally, the average rate of profit is lower in Europe, from the point of view of the concentration of investment, it is greater, because here they can invest and not in Latin-America or Africa.

This shows one of the essential bases for the limitation of capitalism; that it cannot expand, which is its condition of life, and as it cannot expand, it has to contract and in contracting it is going to abandon areas and zones of influence, bases of support and of social, political and economic authority. This is one of the essential bases—one of the bases, not the condition—for the downfall of capitalism.

Because of this the attitude of the Chinese is important. They are pursuing an opportunist path, in a series of these situations.

CAPITALISM'S POSSIBILITIES AND THE FAILURE OF THE ECM

The other important aspect, is that in the European Common Market, capitalism shows its enormous historical weakness, in that it cannot create the market necessary for capitalism. It cannot unify Europe, because the social unification, the elimination of individual interests, the elimination of frontiers and the planning, cannot be done without eliminating capitalism, because private property cannot unify countries; the only things which it can unify are the trusts, monopolies, etc., in order to exploit more, but nothing else. At the same time as it increases the concentration of capital it does not increase the historical capacity of capitalism to expand, and it is thus creating clashes within capitalism. Where the impotence of capitalism shows itself, its historical limitations and at the same time, its enormous loss of authority, is that in these conditions of great concentration of capital, of need for markets, it can nevertheless not make war, it cannot go and recover the areas which it has lost, it cannot lay hands on the colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of the resistance, the development of the revolution and the authority of the workers states. If it was otherwise, capitalism would already have made war. In Africa for example. Why don't they repeat the Boer War? Why don't they repeat the invasion of Africa? Why don't they invade Latin-America? They need to do it to invest capital. What stops them? Their military capability, their economic capability? No! They have, from the point of view of the concentration of capital, more than ever before; capitalism is more powerful than ever before, but at the same time it is weaker than ever before because it does not have social support. The lack of social support is not solely that it has lost authority before the masses, but that the development of the revolution takes away from it areas where it could invest. Because of this the European Common Market has an immense limitation, and a few years after being formed it is already breaking up. De Gaulle comes to find markets in Latin-America not in Europe. If they were sure of the expansion of the Common Market, they would unify Europe. To unify all the European economy is a necessary condition.

The production of coal and iron in

Germany, France and Belgium, needs a unification, because it would reduce the costs by 40% or 50% and increase production. They cannot do this because to do it they must eliminate private interest, and they cannot do this because this is to suppress capitalism itself.

But at the same time another conclusion is demonstrated: the tendency of the capitalists to separate themselves from the state apparatus, to eliminate it. As they cannot eliminate the state because it is necessary for their own maintenance, they attack parliamentarism. A very concrete expression of this are the attacks which have been made on parliamentarism in France and the tendency towards presidential power. This tendency, which has begun in France and also in part in Germany, is not determined by the desire for a government by one man, or 'Personal Power' as the communists say of de Gaulle. It arises because capitalism already can no longer support itself in parliament, because its social area of influence of political authority is contracting, and parliament already does not serve it. Parliament is influenced in the last instance, by petit-bourgeois currents, small, medium and even fairly large which conflict with the large trusts and monopolies, which are dominating and eliminating them. The only possible form of existence of capitalism in the world, and particularly in the USA and Europe, is monopoly. The European Market has not led to the unification of Europe but to the concentration of big capital and the development of the big monopolies, and at the same time to the immense loss of social support, of influence and social base. Because of this Yankee Imperialism, which has places where it can invest in the world, in zones where it is profitable for it to invest, does not do so, it reduces its investments in Latin-America, in Africa and Asia—that is to say, in Asia they do invest in Japan, where there is a stability of capitalism which they consider secure enough—but in Latin-America and the rest of Asia and Africa they do not do it because of the political and social insecurity, and at the same time, because of this contraction, its rate of profit is reduced. The global investment of capital is less than that which can be made in Europe, because they cannot create the interior market as in Europe. This shows the limitation of capitalism and shows why the

authority, the power of capitalism cannot advance in Europe. On the contrary it shows the possibilities open to the European socialist and communist workers' movements, launching the slogans of struggle for: a single European Workers Centre, the fight for the unification and the united front of all the workers parties, communist and socialist; a single Workers Centre with the programme of the United Socialist States of Europe.

The unification of Europe is not the unification of the capitalists, because this is simply determined by capitalist interests, the egoistical individual interests of the capitalist, but the unification of Europe is that which responds to the needs of the masses and of the expansion of Europe. At present Europe is constricted. The European masses do not consume all they could and should consume. The European Common Market is not abundant, this is totally false. The proof lies in the low consumption of milk, frequency of illness and the limitation of production. In Spain, for example, Belgium and Holland, Italy, all the south of Italy, there is an immense under-consumption. In Italy the consumption of meat is very low, it does not reach 30 kilos (65 lbs) a year. The amount of meat consumed in Italy is 20-25-30 kilos a year. When on average it is necessary for the correct consumption of protein to eat about 60 kilos (130 lbs) a year, 30% to 35% of the Italian people, those in the south of Italy, are under-fed, under-housed, etc. And one of the elements which shows up the 'Italian Miracle,' the immense limitation of Italian capitalist development, is that at the same time as they have developed industry with a great productivity, they have not been able to develop agricultural production and consumption, and have to import between 40% and 60% of their agricultural products. They have not been able at the same time to develop consumption and the productivity of the agricultural production, because of the backward system, because of inability, because of the lack of investment and because of the problem of land tenancy. They are preoccupied with impelling the market; they have a market of 50 million inhabitants, of which 20 million are eager to consume. But capitalism cannot harmonise the market, because of the lack of capitalist investment. On the contrary, there are about 400,000 or 500,000 Italian workers who are working outside Italy. In Germany alone there are 248,000 Italian workers and also Spaniards in smaller number.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE PROLETARIAT FOR THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

This shows the failure of the European Common Market and the need to respond to the concentration of capital in Europe with the development of the United Proletarian Front for the nationalisation of all the big and medium enterprises, nationalisation of the land, collective production on the land and the giving of the land to the poor peasants. A Single European Centre for a revolutionary programme; starting from the establishment of a minimum salary, with a sliding scale of wages, all increases in productivity and production, all advances in automation, to the benefit of the masses and the population; all gains which result in a diminution in the time necessary to produce, to go to the benefit of the masses, immediately: reduction in the hours of work, longer holidays, higher salaries and compensation. Sliding scale of the hours of work, workers control including in the army—out with Franco, out with Salazar, death to Franco and Salazar, out with Imperialism, unconditional support for the fight of the Spanish and Portuguese proletariat, etc.

Appeals to the workers states for the

unification of Europe and the Balkans. A front against the criminal, reactionary and counter-revolutionary proposal of Tito (that the Balkan workers states withdraw from and break the unity of socialist unification of the solidarity facing capitalism, and form neutral states), to oppose the Balkan socialist federation, and call to the rest of the countries who are not yet workers states to unify with them. Oppose Tito with the Socialist Balkan Federation, the European Socialist Federation, the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. Unconditional support for the colonial revolutions, a general strike in Europe in support of the Spanish revolution will now be the starting point to overthrow Franco. A general strike in Europe for the proletariat's own demands, will stimulate the unification of all masses in Spain, workers, peasants, petit-bourgeoisie, led by the proletariat. Already there are the conditions to do this.

Faced with capitalist concentration it is not possible to reply with any other measure but the struggle for power. There is no way to limit it, to pacify it, there is no possibility of doing this, because the capitalist market has a logic of its own which leads to monopoly. The way to limit the monopolies is to destroy capitalism; consequently, it is necessary to overthrow it, there is no other way to do it. On the other hand, it is the conciliatory policy of the socialist and communist parties which allows capitalism to manoeuvre. These parties mislead and divert, disperse the force of the proletariat, the forces of the struggle of the masses, in futile attempts to limit the power of the monopolies. And above all in the parliamentary struggle. So long as the confining of the proletariat to the parliamentary fight exists, the masses will not be able to develop all their force, their capacity for action, to attract the peasants and the petit-bourgeoisie in order to resolve the problems of prices, of salaries, of production, of employment, of poverty; those problems for example that face the Italian masses. Faced with the actual situation of unemployment among the Italian masses, there is no way in which capitalism can impose a regulation in order to provide work for the masses. Expropriation and nationalisation of capitalism is the only way, all unemployed enterprises to be expropriated and nationalised. This is the basis which gives the possibility for providing employment for the masses and for advancing to resolve the economic problems of the Italian masses.

All the struggles of the Spanish masses go on, even now, the movements continue constantly in Bilbao, Madrid, Barcelona, Asturias, and San Sebastian. The Italian masses constantly fight, fight, fight. A general strike in France or Italy, sustained by actions in the streets, of all the masses, would have an enormous effect on Spain. Because of this the Communist party and the Socialist party do not make such general strikes, because they sense that it is the downfall of capitalism, although they don't say so. Because of this, even though the general strike is a necessity now, to defend wages, living conditions, and the employment of the workers, they do not call for it.

The unification of the European workers is necessary, in a single centre, with an anti-capitalist programme. Recently there was a meeting of miners and railway workers trade unions, of all Europe. There have twice been meetings of miners seeking a common programme. These are opportunist attempts made by the trade unions, socialist and communist leaders, in order to respond to a historic necessity. But it is neces-



sary to start from this possible basis, to extend, not only unification and a common programme for the miners, but for all the European workers movement. But in order to do it, it is necessary to base oneself on an anti-capitalist programme because capitalism is not in any condition to cede to the masses and above all because the exploited masses of all Europe have the force to put the economy at their own disposal, they have the organised trade union and political organisation.

Parliament has shown all its limitations, because there have already been projects in Italy, as we have mentioned in articles over the last two years, for military coups, because parliament does not suit the bourgeoisie any longer. Also there have been projects, constantly, in France, for coups d'états, to substitute a military dictatorship, and if this current has been stayed it is because de Gaulle counts on the support of the communists. The support of the communists gives him a security that he can obtain in parliament, all the means that French Imperialism requires.

The European workers states must make all their weight felt, making appeals to the European masses for a common front. Why don't the proletariats of Bulgaria, of Rumania, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland, of Yugoslavia, make an appeal to the proletariat of the capitalist countries for a unification in action? What is the difference between them? Nothing. It is possible to make a common front and an appeal for the unity of the struggle of the proletariat of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., with the Italian, French proletariat, etc. — a United Front in Europe upon the basis of a socialist programme, to overthrow capitalism.

THE LINE OF THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES

The Italian Communist party, with Amendola at the head—and with Togliatti also, but Togliatti was the centre, Amendola on the right—have sensed the needs and the enormous feebleness of capitalism. They sense that capitalism is becoming weaker and that the Common Market has not led to an extension of the authority of capitalism, which, in the last instance, is the important thing historically. The European Common Market has led to a great concentration, to the gigantic capitalist monopolies, but not to an increase in its authority or social development, which is now less. Because in order to develop such monopolies, as it has not been able to develop in Africa, or Asia, or to extend the world market in capitalist hands, it has had to devour and destroy an enormous quantity of sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie in commerce, in production, in industry and in the countryside. This is the famous European Common Market, which means an immense concentration of capital and monopoly, but not the extension of the social authority of capitalism, but on the contrary its diminution because it is losing its social base; the petit-bourgeois, small industrialist, small merchant.

Amendola and the Socialist parties sense that capitalism is weakening; but they don't intend to base themselves on this process in order to finish with it by burying it; on the contrary they sense that it is weakening and seek to replace capitalism, by an agreement with it in order to carry on a policy of persuasion, of conciliation and alliance with capitalism, in order to replace it little by little. That is to say, the reformist evolutionary policy of the socialist and communist bureaucracies, believe that it is possible to replace little by little the functions of capitalism, and when they are in a majority to suppress capitalism by decree. This is the evolutionist conception, which shows in an indirect way the enormous authority of the workers states, the enormous decision of the European masses to throw out capitalism, and at the same time, the enormous loss in the capacity of capitalism, which cannot resolve the social problems of Europe. At the same time that capital concentrates in big monopolies, it does not have the social capacities to resolve the economic problems of the

masses. Because of this, the policy of the socialists and the communists is reactionary and tends to play the game of misleading the masses, basing themselves in parliament, in ways of pressure and persuasion directed at the capitalists, seeking alliances with the petit-bourgeoisie, with liberal bourgeois sectors, to make the masses believe that a policy of gradualism, of "transmitting messages" is possible in which capitalism is going to lose its ability for and function of leadership, and the CP and SP bureaucracies can replace it. Capitalism needs its own organisms, and when it feels within a short time that these organisms no longer serve it, it is going to try to give military coups, to launch the war. If they cannot respond with a fascist military dictatorship, they are going to respond with the war. Anything else is illusion; history shows that capitalism will not give up, it is not going to be taken by surprise.

Capitalism is using the communists and the socialists to sustain itself because it has no authority of its own to contain the masses. But when we come to a time when the socialists and the communists are no longer able to contain the masses—and it will be in a short time—capitalism is going to unleash military coups in one way or another.

The Testament of Togliatti represents the defence of the interests of the bureaucracy of the CP who feel themselves to be statesmen who must compete with the bureaucracy of the workers states, particularly with the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. At the same time he proposes the regulation of relations, to understand and co-ordinate the interests of all the leading bureaucrats of the workers states and the communist parties. Togliatti writes thinking that the CP bureaucracy will be the leadership of the Italian state and defends it so as not to be submitted to the particular interests of the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

DISCUSS PUBLICLY THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV

The protests of the leaderships of the CP against the leaderships of the Soviet bureaucracy, against Breznev and Co., against the team in the leadership of the Soviet Union who developed the same policy as Khrushchev—alliance with capitalism, peaceful co-existence, usurpation of the political power of the proletariat—is directed with the object of not being ignored so that the interests of these bureaucrats are maintained and respected. They do

Cadres School

(continued from page 1)

discussed and specific problems of the work in the particular European countries resolved.

At the end of the School which lasted a week, the comrades made an assessment of the work which had been achieved. It was agreed that the cadres school marked a notable advance over previous schools. Not only was a higher level of political maturity clearly discernible but a much greater sense of Bolshevik application showed itself. The role of the party is not decided by a mere aggregate of numbers but by its predisposition to apprehend events, to have dominion over events, to be able to fuse completely with the masses. The role of the party is decided by the Bolshevik spirit of its teams. There is no substitute—least of all mere number—for the will to victory. In effect the school revealed a far greater homogeneity than before. European capitalism is decomposing rapidly, the apparatuses are unable to stem the tide running against them and enormous perspectives open up before the European teams.

Greetings were sent to the comrades of the International Secretariat, particularly Cde. Posadas, who had contributed to the orientation of the School with extremely valuable documents on this very rich phase of human history. Greetings were sent to all sections and to the comrades arrested in Cuba, Spain and Brazil.

not know how they are going to end up, they are afraid of being ignored and at the same time they do not wish the masses to participate. They give an explanation which conforms to the bureaucratic sectors and is directed to sectors of the masses of these parties, to impede an internal process of doubt, of disquiet which seeks public discussion, seeks their own explanation for the fall of Khrushchev and finds the explanation in the counter-revolutionary policy in the inter-bureaucratic struggle for counter-revolutionary interests.

This is the attitude of Longo, the French Communist party and of the other communist parties; but the correct attitude which responds to the interest of the masses is public discussion; not only about why Khrushchev fell but what is the policy of the bureaucracy, what is the policy which should be pursued, the connection between the fall of Khrushchev and the opposition to the communist party which does not utilise and concentrate the force of the masses but dissolves it and divides it.

The European Common Market demonstrates that the force of the masses consists in the very unification of capitalism. In the concentrated centre of capitalism the masses cannot respond with separated strikes in the struggle against capitalism they must act in a unified way. And the general strike in Italy, in France, in Belgium, etc., is the arm and instrument of the masses with which they must respond not only for limited struggles but in struggle for the progress of these countries which is to respond to the interest of economic and social development of the masses. Without the General Strike in Europe it is not possible to respond to the interests of the masses in the defence which they make of their life—all this is united to the fall of Khrushchev.

It is not possible to discuss the fall of Khrushchev without discussing the reactionary, reformist and conciliatory policy with capitalism, of the French, Belgian and Italian Socialist and Communist parties altogether. For this reason the PSIUP must launch the initiative which will have an immense echo in the ranks of the CP. The left wing of the PSIUP must not let itself be intimidated by the pressure of the right which seeks to maintain itself in the parliamentary camp seeking to persuade capitalism that it can make certain concessions and at the same time not breaking with the bureaucracy of the communist parties. If capitalism does not break with these parties it is because it lacks the strength, it fears that any struggle with Communist party can precipitate the revolution. It fears to precipitate the political development of the masses of the CP; for this reason its scope is limited. The fall of Khrushchev gives the best basis for the discussion of all the reactionary policy of the Communist party, of all the reactionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and the possibility of impelling the struggle of the masses to intervene, not only through the discussion of the consequences and the counter-revolutionary bases of the inter-bureaucratic struggle in the Soviet Union but linking it to the struggle of the masses for power, in France, Belgium, Italy. The two aspects are united; for this the PSIUP has an enormous power if it struggles consciously for the development of the anti-capitalist programme in Italy and appeals to the masses of all Europe in the struggle for the anti-capitalist programme.

On the basis of the discussion of the immense historical crisis which is signified by the fall of Khrushchev it is necessary to discuss the necessity of conducting in the Soviet Union the struggle for a socialist democracy. And socialist democracy means open and public discussion by the masses: the right to discuss, the right of tendencies, the right to have free unions in the Soviet Union, independence of currents and revolutionary parties in the Soviet Union; unconditional support for the struggle of the masses of the whole world aided by the workers states, the participation of the masses of the workers states through their unions, communist parties, soviets, of all the organs

which unite the soviet masses in unconditional support to the world revolution, to the European proletariat. Among the conditions for the discussion of the fall of Khrushchev, the appeal to the masses of the workers states, to the European proletariat for a United Front against capitalism must be integrated. Whilst Breznev maintains the policy of alliance with capitalism, the unions and the communist parties should break with and attack this policy and on the other hand call for the unification of the European proletariat against capitalism.

This is the line upon which to discuss the fall of Khrushchev. The other is simply a line excusing the bureaucratic, administrative parasitic and conservative interests.

THE WORKERS STATES REJECT THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE LINE OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The fall of Khrushchev is a major crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy which cannot be contained and does not allow an equilibrium for the bureaucracy. Khrushchev has fallen, smashed by the development of the world revolution, of the revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Chinese revolution, of the necessity of this uniting with the world revolution, the necessity of the planning of the workers states. The policy of Khrushchev and of all the bureaucracy: Breznev, Kosygin, Mikoyan, the whole of the present team who were and are united in the policy of peaceful co-existence are united against the development of the revolution. The policy of peaceful co-existence is the alliance, the conciliation with capitalism and American Imperialism and this policy obliges the bureaucracy to ignore, to oppose itself to, and to struggle against the colonial revolution in whatever form even if not directly, in an indirect form. The proof is that a series of revolutions in the world with a little help, with a little economic participation from the workers states—military, political and even diplomatic—could triumph and where they do not triumph immediately as in the Congo

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World Trotskyist Press

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pôlet, BP 352 Poste Centrale, Bruxelles. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appeal To The Pro-Chinese Tendencies

We are making renewed appeals to all the pro-Chinese tendencies and groups to join with us in the task of building the revolutionary current with the revolutionary anti-capitalist programme to overthrow Imperialism and install workers power in Britain.

Every event that happens in the world today reflects in one way or another the collapse of Imperialism and the advance of the world masses to socialism. And this advance to socialism is not confined to the colonial revolution. The strikes in Spain, Italy and France, and the tremendous political instability of those countries reflect the readiness of the European proletariat to embark on the struggle for power. In this country the victory of the Labour party—despite the pro-capitalist leadership of Wilson—signifies that the highly centralised British proletariat is struggling for socialism. To think that we have to wait for decades before the masses will be ready to overthrow capitalism in Europe or Great Britain is to have lost totally any perspective or understanding of the dynamic process and interaction of the colonial revolution, proletarian revolution and political revolution in the workers states.

The latest Chinese documents reflect a deepening of the analysis of why it has been possible for people such as Khrushchev to put forward anti-Marxist policies and follow a line of collaboration with Imperialism. These documents speak of a large privileged sector in the workers states whose social interest is conservative and anti-revolutionary. Although these documents refer to this caste as a "neo-bourgeoisie" in general the analysis is in line with that given by Trotsky years ago in the book "The Revolution Betrayed." This analysis reflects a constant maturing of the Chinese comrades towards the positions of Trotskyism and clearly places a large question mark over the attempt to retain Stalin as a "defender of Leninism." How did this stratum develop and what policies encouraged and reflected it? Clearly it grew up during the development of the Soviet workers state. What

were the positions of Lenin and Trotsky in relation to this stratum? What measures did they take to combat it. All these questions arise from the latest positions of the Chinese comrades. It is no wonder that the "theoretician" of the Soviet bureaucracy, Suslov, has accused the Chinese comrades of following a Trotskyist line. From recent reports it also seems that the Chinese comrades are adopting a much more radical critique of "peaceful co-existence" saying that it is not possible to practice it with Imperialist countries—again an approximation to the positions of the IV International.

We are not only concerned to clarify general perspectives for the dynamic course of the world revolutionary process but to work with all those currents who are seeking a revolutionary programme. For example it is necessary to propose slogans that meet the action of the masses—it is quite useless thinking that the fusion of the revolutionary party with the class will take place on the basis of large quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin. The activity of the British workers is dynamic and aggressive. In face of the passivity of the union bosses the workers constantly strike and force concessions from the capitalist class by means of their own unofficial committees. All the conditions for a revolutionary situation are preparing themselves—confidence of the exploited class, lack of authority and confidence on the part of the ruling class, tendency of the petit-bourgeoisie to withdraw its militant support from the capitalist class. To accelerate this struggle, to centralise it there is the necessity for a Marxist revolutionary leadership which relates its policy and programme to the everyday concerns and issues which preoccupy the masses—housing, hiring and firing in factories, the cost of living, etc.

It is necessary to organise the workers committees around a programme of demands which lead on from economic demands such as a basic minimum wage, 35 hour week, etc., to demands for workers control over the rhythm of work and conditions in factories and to the

ultimate perspectives of workers militia and workers power. To do this the utmost flexibility is required and sectarian prejudices will obtain nothing.

By refusing to put forward a concrete perspective for the General Strike, and failing to propose a clear anti-capitalist programme the pro-Chinese tendencies confuse the workers. On the one hand they claim to be revolutionaries but on the other hand they confine themselves to generalised statements—such as it is necessary to smash the state, which is perfectly true and necessary to put forward—but unless the masses are made aware of a clear concrete programme it remains a purely academic proposition. And in fact there is a tendency on the part of some pro-Chinese elements to argue that we have years of preparation in front of us! This in itself shows an underestimation of the tremendous perspectives opening up before the revolutionary currents as British Imperialism displays its weakness and inability to meet the demands of the masses.

In appealing for discussions and a united front with those comrades who support the positions of the Chinese Communist party we do not conceal our criticisms of the failure of the Chinese to give sufficient aid to the Congo revolution and the habit of substituting diplomatic manoeuvres with such people as de Gaulle for appeals to the world masses and the organisation of genuine revolutionary parties with revolutionary programmes. As in the case of Italy they have persistently underestimated the powerful dynamism of the European proletariat.

It is extremely sectarian and anti-proletarian to refuse to discuss with us. When the masses vote for the Labour party they are practicing the united front. Workers may disagree among themselves but in front of the class enemy they unite.

We are confident that the genuine revolutionary militants will make a united front with us as has happened in Peru and elsewhere. The whole historical process is the line of the permanent revolution. The fact that some Chinese documents have condemned Trotskyists makes no difference. Administrative actions cannot stop the objective necessity for a united front of the world masses and revolutionary currents to overthrow Imperialism and the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy.

We appeal in particular for a discussion on the significance of the fall of Khrushchev and for a discussion on the concrete steps necessary for organising the revolutionary Marxist leadership in this country.

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

Dec. 20, 1964.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

Failure Of Common Market

(Continued from page 3)

the process is slower developing into a series of struggles in permanence against capitalism because the workers states have not intervened, impeded from doing so by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Khrushchev fell because of the necessities of the Soviet workers state to unite with the world revolution, to make a plan among the workers states, to make a solid united anti-capitalist front and base itself on the anti-capitalist forces in the world; the workers states expressed in a form "sub-generis"—because there is no other way that they can do so—the enormous contradiction between the existence of the bureaucracy and these necessities. Kossygin, Breznev, Mikoyan now put the blame onto Khrushchev, to try to contain the criticisms and reactions within the workers states and with the Chinese, believing that with this they can rid themselves of blame. The fall of Khrushchev is only a passing stage which is going to lead to a violent internal struggle whose essential base is the development of the political revolution in a short period.

It is necessary to base ourselves on this new crisis which the fall of Khrushchev opens in the historical process to give an impulse to the revolutionary struggles. The PSIUP must support itself in this crisis of the Communist party, to develop revolutionary tendencies. Not to dispute parliamentary seats because it is going to lose such a struggle, not to dispute union leaderships or centres and leaderships with a reformist programme because it is going to lose such a struggle.

The discussion which at present the ICP has proposed, as Togliatti before, is a discussion among the summits to give a mutual security on the possibility for the development of all the

tendencies within the bureaucratic camp. This is the intention of Togliatti, a discussion among bandits to defend themselves from the masses and not to fall out among themselves. They are not strong enough to eliminate discussion because they have no social force to continue governing and to contain this struggle; the appeal of Togliatti is directed to an arrangement; it is a reformist conception, of alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the capitalist sectors for the replacement of capitalism, that is to say the evolutionary policy of reformism with capitalism, to arrange a prolonged process of evolution a thing impossible to do because capitalism cannot permit it. Capitalism will launch a fascist military dictatorship or the war before this.

The PSIUP, the worker tendencies within the communist parties, must promote public discussions, but not simply discussions of why Khrushchev fell and how, but a discussion of the programme of the USSR, of the policy of the USSR, of the economic development of the USSR, the absence of a socialist democracy and the application of socialist democracy. In the Belgian SP, in the French CP, in the Italian SP and CP, in the British CP, in the Dutch CP, in all these parties, it is necessary to make a full and ample discussion.

Not only a discussion on the fall of Khrushchev, but a discussion on what is the programme of the workers state, what must be the programme of the revolution, of the European unification of the masses, an anti-capitalist programme, an anti-Imperialist programme for the struggle for the Federation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

J. POSADAS.

October 23, 1964.

Extract On The British Situation

J. POSADAS

(concluded from previous issue)

Even though there is still not the struggle for power in any European country, the pressure of the proletariat is infinitely greater than before, and a Labour government in this stage will not have any other course but to submit to this pressure, which is going to be quite dynamic and which is going to lead to attempts by the Labour party to seek Labour governments in other countries of Europe to try to realise a policy between capitalism and the workers states. This current already exists implicitly in the Trade Unions. They sense that they cannot sustain capitalism. And the conclusive proof of this is that Bevan himself when he posed the 'balance of terror' posed in part, this: the possibility of a state between the workers states and capitalism. Without doubt this would be an obstacle to the revolution, an attempt to contain the revolution, but at the same time it is a way of yielding to the revolution, which is going to stimulate the actions

of the masses. In part, the attitude of the Labour party in order to put itself above the pressure of the masses, is going to suppress part of capitalism; it is not going to have any other remedy but to do this. Togliatti in Italy, is an example; if they were to take office, it does not mean that they would leave capitalism as it is; they would take a series of measures tending to alleviate the pressure of the masses, to better the situation, seeking an intermediate stage of peaceful co-existence until arriving at a workers state. It is not possible to do this. But such an attitude in the absence of a political leadership is going to stimulate the masses inevitably. It does not mean that this is the road. On the contrary it is an obstacle. But it does mean that they can no longer do what they did before to contain it.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

— Trotsky

No. 17

FEBRUARY 1965

SIXPENCE

Unify The Unofficial Factory Committees On A Programme For Workers Power

The boycotting of the Leyton and Nuneaton by-elections by large numbers of workers was a way in which they could express their dissatisfaction with this government which has done practically nothing to try to solve the problems of the British masses; they have the confidence to boycott the LP, because they know the class struggle not parliament will decide the future. In the general election the workers centralised themselves around the Labour Party, without illusions in the leadership, with the intention of pushing it into power and then pressuring it into taking anti-capitalist measures. Up till now there have been only a few feeble moves against capitalism (the sacking of Beeching was one example) and the working class and lower middle class have had to bear the brunt of the government's attempts to stabilise capitalism. Showing their opposition to this, the workers abstained in the by-elections and by so doing brought about the defeat of the Foreign Secretary at Leyton. There can be no clearer expression of their contempt for the Labour leaders, and no better way of warning them, than this act of effectively kicking out a top minister.

The Tories have taken this opportunity to call for the resignation of the government, but they themselves are without a clear line at this time. All they can do is hope that the LP and Trade Union bosses can hold in check the growing militancy of the workers, which is more and more spilling over from purely economic demands to demands which bring into question the very existence of capitalism. And this is a measure of the weakness of capitalism and Imperialism in this period. While trusting the Labour leadership as loyal allies, the capitalist class fears the consequences of the pressure of the workers upon this leadership, and in this respect hope that the recent electoral fiasco which has resulted in the Labour majority being whittled down to three, will prevent the government going ahead with its plans for steel nationalisation.

The capitalist class fears steel nationalisation because it knows that it will encourage the working class and stimulate them to demand the nationalisation of more and more industries. Caught between the needs of the bourgeoisie and the growing revolutionary pressure of the British masses, the Labour party leadership is faced with problems to which they have no solution. Gunter, a typical Labour aristocrat, viciously attacks the unofficial strikers, but the apparatus has in some measure to meet the demands of the worker base. The conditions are maturing for the building of the revolutionary current within and outside the mass organisations.

CRISIS OF THE EUROPEAN APPARATUSES

The growing revolutionary pressure of the masses which puts the apparatuses into a state of crisis is a phenomenon which is apparent in all the organisations of the western proletariat. The Italian Socialist Party has been split now since Nenni entered the Italian government, and a new party, the PSIUP, has become the focus for the maturing revolutionary currents in

the Italian working class. The Belgian Socialist Party has just split as has the French Catholic trade union apparatus. Even in the United States where Imperialism has been able to build up the most reactionary TU apparatus of all, the mass pressure shows itself directly in the unofficial dock strike recently, and indirectly by the demands for rail nationalisation by the leaders of the railwaymen's unions.

MATURING OF WORKERS COMMITTEES

The increasing strike activity in this country is a part of the whole process going on in western Europe—the Belgian dock strike, the 48 hour strike of public employees in France, the demonstrations and strikes in Spain—all these are building up towards the final reckoning with capitalism. For the first time since the general strike of 1926, Vauxhalls have been closed because of strike action. At a mass meeting of Vauxhall strikers, union officials who had accepted a miserable 4½d an hour when the workers were asking 2/6, were jostled and shouted down. In the docks the TGWU sent an official down to try to persuade the dockers to work on Sundays, but the workers accepting the arguments of their own unofficial organisation voted to stay away. The docks unofficial liaison committee is not only demanding big pay increases but also the nationalisation of the docks. In Manchester an unofficial committee linking road and rail transport workers is planning a unified struggle. The workers express their anti-capitalism through the unofficial committees and strikes, in the absence of a mass revolutionary Marxist party which can give a political expression to these sentiments, and there develops in these committees a process of politicisation, of challenging the continued existence of capitalism. All this can be seen in the demands of the docks liaison committee.

The political pressure will also express itself in a weaker deformed way through the actions of the TU leaders. Already this has shown itself in the demands

for the nationalisation of the aircraft industry, by ASSET and DATA, and the demand for the reduction in armaments expenditure by DATA. The TU leaders despite their own subjective desires will be forced to put forward an increasingly militant anti-capitalist policy, in order to maintain their own positions. The amount of help that the TU and LP leaders can give the capitalist class is being steadily diminished, and the capitalists are aware of this and will draw their own conclusions. The tendency of the European bourgeoisie is to finish with the parliamentary game because the game is going against their interests, and in this country this same tendency will show itself as well.

In Ireland too the anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist spirit shows itself both in Ulster and the Republic. The recent brutally suppressed demonstrations resulting from the arrests and trial of ten men who dared to oppose the visit of Princess Margaret to Eire, showed that the southern Irish bourgeoisie are prepared to be just as vicious against anyone opposing British Imperialism as the Ulster government is. The meeting of the Ulster and Eire Prime Ministers is of tremendous significance because it shows that the two bourgeoisies have come together to try to work out a

strategy for their mutual defence against the growing militancy of the Irish workers; but the bourgeoisie will not be able to unite Ireland, its unification can only be brought about by the actions of the workers of the north and south as a united socialist Ireland part of the united socialist states of Europe.

The British bourgeoisie grieve over the death of Churchill, and inflate him to the status of a major historical figure because he was their last link with the days when British Imperialism really meant something. Now they grieve not just for Churchill's death but because they feel the constant weakening of Imperialism. A Nottinghamshire parish council decided not to pay tribute to Churchill because it was said, "he was the deadliest enemy the miners ever had," and another council member commented, "not just of the miners but all the working people in the country." We as revolutionaries, together with all the workers of the world who have suffered and are suffering under British Imperialism, agree, and shed no tears over his death. Like Stalin and Hitler who also thought they could hold back history and stop socialism, he will soon be forgotten in the world which has finished with capitalism and builds a socialist future.

RESOLUTION OF I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL Support And Solidarity With The Congo Masses

The IV International addresses itself to all the Workers States of the world, to the leaderships of the communist parties of the governments of the workers states, to the workers trade union centres, to the trade unions of China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, etc., of North Korea, to the trade union and workers organisations, to the socialist and workers organisations, to the socialist and communist parties of all the capitalist countries, to the nationalist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, to the workers trade unions centres, to the workers and peasants trade union, and to the students organisations, and calls them to intervene with all their means and all their force in support and in aid of the anti-imperialist masses who are fighting in Stanleyville in order to prevent imperialism from crushing them, in order to allow them to free themselves from oppression by driving out imperialism from their country.

A world wide common front exists, expressing itself through UNO in the

first place and in the world unity of all the bourgeoisie of the world to try to crush the revolution in the Congo. The importance of this revolution must not be measured by the wealth of the country, by its richness from the economic point of view from the possession of the mines. What prompted imperialism to intervene, in taking the risk of a massive intervention of the masses of the Congo, of the workers states, in taking the risk of increasing its counter-revolutionary role in face of the reaction of the masses of the workers states, is the determination to prevent Stanleyville from developing into a workers state which could serve as an example and influence the rest of black Africa.

The Congo is backward only in form. From the cultural point of view, from the point of view of the standard of living, Stanleyville is one of the backward towns in the world. The masses do not have shoes, clothing, food. Capitalism has been incapable of developing,

(Continued on page 3)

Nicole Boyer and Gabrielle Hildenbrandt, members of the Spanish Section of the IV International, released on bail, A VICTORY FOR THE SPANISH REVOLUTION!

Workers Control, Soviets And Communes For The Advance Of The Socialist Revolution In Algeria

(Extracts) J. POSADAS

The VII World Congress of the IV International discussed the process of the Algerian Revolution and considered as we had resolved previously in 1963 that the Ben Bella government was a socialising government which tended towards a socialising policy. Thus it was taking anti-Imperialist measures combined with support to capitalism; but the line it was taking was not a line of consolidating capitalism, because it was tending towards socialisation in its petit-bourgeois way. The government was capitalist because it depended still on the capitalist system, sought to maintain it in existence but its tendency was towards socialist measures. From then until now making the balance in general it can be seen that the government is inclined towards measures which respond more to nationalisation than to the defence of capitalism. Ben Bella has taken a series of measures, has made agreements with Imperialism, has even restored a series of small enterprises, commercial enterprises, other properties and hotels to the small capitalists. Thus he seeks to preserve the confidence of capitalists, to attract them and to conserve a friendly link with them. But at the same time he has taken other measures which are extremely decisive blows against capitalism as with the expropriations against Algerian capitalists.

ALGERIA IS CLOSE TO BECOMING A WORKERS STATE

The development of the Algerian revolution has taken an impetuous course. The characterisation which can be made of the present government is that it is a Bonapartist government more inclined towards socialism; a petit-bourgeois Bonapartist socialising government which tends to respond more favourably to the pressure of the revolution than to the tentacles of capitalism. This characterisation is very important because the progress already made in Algeria will not permit any government to turn back. It is necessary to characterise it as Bonapartist because it still defends and sustains many capitalist measures. But the balance of forces are not favourable to capitalism for example in relation to petroleum which is the fundamental element and in a series of other important enterprises. Algeria is close to being constituted as a workers state.

This passage from a Bonapartist government to a socialist government will be of a short duration. It is necessary to be prepared in consequence for a series of land and factories (there are still great factories in the hands of the French) to pass into the power of the Algerian state. In this way the Algerian state will constitute itself into a workers state. But without expecting that the level reaches the level of the workers state this phase of transition must be considered as a phase close to the establishment of a workers state. All the policy which develops must tend to a policy of nationalisation to transform Algeria into a workers state. It is necessary to struggle in order that the management committees transform themselves and develop themselves into true committees of workers control. Not to abandon the Committee of Management but to pass from this to workers control, to plan the economy on a national scale and to stabilise workers control, intervening in every factory through factory committees.

But Ben Bella at the same time to defend himself from the masses prevents the measures of statification being accompanied by socialist democracy by a series of measures of cultural and economic development, by the intervention of the masses, of workers and peasants control which would impel the revolution. And it is here that he expresses timidity, confusion and at the same time his conciliatory, opportunist conception of the revolution. But what is determinant in this contradictory line of the government of Ben Bella are the measures of statification, blows against capitalism from which there can be no retreat.

The contradictory combinations of conciliation with Imperialism and at the same time blows against Imperialism continue in the absence of a revolu-

tionary Marxist conception. This occurs not only on the part of Ben Bella but of all the petit-bourgeois movements and governments which try to advance with the revolution without confronting directly Imperialism, without revolutionary mobilisations; not only from fear of the consequences of capitalist reaction but through fear that the masses are going further than they wish them to go or are disposed to accept. One of the ways of measuring the advance of the revolution is the attachment of the masses to the revolution. And 90% of the Algerian masses are with the revolution. The failure of all the military blows which these reactionary tendencies of Ait Ahmed, Ferhat Abbas have tried is not due to the fact that they did not have material means—they did—but the fact that the masses did not support them. The small sector that supported them occasionally are tendencies and sectors—particularly in the Kabylie in which there is a combination of very backward workers and peasants with a petit-bourgeoisie who defend a series of lands, types of semi-feudal properties. But the Algerian population was against this, even considering the fact that the peasant and worker masses criticise and criticise bitterly Ben Bella. In the recent peasant congress many serious criticisms have been made but they criticise the government as something which is going on their path, sustaining at the same time the Algerian state.

French Imperialism has supported all these counter-revolutionaries, giving arms and money and is determined to give much more as a means of making the Ben Bella government yield; as a means of pressure because capitalism is conscious of the fact that it cannot restore its own direct power and seeks to apply pressure to keep the capitalist system in being. For this it uses all these dissident counter-revolutionaries to maintain capitalism or at least to maintain a capitalist base in Algeria. Already this has failed and will fail because the masses do not accept it.

The masses observe that the government through conciliation with capitalism take opportunist measures, alliance with Imperialism, but takes also progressive measures of nationalisation. The masses see not the particular policy or partial policy of Ben Bella with Imperialism, but they see the totality of this policy which represents the advance of the Algerian state. Thus they intervene to make the revolution advance—thus the real contradiction between the government of Ben Bella and the masses. The latter are prepared to go much farther than Ben Bella. Ben Bella yields but only under a tremendous pressure. There is no coherence in his policy. This lack of coherence is not only due to his lack of communist ideological conception or a socialist conception of the

revolution but to his timidity and incapacity to advance with the support of the masses. Undoubtedly there are serious economic problems and a backward economic base but one of the modes of resolving them is to apply a policy in which the masses would accept all the privations which are necessary, that is the full intervention of the masses, workers control, soviets.

The masses see that there is a progress in nationalisations. They understand this hence they defend the government. They see the enormous progress in respect to the epoch of the Imperialist domination. And they see that they have the weight to decide. The masses see that after their own demonstrations, after meetings, committees, interventions, occupations of land, the government yields. The masses have learnt and feel how to participate and force the government to yield. What the masses demand—and for a long time have not been able to find it—is the revolutionary class party. And the fault is not that of the class it is the legacy they have received. It is the fault of the bureaucracy of the workers states, of the communist party of Khrushchev and in part of the Chinese who have not carried forward the Marxist revolutionary policy. There has been no example and historic experience. If this petit-bourgeois government of Ben Bella can manoeuvre with the masses in this way it is because it counts on the support and secondary aid—and at times principal aid—of the conciliatory policy of the communist parties—including Chinese—on their policy of conciliation with Imperialism and with the national bourgeoisie. The Algerian masses see the Chinese CP attack Imperialism but they see that it also shakes hands with Imperialism and does not intervene in Gabon. This weighs on the Algerian masses. They do not have a tradition, a historic base on which they can support themselves, they do not have a Marxist policy. But even so there is a very great progress of the masses.

The fact that Ben Bella was obliged to concede to the Congress and to discuss policy, to allow the masses in some measure to intervene even if eliminating their participation in the leadership as it would be expressed through workers control, shows that the masses are fully disposed to make the revolution advance.

THE NECESSITY FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

The great backwardness of Algeria cannot be resolved only in Algeria. One of the most important conditions to consider is that the Algerian revolution can continue to advance uninterruptedly and extend itself only by uniting itself to the rest of the African revolution. For example by itself it is impossible that the Algerian revolution can overcome by itself its industrial, economic and agricultural backwardness. That is excluded. It can advance—as it is advancing—in a series of processes of industrialisation but it cannot advance with a sufficient industrial development to satisfy the economic necessity of the population. One of the essential bases for the backwardness of Algeria and which will continue to be so is its isolation in respect to the rest of Africa. Only in unity with the rest of Africa, only by extending the revolution to the rest of Africa can it have a historic basis for its development. On the other hand—and in a considerable measure as Algeria is surrounded by semi-hostile states such as Morocco and Tunisia, surrounded by African states, agents of Imperialism, it must dedicate a fundamental and important part of its forces to defend itself, to develop forces which are in the last resort conservative and non-productive such as the army, the police, etc. In every way the army is necessary for defence against Imperialism but it is one thing to dedicate it to defence against Imperialism another

to have a passive force against hostile bourgeois forces which surround it. The extension of the revolution would facilitate the co-ordination of the plans of production with the rest of the African countries, above all with the Maghreb and would extend the revolution. But to extend the revolution it is not sufficient to make appeals, it is necessary to give an example.

The sovietisation, the organisation of the soviet communes would be a very great example, immense in the confrontation with Morocco and Tunisia. These are the problems of the Algerian revolution. And these problems are not able to be resolved only with criticisms of the government of Ben Bella. This advances, advances limitedly, but there is progress.

The trade unions have a fundamental role. It is necessary to understand that there are economic problems which cannot be resolved and overcome in a short period. It is absolutely impossible. There is not the economic base. What it is necessary to do and to comprehend is the development of a revolutionary tendency taking account of the advance already made by the revolution. The masses feel responsible—as the masses of the workers states, for the progress of the workers states. The policy to carry forward in this phase, departing from this situation is to create a current and a tendency of support for these measures and the development of nationalisation, but also presenting a programme in which the trade union movement can intervene more directly. The trade unions play an enormous role in Algeria. There is a single party; as in other workers states and as in the Cuban revolution, the single party is the expression of the fear of the leadership, of the ideological and political insecurity of the leadership, of the weakness of their socialist consciousness and on the other hand of their paternalist conception towards the masses. To defend themselves from the masses they form a single party. But as is happening in Cuba, as is happening in China, in the other workers states such parties must yield in a short period to the plurality of parties. The first exposition of Kosygin after the fall of Khrushchev was in favour of proletarian democracy, of the socialist democracy. This means the intervention of the masses in all the problems which concern the state and not only economic problems. Kosygin said, "It is not possible to surpass productivity and capitalist production without the full intervention of the masses in the form of the socialist democracy". He said this—he did not apply it. He said it to contain the masses. This shows with whom he is concerned. When he feels obliged to make such a verbal concession it is because in objective reality this demand is already being expressed. And the necessity expresses itself in one way or another in the activity of the masses. In Algeria it is possible that this will be verified in a short period.

At the present moment there is a dualism in the Algerian government; there is an alliance between the military sector and Ben Bella. The military sector is not the most advanced. The military sector has demonstrated that it is one of the essential bases in which are supported the conservative and Imperialist sectors. Without having direct links, the fact that the conservative sectors support themselves here is an element for an alliance and a disposition to ally directly with Imperialism. The first measure then which it is necessary to propose in order to impede the army acting as a conservative force is the reconstitution of the militia on the basis of the factories and that this intervenes directly with the masses—to make a territorial army in the form of the militia. There is no need for a permanent professional army in Algeria. Accordingly the same military power, the same force and the same efficiency

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RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE CONGO

(continued from page 1)

except in a minor scale, the cultural level of this country. But the masses of the Congo have supported the rebel movement of Soumaliot, of Mulele, of Gbenye, who have expropriated nearly all the property of capitalism. Not completely, but they have expropriated nearly all the property of capitalism and imperialism. From that, they could have made the step to the workers state. The tendency of the masses has been to support immediately, to put pressure on, to push forward all that which signifies the expropriation of capitalism. And it is this which world capitalism fears. It does not only fear the direct loss of the factories, the mines, or the small transport businesses, or some of the land. Certainly it does fear this, but it fears above all the consequences of the expulsion of imperialism and the nationalisation of property. Imperialism understands that the development of the revolutionary sentiment of the African masses through the establishment of a workers state in Africa in which the masses would themselves be the determining force with all the formidable weight that Stanleyville has—and coming after the installing of the revolution in Zanzibar—would exert an immense influence on the rest of black Africa. It is because of this that Imperialism has a great fear and makes its task to directly and indirectly exploit its military means to crush the revolution.

The force of Imperialism does not reside in its ability to intervene. Tshombe is only a representative of Yankee and Belgian Imperialism, and through these, of all world capitalism. The force which allows Imperialism and Tshombe to maintain themselves, is the policy of the governments of the workers states, of the governments of the so-called liberated African countries, of the governments of the countries of the African Union which maintains itself outside this movement. And because they have stayed on the side lines, because they did not intervene as Imperialism did, because they did not fly to the help of the revolution, and on the contrary recognised the Tshombe government, they left the masses of Stanleyville without their help. They did not allow them to count on the relationship of world forces, with the support of all the masses of the world, the support, either direct or indirect. Indirect support would be through governmental pressure, denunciations on the part of Trade Union organisations, of the communist and socialist parties of these countries. Direct support would come through the sending of volunteers, demonstrations against Imperialism as in Cairo, in all the workers movements for the destruction of all Imperialist property, the expropriation of all Imperialist property.

NO RESPONSE FROM LEADERS OF WORKERS STATES

The masses of Stanleyville, whose force in this town is small, have their power extended by the force of the masses of the rest of the world. And this must be employed in expropriating Imperialism, as the most effective manner of support. The masses of Stanleyville are poor in economic and material means, but they have in contrast, the immense richness of the support of the colonial masses of the rest of the world, of the exploited masses of the capitalist countries, of the masses of the workers states. All these have not been able to intervene in support of their exploited brothers of the Congo and of Stanleyville because their leaders have prevented it. The demonstration of the masses of the entire world would have an enormous effect against Imperialism. A demonstration, not with simple declarations, but a demonstration to expropriate Imperialism, to crush it, to destroy it, to throw it out of its enterprises, its offices, to expropriate it, to expel it from each country,

to make the enterprises function under workers control. That would be the most living expression of the extension of the force of the masses of Stanleyville, which lacks, for the moment, numerous military and economic assets. But, in spite of the fact that Imperialism has been able to count on the direct and indirect complicity of the majority of the leaderships of the communist parties, of the leaderships of the workers states and of the communist parties of the capitalist countries, it has not been able to crush the fighting spirit of the Congolese masses.

Imperialism was able to intervene because it sensed that the Soviet Union, as also the Communist party of the Soviet Union, as also China, Cuba, Algeria and the organisations of African Unity and all the other workers states were not going to intervene. It was only after Imperialism intervened that they intervened. The protests, the declarations which they actually made should have been made before the intervention, to give support to Gbenye. For fifteen days Gbenye launched dramatic appeals: "For the second and last time I ask my exploited brothers of the world, my brothers of the Organisations of the Africa States, that they send me arms, food, aid in order to be able to resist Imperialist intervention," he did not receive any response. The governments of the OAS have tried to pass it over, have tried to exert pressure on Imperialism only by diplomatic declarations. If today they have changed it is because of the enormous repulsion of the masses that has forced them to, which has obliged them to do so, in order not to lose their credit, their authority and the confidence of the masses but also because they take account of the fact that tomorrow it could happen to themselves. They sense the great determination of Imperialism expressed in this intervention and they try to take some additional measures to base themselves on the masses in order to restrain Imperialism.

THE MASSES SENSE THE WAR IS COMING

But the masses do not only want this. They want to pull down Imperialism! This is the reason for the attitude of the masses of Cairo, Czechoslovakia and in nearly all the African countries where there have been demonstration against Imperialism. The attitude of the masses of Kenya and the declaration of the student organisation proposing to go en masse to expell Imperialism even if it meant the launching of the world war, are signs of this state of spirit. The declarations of the Kenyan students to intervene in defence of the Congolese masses even if it meant the launching of the third world war, is an example of the preventive war. That is to say not to allow Imperialism the initiative, but to see to it that the masses have and take the initiative. This is to defend the revolution even at the price of an atomic war because that goes against Imperialism. This shows at the same time the powerful development of communist consciousness and also that the masses are conscious that the final decision in the fight against Imperialism will be decided in the atomic war. That is why they say "even if it means the launching of the world war." A conscious objective exists, a common world front of the masses against Imperialism. The masses are conscious, more so than the leaderships. They understand that only by force can they throw out Imperialism.

This new invasion of Imperialism in the Congo shows the poverty of the policies of the Communist parties, the poverty of the leaderships of the majority of the workers states. This shows that the policy of peaceful co-existence can only be to the benefit of Imperialism; the tears and the appeals of some leaderships of the workers states, among them Fidel Castro, demanding that "Peaceful co-existence

must be supported to the limit" serve only to deceive the masses. That is the role of peaceful co-existence! Imperialism cannot apply any other co-existence than this. That is to say that it derives all the profit from the passive attitude of the majority of the leaderships of the workers states, of the Communist parties, of the big trade union organisations, by intervening in such a fashion. It cannot have any other peaceful co-existence. It is a policy which only profits Imperialism. There does not exist any possibility of imposing on Imperialism respect for the wishes, for the liberty, for the independence of the oppressed countries, of the exploited masses. This is absolutely impossible. In order to exist Imperialism does not have any other way than to try to restrain the revolution, than to crush it with all the means it possesses. If it declares that it is pulling out—and one must see whether this is true—it is because of the enormous pressure of the masses and of the intervention of the workers states which must respond to this pressure.

The Soviet Union is intervening in declaring that Imperialism must stop its intervention, which does not mean that it is going to supply any aid. The duty of the Soviet Union and of the other workers states is to send militia, arms, money as Imperialism is doing. They must appeal to all of the Congo to rise up, to all of Africa to rise up against Imperialism, to expel Imperialism, to liquidate all its agents. And this is the attitude which the trade union organisations of the capitalist countries, the communist and socialist parties, the countries of Africa, etc., must take. Imperialism cannot be stopped with simple reasoning. It will only be stopped before the force, before the revolution and before the struggle of the masses; only this can stop Imperialism, can crush it. Anything else is so much hot air, that serves to deceive the masses in making them believe that it is possible to stop Imperialism with air. It is this which allows Imperialism to intervene.

This episode of the Congo in a town such as Stanleyville, small as it is, shows that the masses without arms have decided to maintain and to defend, with the means which they have at their disposal, their independence and their liberty which are the human values of this stage of history. The independence and liberty of the oppressed countries are absolutely inseparable from the expulsion of capitalism and Imperialism. This shows not only the falsity, the failure, the worthlessness of the policy of peaceful co-existence, but equally, all the justice of the permanent revolution. The masses of Stanleyville have taken power, they have expelled Imperialism but to be able to develop they have to confront Imperialism. Also the next step will be that of the total nationalisation of all the property and installations of the Workers State of Stanleyville. It is this which is the logical and principal conclusion of the situation. And for this it is necessary to be based on the masses of the world.

The attitude of the Chinese, the support given by Mao, the same as the attitude of the masses of the other worker states, of the Algerian masses who have decided to send volunteers, is correct. But this should have been done before; before, in order to restrain Imperialism and to rouse the masses. But moreover it is not sufficient to send money, arms, economic and military aid, it is necessary to appeal to the masses and to arouse them, and not solely the masses of Africa, but also those of Europe. The Italian communist party has just achieved a victory. This shows that the Italian masses are disposed to overthrow capitalism. This is a continuation of the massive demonstration of a million people at the funeral of Togliatti. The Italian communist party has not made any declaration. It has not called for a general strike, whereas it was their duty to do

so against the intervention of Imperialism.

The failure, the rout of Imperialism in the Congo is an immediate stimulant for the masses of all Africa. It is because of this that the PCI is not intervening. It is because of this that neither the communist parties nor the big workers organisations are intervening. They are frightened of the revolutionary repercussions. They are frightened of the real consequences. They have taken conciliatory attitudes. The appeal of the Soviet Union to stop the intervention is conciliatory because it is an appeal that Imperialism withdraws, and not an appeal to the masses to rise up. Such an appeal should be made to the masses to expel Imperialism.

All this shows the inadmissible, idiot and criminal role of the United Nations which only serves to deceive the masses. The United Nations is only an assembly of bandits to deceive the masses and to make them believe that it is a way to democratically settle international conflicts. There are no such democratic arrangements. Those who have the force, impose it. The United Nations, as peaceful co-existence is at this time, is one of the instruments for the coercion of the masses, to restrain them and confuse them.

The IV International launches an appeal to all the communist parties, to all the workers trade unions, to all the nationalist organisations to organise demonstrations in defence of the African masses to organise the struggle for the expulsion of Imperialism and the expropriation of all its property. It calls the masses of Latin-America, of Africa, of Asia and of Europe to expropriate Imperialism, to nationalise all its properties, to fight against the "Ayacucho operation" in Latin-America. In Latin-America Imperialism is preparing an intervention as in the Congo.

The IV International calls the workers

(Continued on page 4)

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pôlet, BP 352 Poste Centrale, Bruxelles. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEXICO: *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, D.F.

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

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

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

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

THE DECOMPOSITION OF ITALIAN CAPITALISM

The unceasing decomposition of the authority of Italian capitalism was shown most convincingly in the Presidential elections. There the right wing of the Christian Democrats stood out against any candidature which did not meet their desire for a 'strong' government—this reflects the desire of the bourgeoisie for an authoritarian government and their feeling that parliamentary institutions no longer guarantees their authority in Italy. They are more and more losing their hold over large petit-bourgeois sectors. The actions of Fiat in dismissing workers wholesale reflects also that the most powerful sectors of Italian capitalism are searching for a hard "solution" to the problems facing them.

The ISP and the ICP performed their usual counter-revolutionary role by backing the candidature of Saragat, instead of using their enormous strength by calling for a united front on the basis of a thorough-going anti-capitalist programme.

GROWING TENSION BETWEEN THE MASSES AND THE APPARATUSES

Already however the enormous social crisis in Italy is showing itself in a deformed way in the "apparatus" struggle now taking place in the ICP. There Amendola is calling for the formation of a united left party with the social democrats, politically respectable with the perspective of parliamentary power. This hopeless counter-revolutionary line reflects the tension which is growing between the base of the CP and the intentions of sectors of the apparatus. Just as the split in the ISP in 1964 reflected the possibility of a revolutionary current so the tension in the ICP reflects the increasing tension between the masses and the existing leaderships of the workers organisations.

The Italian masses for a period, of nearly four years now, have shown that they are not prepared to tolerate capitalism a minute more than they have to. Every year their fighting spirit has in-

creased—and this despite the fact that the rotten leaderships of the Italian Socialist party and the Italian Communist party are leaning over backwards to accommodate the interests of capitalism with Togliatti's counter-revolutionary rubbish about "structural reforms" in the capitalist system.

Over two years ago the IV International particularly in the documents of Posadas signalized the Italian situation as being most favourable for the intervention of the International and the overthrow of capitalism.

In 1964 Italy was marked by continuous strikes—Sicilian miners, strikes against Alfa-Romeo, strikes of the chemical workers, textile workers, etc.

TOTAL PASSIVITY OF CP APPARATUS

Although Italy is objectively ripe for revolution what are the actions of the Communist party? The CP bureaucrats are under enormous pressure. They cannot too openly go against the interests of the masses, but the technique of betrayal is transparent. Thus Novella for example says that the acceptance of the wage freeze would mean the end of the unions. The CP paper "Unita" attacked the government's refusal to raise pensions. But in practice the leaders of the CP and the CGIL (trade union confederation) adopted a policy of passivity or thinly veiled collaboration. They hastened to seek agreement over the strikes of the textile workers and chemical workers and were praised by the bourgeois press for their responsible attitude in relation to the pension negotiations when the bourgeois more or less had their own way. The CGIL (Italian Trade Union Federation) did nothing to mobilise the masses against the interventions of the police at "Telemecanica" (Milan), "Cearani" (Bologna) or in support of the inhabitants of Tufello who had occupied houses. As everywhere else the CP laments—but their apparatuses will not mobilise because mobilisation means revolution and that is the end not only of capitalism but of the bureaucratic apparatus of the CP.

The CP apparatus tried to dismiss the economic crisis as one which is purely transient and passing — when this is clearly not the case, when every capitalist economy in Europe in various degrees finds greater difficulties in economic expansion than previously. "The Times" of England was forced to say in the same terms that it refers to the British economy that Italy needs an "incomes policy." The greater the difficulties of the Italian capitalist class the more "understanding" becomes the CP. Thus—although ignored in the British press—the Italian workers actually occupied several factories in recent months, for example, Feram at Rome and Gilera at Milan not in a spirit of despair but aggressively, i.e. refusing to allow the sacking of a particular worker and for higher bonuses. The Italian Communist party has done its best to prevent the extension of the movement and sabotaged the occupations of RIV at Turin, Scarani at Bologna, etc.

The latest information indicates that there is a certain slackening in the number of strikes—the workers are reflecting that it is not possible to make further advance on the lines of actions on the basis of wages struggles under the auspices of the bureaucrats. A further maturing of the class can be expected from the experiences in the past year.

On the basis of the revolutionary currents now forming in Italy and on the basis of the transitional programme plus the increasing crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and the ever diminishing social and political authority of world Imperialism very favourable conditions are paving the way for the expansion and greater intervention of the Italian section of the IV International in the mounting crisis of Italian capitalism.

Advance Of The Algerian Revolution

(continued from page 2)

can be maintained with an army in the form of militia. Thus the people acted in the struggle against Imperialism. What is the difference now?

The other essential measure to stimulate the Algerian revolution is to transform the committees of management into committees of workers control, planning the economy, nationalising all the production, expropriating all the land and exploiting it in a centralised co-operative form, in part and collectively direct by the state for the rest.

For this it is necessary to make plans which respond to the interests of the consumption of the masses. The plans of production must be adequate for the needs of the consumption of the masses. This has fundamental importance in the export and interchange of products. The satisfaction of the masses is the essential base, the indestructible force of the revolution. On the other hand the plans of Ben Bella as those of the workers states do not respond to this fundamental necessity which is to meet the consumption demands of the masses and the satisfaction of their needs—undoubtedly not all the necessities of the masses but the fundamental part of them. For this the peasant congress is very important which has criticised the government very well because there are no schools, food supplies, because they are not given water, machines, horses, not because these do not exist but because of disorder in planning. It is necessary to allow the masses to intervene in planification. And against privileges. The masses observe this and see that it is possible to make some correction and the trade union movement can do this. The workers centre can be a powerful force, as a control of the single party and against the army, and on the other hand as an essential base for the development of the militia and of the plurality of revolutionary parties.

The other aspect is the necessity for the struggle to unify the Maghreb, making appeals to the Tunisian and Moroccan masses to occupy the factories, to take the land, to revolt.

In the measure to which Algeria does not push forward the revolution, the influence of the masses will be much more limited and this will stimulate the capitalism of these other countries. One of the expressions of the influence of the revolution is the recent attitude of Bourguiba who was obliged to proclaim "Bourguiba's socialism." Bourguiba has had to respond to the interest of the masses in nationalisation, in the struggle against capitalism for socialism, presenting himself as a representative of socialism. It is a lie. It is a demagogue, a usurpation in front of the masses. At the same time he has made the single party, and has impeded the organisation of the independent unions, the organisation of independent parties, he has devalued the currency and restrained wages. Bourguiba has replied with capitalist measures—his allies are the great Tunisian landowners—pretending to go towards socialism to contain the masses. The same in Morocco. The organisation of the masses in Morocco has shown in the preceding phase a great capacity for struggle. If these masses are not able to go more quickly it is because the example of Algeria does not give them sufficient force and security. Consequently in Algeria a very important struggle is that for the independence of the trade union and peasant movement from the state, a single trade union and peasant centre on the basis of the programme of carrying forward the Algerian revolution, the struggle for the unification of the Maghreb, the Socialist Soviet Federation of Africa and the unconditional support to the revolution of the African masses, not only by sending volunteers and economic and military help but the development of the revolution in Algeria. However much the revolution develops, however much it expropriates Imperialism, however much the masses intervene and control, much will depend on the example which encourages the masses and teaches them what it is necessary to do.

When the 300 young men in Kenya say, "It is necessary to go to Stanleyville to crush Imperialism even if this means the third world war, the nuclear war, this shows the revolutionary decision of the masses, the will of the masses. This is a communist sentiment.

This is one of the most important consequences to consider to demonstrate that Algeria must not count on itself but on the relation of world forces. To count on the workers states, on the masses of the world, of Africa, of Asia, of Latin-America and the European proletariat. The recent victory of the PCI in Italy is part of this relation of world forces. On the other hand Ben Bella seeks to insulate himself with his policy.

It is inevitable that in this process a conscious Marxist revolutionary tendency is created. The Algerian state cannot advance without the development of a conscious Marxist tendency. For this we must prepare ourselves.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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Resolution Of The I.S. Of IV International On The Congo

(Continued from page 3)

parties, communist and socialist, the big trade union organisations of the capitalist countries, of Asia, of Africa, and of Latin-America to organise mobilisations, meetings, demonstrations against Imperialism and its intervention and for its expropriation. It calls the Workers States, the USSR, China, etc., the communist parties of the workers states and the trade unions to make demonstrations, to send militia, to call to the masses of Africa to rise up against Imperialism. It calls the communist parties to make demonstrations calling upon the masses to expropriate Imperialism and to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, to install workers and peasants governments. Such is the response that one must give to the Congo intervention.

This shows that Imperialism will not be stopped before any "democratic" obstacle nor before peaceful co-existence, before any agreement with any workers states, and it will intervene where it feels the necessity to intervene. It is only through the revolutionary fight of the masses that it will be possible to crush Imperialism. It is this conclusion that one must draw from this intervention.

The IV International calls the workers parties and the workers states, the political and trade union leaderships of all the workers states to intervene massively in support of the Congolese masses. It calls the masses of all Africa to rise up to crush and expel Imperialism and to install workers states, workers and peasants governments.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

No. 18

MARCH 1965

SIXPENCE

Reply To The New Imperialist Attack On North Viet-Nam By The Revolutionary Mobilisation Of The Masses

Statement By The European Bureau Of The IV International

The new attack by Yankee Imperialism against North Viet-Nam shows its decision to go towards a trial of strength, in the face of the defeats it has suffered in South Viet-Nam, in Laos, before the constant advance of the revolution in south-east Asia and in the entire world. It also shows once again the failure of the policy of peaceful co-existence and competition. And what is the important direct and revolutionary factor is the mobilisation and intervention of the masses to make a front and destroy the power and the crimes of Imperialism.

With these methods and measures adopted by Yankee Imperialism, in a line which shows clearly its disposition to go towards the atomic war, it intends to put pressure upon the Soviet bureaucracy with the purpose of making it resist the pressure of the Chinese and of the world revolution. As was the case in the attack in the Gulf of Tonkin, there exists a tacit and hidden agreement between the Soviet government, as the representatives of the parasitic caste of the Soviet bureaucracy and US Imperialism. Both agree in their intention to hinder the development of the world revolution.

Nevertheless, the situation becomes more acute in the measure that the world revolution in all its forms extends itself and rises to new levels day by day; in the measure in which the world relation of forces more and more favours the revolution, the workers states, the colonial revolution and the proletariat which is fighting in the advanced countries. In this situation it is not only the field for co-existence which is narrowing but all the world process, under the pressure of the revolution, demands revolutionary methods and an anti-capitalist and anti-Imperialist revolutionary programme which responds to the reality of the situation.

IMPERIALISM CANNOT ABANDON ITS BASES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

This is what intensifies the Sino-Soviet dispute, which inevitably leads to the break with the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is this which moves the Soviet government to try to manoeuvre combined with harder language in front of Imperialism and interventions on the revolutionary scene, offering aid, but at the same time trying to slow things down and arranging ways of negotiating and conciliating with Imperialism. Imperialism tries to profit to the maximum from this policy of the bureaucracy, with the object in the first place of blocking the Chinese who express, even if in an empirical and limited way, the pressures and advances of the world revolution and are most sensitive to it.

In the line of being decided to go to-

wards the final settlement of accounts with the atomic war, Imperialism cannot abandon its bases in south-east Asia or anywhere else, for the road of conciliation. It can only be dislodged by force. Imperialism manoeuvres trying to take advantage of the contradictions in the camp of the workers states and of the revolution, trying to gain time, under the pressure of its own contradictions which undermine the world Imperialist-capitalist camp, while its advances in its decision to go to atomic war. Yankee Imperialism cannot withdraw without a struggle because all of south-east Asia and all of Asia are at stake. Only the fight of the masses can dislodge it, and the conditions are more than mature to do this. Any negotiation, any treaty, without the revolutionary intervention of the masses will be only to the advantage of Imperialism. The crime of the Soviet bureaucracy is truly that it works as a counter-revolutionary obliged to defend its interests as a parasitic caste; notwithstanding that, it takes leftward steps under the pressure of the evolution of the whole situation.

MOBILISE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The real vacillation of the Chinese leadership, a product of its empiricism, of its lack of a global revolutionary Marxist conception contributes to allowing the manoeuvres and criminal attacks of Imperialism. But this situation cannot go on for much longer. All the forces of the revolution work towards and pressurise in the direction of the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, in the direction of looking for an anti-capitalist and anti-Imperialist front. This impels and will impel more and more the leaderships, including the Soviet leadership which will be obliged to react in defence of the workers state, in spite of the interests which move it to conciliate and attempt to make concessions.

The duty of the proletarian vanguard in Europe, of the revolutionary vanguard, is to contribute with all its force to the objective course, to what the objective course is looking for: to make all the forces of the revolution emerge and develop fully, to accelerate them, to form centres and forms of expression.

It is necessary to mobilise, the unions, the workers centres, the workers parties, socialist and communist, to strike against Imperialism, to liquidate its bases in Europe, to expell its troops, to weaken it in every way. It is necessary to organise meetings, demonstrations, strikes, stoppages, to attack the organisations and the methods of Imperialism.

The groups and tendencies of the revolutionary currents, which are emerging

in all of Europe, must place themselves at the vanguard of this mobilisation, must push forward the organisation of the anti-capitalist and anti-Imperialist united front.

It is necessary to unite this mobilisation and this struggle with the anti-capitalist programme and the policy for all the demands of the exploited masses in Europe.

It is necessary to combine, organisationally, the United Front with the workers states and the colonial revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin-America.

The proletarian vanguard in all Europe, the groups which are organising themselves to form a new revolutionary socialist party in Belgium, the groups which strike in the factories and the ports against Imperialism and in defence of the Congolese revolution; the revolutionary groups and tendencies of workers which are maturing in France; the PSIUP and the revolutionary Marxist left which matures within it in Italy; the secret trade unions and revolutionary organisations in Spain; all must put themselves at the head of this revolutionary anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist policy and mobilisation of the masses.

American Imperialism seeks to frighten the Soviet bureaucracy with its decision to go to nuclear war.

Death to Yankee Imperialism: destroy capitalism in Europe. Occupy Imperialist bases and destroy them: expell Imperialist troops.

The masses of the Congo, the masses of Viet-Nam, the masses of all the world do not fear nuclear war. They are determined and they show it by their struggle to confront the blackmail of Imperialism and destroy it. To the menace of war and to the nuclear war itself, the masses will respond with a revolutionary mobilisation at a level unknown up till now, formidable and universal, liquidating what remains of capitalism in the world.

It is necessary to organise the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses in Europe; to make them feel an active solidarity with the Indo-Chinese revolution, with the workers state of North Viet-Nam, with the Viet-Nameese masses who are throwing out Yankee Imperialism and its feudal-capitalist allies.

It is necessary to unite this mobilisation against Yankee and world Imperialism with the daily struggle in Europe against capitalism; for a revolutionary class organisation, for a united proletarian front, for the development of the revolutionary currents within the Socialist, Labour, Communist parties and the trade unions.

It is necessary to unite this struggle with the perspective of the installation of workers and peasants governments and of the federation of the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe.

European Bureau of the
IV International.

February 8, 1965.

Unify The Transport Committees Workers Control Of Public Transport

The movement of protest against the delay in settlement of their pay claim has continued among the bus crews of the 'country' bus companies. 24-hour token strikes, overtime bans and 'work to rules' have been employed in a continual guerilla action. All the country bus crews are involved in this militant struggle for improved pay and conditions. From Devon to Scotland bus crews have been involved in militant action in defiance of the official union leadership. The official leadership of the unions, TGWU, NUR, AEU—who organise the maintenance men, under enormous pressure from the membership at the base of the unions, are now talking about official action.

The employers have done little to meet the bus crews demands for a pay increase of a least fifteen shillings, for a forty-hour week, a sick pay system and an incentive bonus. The best offer they have made was for a pay increase of eleven shillings all round, this

was immediately rejected by the bus crews. A statement by a delegate meeting of bus crews employed by the Derby based Trent Motor Traction Co., reflects the feelings of the majority of bus crews. He stated that the meeting was 'very angry' with the attitude of the union leadership in London over delays in wage negotiations. These bus crews called a one-day strike the following day which appears to have been as much a protest against the union leadership as it was protest against the employers.

The development of the struggle by the bus crews of the Midland 'Red' company which operates in the West Midlands is representative of the development of the process of organisation throughout the country. In early January only two of the thirty-four garages were involved in the one-day token strike, but by the middle of February the strikes were one hundred per cent solid and a co-ordinating com-

(continued on page 4)

EDITORIAL

Centralise The Anti-Capitalist Struggle By Mobilising The Factory Committees On The Programme For The Nationalisation Of All Key Industries Under Workers Control And The Smashing Of The NATO War Alliance

US IMPERIALISM has shown, once more, its readiness to launch the counter-revolutionary world war against the workers states and the world masses. Unable to hold back the advance of the revolution in South Viet-Nam in any other way, it took advantage of the lack of a common strategy between the workers states, to bomb North Viet-Nam in an attempt to terrorise the leaders of the Viet-Cong, the North Viet-Nameese government and the Chinese leaders in particular, to make them hold back the fight for a new workers state in South Viet-Nam. US Imperialism will not leave South Viet-Nam no matter what face-saving formula is concocted by de Gaulle or the Soviet bureaucracy, because as McNamara recently said, "the stakes are far higher than the loss of one small country to communism"; the prestige of world Imperialism is at stake; and the masses of South-east Asia and the rest of the world would be enormously encouraged to see Yankee Imperialism kicked out of Viet-Nam and it will stimulate and accelerate new struggles in new areas. This is why the 'hard wing of American Imperialism, as expressed by McNamara is determined to make a stand here and now.

The attacks on Viet-Nam have forced the leaderships of the Chinese and Soviet workers states in some degree together, because of the necessity to defend the interests of the workers states against Imperialism. This does not mean that the Soviet bureaucracy has ceased to play a consciously counter-revolutionary role. Kosygin went to Hanoi to try to arrange an easing up of Viet-Cong activity in the South, and to draw the North Viet-Nameese leaders away from the influence of the Chinese—this was consciously counter-revolutionary, but at the same time he travelled to Hanoi with a plane load of military experts, to modernise the defences of North Viet-Nam and in so doing strengthen the revolutionary forces in S.E. Asia. The statements of the Chinese leadership after the attack showed an advance beyond their previous positions, a demonstration of the force of the objective revolutionary process pushing them towards a Trotskyist analysis of the nature of Imperialism and the strategy to oppose it. Marshal Chen Yi said it was impossible to co-exist with Imperialism (a contradiction of Chinese statements of less than a year ago) and in a message to the government of the Soviet Union the Chinese leaders called for support for the Japanese, German, Cuban and Congolese people struggling against US Imperialism and said, "This is the unshrinkable internationalist duty of each and every socialist country." Imperialism has made it obvious it will not leave Viet-Nam, the Viet-Nameese masses have shown that they will not stop fighting until Imperialism is thrown out, and the workers states are being forced, despite the lack of confidence of the Chinese leaders and the counter-revolutionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, to come to its aid. The final settlement of accounts draws closer.

LABOUR PARTY APPARATUS PROPS UP WAR MACHINE

In all the Viet-Nam crisis the Labour leaders supported the actions of American Imperialism to the hilt. Wilson and Co. are showing their determination to uphold British Imperialism whatever the cost; the Rhine army will be maintained, the Aden base is going to be held indefinitely and they have repeated their determination to defend Imperialist interests in Malaysia. In spite of the cutting down on some aircraft projects, the defence estimates

have gone up by over 100 million pounds.

Because of this vast non-productive expenditure on arms, British industry as a whole remains backward, and the techniques and equipment obsolescent due to a lack of investment over a long period, which is one reason why the balance of payments figure is unfavourable at a time when the productive forces are working practically flat out. Capitalism cannot afford massive investment in new industries and modernising old ones unless they are connected with the production of armaments, and it cannot cut its production costs by lowering the wages of the workers. The constant struggle of the masses, their constant partial and complete victories are an essential factor in the failure of capitalism to stabilise itself and to check the decline in its share of the world market. The statements of Lord Cromer, the governor of the Bank of England, express the views of the sector of the bourgeoisie who would like to slash the standard of life of the masses—it is a moan from the bourgeoisie who cannot break the resistance of the masses to the rise in the cost of living.

The amount spent on housing, health, education, is hopelessly inadequate—the rate of formation of slums exceeds the rate at which they are cleared, half Britain's hospitals are 80 years old and a fifth have stood for more than a century, there is a shortage of teachers and schools—capitalism simply cannot afford the amount of investment to significantly improve the situation.

FOR A UNITED FRONT OF WORKERS AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

The rejection of the doctors pay claim underlines the failure of the social services. The financial situation of the doctors has relatively deteriorated, although no-one could call their present £2765 a year a starvation wage, and it is also true that the GP works very long hours and plays a vital role in society. Nevertheless throughout the dispute with the government the doctors have shown themselves to be preoccupied with their status, snobbish and petulant. Certainly in a capitalist society doctors have the right to struggle for a higher salary, but they must link this to the struggles of the working class, must affiliate their union to the TUC and must conduct a vigorous campaign for a single health service, no private patients, no privi-

leges for the wealthy, and the end to the medical establishment, that small privileged clique which runs the three Royal colleges and wields an enormous amount of power in the medical profession. This programme coupled to a demand for increased public expenditure to bring about real improvements in the health service would have the support of all the workers and poor petit-bourgeoisie of this country.

The fact that the annual conference of the National Union of Teachers will discuss the question of affiliation to the TUC this year is an indication, as has already been shown by other sectors, of the tendency of the petit-bourgeoisie to centralise itself around the organisations of the proletariat. The teachers also are going to demand wage increases of about 30%. The struggle of the working class over the last month has been best expressed by the busmen's dispute which is dealt with in detail in a separate article.

In the engineering industry the employers have rejected a demand for the abolition of compulsory night work and for the granting of four weeks holiday a year for apprentices. This has been possible only because of the failure of the recent strike which failed not only because of the lack of preparation by its leaders but by the sabotage of the Keep Left faction. Once a strike is called it is the duty of all militants to fight to make it a success, and we urge all apprentices, all workers, and students to support the 29th of March strike regardless of whether or not they support the policies of the faction leading the strike.

CRISIS AND FEAR OF LP APPARATUS

The Labour party apparatus shows its fear of the currents of opposition appearing in the Labour party and the Young Socialists by the way in which it has expelled so many YS members and branches, and by its recent expulsion of the South Paddington Labour Party. The accusation of the Labour bosses has been that these branches were Trotskyist, which is, as the secretary of the South Paddington Labour Party, said with reference to that party, not the case. The South Paddington Labour Party, and the YS are not Trotskyist organised, but the Labour leaders fear them developing into revolutionary currents, i.e. going on the road to Trotskyism in however an empirical way.

The policies of the Labour government to try to stabilise capitalism have already led to the redundancy of many aircraft workers, and it can lead to many more in that and other industries. Miners fear a retreat from the promise to mine 200 million tons of coal a year, which can mean widespread redundancy, and Brown gave no guarantee to the 30 miners MPs that this level will be sustained. European and American capitalism is in a crisis as a result of the competition for a saturated and shrinking world market. An economic recession for America now would be a blow at the prestige of capitalism and Imperialism, and for this reason the uncertain economic situation of American and world capitalism is another factor which will accelerate the decision of the American ruling class to launch the war.

The masses of Viet-Nam have shown that they can beat Imperialism in spite of its enormous destructive power, the Congolese masses have shown that Im-

perialism cannot smash them, and the proletariat of Europe and North America have shown that by their constant struggles they weaken and sap the strength of Imperialism. All that is lacking is a centre to co-ordinate the struggle and to provide a common strategy and even now those utterances of the Soviet and Chinese leaders calling for a united front against Imperialism encourage the masses.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

Liberty For The Brazilian Trotskyists

Resolution Of The International Secretariat

The International Secretariat of the IV International calls on all workers, political and union organisations, workers parties, communist parties, the Chinese CP, the leaders of the Cuban revolution, the leaders of the colonial revolution, all revolutionary nationalist tendencies, all worker and anti-Imperialist combatants, to insist on the freeing of all worker and anti-Imperialist prisoners in Brazil, among them members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Brazilian section of the IV International.

The Trotskyists in Brazil are in the front line of the battle of the national revolutionary masses who, from Rio Grande de Sul to Amazonas, are resisting in a varied way but with the same revolutionary decision the bourgeoisie's plan to maintain capitalism in Brazil at the expense of the standard of living and the political and union rights of the masses. The reactionary coup of April, carried out with the objective of imposing an open dictatorship has not been able either to contain or to crush the spirit and the decision to fight of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, students and exploited petit-bourgeoisie, who are seeking to organise a united front of the exploited to overthrow the bourgeois regime. In this struggle the comrades of the POR(T) in Brazil are supporting the revolutionary activity in defence of the programme for the revolution in Brazil at this stage, for the expulsion of Imperialism, for nationalisations, for workers control, for the organisation of the masses at the base, for a united centre for the masses with a class and revolutionary programme, for the full participation of the whole population, from the factories, the workers quarters and the workshops, in organisations with the object of imposing this revolutionary programme and of overthrowing capitalism in Brazil.

It is for this very objective that the masses are struggling in Brazil, it is for this very reason that the masses are repressed, it is for this that the Trotskyists are detained. The POR(T) of Brazil has 15 militants imprisoned

in different parts of the country and the following comrades have recently been detained at Recife (Pernambuco): Pedro Makovsky, Aybere Ferreira, Silvia Montearroyos, Joca Zeferino Da Silva, Augusto Da Silva and Martinho Campos.

The police struck at the revolutionary struggle at Pernambuco, but they have not been able to prevent the activity of the party from continuing, they have not been able to hinder either the women peasant guerillas or the intervention of 'Chapeu de Couro' because it is the result of the need for a centre which directs the struggle against the thugs and land-owners. 'Chapeu de Couro' is an expression, still empirical, but revolutionary of this necessity. The object of the imprisonment of the comrades is also to try to prevent the conscious intervention, the fusion of the revolutionary with the empirical struggle of the peasants and for a united front with Chapeu de Couro, the expression of the advance and maturing of this intervention of the party.

Eight months after the reactionary coup of April not only is the government of Castello Branco not stabilised, but its contradictions and its weakness have grown. The same process continues in Argentina, Bolivia, the same process in Chile and Peru, where the masses are preventing any stabilisation of capitalism. The inter-influence of the revolutionary process in Latin-America overcomes any particular slowness and the process which determines the rhythm and the decision is not the imprisonment of the revolutionaries in Brazil but the Guatemalan guerillas who are giving an immense leap to the Latin-American revolution by struggling for the programme of the socialist revolution. Such is the measure of the struggles of the masses. Such is their confidence in the struggle for the liberty of all the prisoners.

Two years ago the thugs and farmers assassinated comrade Jeremias and hundreds of peasants. The police have given an enormous importance to the detention of the comrades at Pernambuco and have published in all the

papers of Brazil whole pages with photos and publications of the party, claiming to present the police intervention as an action which has 'disorganised' plots, and they call on the united police forces of Brazil to repress Trotskyism. But the bourgeoisie, the imperialists and its police are losing! The Brazilian masses and the POR(T) of Brazil are intensifying and developing more every time their activity and their revolutionary struggles. Today thousands are joining the guerillas, thousands and thousands are taking part in the struggles, occupying land, fighting with arms in their hands against the Latifundistas and killing them. Tomorrow these thousands will adopt the programme of the socialist revolution like the workers and peasants of Guatemala.

The IVth International appeals for the development in all countries of a campaign for the liberty of all the imprisoned workers, politicians and trade unionists in Brazil. It calls on everyone to declare themselves on the side of liberty, to send telegrams, to collect signatures, to draw up resolutions for the freedom of the Trotskyist militants imprisoned in Brazil, to send signatures to the security secretariat of Pernambuco demanding the release of Pedro Makovsky, Aybere Ferreira, Silvia Montearroyos, Joca Zeferino Da Silva, Augusto Da Silva and Martinho Campos and to send copies of these resolutions to Trotskyist papers in each country.

It calls on all national revolutionary organisations, the Brizolist movement, its groups inside Brazil, to draw up manifestos and declarations, to paint slogans for the freedom of all the prisoners, among them the Trotskyists who, in Brazil as in Spain, are in prison for their struggle for the Marxist revolutionary programme which is the programme of the objective struggle of the masses. All the Trotskyists in prison all over the world, including Cuba, are in prison for their struggle for this programme.

It calls on all workers parties, communist parties, socialist parties, the

P.S.I.U.P. in Italy, the tendencies which are developing toward the revolutionary programme in Belgium, in Europe, the leaders of the colonial revolution, the Algerian leaders, the leaders of the revolution in the Congo, in Angola, in Vet-Nam, to incorporate in their struggle the fight for the freedom of all the anti-Imperialist prisoners. This will be an invincible support for the struggle of the masses who, in Brazil as in the world, are fighting against capitalism and Imperialism.

It calls in particular on the unions and the organisations of the workers states of China, Cuba, and the USSR, to draw up protests and resolutions with this end. It calls on workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, students, teachers, professional men, parliamentarians, writers, scientists, to launch the most vigorous appeals and protests against the crushing of the rights of the masses in Brazil, for the defence of democratic rights, for the expulsion of Imperialism from Brazil, for nationalisation, for full intervention of the masses and for advancing the struggle in every country with this same programme and for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of workers and peasants governments.

These are parts of the programme for which the Trotskyists are struggling in Brazil. It is for this struggle that they have been imprisoned, but the POR(T) Brazilian section of the IVth International, like the masses, continues its struggle and goes on constructing for the rapidly approaching victory.

FREEDOM for the 15 Trotskyists imprisoned in Brazil among whom are Pedro Makovsky, Aybere Ferreira, Silvia Montearroyos, Joca Zeferino Da Silva, Augusto Da Silva and Martinho Campos recently detained in Pernambuco.

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pôlet, BP 352 Poste Centrale, Bruxelles. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEXICO: *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, D.F.

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

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

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

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

SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN TO RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN

We salute with revolutionary emotion the release of our two comrades of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), Spanish section of the IV International: Nicole Boyer and Gabrielle Hildenbrandt.

We received this news from the Committee for the "Liberation of all the Political and Trade Union Prisoners in Spain." This release from prison has been rendered possible thanks to the firm attitude of the comrades, of their lawyers, and the action of all the forces who in Spain struggle against the reactionary Franco regime for democratic and union rights, thanks to the pressure of opinion in countries of Europe, Africa and Latin-America expressed in aid for the Committee, etc. The release must encourage action for all the militants who remain in prison under sentence or awaiting sentence so that they can be unconditionally released.

23 students at Barcelona have also just been released and 37 Asturian miners. At the same time the Franco regime continues to impose heavy sentences on some prisoners as for example in the case of Sandoval, whilst in the case of the poet Alvarez and several militants of the prison at Burgos new trials have been instituted before military tribunals simply because of their protests against earlier trials. The capriciousness of the regime and its political uncertainties is reflected in the arbitrary arrests and the variety of the sentences.

Meantime the actions of the masses continues without ceasing—agricultural workers strikes at Seville, chemical workers in Madrid, etc. In Madrid 2000 metal workers demonstrated under the slogan of "Free Trade Unions." The rise in the cost of living preoccupies the press everywhere.

The activities of the party within Spain, the production of the paper in mimeograph in Spain, the militant attitude of the imprisoned Trotskyists has

all increased the authority of the party within Spain in the recent period, and in some degree led to a maturing of the pro-Chinese tendencies.

As part of the campaign in this country 35s. was recently raised from the workers areas in Nottingham as a result of one evening's effort, and £5 in the University. For details of the British Committee contact Miss H. Wheeldon, 76, Ventnor Drive, Heathfield Estate, Nottingham.

APPEAL TO OUR READERS

CAN YOU:—

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2. Make a collection for, or contribution to, Party funds?
3. Gain annual subscriptions to the paper?
4. Ask your local newsagent to sell the paper?
5. Sell the paper door to door and at public meetings?
6. Contribute articles or information on the struggle of the working class?
7. Make any suggestion as to how the paper can be improved?

Send to John Davis, Editor, "Red Flag," 21 Bolton Road, London, E.15

*I wish to receive *Red Flag* regularly for 12 issues and enclose 7/-

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NAME

ADDRESS

GREETINGS OF THE PLENUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT TO THE CUBAN COMRADES

Dear Comrades,

At the reunion of the International Secretariat in the month of December 1964, the Plenum of the International Secretariat greets the comrades of the Cuban section with complete satisfaction and joy, it salutes the dignified revolutionary bearing of our comrades in prison and the section which endures the persecution and the terrorism of the leadership of the Cuban revolution. We expect that in a little while our comrades will be able to go free. We expect it, not because there has been a change, because our relation of forces as a party has grown in number and increased, but because our relationship of forces has increased as a result and as a function of the world relationship of forces of the revolution.

Part of this world force of the revolution which will directly benefit the IV International, supporting the struggles, the positions of the IV International, is the Sino-Soviet crisis, is the Sino-Soviet dispute which is an integral part of the process of the elevation of the world revolution. This crisis generates, stimulates, pushes forward revolutionary tendencies which go directly into the struggle in the search for and the application of the revolutionary programme, the programme of the struggle for proletarian power, and the development of revolutionary tendencies in the Workers States.

REPERCUSSIONS OF SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

Recently in Hong Kong a high Chinese leader, whose name was not given, but who had been interviewed by the journalists of Italian newspapers, declared that there were 20 million neo-bourgeois in the USSR. They should say bureaucratic layer. They do not allow themselves to call them bureaucrats, they obscure the origin, the source, because otherwise they would have to raise the struggle to the level of the political revolution. On the other hand they hope to dislodge the bureaucrats peacefully, to replace them. This is impossible. But the fact that they have had to mention, to classify 20 million neo-bourgeois is because they have already understood the phenomenon of the existence of the bureaucracy as a root, a base, for the majority of the evils in the development of the Soviet Workers State.

The Sino-Soviet dispute has its effect in Cuba. The liquidation of Ordoqui, liquidation of Sanchez, the intervention of Guevara in Europe and the United Nations, his own speeches which are a mixture of conciliation and a call to revolution, bold in a certain sense, show that inside Cuba there is a very deep process going on and there will possibly be changes in a short while. Cuba is in the middle between China and the USSR. It depends economically on the support of the other Workers States. But it depends economically because of the mistake of its leaders in creating plans of industrial development which made Cuba dependent on Soviet support. Without doubt it must be commercially united to the Workers States, it must trade with them. But it does not have to depend on them. And neither does it have to politically depend on them, to be submitted to the game, to the pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy. The leaders of the Cuban revolution have still not been able to make a differentiation, a separation, between the Workers State and the leadership of the Workers State, in the same way that there is a differentiation between the trade unions and the leaders of the trade unions.

Being the leader of a Workers State does not mean that he is the legitimate, correct and honest representative of that Workers State, so in the same way the leaders of a trade union—as in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Italy or France—do not mean that they are representatives of the class and revolutionary interests of the masses. But Cuba in the middle of this pressure of

the Sino-Soviet dispute, receives its effects. Its inclinations in general show that the base of the Cuban Workers State rejects, resists and refuses to submit to the Soviet bureaucracy.

BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES AIDS THE CUBAN SECTION

The aloof attitude of the Cuban government means in reality the failure of the Soviet bureaucracy. Even if it depends economically and financially on the USSR, it does not align itself directly with it not because of an alliance with the Chinese but because the base rejects it. In the past year Fidel Castro said that "Khrushchev is a great man, intelligent, he is a true communist, a great Marxist." Khrushchev was thrown out; they did not even mention him in the central committee, they did not even evince regrets, nor did they remember him, they did not organise meetings, and Fidel Castro said not a word. Nevertheless, in spite of not having said a word, masking his passed errors, he has had to make a declaration which means, at least that he will not submit to the new leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is not a position of support for Khrushchev—which he had before—but of an underlying resistance.

The liquidation of Ordoqui, the liquidation of Sanchez is an expression of the Sino-Soviet crisis, of the pressure within the Cuban workers state, which is liquidating the bureaucracy. As it cannot be done by the masses through its organisms, it is liquidated through these struggles and these contradictions. This is why we say that the release of our comrades is near. And they will be liberated because of the relationship of forces favourable to the world permanent revolution. It is not because the Trotskyists have increased their numbers, by millions, but the effect of the influence of the world revolution is equivalent to this.

But meanwhile, our Cuban section continues with its sacrifice and its strength, to make a front against the terrorism, the persecution, the imprisonment, the lack of means, confronting every necessity with sacrifice and strength; it must continue its activity and intervene in this process not separating itself, not adopting an independent attitude with one sector or another, but intervening actively in defence and support of the sector which tends to form a revolutionary position and supporting it unconditionally. Without ceasing to criticise. It is necessary to understand that the leadership of the Cuban revolution did not emerge from a process and from a Marxist formation, ideologically and programmatically Marxists. They are learning their Marxism now. The errors of the Cuban leadership do not have the same basis as the errors of the Soviet bureaucracy, cynically defending its conservative interests.

The leadership of the Cuban revolution does not have the necessary historic and concrete confidence in the masses. It does not have a Marxist ideological formation, but it resists bureaucratisation. Its resistance is not due to its particular quality but to the enormous resistance of the masses, which prevent it. Because in Cuba the masses were, are and will be able to intervene in an active manner, as the Soviet masses were able to do in its early period. And in the organisation of the leading organisms of the class in Cuba, the masses can pressurise because Cuba has been constituted in the process of the world extension of the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, and the setting up of 14 workers states. This is the strength of the Cuban revolution. It is because of this that our section must intervene supporting unconditionally the elimination of the bureaucrats, of all attempts to submit the Cuban revolution to the Soviet bureaucracy with unconditional support to the appeals of the Cuban government to extend the revolution, the rejection of

peaceful co-existence; and at the same time, in order to help the leadership itself of the Cuban revolution and the masses intervening actively as its first field of work, in the responsibilities of production, in the military tasks, in the fight against the counter-revolution, but at the same time demanding and fighting for a public political activity.

All the Cuban problems should be discussed publicly. It is necessary to discuss fully and publicly the Sino-Soviet crisis, the difficulties of the economy, the fight against Imperialism, the problems of the Latin-American revolution and to study and begin to apply the most elevated aspects of the world revolution, as in Guatemala; to expand the discussion to call for a discussion. The emphasis must be put not on a criticism of the government of the Cuban revolution, but on the necessity to discuss and push the discussion forward. And in this plane to reject and object to anything that limits the discussion, but at the same time to understand the nature—such as we have explained it—of the limitations of the leadership of the Cuban revolution, which is not, by its essence, intention and interest, bureaucratic, but which takes bureaucratic and administrative methods. This is the road for the liberation of our comrades.

ELEVATION OF THE REVOLUTION IN GUATEMALA

The development of the socialist revolution in Guatemala pushes forward the rest of the Latin-American revolution along the socialist road. It pushes Cuba forward as well, it already partly has an influence in Cuba. It is not possible to close the doors to revolution. As Marx said, there is no human, social, material, military force capable of blocking the accessibility, the penetration of progressive ideas, it is impossible to prevent. Because it is in the nature of the development of history, to absorb, to support itself on progressive ideas. And the Guatemalan revolution shows that it is the most elevated expression of the colonial revolution, which is directly the socialist revolution.

The Cuban section must maintain its publications even with great sacrifice. It must struggle to gain leading positions. It must fight to keep alive the preoccupation and the discussion of the militant workers, to discuss international problems. And it must fight for a public discussion on why Ordoqui was eliminated, on why it was that Sanchez committed suicide, to discuss these events and draw the conclusions to show the immense force of the workers state which after mistakes and damage, only recently eliminated or removed those responsible, when the damage had already been done. After years. While workers control could correct the wrongs in the following month. One of the essential slogans our comrades must put forward is workers control. Workers control does not mean a substitution for the leadership of the revolution, nor competing with it, nor fighting to overthrow it. No. It is control to push forward economic progress and production, to hinder waste, stealing, unfair distribution, bureaucratisation, profiteering, abuse, extortion within the market itself. This is workers control. And in addition and above all to keep alive the political activity, in the unions, permanently, in relation to all the problems. This is imperative.

When after the fall of Khrushchev, on the following day, Kosygin made a declaration which was forgotten afterwards. "It is impossible to reach the high level of productivity of work reached by the most advanced capitalist countries without stimulating the initiative, the autonomy of the workers, without incorporating them into all the solutions, not only of problems of production, but in the management of the state and by developing socialist democracy in all its forms." He said this, without doubt, directing it to contain, to placate, to satisfy and to fool the

Soviet proletariat, the Soviet masses, in order to make them believe that the change from Khrushchev was going to be followed by this, that this was the origin of the change. That is to say, in order to seek the support of these masses against the tendencies, including those in the army, the tendencies of other sectors of the bureaucracy, among them the sectors of the managers of the workshops and of the industries.

It is necessary to apply this conclusion in Cuba. This is a Trotskyist conclusion. The formulation is insufficient, the expression, such as it was formulated is insufficient, but the basis is Trotskyist. It is workers control and it must be applied in Cuba. It does not damage nor retard production, on the contrary, it raises it. And also it raises the working class's ability for leadership. The workers state is not directed solely from the government, it is directed by the participation of all the population. The difference between bourgeois parliament and the political and social leadership of the workers state is that all the population should participate. Not just by saying 'Yes' or 'No' but by voicing opinions, judging, giving its criterion about what the policy must be, what the position must be, and what the production must be. Socialist democracy must be applied fully in Cuba. This is what our comrades must fight for.

And at the same time the section must understand that new attempts by Imperialism to invade Cuba are approaching. Our comrades must be in the first line.

Our imprisoned comrades must continue with their worthy task of educating, of preparing revolutionary cadres in the prison, of accomplishing the mission that the directors of the prison have charged them to do, to educate the prisoners in Marxism. This means

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Unify The Transport Committees

(continued from page 1)

mittee representing all thirty-four garages had been set up. This reflects the enormous confidence of these transport workers—particularly important is the retention by the bus crews of their committees after the struggle. These committees must be retained, strengthened and combined with the committees of bus crews employed by the municipal undertakings and those of the London bus crews. Local and national committees of busmen, apart from demands for an immediate pay increase should press for all wages to rise with the cost of living, should extend demands to a 35-hour week, full pay when sick, a shift system and workers control of all public transport undertakings must be put forward. United national transport strikes could achieve all this.

The wave of strikes in this hitherto relatively tranquil sector of the public transport system shows that the mobilisation of the workers continues unabated against capitalism and the trade union officials are helpless to stop it. What is lacking is a centralised trade union centre to lead all the strikes at present developing. The imperative task remains—and will receive solutions before long—the organisation of permanently functioning national factory and transport committees to co-ordinate all workers struggles on a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme with the object of linking economic demands with the demands for aid to the colonial revolution, full support to the struggles of the Spanish workers, the United Socialist States of Europe and the overthrow of British and world Imperialism.

The economic demands of bus workers, the proper functioning of a national transport system demand the overthrow of capitalism. The overthrow of capitalism demands the General Strike. It is for this that militants must prepare and orientate the unofficial committees.

The Evolution Of The Sino-Soviet Dispute

J. POSADAS For The Plenum Of The IV International

FROM the presentation of the last documents on the Sino-Soviet dispute and on the crisis of capitalism and the Communist and Socialist parties in Europe to this stage the evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute has been in a certain "impasse," an apparent impasse in which there only appears a public discussion and polemic of a very attenuated order. But underneath a violent aggressive elevation of this dispute is preparing through a series of factors and acts already discussed in the documents already cited. That is to say there is no possibility of a conciliation by the Soviet bureaucracy with the interests of the advancing Chinese revolution which in a deformed, disfigured way expresses the interests of the necessity for the advance of the world socialist revolution which enters into conflict and will enter into conflicts even more acutely with the interests of the bureaucratic caste of the Soviet Union and of the workers states.

The basis for the deepening of this conflict is expressed in two vital points: in that the Soviet bureaucracy in so far as it tries to conciliate with the Chinese to respond to certain measures, to certain pressures of the world revolution adopts certain bureaucratic measures in defence of or appeals in support of the struggle of the colonial peoples; and that in the interior of the USSR there emerges and develops a very sharp and profound discussion around the programme and planning of the Soviet economy. A tendency tries to advance towards levels which approach capitalism, the so-called "market economy." Kachaturov and Libermann although there are differences among them, endeavour to eliminate, elude the control, the submitting to the programme, the planned control, the planned centralisation and programming of the economy with the intention of freeing it and giving every industry and commercial enterprise a direct contact with the market. Even submitted to centralisation and to the control of the state this measure in deepening itself and going forward opens the way to the influence of the ideas of capitalist thinking. This leads not only to the support of peaceful co-existence but damages certain fundamental bases and sectors of the Soviet economy itself. This enters into direct conflict with the interest, with the necessities of the Chinese revolution, the structure and the development of the colonial revolution and of the world proletarian revolution. These are the fundamental reasons for the conflict; there are no means of conciliation, there is no possibility for this.

The bureaucracy cannot go back on centralisation and the submission to centralisation because it would depart from a fundamental base of the bureaucracy who are the directors of factories, administrators, privileged sectors of the Soviet masses. From the international point of view, external politics is a continuation of interior policy. And the Soviet bureaucracy is obliged to continue with the policy of peaceful co-existence because this is determined by the interest expressed in the internal economic structure.

The position of the Chinese is the reverse. They cannot conciliate with Imperialism and Imperialism cannot conciliate with them nor make mutual concessions. In the measure that the Chinese workers state continues working to a centralised planification, its external policy necessarily has to be opposed to the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It does not exclude or eliminate tendencies, episodic or partial influences of conciliation with Imperialism and capitalism, but the essential base of the Chinese economy does not permit a conciliation in permanence on a world scale with Imperialism. For this reason the empirical, bureaucratic tendencies and the bureaucratic empirical policy of the CCP and the Chinese workers state are in permanent contradiction between the formulation of revolutionary positions with the appeal for support for the proletarian revolution, and tendencies and positions for the policy of conciliation with capitalism and even Imperialism.

But the essential base which will decide and decides this conflict of the Sino-Soviet dispute is not the Sino-Soviet dispute in itself. Within it is reflected in concentrated form the processes of the world revolution; on the part of the Chinese the progress of the world revolution; and on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy the conscious opposition to the process of world revolution. The dispute will be determined in the last instant by the world development of the proletarian revolution. Neither one or the other can dominate or control the process of the proletarian revolution. This apparent Sino-Soviet dispute is only the reflection in an unconscious form indirect and deformed of the necessity for the advance of the world revolution. Capitalism cannot oppose itself to this advance. It has neither the economic, social, political or military forces to contain it. The proof lies in the Congo, Viet-Nam, Cuba; the development of the revolution in Iraq, Iran, Algeria, etc.

The fall of Khrushchev signifies a profound historic stage because it is the beginning of the liquidation of peaceful co-existence and of the bureaucracy. But

only the beginning, since it does not mean the liquidation of the bureaucratic leadership. The bureaucracy tries to maintain itself making contradictory concessions. While it tries to adopt political positions which favour more which identify it more with the colonial revolution and even the exploited masses, its concrete and historic positions are of alliance with capitalism, of co-existence with capitalism, of trying to seek co-existence and alliance with capitalism. But the fall of Khrushchev was not in vain. It was an unconscious, indirect expression of the forces of the progress of the colonial revolution of the proletarian revolution, of the political revolution in ascendant which seeks to rid itself of the bureaucracy. The declarations of the bureaucracy as expressed in the resolutions of the IS previously cited, the declarations of Kosygin (which said, "It is impossible to reach the high level of productivity attained by the advanced capitalist countries without impelling the initiative, the autonomy of the workers, without incorporating them in all solutions, not only in the problems of production but also with the state organisations and without developing in all ways the socialist democracy") and Breznev on proletarian democracy is the first reply and a concession to the Soviet masses. They seek a closer relation with them but it is only a device of the bureaucracy.

BUREAUCRACY UNDER ENORMOUS PRESSURE

The bureaucracy disposed of Khrushchev to try to persist and continue. The declarations afterwards of the Soviet bureaucracy show the enormous pressure which they have been receiving which comes from the Soviet masses and from the world revolution. On account of this they tend or pretend to and are obliged momentarily in part, to oppose themselves to Imperialism, contradicting the policy of conciliation of co-existence which Khrushchev imposed hitherto. In the attitude towards Congo, Algeria, Cuba, Viet-Nam, the declarations of the bureaucracy differ from those of Khrushchev. If there remains a

maintenance of conciliation and co-existence there is an attitude of greater support, a simulation of greater support to North Viet-Nam or of appeals against Imperialism. If this does not pass beyond appeals of stimulation allied with appeals for the defence of the Congo and of opposition to Imperialism this shows that the Soviet bureaucracy is submitted to an enormous internal pressure from within the proletarian camp, from the camp of all the social groups of the USSR which exert pressure to effect a unity with the world revolution. This is an unconscious process. It is not directed consciously either by the Chinese nor by the other revolutionary movements. Thus its aspect is contradictory, confused and vacillating. But the deciding line from the fall of Khrushchev is a constant and uninterrupted process of forces who are exerting a pressure to free themselves from the Soviet bureaucracy. In the final instance all the attempts even diplomatic, the formulations, the declarations, the diplomatic game of the Soviet bureaucracy goes towards the left; although it only holds simulates positions of the left, adapting itself to them, this expresses that it wishes to content, satisfy, the enormous pressure of the masses of the USSR, of the Communist parties of the world and of the colonial revolution. That is to say that in this process the fall of Khrushchev is only the beginning; the process has not yet found the organic form in which to express itself consciously.

But on the side of the leadership of the Chinese Communist party and of the Chinese workers state there is not nevertheless a conscious leadership.

CHINESE LEADERS FAIL TO MAKE APPEALS TO THE MASSES

At the same time that they accuse and attack—as much as against Khrushchev—the new leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy, they do not formulate a programme, they do not make an appeal to the world revolution, to the mass communist international of the masses, they do not call openly for the unconditional support to the colonial revolution, they do not call for the necessity of workers control, for socialist control of the economy of the workers states, they do not call for the unconditional participation of the unions, of the workers centres, of the communist parties of the workers states in the world revolution. In consequence in administrative form and with bureaucratic methods, they maintain a dispute which although in the formulation is correct, in the forms of organisation and in the political conduct is bureaucratic and administrative and it does not permit nor is a pole of attraction for the masses. It is for this reason that this process is in "impasse"; a state of impasse in which there is no definition because the Chinese do not advance and the Soviets similarly. But the line of this "impasse," the pressure of this contradictory process is favourable to the advance of the revolution.

The declarations of the Chinese and the attitude of the Chinese are in the process of advancing more to the left than hitherto but they continue maintaining themselves on the diplomatic plane. The demonstrations of the Chinese with respect to the Congo and the march of the three millions of Chinese are a small demonstration. In a country of 700 millions in which the worker state controls and dominates the masses, three million is nothing. It is not that the Chinese masses do not wish to demonstrate but that there is no stimulus, no appeal, no organisation on the part of the leadership. But the fact that three millions demonstrated and that Mao Tse-tung puts himself at the head of the demonstrations is indicative that they wish to exert pressure from the side of the left. It is a form, timid, diplomatic and bureaucratic.

The form which this process will acquire in the Sino-Soviet dispute will not

be the result of the debate between the two but the result of the pressure of the world revolution. The advance of the world revolution obliges the Chinese to adopt positions even though contradictory in favour of the development of the world revolution. The process is not defined but there is a serious and concrete advance in the revolutionary positions. This serious and concrete advance in revolutionary positions expresses itself in the appeals made directly or indirectly by the Chinese communist party for aid to the colonial revolution. This unconditional support is not accompanied by a concrete policy. The Chinese unions, the Communist party do not mobilise a hundred million Chinese to support this formulation. For this reason the dispute enters impasse. That is to say it does not possess a sufficient inclination. But in this "impasse" the tendencies are favourable to the revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy retreats. Its retreat is not profound but it retreats. It does not retreat making important concessions but the suspension of the meeting to condemn the Chinese CP, declarations condemning Imperialism, appeals for the defence of Cuba, for the defence of Viet-Nam, military declarations against Imperialism accompanied by declarations of support for the Congolese revolution—even if they are not followed in its turn by effective and concrete measures—within the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy signify a concession to the left which is a direct consequence of the pressure of the world colonial proletarian revolution, of the pressure of the Soviet masses.

The absence of a centralised mass organisation, of a workers world centre, of the mass Communist International prevents the greater intervention of the masses. While the Chinese and Soviets try to confine the dispute within the orbit of two leaderships with appeals, with insults, with accusations, in order to incline this dispute decidedly in favour of the development of the world revolution it is necessary to effect the intervention of the masses. Everything of interest to the workers states, everything which interests human progress in its most elevated aspects, the revolution and the workers states, interests the masses. The masses must intervene; the Chinese do not appeal for their intervention. They appeal for attacks on the Soviet bureaucracy but they do not appeal for the struggle for proletarian action which is the most elevated form of appealing to the masses to intervene.

NECESSITY OF WORLD UNITED FRONT

To exert pressure to decide the dispute in the only progressive way—the development of the revolution—it is necessary that the masses intervene. It is necessary that the Communist party and the unions and the Chinese workers centre appeal to the masses of the world to discuss this Sino-Soviet dispute on the basis of the world struggle for the programme of the proletarian revolution, of the mass Communist International, of a single world mass centre, of single regional centres (Latin-America, Asia, Africa, Europe) calling for the unification, in a united front of the masses of the world, of the workers parties of the unions, of the workers states.

A fact which demonstrates the enormous influence of the revolution and which demonstrates that the Soviet bureaucracy must make concessions to the revolution is the appeal in an empirical and bureaucratic form to the united front of the masses of the world with the workers states. And also the appeal by the CCP for the united front of the exploited masses with the workers states. The formulation is correct but what is the programme? What are the objectives? It is necessary that this appeal which falls in the void is taken up by the leaderships, the tendencies, the revolutionary currents of the world proletariat to link it up with the masses

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The Evolution Of The Sino-Soviet Dispute

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and to unite it with the struggle of each country for the specific programme of the masses in each country and for the whole programme to conclude in a world discussion in the Communist parties. But this must not be in a diplomatic discussion, empirical and parliamentary, but with the object of uniting the discussion of the Sino-Soviet dispute jointly with the struggle for power. The form of resolving this problem of the Sino-Soviet dispute must be submitted and united to the struggle of the masses for power in every country, of the colonial and semi-colonial masses, of the capitalist countries and of the masses of the workers states for the imposition of the socialist democracy.

Imperialism tries in this dispute to extract advantage. It has no strength to do anything else. It cannot intervene. In conditions in which its intervention can be facilitated through the contradictions which the Sino-Soviet dispute reflects, it cannot intervene either politically or militarily because it lacks the historical position from which to intervene. It is necessary to finish with the idea of the possibility of a return to capitalism by any workers state; capitalism lacks the strength to enforce such a return. Independently of the attitudes and bureaucratic tendencies as in the case of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia which tend to facilitate, through free economic competition internal and external capitalist influences, the strength and the structure, the world relation of the workers states is infinitely superior to the conciliatory policy with capitalism of the bureaucracy of the workers states. On the other hand each colonial revolution tends to unite itself with the workers states and seeks unity with them as with Algeria, Zanzibar, Congo. It is on this base, on this perspective, that the leadership of the CCP, the tendencies, cadres, revolutionary currents of the communist parties of the world workers movement must intervene in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

THE WORLD REVOLUTION INTERVENES INDIRECTLY IN SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

Imperialism prepares its reply awaiting the opportune moment to launch the nuclear war. While Imperialism prepares trying to draw advantage from

the Sino-Soviet dispute, the masses continue and advance and progress in their revolutionary ascent. There is no country in the world which possesses capitalist stability not even in Europe. None possesses a capitalist stability which can be affirmed for a historic period of years. But in Europe with the European Common Market, the great strikes, the triumphs of the communist and socialist parties show that in the last instant, capitalism depends on the conciliatory policy of the socialist and communists. On this base, of the world framework of the progress of the revolution, it is necessary that the Chinese must make an appeal to the masses of the world to intervene in the Sino-Soviet dispute; an appeal which must be not to decide which of the two is right in the dispute but to intervene in the class and revolutionary struggle: the struggle for the mass communist international, for the single world centre for unconditional support for the proletarian revolution, for the socialist democracy in the workers states, for the constitution of a great united world anti-Imperialist front and the united world proletarian front, for the constitution of workers and peasants, militia, for the expropriation and statification without compensation of national and Imperialist enterprises and function-under workers control, for the development of organisms of dual power in the capitalist countries and the struggle for the organisation of soviets and communes. For the organisation of soviets and communes in Cuba, in China, in the workers states. For the economic planification of the workers states with full intervention of the masses and via workers control for the fullest proletarian democracy and legality, establishing the plurality of workers parties submitted to the unconditional defence of the workers state and Soviet proletarian legality. For the installing of popular tribunals, for the unconditional support to the colonial revolution, with free military, technical, economic, financial aid, the denunciation of UNO as a base for the Imperialist gangsters and the constitution of the anti-Imperialist and world proletarian united front, for the expulsion of Imperialist nuclear and military bases from every country, for the constitution of regional and Continental soviet federations, etc. This is the programme which is going to determine and define

the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The colonial revolution, the proletarian revolution, the development of the class struggle in Europe are essential factors which intervene in the Sino-Soviet dispute not directly but indirectly. They do not appear obviously to weigh but they are the essential determining factors; for this the crisis of the communist parties is an essential factor in the advance of the Sino-Soviet crisis but at the same time this crisis expresses itself in an advance of the revolution. The electoral triumphs of the socialist parties and communist parties of Europe are a deciding example.

It is necessary that the leadership of the CCP makes an appeal to the mass communist international, for a world united front of the masses of the exploited countries, of the capitalist colonial and semi-colonial countries with the workers states for the unconditional defence of the proletarian revolution, of the colonial revolution, of the socialist revolution, of the mass communist international. And also to prepare for the preventative war with the object of hindering Imperialism obtaining any benefit and on the contrary to see that the masses and the workers states are in a condition to secure advantage in the preventative war. And so that the masses of the world, called to unite themselves around the programme of the mass communist international, advance towards the taking of power in each country at whatever the risk because it is the only means of preserving humanity from the risks and disastrous consequences of the nuclear war which capitalism is preparing.

The Sino-Soviet dispute is not a dispute between the Chinese and Soviets it is only the form, the disfigured form which the advance of the world revolution assumes at this time. The solution of this problem is united and submitted to the development of the colonial and proletarian revolutions and the political revolution in the workers states.

APPEAL OF IV INTERNATIONAL

The IV International makes an appeal to the masses of the world to intervene in the communist parties, in the socialist party of the united proletariat in Italy, to the Soviet and Chinese unions, to the unions of the workers states, to the unions and union centres of Europe, of Asia, of Africa, of Latin-America, to the government of the Cuban workers state, to the workers parties and to the

popular anti-Imperialist movements, to the revolutionary nationalist movements of this stage in Zanzibar, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, etc., to adopt this programme in the concrete struggle to overthrow capitalism in every country in the struggle for power and the installation of worker and peasant governments based on soviets and communes pushing forward the revolutionary programme and the world revolutionary strategy, in the world revolutionary united front of the workers states and the colonial revolution with the proletariat of the capitalist countries, so constructing the mass Communist International.

For the plenum of the International Secretariat of the IV International
J. Posadas.

December 1964.

GREETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT TO THE CUBAN COMRADES

(continued from page 4)

an attitude of immense confidence, that our comrades are imprisoned not as counter-revolutionaries but as revolutionaries. And the imprisonment is not due to an incompatibility and contradiction between Trotskyism, the revolutionary activity, and the government, but due to the political limitations, and in a certain way the conservatism, of the leadership of the Cuban workers state. If not, there would be no contradiction nor incompatibility between the fight of our comrades for workers control, socialist democracy, for the extension of the revolution, and the actual leadership of the revolution. In a short time our comrades will be set free.

Comrades of the Cuban section; all the International follows with attention, with affection and with complete and immense solidarity, your activity and your imprisonment. But you will be freed as a result of the development of the world revolution and this will be in a short time. It is necessary to maintain permanently and alive, our activity, even at the cost of major sacrifices: to be in the first rank of the fight against the counter-revolution; to foresee a new attack from American Imperialism, to see that the CTC (the Cuban TU centre) intervenes in all the Latin-American and world revolution; to see that it participates and gives its support; so that to see an inner political life arises in each workers state, in every place of work, of activity, of life in Cuba, but at the same time, to foresee and prepare for the next stages of the great fight in which Imperialism will attempt to invade Cuba again. And at the same time as the preparations for an invasion of Cuba, it must develop our activity incessantly, maintaining our activity as a party, as an organisation, struggling to be recognised publicly by the government, as it is recognised by the Cuban masses.

Comrades of the Cuban section, the permanent revolution in an incessant and dynamic world advance, will in a little while take you out of the prisons of the Cuban revolution. It will be and will remain as an ignominy of the leadership of the Cuban revolution, which has arrested and kept in prison, the Trotskyists for their right to struggle for the permanent revolution.

Fraternally for the International Secretariat,

J. POSADAS.

17.12.64.

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ENFORCE A WORKING CLASS SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE GAS INDUSTRY

Workers Control — Shorter Hours — No Sackings

In one industry after another British capitalism continues to display its total inability to solve the crisis in which it finds itself. Workers in industries such as aircraft and railways, are mobilising in the face of threats of redundancy. The pressures which are being built up against coal by the necessities of centralised monopoly capitalism also echo in the gas industry.

The private sector of British industry wants its fuel supply as cheaply as it can get it regardless of the livelihood of the workers in the nationalised mining and gas industries. The changeover from coal to oil gas and natural gas for which the boards of the gas industry are making discreet but definite preparations can mean redundancy for many gas workers. And all this under the auspices of a Labour Government trying desperately to prop up the antiquated system of private property with the full complicity of the trade union bosses. This is the "New Unionism" of the NUGMW leaders. Strength, service and security for monopoly capitalism. For the gas workers there is always any old treat-

ment, for the union bosses knight-hoods perhaps.

Gas workers! The time to mobilise is now before the offensive against the coal and solid fuel industries can be fully mounted. Although the NUGMW is a conservative apparatus with interests opposed to those of the workers it can be of use to you in organising a closed shop. Unofficial liaison committees must be set up in every works to co-ordinate the actions of the gas production workers and the workers in the fitters and carpenters shops, etc. These unofficial committees linked up in a national network will be the means by which the gas workers can struggle effectively for genuine major improvements without hindrance from a bureaucratic leadership. The gas workers must make contact with the mine workers to wage a joint struggle against redundancy and with all nationalised industries for the struggle for workers control of nationalised industries within a statified economy.

The gas industry makes millions of pounds profit every year and pays the banks millions for interest on original loans with which the capi-

talist state purchased the gas industry from its previous owners. As the profits of the gas boards soar so does the price of gas. Yet the workers are given 8d. an hour increase over three years.

Organise the struggle around the following demands which must be put forward immediately in the gas industry:

1. No redundancies when retort houses are run down for repair!
2. Five teams to work a six hour shift-
3. An all round 40% increase in wages and an end to the long service increments!
4. Equal pay for equal work!
5. No changeover to oil gas or natural gas while pits are threatened with closure!
6. All benefits of automation for the workers!
7. No redundancy on any account!
8. Specially designed free protective clothing for all departments!
9. New retort houses to be built with every consideration to ventilation!
10. A thirty-five hour week and four weeks holiday!

A Trotskyist Gas Worker.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

No. 19

APRIL 1965

SIXPENCE

UNITE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

WITH SUPPORT FOR SPANISH & VIETNAMESE MASSES

Strikes & Demonstrations Against Imperialist Attacks On Vietnam, Against Franco Spain!

THE revolution in South Vietnam continues to advance despite all the attempts of Imperialism to crush it and the lack at the moment of massive military aid from the other workers states. The determination of American Imperialism to maintain its system and its authority in South-east Asia whatever the costs to humanity is made glaringly obvious by its actions in Vietnam, and is forcing even the Soviet bureaucracy to make gestures to the left and promises of military aid.

The effect of the continued American bombardments of North Vietnam has been to intensify the Sino-Soviet dispute because the Chinese open to the pressure of the masses will continue to advance towards the positions of Trotskyism. In the last few weeks the Chinese have made their strongest attacks on the Soviet bureaucracy. The first time was after the beating up of Chinese students involved in the demonstrations outside the American Embassy; and the second was in an article in the "Peoples Daily" where they demanded that the Soviet bureaucracy should admit that it has been wrong all the time. In effect the Chinese were demanding the complete capitulation of the bureaucracy. The Chinese have also attacked the bureaucracy lately, as being 'sham revolutionaries, sham anti-Imperialists and real betrayers' and have criticised themselves for not 'giving enough support to the revolutionary left in some countries' and they go on to say they will correct these mistakes in future. These statements show the great advances which the pressure of the world revolutionary process has forced upon the Chinese leadership. Words must inevitably be followed by deeds.

The recent statements of Castro, coupled with the elimination of several high ranking ministers of Stalinist origin, from the Cuban government also show the empirical progress of the Cuban leadership towards Marxist revolutionary positions. Castro urged the granting of all necessary military aid to the revolution in Vietnam regardless of the risks entailed. He also referred back to the Cuba crisis of '62 stating that the Cuban people had been ready for a nuclear attack at that time, had agreed to and wanted the installation of missiles, and had not agreed to the missiles being taken away.

In the Soviet Union itself the forces of the political revolution are stimulated by the advance of the revolution in South-East Asia. Breznev has revealed, after earlier statements on the subject by the North Vietnam ambassador had been suppressed, that hundreds of Soviet citizens have volunteered to fight in North Vietnam. The Soviet bureaucracy has dragged its feet over the supply of missiles to North Vietnam, hoping to come to some agreement with US Imperialism, but the objective needs of the workers states for mutual self defence necessitate intervention. Gromyko's recent discussions with the Labour leaders made this very clear; the bureaucracy no longer has the same power to betray revolutions as it had, Gromyko made it clear to the Labour leaders that the bureaucracy can do nothing to negotiate a settlement until US Imperialism withdraws from Vietnam.

This hardening of the attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy has put the Wilson government in a difficult situation. Wilson hoped that with the aid of Kosygin and Co. he would be able to play some conciliatory middle of the road role, but Gromyko's attitude (a measure of the pressure on the bureaucracy) has taken this prop away. Already there has emerged a group of MPs who timidly

question the wisdom of supporting the US and this group, which already has the support of the TGWU, the NUR and the Scottish Motormen's Union, reflects in however deformed a way the disquiet felt by the proletarian base of the Labour party. The line of the MPs reflects simply an effort to apply pressure for peaceful co-existence and a policy of conciliation. They are conducting the struggle in a bureaucratic administrative way, without calling for a full discussion at the base of the LP or for demonstrations, strikes, etc., for the support of revolution in South Vietnam. Nevertheless Wilson will have to take account of this in his next manoeuvres.

We appeal to the workers and the petty bourgeoisie at the base of the LP to discuss fully all the problems raised by Vietnam and the advance of the world revolution, to discuss and formulate a programme for the overthrow of capitalism and Imperialism in this country and throughout the world, a programme of nationalisation without compensation and with workers control of all the key industries for the smashing of NATO and SEATO and the withdrawal of troops from the colonies, to build the revolutionary current to smash the bourgeois state apparatus. A discussion around this programme must be pushed forward in the LP at all costs because the so-called left MPs will never of themselves put forward such an anti-capitalist programme as they are only interested in maintaining capitalism or gently suppressing parts of it without upheaval; that is the intervention of the masses.

GREAT CONFIDENCE OF THE UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES

The recent youth conference at Morecambe held against the wishes of the Labour bureaucracy reflected that con-

ditions are ripening for a clearly articulated Trotskyist perspective. Despite the hopeless inadequacy of the "Keep Left" faction — i.e. no precise perspectives, parochialism, overstimulation of the phenomenon of racialism, etc., the demands for nationalisation and workers control reflect the search for a revolutionary programme. Neither the Keep Left faction nor the SLL apparatus with whose policies it is connected are interested in the development of a revolutionary current in the heart of the proletariat, i.e. the factories, but are orientated to the social democracy, reformism. Thus during the aircraft workers demonstrations the "Newsletter" organ of the SLL apparatus, actually urged the workers "not to vent their anger and frustration against their party"!!! The Labour party is not the party of the workers, it is the organisation of the Labour bureaucracy around which the workers can centralise themselves to exert pressure. The attitude of the SLL is essentially one of patronising the workers and the intervention in the youth movement is to prevent the movement developing into a Trotskyist current. The SLL is referred to in the capitalist press as "Trotskyist" precisely because it represents no danger to them, and acts as a harmless pseudo-left apparatus.

In the last month the Labour government have taken a couple of mild reformist measures. One was refusing to increase the subsidy to the farmers by more than a penny a gallon of milk, when the farmers were expecting 3d and the other was the rent bill which proposes to increase the security of tenure, to freeze the rent of some properties, and to introduce penalties against landlords intimidating tenants. Certain bourgeois sectors approve of the Labour government's handling of the farmers, because they realise that it is necessary to be hard on some minor sectors of British capitalism in order to try to solve the problems of British capitalism as a whole, and it once again shows the weakness of capitalism that the government has to alienate supporters of capitalism, i.e. is financially incapable of sustaining the subsidies demanded by the capitalist farmers.

But even though, because of the weakness of capitalism and the struggle of the British masses, the Labour leaders are forced to take minor measures which go against capitalism, it has not lost sight of its primary task of trying to sustain capitalism. The price and pay increase control agreement, which allows a 3½% a year 'wages growth' is on the point of being signed by the employers and the Union leaders; really the LP leaders are trying to say to capitalism "we will do our best for you," but it is obvious that it won't work, and that it will be of only a marginal use to the employers. The farcical nature of the agreement is brought out by the exemption clauses allowing

greater than 3½% to workers who are earning less than a 'decent living wage.'

In any case, whatever agreements the TU leaders and employers may come to, the essential fact remains that the majority of strikes in this country are unofficial and carried out in spite of the opposition of the official union leaderships. The recent tube clerks strike was unofficial, so was the strike of 21 internal drivers at Lucas in Birmingham which paralysed the whole industry and was denounced by union officials, so was the latest dock strike in London over imprisonment of a docker for stealing and this is particularly interesting because it involves, not an economic demand but questions the authority of bourgeois law. The seamen are in violent conflict with their union, and an unofficial body the "United Seafarers Committee" has recommended strike action.

As a contrast to the 3½% increases proposed by the government, maintenance men employed by BUA, have won increases of over 30% to be spread over three years, and a reduction of the working week from 42 hours to 40 hours, after an official strike of nearly three weeks. Involved in the dispute also were supervisors organised in ASSET, who during the strike succeeded in blacking BUA planes throughout Europe including the USSR. They reached an agreement with the employers before the manual workers had, but decided to stay on strike until they too had reached a settlement, which showed a very high level of solidarity. The slogan for the building of the unofficial factory committees has shown itself to be entirely correct.

LEFT MPs — A PRESSURE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

All the industrial actions show an advance in the confidence of the workers, in the level of their demands, and in the organisational forms, and all this is taking place against a background of rising prices (4½% last year, now electricity, postage and some more foods are going up) and in a national and international situation where capitalism is crumbling. In Spain, demonstration follows demonstration, the regime totters under the assaults of the workers and students and in Mieres a police post was sacked by miners, the first action of this type since the civil war! The revolution in Spain is not far away and its social consequences will be immense in Europe. And this is why there is never a mention of Spain by the so-called Left MPs, in spite of all that is happening there, because they fear the revolution, and are frightened of making propaganda which will stimulate the workers of this country.

Vietnam, Spain, the struggle in this country are all bound up together. We appeal to all the militants in the LP, the CP, the unions, the unofficial com-

(continued on page 3)

Expel Imperialism From Vietnam!

United Anti-Imperialist Front To Smash Imperialism Throughout The World

Resolution Of The I. S Of The IV International

THE events in Vietnam represent an important step in the process beginning with the fall of Khrushchev, which is the process of the crisis and the downfall of the Soviet bureaucracy and with it all its policies. It is the period of the break up of peaceful co-existence and of the march towards the war. Peaceful co-existence has suffered a tremendous blow. Kosygin went to Vietnam to conciliate, to find the road for a negotiated solution. Instead of accepting the solution offered by Kosygin, the revolutionaries of the Vietcong have undertaken the most important offensive in the whole war, winning the victories of Pleiku and of Qui Nhon beating the Imperialists on their own ground.

This revolutionary offensive in Vietnam signifies a leap forward, an advance in the relationship of forces. These military actions would be impossible without the active participation of all the population. The masses bring to bear, in the attacks on the Yankee bases all their capacity for imagination, audacity and confidence in the fight, in order to plan them and carry them out. They are "masterful" actions, according to the Yankees themselves, which alone are possible when the entire masses take part, applying completely all their political advance. These actions are going to be repeated and at even more elevated levels.

Imperialism bombarded North Vietnam during the visit of Kosygin because it sees that the situation is getting out of hand. The Imperialists see how their expulsion from Vietnam and from all of S.E. Asia is being prepared. They see how all that capitalism resolves to do in this region crumbles and falls to pieces. In Laos they have just suffered a new blow with the smashing of the attempt of Fumi Nosavan. The guerillas in Thailand strengthen themselves. The Indo-China Conference in Pnom Pen proposed that Imperialism must get out. There is a political crisis in the Philippines and Indonesia threatens to demolish the last Imperialist positions in the Federation of Malaysia. Imperialism has nothing on which to support itself. And it sees how the revolutionary wave advances in India against which the bourgeois government of Shastri is paralysed. To sustain itself in Vietnam is a question of life or death for Yankee Imperialism. The bombings were directed to infuse confidence and security into the limping forces of capitalism in this region, showing to them that the Yankees are not thinking of abandoning them. The bombings had these objectives above all.

Before bombing, the Yankees informed Moscow and knew what to expect regarding the Soviet reaction. These bombings were thus an action within peaceful co-existence that is to say as part of the advantage to Imperialism of peaceful co-existence. The most important thing was the reaction of the masses, of the guerillas. After the first bombing came Qui Nhon and the declaration of the Front of National Liberation of Vietnam that from now on the war would be total. The reply of the masses is an action which escapes completely the policy of peaceful co-existence, which defeats the plans of Kosygin and which forces the total and complete expulsion of Imperialism as a prior condition to any negotiation. As a consequence the Imperialist bombings become now a normal thing and the war passes to a higher level. That is not to say that the war is going to extend itself even more immediately and transform itself into the world war in a day or two. Imperialism is extending the war, attacking cities of the workers state of North Vietnam knowing that with this it does not jeopardize an immediate generalisation of the war, because the Soviet bureaucracy has made it known that it will allow it. Basically, Imperialism plays on the policy of peaceful co-existence against the revolution and the workers states. But even if the bombings do not mean the war the next day, it is evident that this new stage of the war is much less controllable, and in its development it is going to pose situations capable of exploding into the nuclear war at any moment. Neither Imperialism nor the Soviet bureaucracy has any control over the course of events. Kosygin went to Hanoi with a set idea, and he had to return adopting the very positions that he had gone to fight, that is to say, the positions of the Chinese of help and support for the workers state of North Viet-

nam and for the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE AT THIS STAGE

The joint appeal of the Chinese and the Soviet government is imposed on Moscow by the masses, for a policy of support for the Vietnamese revolution, and of support and defence of the workers' state. There was no other way out for Kosygin. The Soviet bureaucracy cannot betray the Vietnamese revolution. If it could it would, but it cannot. Not only because of the masses of the Soviet Union itself but because of the whole world situation. For the Soviet bureaucracy, there remains no other way out but to attach itself to the positions of the Chinese, because if it did not, the masses would push it even further. But this is not a Sino-Soviet agreement. The Soviet bureaucracy yields under the pressure and the force of the masses and of the revolution, but this same pressure and force will push the Chinese even further forward. This is in the nature of the Sino-Soviet dispute itself as it has been analysed by comrade Posadas.

The Chinese do not only oppose the Soviet bureaucracy on this or that part of the programme, but they are impelled by the revolution within and outside China, to oppose the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which is conceived always to serve the reactionary interests of a caste within the workers state. Even if, at a certain moment they can be in agreement on this or that, basically there cannot be any agreement. The social forces which are behind Moscow and Peking prevent the reconciliation.

The opportunism and the limitations of the Chinese can confuse things at certain times, as at the time following the fall of Khrushchev, and again the same now. But afterwards comes the differentiation, and already this is going on, for example when Chen Yi says 'We will give blow for blow' or when the Chinese insist that no negotiations are possible about Vietnam before the Imperialists have gone. Breznev and Kosygin see themselves forced to support the guerillas but they do it in order to conciliate imperialism, to find a way which allows them to conciliate. This is not so with the Chinese. They are going to intervene in Vietnam openly, not only through underground help, which they are already giving, but they are going to have to intervene openly as a workers state, in the war, sending troops—which could be volunteers as in Korea—heavy arms, planes, etc. The Chinese hesitate before intervening, and their limitations show themselves also in this, but the tendency to intervene is going to predominate.

Whilst the Chinese still stay in the camp of peaceful co-existence, they are at the limit of it. Chen Yi had to say that it is not possible to have peaceful co-existence with Yankee Imperialism. For the policy and the strategy of peaceful co-existence, they have to substitute the policy and the strategy of

the world revolution and the inevitable war, that is the necessity of the preventive war. The tendency of the Chinese is to intervene more and more. Acting on them is not only the pressure of the revolution in Vietnam, but the pressure within China itself. Twelve million demonstrators came out onto the streets in the principal cities of China before the Chinese government had defined its policy on the crisis of Vietnam. The Chinese CP, by its nature, by the life which it has lived before, cannot escape this combative and revolutionary disposition of the Chinese masses. The evolution of the Sino-Soviet struggle shows that the Chinese are going to advance anew, even if it be at the price of grave internal crises.

But not the Soviet bureaucracy. It cannot abandon Vietnam to its fate because if it did, the revolution would advance and triumph anyway, overthrowing the bureaucracy as happened with Khrushchev. And moreover the Soviet bureaucracy cannot play its game with Imperialism if this is submitted to continuous political and military disasters, and needs to react organically with the extension of the war. Now the Soviet bureaucracy goes to Hanoi in order to see how it can take the situation in its hands. It cannot do it but it needs to attempt it, because without its intervention, the crisis of Vietnam is the road to the world war. It was for this that Kosygin went, and he appears to have failed in his first attempt, but the Soviet bureaucracy is going to insist. When Moscow warns Imperialism on the consequences of its aggression North Vietnam, and offers military aid and political support to the Vietnamese, it is in order to be able to control and stop the revolution. There is no reconciliation with the Chinese. What has happened is that the Soviet bureaucracy cannot pursue any more its policy and try to impose it on the rest of the workers states and the revolutionary movements; threatened directly by the revolution, it has to adapt itself in order to be able to intervene, and this intervention will be, up to the last moment, to contain the revolution and the masses and in order to conciliate with Imperialism. In this it also supports itself on the policy of the Americans, but it lacks, each time to a greater extent, bases for this conciliation.

THE CRISIS OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

The Soviet government has not had a definite policy since the fall of Khrushchev. Basically its policy is the same, but they had to throw out Khrushchev because the concrete forms of peaceful co-existence that he brought about, do not serve any longer. Still Breznev and Kosygin are not able to define a line concretely. In Vietnam they have suffered the hardest blow yet, before being able to define what they want. All this is a disaster for the Soviet bureaucracy.

Since the fall of Khrushchev, the Soviet government proceeds in a more flexible way than before. It has to respond to events without being able to govern or direct them. It wants to obtain a truce with the Chinese, and it cannot. Its intention was to hold a conference of the CPs and to turn it against the Chinese, and it has met with the crisis in Vietnam. In the midst of all this the instability in the Kremlin is complete. The attempts of the bureaucracy to gain an internal base by opening up a certain degree of participation at the base of the party and trying to create points of support with the decentralisation of the economy with the application of the ideas of Libermann and Trapeznikov, introducing the criterion of profit in the administration of the enterprises, cannot resist the com-

bination of the internal resistance of the Soviet masses and the pressure of the world revolution and the failure of peaceful co-existence. The bureaucracy is submitted to an internal struggle of tendencies which become greater and greater, aggravated even more by the events in Vietnam, and with its insecurity and impotence stimulating the masses who are tending to intervene more and more. The anti-Imperialist demonstrations in Moscow and Budapest are a distant reflection of the effect of the crisis of Vietnam on the masses of the workers states. There must be other demonstrations more direct and more alive for the incentive it gives to the political revolution.

PROFOUND BLOW AT SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

In Cuba the fall of Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, which follows and accentuates all that has already passed with the fall previously of Ordoqui and Martinez Sanchez expresses the relation of the advance of the colonial and world socialist revolution, with the advance of the political revolution in the workers state. Fidel Castro says that nothing has happened, that they are only administrative measures. But this is the third top leader of the Cuban government, of Stalinist origin, allied to the Soviet bureaucracy and associated with the establishment of a bureaucracy in Cuba, who has fallen in a few months. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez was one of the principal leaders of the CP, who held a high government position, and now he is dismissed. Fidel Castro omits the importance of this and refuses to give political explanations, but it is evident that he is looking for other bases for his government. Also without giving explanations, Guevara went on a tour of Africa and Asia a little while after the fall of Khrushchev. Why? It is to find new bases of support for the Cuban workers state, which it needs inside and outside the country. The Soviet bureaucracy does not represent security nor support. There isn't a soviet structure in Cuba, whereby the masses can express themselves and be, themselves, the direct government of the workers state. But the masses intervene anyway, they make themselves felt. They make felt their condemnation by their repudiation of the representatives of the bureaucracy inside Cuba, and they condemn the policy of Castro when he supports himself on the CP bureaucrats. The masses also condemned the submission to the conditions of support of Khrushchev. On the other hand they press for an alliance with the world revolution. After the fall of Khrushchev, Castro had to, start empirically, adapting himself to these pressures of the masses. It is a process which comes from an earlier time but with the fall of Khrushchev, with the evidence of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is accelerated much more. Now the crisis in Vietnam gives a new push forward to this process. Fidel Castro has to cleanse the government of the men of the bureaucracy and at the same time to look for other bases of support outside, substitute for a dependence on the Soviet bureaucracy. Because of this Guevara goes to Algeria, to Egypt, to Mali, to Ghana and to China. They are seeking a united anti-Imperialist front, formed by nationalist and workers governments with strong mass bases. Still, indirectly with some confusion, the Cubans go to support themselves outside Cuba, on the masses. Inside Cuba they yield to the pressure of the masses, but they still resist basing themselves openly on their organised political intervention, which would be soviet. Without doubt, on the road that they



are travelling, this need is going to pose itself very quickly. It is impossible to give a value to its amplitude and importance and at the same time to hide its political significance and to avert its final consequences. The silence and the administrative explanations of Castro demonstrate his resistance to the force of the political revolution. They demonstrate that they feel the wave of the political revolution, without directing it. But the political revolution is present and has a dominant weight in Cuba. Even without organs of expression for the masses, it imposes itself on the government, in the expulsion of members of the CP which continue and in the alliance with the world revolution independently of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The united anti-Imperialist world front of the workers states with the governments of the countries where the revolution dominates and with the movements of the revolutionary masses of the whole world answers to an imperious necessity in the actual situation, but not completely. It responds only in part to the necessity of centralisation and the impelling of the revolution at its highest level which is that of the workers states and the international communist programme. The world revolution is not only anti-Imperialist but anti-capitalist and this is shown even where it triumphs with an empirical nationalist leadership of petit-bourgeois character upon which the masses impose the execution of socialist measures as in Egypt, Algeria and as before happened in Cuba. The united anti-Imperialist front responds only in part to the force and advance of the world revolution. It is necessary for a world united proletarian front of the workers states with the revolutionary workers parties of the whole world but in the measure that the leaderships of the workers states and of the great mass workers parties impede and sabotage this, the necessity for the unification of the mass and revolutionary movement imposes itself by other means. The voyage of Guevara is a manifestation of this necessity. The Cuban government has not sought to direct itself to the masses of the workers states because it has not broken definitively with the bureaucracy and nevertheless seeks in countries where there are in power revolutionary nationalist movements as in Algeria, Ghana, etc., a support from the international masses without which the workers states cannot sustain themselves.

THE APPEAL FOR THE NEW UNO

The forces of the world revolution will escape all bureaucratic control on the part of the governments of the workers states. In the case of the UNO it was to Sukarno a bourgeois nationalist leader to whom fell the responsibility to denounce it and call for a new UNO with the countries who are fighting against Imperialism. In this Sukarno was ahead of the Chinese and the Cubans. When Sukarno said that they could all go to the devil, that UNO is a nest of bandits and calls for the formation of an anti-Imperialist UNO, he used a language not heard since the time of Lenin, in the mouth of a government. It is evident that it is not Sukarno but the Indonesian and world revolution which are speaking in this case. And the Chinese are backwards in comparison. A united world anti-Imperialist front is necessary which opens the way against all the bureaucratic obstacles. If the leaderships of the workers states are not capable of giving expression to the needs of the struggle, a Sukarno appears.

It is necessary to unify the forces and the resources of the world revolution, of the workers states, of the countries where anti-imperialist revolutionary movements dominate, with the revolutionary mass movements of the whole world. A centre is necessary for the world revolutionary struggle of the masses. This role will correspond to the mass revolutionary communist international but with this not existing necessity finds the best way it can. Normally it would develop from the workers states, from the unification of all the workers states, from the united world proletarian front, of the workers states

with the revolutionary workers parties of all the countries which are allied with the anti-Imperialist world front. In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky the USSR played this role. But the bureaucracy and Stalinism annulled for a period this function of the worker state. Its betrayals and policy separated it from the masses of the world. Today there are revolutionary colonial and semi-colonial masses who take the lead imposing themselves against the sabotage of the bureaucracy of the workers states imposing themselves against the limitations and vacillations of the leaderships such as those of the Chinese and Cuba and the revolution speaks through the mouth of Sukarno, of Ben Bella, of Gbenye and others. The united anti-Imperialist front today opens the way as an uncontained necessity, imposes itself on the Chinese and Cubans and advances against the implacable opposition of Moscow. The next conference of Algeria is going to be the scene for a new presentation of this necessity. There is the appeal of Sukarno, the voyage of Guevara but beyond all this the immense pressure of the masses, the concrete situation of Vietnam makes this necessity at each time more irresistible.

The crisis of Vietnam works as a polarizer of all the forces of the world. The extension of the war with the actions of the guerillas and with the Imperialist bombardments in North Vietnam has the effect that the different forces of the world gravitate around the two camps. For Imperialism and capitalism it is impossible to abandon Vietnam; for revolutionaries there is no solution but the expulsion of Imperialism. The possibility of maintaining the war limited to a certain territory and certain measures is weakened to the measure that it is evident that Imperialism is not going to control this. All the forces of the world are impelled to intervene. In this the situation differs completely from that of the war in Korea. Now the revolution is a thousand times stronger and Imperialism cannot expose itself to a partial defeat as in Korea. The tendency is for the expansion of the war. Then it was an expansion limited and controlled. But the new situation is entirely unstable. Imperialism is obliged to employ more and more troops and resources, to take new aggressive initiatives. The Soviet bureaucracy is involved to arrange a settlement through negotiations and Imperialism agrees on condition that it does not have to withdraw from Vietnam. But this is at variance with the course of events. The Vietnamese masses do not admit the permanence of Imperialism and they reach a level such that they are invincible even when they are isolated—which is not allowable. In consequence the tendency is towards more and more intervention of more and more forces in the struggle, towards the world class encounter, the world war. From the present crisis there can be no retreat. This is not to say fatalistically, that the world war is going to begin in Vietnam. It can begin anywhere and at any time. But the events of Vietnam with the military defeats of Imperialism and the defeat of peaceful co-existence raises the world situation to another level and demonstrates the perspective of the inevitable world war for the conjuncture of the forces of the world revolution.

CONCLUSIONS AND TASKS

It is in these conditions that the Algiers conference is going to define itself. The road of peaceful co-existence is blocked. It is necessary to advance in the organisation of the united world anti-Imperialist front. It must take the initiative of Indonesia and support concretely its struggle against British Imperialism in Malaysia. Down with UNO! Form the anti-Imperialist UNO! United front of all the countries where the revolution imposes itself in all its forms! See that all the revolutionary movements who fight for power participate in the anti-Imperialist UNO. This is no substitute nor does it annul the fundamental necessity for the Revolutionary Mass Communist International, but it is an advance and a manner which poses more clearly this necessity. What the revolutionary leaderships

must do and in particular the Chinese is to appeal for the revolutionary unification of the workers states, to constitute the revolutionary mass communist international with the programme of the socialist revolution and full right to impel the struggle not only for the expulsion but also for the destruction of capitalism and the installation of new workers states. That is to say it must place itself at the head of the world anti-Imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle to realise the united front between the colonial revolution, the proletariat and the workers states, for the suppression of colonialism and the installation of worker and peasant governments in all countries. Full support and aid to the revolutionaries of Vietnam! Out with Imperialism in Vietnam. For the sending of volunteers, of arms and all the necessary resources for the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam! The conference of Algeria must make declarations to this effect. It must appeal to the Soviet masses on this basis. It must appeal to the masses of the whole world! In order that the masses can intervene effectively in the crisis of Vietnam, help in the war theatre is not enough.

Within Vietnam the help which can be supplied is limited. It is necessary to conduct the anti-Imperialist struggle in depth in every country. Out with Imperialism from every country! Out with the bases, the military, cultural, economic missions of every type. Expropriation without indemnity of the Imperialist enterprises! It is necessary that the worker and peasant centres discuss and draw up declarations! Organise general strikes and great mass demonstrations! This is the form in which the masses of the whole world can make their influence felt to determine the question of the Vietnam war.

The Chinese workers state, that of North Vietnam, of Korea, must intervene openly, send troops, supply arms for the guerillas, place the nuclear bomb at the disposition of North Vietnam. None has more capacity nor holds more responsibility to know how to make the best use of the nuclear bomb than the masses who fight against Imperialism with arms in hand. The Chinese vacillate before sending their aid to the Vietnamese revolutionaries but nevertheless this is what they must do. It is not possible to restrain the tendency of the Imperialists to extend the war in Vietnam without demonstrating immediately the disposition of the workers states to take reprisals, to give blow for blow, to make the whole structure of capitalism feel that it cannot get away with attacks on Vietnam. Without doubt this can mean the war but it is the war under the most advantageous conditions. In the United States very important demonstrations have

been realised against the war in Vietnam. This is to say that not even in the citadel of Imperialism can it feel secure to launch the war. It is necessary to make the best use of this weakness of Imperialism by dealing blow after blow and making the workers states joined to the colonial revolution intervene every time not only in Vietnam but in the Congo, in Angola, Guinea (Portuguese), Mozambique, Yemen, in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and everywhere in which a revolutionary civil war develops. The Chinese say correctly that Imperialism is in the position where it wishes to smash ten fleas with ten fingers. It is necessary to take advantage of this, to take the initiative for new aggressive military actions and not to leave it to the Imperialists.

Imperialism is in an enormous crisis. It is evident that it does not know what to do in Vietnam or in the rest of the world. One thing it does know—that it cannot get out, that it cannot abandon Vietnam. Then also it is divided. There is a sector which is pressing for the extension of the immediate war against China and for the world atomic war. There are sectors who wish to negotiate but who do not know how. This is the moment to hurl the resources into a general revolutionary offensive even at the price of the world war! This is the strategy of the revolutionary preventative war! The strategy which corresponds to the interests of the world revolution in the framework of the inevitability of war is to deliver blow after blow. Always to get in the first blow. And to deliver blows everywhere!

We salute the revolutionary expropriations taken by the government of Syria with the intervention and decision of the workers. We salute the decision of Algeria, of the UAR, of Tanganyika and of the Sudan to support militarily the Congolese revolutionaries. But they are limited interventions. It is necessary to form the world united anti-Imperialist front to place all the resources of the world revolution in the movement for the central objectives. Out with Imperialism from all the countries! Down with capitalism! For the installation of worker and peasant governments everywhere! Integrate in the struggle and world revolutionary objectives the political revolution and the overthrow of the bureaucracy within the workers states. Functioning of Soviets! Centralisation of all the political and economic life of the workers states in the hands of the representative organs of the masses! Unification of the workers states and alliance with the world revolution! Revolutionary Mass Communist International!

International Secretariat of the IV International.

Feb. 20, 1965.

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

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

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EDITORIAL

(continued from page 1)

mittees to discuss all the problems and all the events which the Labour leaders never discuss, i.e. the nationalisation of large farms with workers control and without compensation as the solution to the failure of British agriculture; expropriation without compensation of all landlords, tenants committees to fix rents, taking over of luxury and royal properties to overcome the housing shortage, etc. Discuss, enforce working class solutions to all the problems which capitalism and its agents the Labour leaders can never solve. Help the revolution in Vietnam and in Spain by formulating and fighting for a revolutionary programme for the overthrow of capitalism and Imperialism in this country.

THE POLARISATION OF FORCES IN THE ARGENTINE — ON THE ROAD TO CIVIL WAR

Part of the text of the broadcast (Uruguay) on the 5 February based on the exposition of J. Posadas published in "Frente Obrero" under the title "The role of the Peronista vanguard in the organisation of the struggle for a Workers and Peasants Government in the Argentine."

THE Argentine bourgeoisie is seeking to centralise the attention of the masses in the next elections for the partial renovation of the Legislatures on the Federal and Provincial plane. These elections have no importance but none the less are a scandalous block to the workers political and trade union organisations. The Peronista masses who are the immense majority of the country have no possibility of participating; the Justicialista Party, the Workers Party (Trotskyist) and the communist party save in Mendoza cannot present candidates. If such elections take place and the bourgeoisie only allow those who they wish to present themselves it is not because they are strong and have support but because they have made an assessment and know that the Peronista masses have already given their opinion, have voted against the government, against capitalism. This attitude has expressed itself in the massive occupations of the factories, in the struggles of the workers of Smithfield in Zarate, of the workers of ASTARSA, in Siam Electromecanica, of the Lanus factory. If the government allowed an electoral expression of this force it would demonstrate openly the course of the process which at the present is contained, which has not found the means to express itself but which advances and develops as Cde Posadas analysed in the last documents as incipient civil war.

In today's broadcast at the same time that we call for the defence of electoral legality in the Argentine which permits the intervention of the masses and the intervention of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Argentina, we resume again aspects of the analysis recently made (referred to above).

There is no possibility of a capitalist stabilisation in the Argentine. Stability or capitalist stability means financial means to maintain economic development, increases of wages. This is excluded. Neither the capitalist state nor the bourgeoisie has the means. The state can promote credits, give credits. But credits signify inflation. Already there is a vast inflation but even inflation has a limit. They can produce millions with the ticket machine but it is necessary to develop industry. How to develop industry. It is necessary to import machines but machines have to be paid for and with what paper? The proletariat in power can do this but capitalism no, because what moves capitalism is profit. And now a new cycle of development is already vitiated, made impossible through the immense accumulated crisis of capitalism.

ARGENTINE IS PART OF THE WHOLE LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The structure of capitalism is totally rotten, the desperate measures of trade with Czechoslovakia, with the worker states and even with China also indicate in general that the possibilities are liquidated for saving the capitalism of the Argentine. These are the actions of a drowning man. Zavala Ortiz, who was gorilla No. 1, now appears as a defender of trade with Cuba and with Peoples China. He is the same reactionary swine as before but now he sees what is happening and that capitalism is crumbling. This is the situation by which to measure capitalism in the Argentine—the same in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, etc.

The progress of the Argentine can depend alone on the struggle of the masses, with the mobilisation of the masses for the workers programme, for the programme of La Falda and Huerte Grande and in the struggle for the wor-

ker and peasant government. For this even in actions of importance as limited as these elections the bourgeoisie does not permit the open expression of the masses, the development of its political life and the elevation of its maturation which in a situation of political activity as in elections, advances with greater speed.

The bourgeoisie seeks to impede the masses acquiring the experience not only of its own struggles but of the Latin American and world struggle. For this our comrades of the Argentine, the Workers Party (Trotskyist) appeals for intervention in these elections although the government prevents a direct intervention. It is necessary to rectify this, the Peronista masses must intervene to oblige its leadership to struggle. Finish with the whole policy of capitulation and of conciliation! It is necessary to impose in the struggle the programme of Huerta Grande whose base is the development of tendencies and groupings throughout the work places of the masses. It is necessary to learn from the experiences of the struggles of the Bolivian masses. It is necessary to draw upon the experience of Mexico! In the city of Puebla in Mexico a demonstration of students, workers and peasants clashed with the governor obliging him to retreat and went beyond the union leaderships who sought to restrain and contain. It impeded the intervention of the army and such a movement, such an action tends to extend itself now to other cities and other states in Mexico. This is what the Peronista masses must see. Mexico, Bolivia, Vietnam, Zanzibar. This is progress, the other way is to deliver the country to capitalism.

The crisis in the Argentine is impelled in a short delay to the outbreak of civil war. In other circumstances as two years ago there would have been a thousand motives for military coups and counter-coups every day. If the army or rather the high sectors of the army who have great weight and those who dominate have not launched a coup it is because they fear to act. They know that once in movement the masses are not going to stop that they will go onto the streets and that they are going to seek to apply in reality the plans of struggle of the CGT, the programme of the CGT, the factory occupations, workers control. And from there the development and the organisation of dual power. For this they fear and contain themselves.

The elements, the structure for civil war are being prepared. The workers either go little or not at all to meetings but in exchange they maintain a constant political preoccupation, they occupy factories, discuss, support themselves daily among themselves in order not to be blocked by the capitulationist action of their leaders.

This is how the workers movement is living and preparing for what will come. And thus it expects to secure its centralisation despite a leadership which does not appeal, which organises no activity to go forward. If this was not so what impelled one million two hundred thousand workers to occupy the factories? Not certainly its leaders nor the leadership of the CGT but the sentiment, the decision to struggle and the maturity of the class expressed in hundreds and thousands of middle cadres close to the base in the factories and workers areas who are sensible and mature in relation to the class process. This means that there is an important sector of the Peronista proletariat which forms itself, gains experience and matures without waiting for the rest and without awaiting the leadership. This is the Trotskyist sector which Cde Posadas characterised and analysed in the election of 1960 when in Santa Fe the Workers Party gained 20,000 votes in the elections.

But today there is a very great difficulty and that is that this sector is not having a worker and mass class party cannot organise and attract the rest. Thus they form groups, dissolve advance, break up reform and break with

tendencies of every type. The party is a decisive factor in the maturation of the class. But as it is decisive it is necessary to consider that in the Argentine it is not the only one—because joined to the leadership of the workers movement, a leadership who are a gang of bandits there are others who are not consciously bandits. They pursue a conciliatory policy, they make mistakes but they are not bandits. For example, a large number of the metallurgical delegates who follow Vandor are not bandits. They believe in him because their experience, the lack of a party, the lack of a revolutionary party makes them believe as they do. They have no other experience, they have no other centre and act thus. They see that Vandor and Framinin do not always capitulate. They see that they were in accord with the occupation of the factories, that they were in Cuba and that they did not speak against Cuba. The working class are not able to draw conclusions nor generalise as the revolutionary party and in not being able to do this their means of expressing themselves are confused, limited. For this it is of fundamental importance to know how the vanguard is maturing, how the class is maturing and what is the role of the party in this maturation.

Our comrades of Argentina, the Workers Party (Trotskyist) intervene in this process at all levels, its militants are making and developing experience joined to the Peronista masses in the factories, in the workers areas, in the universities, in the workshops, living daily in actions of the united front with the Peronista base.

It is our party of the Argentine and the Peronist base which defends the programme of Huerte Grande. For this the bourgeoisie and the union bureaucracy when they hear the programme of Huerte Grande spoken of say—Trotskyism!

When the party intervenes in this electoral campaign which is taking place, it appeals for the struggle for the programme of Huerte Grande, but at the same time to apply the third stage of the plan of struggle of the CGT. To occupy and control the functioning of all the factories, to demand legality for the masses in the elections and to apply the programme of La Falda and of Huerte Grande. These may be summed up as the sliding scale of wages, no factory unemployed—for equal work, equal salary; a basic minimum wage equal for the single and the married, for men and women; expropriation of Imperialism, support for the Latin American and world revolution, for the Bolivian revolution, for the Cuban revolution; no worker arrested as a political or trade union militant whether in Brazil nor in any other country; recognition of the workers states of Cuba, of Peoples China—to apply concretely the resolution of the CGT in defence of the self-determination of the peoples.

It is necessary to make a united front on the basis of the programme of Huerte Grande, to oppose to the capitalist crisis, to the decomposition and putrefaction of capitalist society, a programme and an objective proposal of struggle to overthrow capitalism and to construct the worker and peasant government based on the unions in Argentine. And this task must be carried out and is being carried out by our comrades of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) in the electoral process.

The bourgeoisie appeals for the elections to elect the SUS deputies. For it organises obstacles and confusions very well—statute on political parties, repressive laws—so that the masses cannot express themselves, and can only decide between one or other of the candidates allowed by the bourgeoisie. But the masses, the revolutionary and class tendency, the Peronista vanguard, the unions, the CGT in a united front with the workers party of Argentine must use the electoral campaign to see that the CGT functions as a workers parliament as commissions, bodies of dele-

gates and that they decide to apply the Battle Plan against the bourgeois policy. If the statutes of the political parties do not permit the presentation of candidates of the CGT and of the unions in a united class front, the workers movement has the strength to impose it. The electoral campaign of the Argentine working class and of its organisations is part of and founded in the struggle for the occupations of factories, the functioning of factories, the functioning of the CGT as a workers parliament in the development of the elements of dual power which already exist, in the preparation of the General Strike to impose the programme of Huerte Grande in the proletarian, anti-Imperialist insurrection in the Argentine.

Our party salutes the Argentine masses, the proletariat and the Peronista masses and our comrades of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) who objectively outside the conciliatory and capitulatory leaderships are going towards the indispensable United Front, and who will be in the leadership in the unleashing of the civil war which is coming in the Argentine.

OUR PROGRAMME

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

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

83 — Trotsky

No. 20

MAY 1965

SIXPENCE

Build a United Front of Industrial, Technical and Professional Workers on the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Capitalist Programme

For the Nationalisation of Steel Under Workers Control and Without Compensation

THE Vietnam crisis has dramatically emphasised the process in which the balance of world forces has moved irrevocably against imperialism. The weakness of the imperialist alliance has been reflected in the rupture of relations between Shastri and the Johnson administration and France's refusal to join in the Seato manoeuvres. Everywhere the process of polarisation of the class forces in the world shows itself and this becomes clearer also in Great Britain.

Whilst the LP apparatus supports the American Imperialists in south east Asia and finds itself opposed by great currents among the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses, it has been forced to yield to the masses on wage demands precisely because it feels that the anti-capitalist offensive is growing and cannot be met directly but has to be placated.

The Callaghan budget was a masterpiece of running hard to stay in the same place with the added quality of bringing out the enormous weakness of capitalism in that the budget contained no sign of anything which implied a real capitalist perspective; the budget was entirely overshadowed by the imperious necessity to raise taxes and meet the problems of the balance of payments. The attempt to curb investments abroad to solve the balance of payments problem allied to the dependence on IMF loans shows the utter decadence and bankruptcy of British imperialism.

FARCE OF BROWN'S INCOMES POLICY

No sooner was the wage restraint plan of the apparatus announced i.e. Browns 3½% than it was promptly rejected by five unions. The union representing the draughtsmen demanded 10%. Similarly four unions representing the clerical and scientific workers rejected it. Miners want 12%; footplatemens and Southern region drivers want 20% more. The postal workers were granted a 9% increase much to the chagrin of the various bourgeois commentators. On top of this NUPE speakers call for an "agressive" policy for the wholesale improvement of hospital conditions and teachers expose the bad designs of school buildings in this "technological age". Capitalism has nothing to say to all this.

The fact that the teachers reject any strings being attached to wage increases, that they express dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic control of education policy, that the NUR is against private hauliers operating into liner train depots that the postmen won their point about not delivering circulars, shows that the desire for workers control over all decisions affecting their lives is developing. Brown now talks of the need for more centralised unions to implement his policy of wage restraint. He will be defied and ignored.

The Wilson apparatus tries to put on a "left" front i.e. vague mootings about ending partition in Ireland, consultations with European social democratic leaders,

threats against the House of Lords. But although the apparatus is forced to go ahead with steel nationalisation — socially alarming in itself at this stage of world history — it is not interested in workers control or nationalisation without compensation. All the suppleness of the apparatus will not save it — the whole question of steel nationalisation demands the intervention of the vanguard who must campaign for steel nationalisation under workers control without compensation.

The necessity to link up the struggle for nationalisations and workers control with the struggle against imperialist aggression in Vietnam was compellingly demonstrated during the Easter rallies formally under CND auspices against American intervention in Vietnam. The speeches were utterly miserable. The various "left" MPs could only display their abject cowardice in front of the nuclear intimidation or imperialism. Imperialists are not afraid of these graveyard speeches; they only understand the superior strength of the masses, they only fear the military and social weight of the workers states. The speeches consisted of moanings, because they were delivered by people who have lost their belief in socialism, who do not understand the struggles of the masses, who feel that the war is the end of their bureaucratic and petit bourgeois lives.

There was no appeal for the mass mobilisation of the proletariat in strikes and demonstrations, no call upon the workers states to intervene with their full military weight. Although these demonstrations were predominantly petit bourgeois there was an element of combativity far ahead of the miserable utterances of the speakers. Thus in a speech where one speaker was expressing fear of Soviet and Chinese intervention some YCIs openly cheered the prospect of such aid. The process leading to the extension of the revolutionary currents is at work and will advance irresistably.

One of the most graphic examples of an anti-capitalist current was the recent criticism in the National Association of

whole Vietnam policy of Wilson and the voting of Ho Chi Minh as honorary president! This is a tremendous indication of the weakness of the LP apparatus and a premonition of its coming downfall. It is interesting to observe that although the bourgeoisie have worked overtime to distract the masses by stirring up racial issues caused — where they are caused — by bad housing, racialism is altogether secondary compared with the massive united front of workers and poor petit bourgeois against capitalism.

THE NECESSITY TO FIGHT CAPITALISM WITH A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME

In the titanic struggle which is taking place all over the world between the forces defending imperialism and those which are going towards socialism, the British masses with a steady momentum are more and more throwing their enormous social weight against imperialism and capitalism. In the past the LP bureaucracy for a series of historical reasons largely isolated the British masses from the full repercussions of

events in other parts of the globe — and this was aided and abetted by the criminal role of the soviet bureaucracy. Today the whole of world capitalism is about to expire, the soviet bureaucracy and its servitors in the CPs can no longer play the counter revolutionary role that they once could — they still conciliate with capitalism but with little hope of success — and the British masses as over Vietnam are feeling the weight of the world revolutionary struggle.

It is necessary to confront the trade union apparatus, the LP and CP apparatuses at every turn with the revolutionary current built on the anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to confront the apparatus for steel nationalisation and struggle for workers control over the steel industry and all other major industries. It is necessary to publicise the struggles of the European masses, to introduce the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe. The United Front of the British masses against the capitalist class is in process of being built in the most favourable historic conditions.

Organise Workers Committees In All Industries

LINK THEM TOGETHER NATIONALLY AND WITH EUROPEAN COMMITTEES

Advance the struggle to demands for Workers Control and the International Anti-Capitalist Front

TWO recent moves by the second largest union in the country, the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU), show the determination of the union bureaucracy to create a complete block to the workers struggle. In a statement early in April, James Conway, general secretary of the AEU, told branches that "any expression of the view of the union must emanate from the executive authority of the union" in accordance with a 1949 ruling. The second move, which is being made under the guise of rationalising the union apparatus, has been the announcement that some branches may be closed down. In fact, Camden Town (London) branch, representing about 600 members, has already been closed down. Thus the official leadership of the AEU aim to get rid of branches that may prove, as has the Camden Town branch to be the focus of militant action. And, at the same time, to prevent the branches expressing any views which the bureaucrats may disagree with.

At the same time, with the coming to power of a Labour government, the process of the union bureaucracy be-

coming part of the apparatus of the capitalist state has been accelerated. A number of well known bureaucrats have taken leading government posts and numerous agreements have been signed by union officials, members of the government and employers organisations. The fact that few of these agreements can be implemented is an indication of the desperation felt by these gentlemen.

However, despite the fact that they are faced with an alliance of government, employers and union officials determined to solve the deeping crisis of the capitalist state at their expense, the workers continue to develop their own 'unofficial' committees as a means of struggle. The latest to join the struggle is the merchant seamen's 'Seafarers' United Committee which was formed recently to campaign against the agreement between the National Union of Seamen (NUS) and the shipping companies. The agreement reduces the working week in port to 40 hours, and gives a pay rise in exchange for a 56-hour working week at sea. As

(continued on page 2)

Guatemala

Interview In The Sierra De Las Minas With Commandante Yong Sosa, Guerrilla Chief And National Leader Of The Revolutionary Movement "13 Of November" Of Guatemala (Extracts)

THIS interview was made by a group of journalists of the Radio, newspapers and Television of Guatemala, and was retransmitted on television in Mexico and New York. (From Frente Obrero, organ of the Urugvayan section of the International).

The military dictators of Guatemala issued a decree prohibiting its reproduction in Guatemala.

COMANDANTE YONG SOSA. Taking advantage of the visit of the journalists present here, I want to send a salute to the peasants and workers of Guatemala. At the same time I want to reaffirm that we are determined to wage the struggle till the end; that is to say, until a government is installed in Guatemala which truly looks after the interests of the exploited classes.

THE GUERRILLAS IN ACTION: GUACAMAYO AND THE MILITARY

Q. Is there one or are there various guerrilla groups in existence?

A. We have actually various groups in action. You will understand that we cannot give you the exact locations, for reasons you will understand. Nevertheless I can say that we have five groups in different parts of the Republic, even though there are some which are apparently not active. But the Dept. de Izabel is where the guerrilla groups have gained most strength.

Q. What happened in the village of Guacamayo?

A. It was an action which took place on the 27 of August, approximately at seven in the evening. It was an action—like those which we will relate later—in which the government has taken a special interest so that it does not come to the notice of the population. In this action we can inform you that the enemy suffered 18 deaths; this information is from a trustworthy source, coming from an individual who has direct relations with the army; moreover they had 5 gravely wounded and others lightly wounded.

In this action we lost 2 companions and others were wounded. The fight was not as the paper "El Centinela" that Pt. Barrios read last night, reported. There they talk of the guerrillas going to stop the traffic; this fight was a chance encounter. The army was camped in a house when our patrol passed this place and an exchange of shots ensued in which two of us were killed and the enemy lost 18 dead and five seriously wounded.

Q. Cde Yong Sosa, can you tell us whether your guerrilla groups participated in some way in the assault on a military bus at the School of Arms Training and Maintenance; this action occurred on the 19 of May of this year?

A. Yes, elements of our movement effectively attacked the military bus of the military school: a bulletin was published in respect to this. I only want to explain that if we had wanted to destroy the bus we had the possibility of doing it, but this action had as its principal end, to demonstrate the incapacity of the government to combat the armed movement.

Q. Comandante, there has been a lot of talk about outside support; they say more specifically that funds are being provided by Cuba. Also in regard to our question, on the case of the kidnapping of Sr. Arturo Samayoa Brama, would you like to tell us what was the purpose of this kidnapping?

A. The purpose of this kidnapping is clear; our movement issued a bulletin about it — I don't know if you have seen it. — It says in the bulletin that we are responsible for the kidnapping of Sr. Samayoa Brama. The purpose is logical, we need funds to maintain the movement. From this it is possible to assure all the people of Guatemala that whatever we do we will make public because we do not want the people to be kept ignorant of what is going on in Guatemala. In relation to the outside help, actually we are receiving nothing, but if anyone from outside offered us help we would accept it with great pleasure and we would be grateful for it as well. Not for ourselves personally but for the worker and peasant masses.

Q. What can you tell us about the

death of the two administrators of the estate of Alsacia?

A. It happened like this: Alsacia is a quite large estate; that is to say, a latifundia, and not all of the land is cultivated. This gave the peasants the reason to physically occupy the land; they made their camps and eventually formed seven villages. Soon the administrators started to harass the peasants, going to the extreme of burning the camps, relying on the support which the government authorities gave. Then they practically destroyed three villages. It went on until a guerrilla as the first step went to speak to the administrator to warn him to correct his attitude of hostility towards the peasants; he invited him to enter into an arrangement with them, a friendly arrangement, dividing part of the estate into small plots, or whatever other form they could find to reach a solution to the problem. The administrator Arturo Gonzales had occasion to neglect our warnings and redoubled his hatred of the peasants, until the decision had to be taken to liquidate him. You must realise that he accused the peasants of going to the extent of occupying the house on the estate and, what is very current in this zone, he accused them of being rebels. Then the army and the police arrived to smash them. Because of this the decision was taken that the individual must be liquidated to finish the business.

Q. And the names of these administrators?

Sosa. (Directed at one of the guerrillas) Conejo what was the name of the administrator of the Alsacia-

A. Gonzales.

Q. Can you tell us the fate of the second administrator?

A. We had nothing to do with this affair, for this administrator was killed with machetes; basically the death of this administrator is related to the land.

Q. Comandante could you tell us about the death of Col. Oliva Valdez?

A. It is public knowledge that Col. Oliva Valdez was a bloody individual; in the zone of Izabel alone more than thirty deaths in cold blood were attributed to him. He was an utterly ruthless man, he was violent and did not act with justice but simply with a hunch that this one or that one was a rebel. He killed with his own hands the denounced person.

More-over, this Col. Oliva had the guerrilla of Concuca murdered — you will recall that time. — Also it has been said of him that he had shot, or it is better to say he had murdered seven individuals, in cold blood after he had captured them.

Q. They were shot "When trying to escape"?

A. Yes, "When trying to escape".

Q. Comandante what can you tell us about the death of Col. Porfirio Del Cid?

A. Col. Porfirio del Cid was the chief of the one of the repressive organs of the Capitalist government. This mobile military police force was composed of individuals of the worst character, blood thirsty men that is to day murderers. This police has specialised since the time of the North American intervention of Castillo Armas in repressing and massacring the peasants of all the country. The Col. del Cid was in charge of the investigation of the

affair of the Padilla Brothers and fell into an ambush... accidentally...

Q. Was it really accidentally?

A. ...Yes... Laughter).

Q. Comandante Yong Sosa; can you tell us about how many casualties in dead and wounded the Movement and the army has suffered during 30 months guerrilla fighting?

A. For our part we have had 17 dead and 3 gravely wounded. On the army's side they have had verified 142 dead and 25 seriously wounded.

Q. Comandante, lately a series of terrorist acts which has been unleashed in the capital has been attributed to you; have you had anything to do with this?

A. Actually our members have not carried out any terrorist act. This is not because we are against terrorism, but because we reject what is not allied to a concrete political end, that is to say, for example that is not accompanied by mass action, strikes etc. We know that terrorism is not the best way of pushing forward the revolution; terrorism in itself is not going to change the situation. Without the precondition that terrorism is allied to a political purpose it can acquire only disapproval and repudiation instead of gaining the support of the people.

A. Do there actually exist any differences between the MR13 and the PGT (1)?

A. We have some differences with the communist party but the principal one is the cause of all the others which have arisen; you have read some time ago the letter which we sent to our friends of the PGT. The problem is this: we cannot agree with the type of revolution that we must carry out in Guatemala. The PGT proposes a nation-

[(1) Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (Ed.)].

Organise workers Committees in all Industries

(continued from page 1)

many seamen are not employed in port — the usual process is to sign 'off' a ship at the end of a voyage and then to sign on for the next trip — the agreement represents a lowering in the conditions of work for many seamen.

The agreement was opposed by seamen even before it was signed and now, with the union insisting that it should be adhered to until next months national conference, the discontent which the seamen feel regarding their official leadership has found expression in the formation of a militant 'unofficial' committee. A member of the 'Seafarers' United Committee' said at a meeting in London that "this is not a fight against the employer, it is a fight against the union". The committee has been urging seamen not to re-sign for voyages — it is illegal under the 1894 Merchant Shipping Act for seamen to strike — and pickets have been out in London and Liverpool. In Belfast the NUS branch have formed an 'action' committee after it passed a vote of no confidence in the union executive. No doubt the seamen have been affected by the success of the dockers who recently won a pay increase under the leadership of the 'unofficial' leadership of the 'London Docks Liason Committee'.

THE WORKERS ARE DEMANDING CONTROL OF THE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS

These committees represent the searching for a new leadership of the workers, a leadership which carries forward the demands of the workers who are seeking their own solution to the problems of the capitalist state. The busmen who were involved in industrial action, in defiance of the official union leadership, formed their own committees which continue to exist after the partial victory. The engineering apprentices

all democratic revolution, that is a government in which there are representatives of the workers and the peasants with the representatives of the bourgeoisie — even though we cannot put a dog and a cat together in a cage because they are not going to get along together very well. In what way can such a government function? That is to say how can you have a coalition between the workers the peasants and the bourgeoisie.

Q. Comandante, do you speak of a national democratic revolution?

A. That is what they say, the PGT.

Q. This is what the letter says surely?

A. The letter and all its documents such as "New Ideas" the paper "Truth", "The Militant", "Workers Vanguard"; In all these they say the same. We believe that in these circumstances the bourgeoisie can no longer play any role (pause). Imagine this case. The Padilla brothers were revolutionaries — of the PNR 44 they said — and it is really funny that they had representation on the Frente Unida de Resistencia (FUR) which was said to be the director of all the political affairs of the struggle and we had to put the Padilla brothers to death, the guerrilla had to put the Padilla brothers to death for being against the peasants! This is a concrete example to make it clear that the bourgeois journalist ... cannot play any role...

Exactly; we do not believe that the bourgeoisie can play any role in the Workers and Peasants government, a government of workers and peasants. It is a question which must be well clarified because it can lead to much confusion. Our position is published in the first number of our paper "Revolution Socialista", where we expound our line and programme, with which we go to answer for it to the masses. Here

(continued on page 3)

organised a committee during their campaign for improved wages and conditions of work and, although the development of this committee has been impeded by those who put the interests of their own small sect (keep left) before the interest of the working class, the apprentices will continue the struggle under their own leadership.

THE PROCESS OF THE FORMATION OF A NEW LEADERSHIP IS GOING ON

The pace of action by workers has not slackened since the Labour government came to power, it has, in fact, quickened with dockers, seamen, apprentices, engineering workers, workers in the brick industry, airline stewards and ground staff, workers in the car industry, clerks employed on the London underground, busmen and many other sections of the working class involved in industrial action in the past few months. These action are spasmodic and unco-ordinated, often taking the form of guerrilla one day 'token' strikes, and are, in the main, completely spontaneous.

It is necessary for a national co-ordination of these workers' committees in preparation for the general strike. The logic of the demands being put forward by groups of workers that range from the comparatively highly paid airline workers to the low paid seaman, is control of the productive process.

Workers' committees must be organised in every industry, organised on a national basis and linked with workers' committees in the rest of Europe. Militants must lead the struggle from questions of economic demands to questions of workers control and the united anti-imperialist and anticapitalist world front.

GUATAMALA.

Yong Sosa

(continued from page 2)

is our programme (showing to the journalists the first number of the paper). In this first number we have made an analysis of the national and international situation and the role which the different political parties can play and we show that the road is the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government.

Q. Can you give us a brief account of the content of the line and programme of the 13th of November Revolutionary movement?

A. As you wish. They are saying that the tape has finished, but we can read the ten points of our programme. We recommended you to read the two numbers of 'Revolucion Socialista' where all our points of view are expressed with clarity.

"THE ARMY IS THE SUPPORT OF IMPERIALISM"

Q. Before continuing with this theme, take a moment to talk to us about the workers and peasants government. Could you tell us what role the army will play in this government?

A. The army as an institution will tend to disappear. This is logical.

Q. Total abolition. Is that right?

A. I think that this question is going to startle all the military men. We have to make ourselves clear on this because this is what is going to happen. I know what their answer to this question is, going to be. The high authority of the army is going to draw up a circular with copies for all the officers: "Look, they are going to murder us all, they are going to annihilate us". Because of this we have to explain.

Q. Because they are going to exploit it in this manner, from now on?

A. We must explain it so that the enemy does not exploit it. For example, in order to answer the question, we must first examine the role the army is playing in Guatemala. I remember that they say that the army exists "to defend territorial integrity" and in order to "defend the legally constituted government"; that is to say, this is what they repeat day in day out in the barracks. Does the army perform this role? It does not. We have not had a war with anyone for 500 years and all the time the warlike possibilities in the small countries are disappearing. There is no reason to think of wars in Central America and less with Latin America; moreover, imagine yourself in the case of an international war, it is not the army which is going to fight, what they will do, will be to decree a general mobilisation, and it will be the peasants, the workers, the students who will really go to the front.

Q. They will recruit people. Is that it?

A. That's it, moreover the army as it is, damages the economy of the country as it means leaving the fields for the barracks.

In order to defend the territorial integrity, in order to defend the government, a workers and peasants militia is necessary. It is because of this that we do not try to physically liquidate the army — only as an institution — with the object of harnessing the millions of dollars which are wasted in the budget of the National Defence, in order to employ it in the best form, in education, road building, health etc. In order to solve definitely the problems of Guatemala, we must be clear that it is necessary to start with demobilising the actual army, so that it disappears as an institution; because, what would happen in the supposed event of a really free election if it remained? It would not be possible to solve problems because it would come directly into collision with the interests of Imperialism and as the army, we can say, is a support of Imperialism it has to come into conflict with the army as well. Thus it is that the president agrees to being president, and is promoted to being a fugitive. (Laughter). I would be glad that this should be posed in relation to the army, that every soldier,

every officer, every chief is made to think that the struggle which is developing in Guatemala is not a military fight but is a social struggle and that also they are not going to believe that the guerillas alone are going to defeat them. The guerillas are only a species of the expression of the mobilisation of the masses, which happens to come to the fore; this is to say that the guerillas are a form of struggle which the masses throw up. These are the correct terms. We are not going to beat them in combat, that is militarily, but what is going to 'check mate' them, is the mobilisation of the masses, the workers and peasants.

Q. Is there sympathy in the army towards the movement?

A. Among the young officers there is a certain restlessness and I am sure that we will gain them as individuals to the movement; the restlessness among them is very marked, we do not say at the moment the soldiers, although the soldiers are of the same families as those who have transmitted all the information. In the barracks, the military element is almost isolated and the families transmit information to them about how the movement is going, what the ends of the movement are, and we are making them conscious. We are already organising soldiers' committees. The organisation of soldiers committees is not with the object of an attack on the barracks but to raise the consciousness of the soldiers themselves.

Q. Is it necessary to take power in order to make radical changes, to transform the economic and social life of the country?

A. Yes, it is, because if you don't make radical changes it is better to do nothing!

Q. Is this a struggle by a leader?

A. We are not trying to push forward any one man. We are trying to form a homogeneous team so that it can be the basis to form a government and the organs of double power of the workers and peasants, of which we talk in our program: it has this as its objective. Also it will be the workers themselves the peasants themselves who will govern. This clearly is the government. You ask me if this was a movement of a leader. It doesn't work like this. 40 or 50 years ago it could have been like this with one man. Now it is the question of the team.

Q. What's your opinion of the UNR candidate, Pancho Villagran Kramer?

A. Listen, he is my friend; but I do not believe that 10 Panchos could solve the problems, such as they are. If in a given case Villagran Kramer could do what he wanted to do by elections, was very brave and tried to solve the problems, the next day he would be in Costa Rica; they would drive him from the country.

Q. And if they encountered a suitable group to support them?

NOTHING CAN BE SETTLED BY LEGAL MEANS

A. They are going to solve nothing, legalistic means and forms, as they think. For example, they had never had a President with as much popular support as Juan Bosch in Santo Domingo. Between night and morning they gave him a kick — as previously they had done to Goulart. He was well intentioned and wanted to solve the problems, but he could not. He was in conflict with the interests of Imperialism and imperialism said: "Boot him out", and so, I think they expelled him to Puerto Rico. Goulart in Brasil made certain agrarian reforms and along came Castello Branco in the Army and booted him out. In the end elections resolve nothing.

Q. A socialist regime is necessary then?

A. Yes, effectively, that's it.

Sierra De Las Minas.

Unite The Struggles Against British Capitalism With The Fight Against Fascism In Spain

The Fall Of Franco Means The End Of Capitalism in Spain And Throughout Europe

Death to Franco !

We received this from our correspondent in Spain.

"You can see how well things are going here; very violently and the strikes follow each other without ceasing. After the demonstrations of the students in Madrid which have taken place also in Barcelona and those which are preparing themselves one must expect and consider the immediate possibility that the regime will yield in some way, allowing a type of free union to the students thus seeking to limit the question and keep face. But this is not the most important think although it is significant.

Above all the workers demonstrations in Madrid and Barcelona and the strikes continue. This has been a thing important enough not only for the number — various thousands but the demonstration in itself... is only a very small affair compared to what is developing in the depth of the movement. According to information, the last demonstration is the expression of the united front at the base from the way in which it has been organised through the demands and through the political affiliation of the organisers (who had been imprisoned before the demonstration as a result of some "tip off") and in the absence of the CP in its organisation. This is completely out of their hands and everybody elses. The Christian Democracy is desperate because it cannot control anything and even if it has collaborated in this, it is terribly afraid.

STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, INVOLVING THOUSANDS OF WORKERS

... on the other hand the regime is not absolutely sure how to cope with the situation which will assume a higher level and which will mobilise in the next few weeks thousands of persons and which will unite in the same process the strikes, the protests now proceeding in all sectors (more than 7000 agricultural workers, of clerks, students, new strikes in the engineering works in Madrid and Barcelona. There is more talk of upheavals in the Asturias. These are the conditions for a much greater movement, but a greater common activity of the masses is still lacking. In every way the government has to adapt

itself to this situation and to yield. It can begin with the students but this will continue and the Christian Democracy will intervene there. Changes are very near and with this the opening to a revolutionary process throughout Spain. The level of the miners is generalising itself with these local movements. There is not yet a national unification, there is not a centre and this is the only reason why the movement has not greater force and power of decision. But the same course of the process will provide these prerequisites in a shortstage.

The internal struggle in the heart of the government, of the apparatus is enormous. Some shout that if any changes are made everything changes. Publicly in the press it is suggested measures must be taken but all these measures for which they ask are measures for change. Even the most fascist sectors cling to Franco but to apply pressure on him; one of them says: "We are not able to return to 1936; impossible. But it is necessary to change. We cannot continue like this. It is necessary to give representation. We have faith in Franco. He will systematise things, he will do all the changes that are necessary.

UNITE THE STRUGGLES TO CRUSH FRANCO WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST BRITISH CAPITALISM

We appeal to the British workers movement to organise mobilisations of the masses in support of the struggle of the Spanish masses for the democratic liberties of the unions, the fall of the fascist regime and of Spanish masses; to appeal to the workers states that they intervene in support of this struggle with all their means. It is not sufficient to organise platonic demonstrations which limit themselves to simple protests as an instrument of pressure on the government; it is necessary to unite the solidarity with the Spanish masses as with the masses of Vietnam with the concrete struggle of the British masses for nationalisations, workers control etc.

It is essential that the vanguard workers relate the struggles of the Spanish masses to crush Franco and Spanish capitalism with the struggle to liquidate British capitalism and its various apparatuses.

"The nuclear war will mean chaos. The bourgeoisie will disintegrate. The tendency of the masses will be to take all power".

Posadas to the Cuban Comrades.

26th October 1962.

Order: — Homage to Leon Trotsky on the 23rd anniversary of his assassination by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

J. Posadas.

9d. P/P from the Editor.

Out with Imperialism from the Dominican Republic

★ ★ ★

Long Live the Revolutionary Masses of Dominica!

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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 80% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the

cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.

4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.

6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.

7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.

8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.

9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.

10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. For a workers government.

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THE ARAB REVOLUTION AND THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

J. Posadas

THE Cairo Congress — the third which has taken place — is the weakest which has taken place until now, not through lack of ideas but as an indication of the social crisis of the African states. At the first Congress they gave a programme, a general anti-Imperialist programme timid but nevertheless anti-Imperialist. At the second they took some important measures equally anti-Imperialist. In this latest Congress they took no important decision.

This Congress shows the contradiction in the development of the African revolution, a contradiction which one can no longer hide behind a common declaration of all the Arab and African states but which on the contrary lays bare the differentiation between the African and Arab states which are going towards workers states and which in consequence do not coincide with the first. The agreement for the diversion of the waters of the Jordan — a reactionary and non revolutionary measure — seeks to maintain the common interest of all the Arab states, not simply to apply pressure on Palestine but as a common ground to maintain their cohesion in the interest of the most right wing sectors of the African bourgeoisie, in the interest of the worst sectors, the most reactionary sectors of the African bourgeoisie.

Algeria, Egypt, Iraq and Syria who are advancing towards workers states—above all Algeria and Egypt — have nothing in common with Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The most advanced states have not exerted their influence. They have yielded to the less socially advanced states. They have yielded. Why? It is the reflection not of the power of Iran, of Saudi Arabia or of Jordan but the fear of the other bourgeoisie, fear of advancing towards socialism to affront the rest of the Arab states. Algeria has sufficient social weight and support, Egypt also; Iraq and Syria have less having more internal opposition but the UAR and Algeria have a real social weight. Why have they not exploited it? Why have they not tried to get the support of the others. They have not discussed the experience of the organisation of the states and the development of the economy. To discuss the organisation of the African states for a common life would mean to discuss on the basis of what social form this life must be. Why did the most advanced states—the UAR and Algeria not use their weight to lead the others. At the first meeting they tried to do this, but they retreated. They feared to meet the opposition of the other states towards themselves and feared to mobilise the masses to make the revolution advance in the other nations. There they showed timidity, the fears of petit bourgeois bureaucratic leaders, their fear of utilising the enormous force which they have to extend the revolution.

ISRAEL IS A CREATION OF IMPERIALISM TO HOLD BACK THE ARAB REVOLUTION

It is a way of defending themselves from the other states and of containing the Imperialist pressure which works through Jordan, and Saudi Arabia in order to be able to pursue the peaceful roads in Africa. It is a passive conservative way of defending itself from Imperialist pressure, of maintaining under this pressure (the other states) in place of releasing them from the Imperialist pressure. This must not be taken as a simple concession on the part of the UAR and of Algeria to the bourgeoisie of the other countries. It is an attempt to defend themselves, to contain the enemy. But they try to contain the enemy in a reactionary manner as with Palestine. To defend themselves from Palestine—and the Arab states are right to defend themselves — there is only one way; the mobilisation of the Arab states to influence Palestine. Palestine is undoubtedly a centre of reaction utilised by Imperialism. This centre is the leadership of the state of Israel. Imperialism has placed it there as a block to act as an element of repression, of terrorism of intimidation against the Arab revolution. But it has not succeeded in containing the Arab revolution despite the state of Israel. There is no historic reason for the existence of the state of Israel but only a counter revolutionary intention to be an axis, a counter revolutionary centre to intimidate, repress, terrorise the Arab revolution. But the Arab revolution already is on the

march, it does not retreat. And now the position is reversed it is Imperialism which must defend Palestine against the Arab revolution.

PALESTINE ONLY PLAYS A ROLE BECAUSE OF THE ERRONEOUS POLICY OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

Algeria, Egypt, Iraq and Syria do not use the force which they possess. To utilise it would mean to develop the force of the revolution in their own countries and they fear such a development. They advance towards socialist measures in a form timid and peaceful, yet in Algeria it is not so peaceful: the tumult there is considerable. They advance in a passive way not because of lack of courage no one doubts the courage of the leadership of the Algerian revolution which has resisted the French imperialists for years—but because there is a lack of ideological security; in that way is reflected in all its historic intensity the absence of the historical influence of the workers states. As we have said in the article on nationalism if the workers states had been able and could today exercise all their influence in Africa all this leadership would lose its timidity, the consequence of its ideological and programmatic insecurity. There is no fear nor bureaucratic interests which are concealed in such leadership as those of Algeria. There is no social fear on their part at this level—they have struck at Imperialism; — if they try to pursue negotiations and to reach agreement with Imperialism, it is because they have no security, either ideological or programmatic. In consequence they wish to conciliate with Imperialism. It is different with the leadership of the communist parties who are the direct agents of the soviet bureaucracy.

In this sense all the leaderships because they do not make the revolution advance under a dynamic form engender a bureaucratic layer which weighs and decides as in Egypt and in Algeria. They weigh and decide and contain the revolution. In them are combined an ideological and programmatic insecurity with a conservative bureaucratic interest. Here where capitalism has no force, the workers states do not use their influence and there is thus created a conception of the possibility of continuing in this way. In the absence of a planification of the revolution, the germs, the bases the reasons for the bureaucracy are of a different nature. The soviet bureaucracy is one thing. The Arab states, Algeria, Egypt are another. To defend themselves, and to maintain themselves to retain in some sense the support of the masses, they are attacking Israel.

IT IS NECESSARY TO APPEAL TO THE ISRAELI MASSES

The fashion of liquidating Israel is to appeal to the masses to take power, to include themselves in the Arab states in the framework of the self determination of nations with a common law and common planification. Undoubtedly the leadership of the state of Israel has no interest in this because it is an agent of Imperialism, but the masses, yes. It is not a question of destroying

Palestine. It is a nation which already exists and whose enormous riches can be utilised. Palestine means the inflow of technicians of scientists, of special ists, of qualified workers, the most valuable part of culture which has been created at this stage of humanity and why lose it? On the other hand capitalism has used it against the Arab states; the Arab states had to utilise them in their favour and to call them to integrate themselves in the Arab states to supply them with all the wealth which they have. One of the greatest deficiencies of the Arab states is the absence of technicians. Capitalism has in fact made a great sacrifice in collective interest to make of Israel a puppet state, and it has sent an enormous quantity of very capable men to it. And not all Palestine is Imperialist —the socialist party is a majority party and the unions have enormous force. The Jewish masses are certainly composed in a heterogenous mass—there is a petit bourgeoisie with a Zionist mentality but it is not decisive. Moreover, Israel has no reason to exist.

The problem of Palestine weighs not because Imperialism has a capacity to make it weigh or that Palestine has a weigh in itself but from the false policy of the Arab states. This false policy is due to the lack of a revolutionary line. The workers states do not present such a policy; and in these states which advance towards the constitution of workers states, the leaders are afraid. They do not conduct a revolutionary policy fundamentally because of the line of the soviet bureaucracy. If the communist parties of the workers states intervened with a revolutionary policy, Palestine would be gained for the revolution. If the policy of the workers states was one of unconditional support for the colonial revolution, if they called for the taking of power in every country and called for the expulsion of the American imperialists, the expulsion of imperialism from Africa, this would provide a base for the fusion of the masses with the workers states. On the other hand present policy is not destined to combat the nationalism of Israel. It supplements the nationalism of Israel it unites the population with the reactionary leaders. But we wish to construct socialism not to create new national units! This is the only means of human progress, the rest is a retreat. In reality this shows the absence of an international communist policy. If it existed it would intervene to orientate such measures. In the absence of the Communist International, the workers states cannot exercise all their influence. In place of diverting the waters of the Jordan it is necessary to appeal to Palestine—“Let us unite! Make the use of the Jordan an enormous source of wealth for everyone!”. Then it is certain that this would attract the population of these countries and would combat the reactionary sectors. The Israeli masses would be drawn to such a programme.

In the absence of the communist international and the workers states not having their world influence, illusions and beliefs arise as to other ways to socialism. Thus thousands and thousands have gone to Israel thinking that they were going to construct socialism. It is necessary to explain to them that this is not the way. It is necessary to make an appeal from the Arab masses to Israeli masses.

And who excels himself against such a line? The assassin Hussein of Jordan who says: “We must divert the waters to defend the interests of the population”. What population? Certainly not the one he has massacred or is going to massacre.

The correct policy to put forward is to launch an appeal to Palestine to unite itself with the Arab states with the Arab states with the right of self determination, for the economic planification of all the states. For this it is necessary to appeal for the revolution and to put the whole weight of the UAR and of Algeria behind it.

A number of people having been to Palestine and returned have said: “What

socialism—there is nothing of socialism”. It certainly is not socialism. It was an immense check, but the desire was for socialism. They went and worked a long time for socialism. The problem is that the Arab states can weigh from the social point of view; today they do not do so. That is why the problem of Palestine is submitted to the development of the world revolution. Imperialism, the present leadership of Palestine and the reactionary leaderships of the Arab states are involved with that.

THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE IS THE ARAB REVOLUTION

Palestine is the development of the Arab revolution and the appeal for unification. Such is the necessary and correct form historically. Such are the questions which are posed at the present; the Arab states cannot exercise any revolutionary influence in Israel for the UAR which has the capacity to this and Algeria does not interest themselves in this. On the contrary the policy of these two countries tends to isolate in one corner the population of Palestine with what they call “Arab Socialism” and thus they tend to oppose themselves, to others. In place of creating a common centre of attraction, they make a common differentiation. This is not the consequence of the delay of the revolution in the middle east, but of the reactionary policy of the CPs and of the bureaucracies of the workers states and in consequence the impossibility of the workers states exercising an influence on it.

If in the Soviet Union problems were resolved as in the time of Lenin and Trotsky such as the problem of nationalities—there were a thousand “Palestines” in Russia which the Bolshevik leadership resolved with self determination of states and integration in the workers state, a correct policy would be placed before the Arab states. And why is it not so today? Because it lacks the leadership, the programme and the socialist objectives.

But at the same time it is not necessary to put in the same category all the Arab states. The discussion in Algeria and Egypt is not the same as in Jordan and they have a timid attitude because they are obliged to confront and respond to an enormous historical pressure which the Arab masses received through the attitude of Palestine in 1956 against Egypt. The Arab masses are not going to forget this: they have a legitimate desire to hate Palestine. But what Palestine? The masses of the colonial countries have a legitimate right to hate England but what England? The imperialists of England and Palestine. If this extends itself in general hatred of Palestine it is through the absence of a revolutionary policy.

If the leadership of Egypt shows that the basis of the invasion of Palestine was a bourgeois policy and that it is possible to break this bourgeois policy calling for integration in a socialist integration, the hatred of the Arab population would disappear. If they extended the revolution to all the Arab states, the Arab masses would see that the same thing could be done in Palestine. But in so far as they shut themselves within national peculiarities or in national limits they foment on the other hand the national limitations of Palestine. And in consequence there is no concrete historic form to attract the Arab and Palestine masses.

One of the bases of the development of the Arab revolution is to exercise an influence over Palestine. But Palestine is utilised at once by the Arab leaderships, as an excuse to hold back the revolution, to destroy the masses. All the policy which is followed and all the meetings which are made in relation to Palestine have as an object the unification of the Arab states in an anti Jewish sentiment. But from all this the states which are gaining are the states most directly geared to imperialism. Jordan, Iran, Saudi Arabia. The Arab states that are developing submit to

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The murder of Malcolm X shows the American ruling class's fear of the mounting Negro struggle

THE attempts to intimidate the political rights demonstration of the negroes in America and the total inability of American imperialism to satisfy the needs of the negro masses, the most oppressed sectors of the American proletariat has highlighted once again the enormous pressure of the world revolutionary pressure within the United States itself. The victories of the colonial revolution in Cuba and Africa have played an enormous role in encouraging the struggles of the negro masses. To a large extent until recently the nauseating petit bourgeois leadership of Luther King has held back the movement but with a world situation becoming more and more explosive plus the acquired experience of the ruthless determination of American imperialism to maintain its class interests, the influence of this putrid leadership is limited.

The situation in the United States is more and more favourable to a rapid radicalisation of extensive layers of the proletarian masses. Here again the process could be vastly accelerated but for the hesitations of the Chinese leaderships (the Soviet bureaucracy is resolutely following a counter revolutionary line against the mobilisation of the negro masses in the USA) and its inability to orientate the white and negro proletarian masses on a programme to overthrow American imperialism. Thus during the tremendous upheaval in Harlem, the pro-Chinese factions presented a militant position but gave the movement no perspective. This present lack of a coherent revolutionary programme and leadership has allowed President Johnson, assassin of the Vietnamese masses to pose before sectors of the world petit bourgeoisie

as a humanitarian saviour. The illusion can scarcely last for long of course because this noble proclaimer of the negroes political rights while he denies their social rights — is going on the road to war quite flagrantly in Vietnam. Nevertheless in the absence of a revolutionary lead from the workers states, Johnson and the Pentagon can disguise their overwhelming political and social weakness in the USA itself by masquerading their concern for justice.

American Imperialism took steps to eliminate Malcolm X who in practice was becoming the focus of the revolutionary sector of the negro movement. He had been seeking international contacts and this in itself reflects the integration of the negro struggles in the USA with the whole process of the world revolution. By this assassination they hope to delay the process but all the activities of the CIA cannot impede the selection of a new leadership.

It is necessary to link firmly the demands of the proletariat as a whole in the USA. The peculiar historical traditions of American history have deprived the American proletariat of an organisation through which it can centralise its interests and exert a pressure. Aarily on the Unions became geared to gangsterism — despite magnificent episodes such as the "wobblies" and the upheavals which led to the formation of the CIO. Furthermore the swift degeneration of the only Marxist organisations such as the CP and the SWP have meant that opportunities have been missed. Nevertheless the speed and favourable character of the world historical process at this stage allow Marxists much greater possibility of intervening.

Palestine and the Arab Revolution

(continued from page 5)

the others. Why? Through fear, through insecurity, through lack of conviction, ideological and political security to advance the revolution.

It is totally incorrect that the Arab masses are tied to the Koran. Undoubtedly the religious prejudices exert an influence. But a revolutionary policy in Arabia in which the masses participate is the most important element to eliminate the religious prejudices. The direct participation of the Arab masses in the planification of production would eliminate in two years religious prejudices. Look at the achievements of the Chinese communes. It is totally wrong that the backwardness of the Arab masses prevents it overcoming the religion of Islam. It is a lie. Such religious prejudices remain now in the economic advance of the Arab states because they do not socially participate in such an advance. The way to eliminate religious beliefs and prejudices is the direct intervention of the masses, where the force and personal security to intervene eliminates "extramundane" influences. The intervention of the masses is the way to eliminate submission to external forces which flow from lack of security and confidence in oneself.

For this the Chinese in a few years with the popular communes succeeded in integrating into their social life an immense peasant community who in their life had scarcely seen any technical equipment. What in the Soviet Union took years of industrialisation to affect the mentality of the workers took the Chinese only 2 years with the popular communes. That is to say that there is a possibility of doing this even today in the Arab states but this requires a revolutionary policy.

Such a revolutionary policy would lead the Arab masses to realise that Islam can be left to the fiesta. It is certain that it cannot be eradicated immediately because it undoubtedly carries weight but the continuation of

religious sentiment is simply a mode of living where no other alternative can be seen. The development of the workers' states eliminates this.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES TRY TO PARALYSE THE ARAB REVOLUTION

If the development of the workers state follows a bureaucratic form like a fiat from on high the masses do not feel secure in themselves because they do not direct, do not resolve and follow only on the basis of this fiat. There is no other way of overcoming the hold of Islam than the direct intervention of the masses. This is indispensable and can be done now. Even in Egypt with the little development that exists the role of Islam is infinitely less than in Algeria. And even so Egypt is very backward.

The most important conclusion is that the only way to eliminate the problem of Palestine is the development of the Arab revolution and the call for the planning in conjunction with Israel. Thus it is necessary to extend the revolution to Jordan, to Saudi Arabia, to Iran, to Ethiopia, Libya, Somalia and to the rest of the countries.

The elimination of the problem of Palestine is the extension of the revolution but nevertheless the most advanced states do not advance it. Not to solve the problem leads to the paralysis of the revolution whose backwardness in the Middle East can be put down to the soviet bureaucracy and to the communist parties which through their counter revolutionary policy do not act as a stimulus or influence but which on the contrary is a source of the paralysis of the revolution and of the justification of the existence of the reactionary leaderships.

The solution lies in the appeal to the revolution, for the installation of workers states throughout Africa and Asia and at the same time to call for the integration and unification with Palestine, with the right of self-determination within the Federation of the workers states of the middle east and its fusion with the Maghreb and the rest of Africa.

J. Posadas.

THE "PRICES CONTROL" FRAUD

ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING NATIONALISATION WITH WORKERS CONTROL

The activities of Mr. George Brown, in his role as Minister of Economic Affairs, have been a series of manoeuvres designed to induce the British working class to allow the Labour Party to try to help solve the crisis of British Capitalism by tying pay rises to rises in productivity. His "Declaration of Intent", in which the bosses and their mates in the Government and Trade Unions agreed to carry on working in their common interest, was made completely farcical by the fact that none of the signatories were qualified to speak for the workers, at whom the thing was directed, because 90% of the strikes in Britain are unofficial and are denounced by the Union leaders anyway. Naturally the workers have ignored it.

Brown struggles on with Maudling's 3½% "guiding light". Desperate to make some form of wage restraint acceptable to the workers, and anxious to impose it before the annual round of Trade Union conferences, he has created the National Prices and Incomes Board. This Board does not have the power to fix prices. It can only make recommendations as to what it considers a "fair price" and make embarrassing remarks to firms which it considers are not selling at a fair price. We all know what the Board will recommend with regard to incomes — 3½%. The appointment of the Tory M.P. Aubrey Jones to head this board was not really surprising although it has raised a few caustic remarks from some T.U. bureaucrats although they did not really object to the Tory policy that this man was hired (at £15,000 a year) to carry out. The objection to the actual policy will come from base of the T.U. and the leaders will be forced to mouth it or risk losing all control of their membership. Nor is it surprising that the Labour Party has adopted the Tory policy. They have done so, not because they have abandoned their Social Democratic principles of a fairer division of the National cake within the bounds of capitalist wage slavery but because the world revolutionary process, i.e. the empirical advance to socialism of the colonial revolution, the masses of the workers states and the workers and petit bourgeoisie of the centres of Capital has tremendously aggravated the crisis of lack of productive investment and make impossible any more significant concessions to the workers. In order to encourage the bourgeoisie to export more goods, the spending power of the British masses must be lowered and if British goods are to be competitive in

a diminishing world market they must strive for a greater degree of exploitation of the working class.

The Labour aristocracy must use these methods to preserve capitalism in order to protect themselves from the workers and their aims of workers control and soviet democracy. British capitalism is now permanently on the drip from the International Monetary Fund with an ever recurring trade gap. The Labour leaders would like to make real concessions to the workers base to try to buy tranquility but they are nursing a very sick system and cannot be generous. The National Prices and Incomes Board takes over from NEDDY and NICKY as the means of sugaring the pill of wage restraint for the masses and will meet the same fate at the hands of the workers economic offensive. The only answer that capitalism can offer in this situation is to transfer the cost of wage increases directly onto the price of their produce, which is no answer at all. They give the workers more money with one hand and reduce its value with the other. The capitalists are admitting, in this fashion, every day, that they are incapable of raising the living standards of the British worker masses who will soon begin to reflect, in ever increasing numbers, on the possibilities of the British revolution.

The cost of living in real terms is an ever rising spiral which Capitalism is incapable of stopping without freezing wages. Prices control can mean nothing so long as production and distribution remain privately owned under the control of the capitalist bureaucratic hierarchies.

The "Price Control" fraud of the Labour leaders must be met by demands which will impose a working class solution to the chaos of capitalism, and will stimulate the participation and raise the confidence of the workers in their own ability to organise production and distribution without the bourgeoisie or Labour bureaucracy; to present openly the necessity to overthrow capitalism and build the British workers state.

...Demands such as all round 30% increase in wages; all wages to rise with the cost of living and commissions of housewives and workers to decide the contents of the cost of living index; are the only demands which meet the needs of the masses. Inflation must be met by the full weight of the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses around the anti-capitalist programme.

BURMA: The revolution advances without a leadership

ALTHOUGH it is difficult to obtain much detailed news about developments in Burma, the tendency towards the creation of new workers states has found expression also in that country. Although the government of Burma is a military bureaucratic dictatorship the weakness of both world Imperialism and the national bourgeoisie has resulted in enormous mass pressures towards the expropriation not only of Imperialist foreign owned properties but also of native capitalist properties. Burma Unilever and the Burma Corporation were recently nationalised (British firms) and this brings all foreign undertakings under Burmese state control. On the home front the state has also taken over all imports and exports, retail trade, commodity distribution, transport and Burmese owned banks.

Although the amount of agrarian reform in real terms is also difficult to assess it would appear that revolutionary changes are on the agenda—thus it would appear that state land committees have been allocating various properties to peasants and now peasants have been absolved from paying land rents to landlords. Recently over 300,000 peasants and labourers, etc., converged on Rangoon to hear Nu Win speaking about the dangers of bureaucratic corruption among the new leaders. Thus although we see the advance of the revolution

only externally in Burma, the whole process points to a great maturity of the Burmese masses and a great impatience to see the total liquidation not only of capitalism and Imperialism but of any new privileged bureaucratic clique standing above the masses.

With these developments in mind plus the spate of nationalisations in Syria, the victory of the pro-Chinese tendency in Kerala (despite a poor leadership), the withdrawal from UNO by Indonesia, quite apart from all the other dramatic events in the rest of the world it is quite clear why world Imperialism is making a stand in S. Vietnam. After all they must launch the war shortly otherwise there will be nothing left to defend.

The bureaucratic nature of the Nu Win government has meant the adoption of neutralist and non-committal policies in foreign affairs but this tendency is bound to alter because of the logic of the process which demands alliance with the workers states against Imperialism. It is necessary that the Chinese leadership as part of the programme for the overthrow of Imperialism in South-East Asia directs appeals to the Burmese masses for the setting up of workers militias, communes and councils and the direct intervention of the Burmese masses in the struggle to expell Imperialism from South Vietnam

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

— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!
RED FLAG

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



The Anti-Capitalist Struggle Is Constantly Reaching Higher Levels

Put Forward The Programme For Extending Nationalisations Under Workers Control In The Unofficial Committees, The Unions, The LP And The CP

Despite the speed of the American intervention in Dominica in their attempt to prevent the appearance of another workers state next to Cuba in central America, the weakness and confusion in the NATO war alliance was never more apparent. De Gaulle criticises the intervention of the Americans in an attempt to gain prestige for French imperialism. Bourgeois commentators openly speak of the collapse and uselessness of NATO.

In this situation ideal for an appeal to the world masses to overthrow imperialism, for the preventative war against imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy endeavours to sustain de Gaulle and obtains verbal declarations from Shastri condemning American imperialism in Vietnam. Unable to crush revolutions, the soviet bureaucracy up to the very last minute manoeuvres to reach diplomatic arrangement with imperialism to block or delay the advance of the world revolutionary process.

The chaos and decomposition of world imperialism is of course reflected in the weakness and crisis of British imperialism under the leadership of the LP apparatus. Economically the huge military expenditures distort the economy and block the aspirations of the masses but the LP apparatus bound to the interests of imperialism has to defend imperialist interests in south east Asia and now has had to intervene in Mauritius to prevent the development of the revolution there, under the usual hypocritical pretext of stopping racial violence. As in British Guiana the policy of the LP apparatus is identical with that of their Tory predecessors — suppression of the colonial revolution.

Due to the absence of a recognised revolutionary centre in this country British imperialism has been able to intervene in such areas without any interference from the British proletariat. This is all the more outrageous because the political social and economic confusion of British imperialism becomes more marked from one day to the next.

THE CAPITALISTS ARE AFRAID OF THE MEASURES THE LP MAY BE FORCED TO TAKE

The unease of the capitalist class faced with the proposals for steel nationalisation and the interference of the new financial proposals in investment abroad resulting from the balance of payments crisis, is expressed by the sharp criticism of the central banks levelled against the credit squeeze and "excessive" government expenditure. The interminable balance of payments crisis is the direct expression of the inability of capitalism to expand production without inflation and at the same time meet the necessities of imperialist defence strategy. The capitalists are all the time afraid of more serious anti-capitalist measures which the LP apparatus might be forced to take in order to meet the demands of the worker base. The attitude of the Tories and big business also reflects their gloom and lack of confidence in the future of private enterprise because of the resolution of the masses expressed in

constant mobilisation around wage demands

The recent local elections although of little significance reflect a continuation of the process clear in the Leyton and Hall Green elections — a tendency on the part of sections of the workers to abstain from elections. To argue that this is "apathy" is total stupidity; the masses at this stage have concentrated their principal efforts in the industrial struggle, gaining as they can considerable concessions here.

The Trade union leadership is paralysed in this situation. The union apparatus passes resolutions favouring wage restraint but at the same time is unable to guarantee anything tangible for Brown's "incomes policy". Nevertheless the completely anti democratic structure of the unions acts as a bloc to the full expression of the social strength of the proletariat. The vanguard workers must more and more call into question the present structure of the trade unions. Officials must be immediately recallable and must have no more than the average wage of the workers. Any amalgamation of unions must be made on the basis of an anti-imperialist and anti capitalist programme. The careerist bureaucrats represent themselves — they must be vigorously fought by the factory committees on the basis of the organisation of genuine democratic union branches.

ABSENCE OF A CENTRE IMPEDES THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

In the absence of an organised workers centre in this country the process towards the revolutionary current can only express itself tortuously. But the vigour of the railway workers in repudiating the governments policy allowing road hauliers free access to the terminals for liner trains, the clash between the safety officials and the NCB which has produced the most widespread stoppage in the South Wales coalfields since the General strike and reflects in a distorted form an anti-bureaucratic struggle, the recent

unusual sit in strikes at Linwood and now at Courtaulds at Preston, the demands for the extension of nationalisations at the conference of ASSET show the constant maturing of the anti capitalist current.

In the enormous social crisis of British capitalism Wilson struggles for time, struggles to barter with the Common Market, struggles to remain in power with a small majority — a new election will not strengthen the LP apparatus or capitalism, it will merely show that the real struggles lie outside parliament. All the apparatuses are on the defensive and in this situation all the Communist Party can call for is the development of a "left" which can "im-

pose a change of policy". The policy of Imperialism will only disappear when imperialism has been overthrown by revolution and the smashing of the state apparatus.

As revolutionaries we appeal to all the serious anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist tendencies to intervene in the factory committees, in the unions, at the base of the CP and the LP to co-ordinate all the struggles from wage demands to demonstrations against Vietnam around the anti capitalist programme, to construct the revolutionary current and leadership to smash British imperialism, as part of the world revolutionary process finalised in the world war revolution.

THE AMERICAN WORKERS MOVEMENT AND STRUGGLE OF THE NEGROES

(EXTRACTS) J. POSADAS

THE Yanks are facing two fundamental problems in the next period; the negroes and the proletariat. The renewal of the contracts with the steel workers and the car workers is actually under discussion. The leadership of the American workers movement is a gang of hoodlums which is based on the workers movement, and in order to sustain itself has to respond to the pressure of the workers movement. The clique of gangsters of the American workers movement, in its intention, its appetite, is no different from the soviet bureaucracy; it is identical. It has a different social base and different social interests but essentially it is the same. The soviet bureaucracy, which has the same intentions as these gangsters, has to support the colonial revolution, in some measure. And these gangsters of the United States have to support certain strikes and certain demands.

There is a differentiation in the team of the leading gangsters of the American workers movement: there is Hoffa of the teamsters: there is the leader of the port workers and there are the leaders of the car workers, of the steel workers and the miners. In the port workers and teamsters, one can speak of an absolute clique of gangsters: the same in electricity. But in steel, in motors and in coal, there is a distinction, because of the nature of the proletarian base, by the concentration which the proletariat has; one cannot talk of it as being the same, for in this case the leadership has to yield more. The barometer of the state of spirit of the American masses is in these industries and in the struggle of the negro masses.

Nevertheless, even if the fight of the negro reflects, in general, layers of the petty-bourgeoisie; when imperialism must yield even in form — because basically it does not — over racial integration, it is not in order to give it a solution today, but to meet an enormous pressure, and to provide a safety valve.

The black American worker is still not intervening in this fight. The essential centres which are the deciding ones, and which will influence the black proletarian masses still have not entered into conflict or combat: Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, zones where there the thousands, millions of negro workers; they still have not entered into conflict. These, in one way or another, are associated with the Trade Union struggle; the auto-workers union eliminated racial segregation in 1938. That it was not actually realised is another thing. But the act which today is signed by Johnson, was already passed in the auto-workers union in 1938, when Ford was obliged to go to the Union to sign the agreement with a negro. A negro was among the organisers and Ford signed it; that is to say the union eliminated racial segregation for class interests.

In order to prevent these mobilisations of the petty-bourgeoisie — which have a great importance, which have a great social significance and have a great influence — in order to prevent these

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Manifesto of the 1st of May from the International Secretariat of the IV International To All The Exploited Masses Of The World

A united world front to crush imperialism and capitalism in Viet-Nam and the rest of the world! — The Worker and Peasant Alliance —! Workers and Peasants government! — For a new world organisation of Workers states and the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the struggle against imperialism! The International Secretariat of the IVth International addresses and calls to all the exploited masses of the world to all the parties, currents, and revolutionary tendencies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and of the developed capitalist countries, to the workers centres and to the communist parties of the Workers States, for the organisation of a single world front based on an anti-imperialist programme in order to overthrow imperialism and on an anti-capitalist programme for the overthrow of capitalism where it still exists, and for the organisation, in consequence of a single world front for the socialist revolution and the setting up of Workers States in all the rest of the world where they don't already exist.

The development of the revolution is violent. All the conditions are favourable for the development of the revolution. Fourteen Workers States exist, they are called "Socialist" incorrectly, with this title we wish to signify that they are states where capitalist property no longer exists, but nationalised property does, a base for the construction of socialism, a starting point in order to construct socialism. There does not exist any socialist state, but still only primary economic measures tending towards a socialist society, a socialist regime. But all the conditions in the world are favourable. As well as the fourteen Workers States existing there are various states still under the capitalist regime but which are more inclined towards a Workers State than towards a capitalist state: Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, South Viet-Nam, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania; and within Tanzania Zanzibar can already be considered as a Workers State. Mali may also be considered a Workers State in a very short time. It is this which gives an immensely favourable relation of forces to the Workers States and to the revolution and to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist fight.

In all the capitalist states of Europe there is a continuous unrolling of struggles, of strikes, of occupation of the factories, of mobilisation of the masses. In Italy and France the communist and socialist parties increased their electoral strength, but at the same time the combative ability of the masses and its will to fight increases. In Italy there is an incessant flood of strikes and occupation of the factories, from the magistrates to the peasants, workers, doctors, transport workers etc. It is the same in France and Belgium. The triumph of the Labour Party in England even with its bourgeois leadership, signifies that the labour masses seek, want, and intend to push the leadership of the party in an anti-capitalist fight.

CONSTANT, UNINTERRUPTED PROCESS OF STRUGGLE

The fight of the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America — where there still exists a capitalist regime, and where they are not yet in a transitional stage as in these fourteen states on the road to becoming Workers States — is a constant uninterrupted fight: in uninterrupted peasant mobilisations, strikes, occupation of the factories, guerrilla struggles, which are developing in Columbia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Brazil, partly in Bolivia, partly in Peru, partly in Argentina, this guerrilla struggle reaches very elevated levels in the country which is the ideological head of the revolution in Latin America Guatemala, where the programme is the programme of the socialist revolution, and which shows how the guerrilla movement is combined and submitted to the fight for the programme of the socialist revolution the only way of being able to advance and triumph.

In the rest of Latin America the development of the struggle of the

masses in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil and Mexico is an encouraging and elevating indication of the enormous power of combativity of the masses and the constant anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist will of the masses. United worker and peasant fronts are realised everywhere. In all of Latin America the worker and peasant alliance is realised in practise; the big peasant mobilisation finds support among the workers, the big mobilisations and strikes of the workers find the support of the peasants. The petit-bourgeoisie is radicalised; the country in which political stability was the most secure of all Latin America, Uruguay, has been constantly under pressure bombarded by the mobilisation of the petit-bourgeoisie, of the workers and of the peasants. In all of Latin America, Asia and Africa imperialism and capitalism has lost and is going to lose constantly in both gradual and dynamic form at a giddy pace the social petit-bourgeois base on which it is based. All the petit-bourgeoisie, all the peasants, all the proletariat are gained for the revolution.

Objectively there is a United front of the Revolution in the world.

In all the countries where the masses enter into combat, be it France, or Italy, or Belgium, Britain, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, the peasant masses join in united front with the workers, the petit bourgeois, with state officials, with the professional petit bourgeois, students etc. There is an objective united front of the revolution.

In Africa, in Asia the masses are constantly mobilising; the masses of South Korea increase their revolutionary combativity, anti government and anti-imperialist combativity, and have recently assaulted police posts, have beaten off the army in constant fights whose character expresses anti-imperialist the will and desire, even if the fight apparently presents itself with an administrative appearance. In Japan there are constant mobilisations of the masses and for the third time the students, partly supported by the proletariat rejected the presence of imperialist agents, demonstrating in order to reject them. The proletariat, in constant demonstrations and strikes, obtains important trade union electoral triumphs.

The proletariat of the colonial and semi colonial countries and of the capitalist countries are united in a common desire to fight, in a common centre: Death to Imperialism! Death to Capitalism! However, all these struggles do not find access to the necessary and logical influence for the world united front: access to the influence of the proletariat of the workers states and the united front with the workers states. While the masses of the world are demonstrating and entering into combat with imperialism and capitalism, whose principal task is contained in the bloody and criminal attempts of Yankee Imperialism to invade and destroy the Workers States of North Viet-Nam, the proletarian masses, the peasant masses, the masses of the Workers States, who

like the masses of the capitalist states desire the destruction of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale, cannot realise a united front with the masses of the capitalist states which still exist, and of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

This powerful wave of influence of the colonial revolution reaches out to influence the actual bulwark of world imperialism; Yankee imperialism. As has been maintained by the IV International, as has been maintained by all the world trotskyist movement, it is in the citadel of imperialism itself, where there is now being reflected in a more elevated form each time, the mobilisations of the masses against imperialism and capitalism. When the first movements of students to Cuba began, which were apparently only small groups, the IV International drew the conclusion that they were the expression of a spirit of growing layers of the American population to oppose Yankee imperialism, to look sympathetically at the development of the workers states. In this way, confined in the citadel of imperialism, without a class workers party, without class trade union organisations, the American students were the advanced expression of a movement much more profound than that which they themselves expressed.

A little while afterwards, in less than one year, new groups of students went to Cuba, and there were actually demonstrations of five, ten, and up to twenty thousand demonstrators, who were not only students but petit bourgeois and workers, opposing the criminal attempts of imperialism to destroy the workers state of North Viet-Nam. These demonstrations were accompanied by the occupation of the University of California by students demanding the democratic right to discuss and to decide; and the demand for political rights in the US can only be a demand against capitalism itself. When the masses make the demand to have the right to be able to speak and discuss, it is against capitalism. The resolution of the railway workers for the nationalisation of the railways, show in important sections of the American worker, student and petit-bourgeois masses, a step upwards in anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist consciousness. This is the effect of the world revolution.

MASSES OF THE WORKERS STATES DEMONSTRATE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

In the workers states, the mobilisations of the masses in support of North Viet-Nam, the gigantic demonstrations in China (which are still limited in relation to the 700 million inhabitants of China) show the powerful objective world front of the masses. The masses are realising this front, constantly, daily, without interruption, showing their decision, their unbreakable will to oppose to destroy, to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, with arms, with all the necessary means. This is the present global situation as it exists.

Imperialism has military and financial means more powerful than ever before, but it has less political means and social capability than it has ever had in history. Its influence over its own base of social support its ability to organise socially diminishes constantly. The conditions are more obvious, more powerful than have ever existed in history for an audacious and resolute attitude to overthrow what remains of capitalism and thus limit for humanity the destruction which the continued existence of capitalism is going to provoke.

There is not a single country in the world where the pro-capitalist parties, tendencies and currents are making

progress. In whatever part of the world is considered, it is the masses who advance and progress in various forms. The gigantic world development of the currents in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is immediately gained by the ideas of the revolution. And it is not only in Guatemala, where there exists already the programme of the proletarian revolution, of the socialist revolution and where they call directly for the armed overthrow of capitalism and for the construction of the workers state, but also in those African countries, in those Asian countries, the struggle is for the socialist revolution. Mali, Ghana, pass directly from the expulsion of Imperialism to the fight for Socialism.

ZANZIBAR TAKES THE SOCIALIST ROAD

This is shown in the declaration of Mobido Keita who shows that even in spite of the enormous backward peasantry of the country, they are directly applying a socialist programme; the declaration of Subandrio, Vice-president of Indonesia, who makes an appeal to the world revolution to finish with what is left of imperialism — which means also what is left of capitalism — on a world scale; the declarations of the leaders of Zanzibar who proudly shows that one year after having beaten capitalism they have already taken the road of construction of socialism and have influenced the masses of Tanganyika. A country of 360,000 as Zanzibar has influenced a country of 9,000,000 in which moreover there still exists a powerful petit bourgeoisie with its own interests, landowner interests and, nevertheless they are influenced by the masses of a little country. This shows that the influence of the world revolution does not stem from tricks, or the ability to make diplomatic manouvers, or financial capacity, but that it is the programme of the revolution which is the influence. The influence of Zanzibar on Tanganyika is the evident and conclusive proof.

British imperialism has tried to support itself in Tanganyika in order to smash Zanzibar, to absorb it to contain the revolution, and the result is the opposite. The powerful force of the programme of the socialist revolution and the struggle for the socialist revolution, involves and has gained the masses of Tanganyika and has forced the leadership of Tanganyika to try to try to co-ordinate and come to an agreement with the leadership of Zanzibar in order not to be dislodged from power and to try to present themselves to the Chinese as the expression of the maturity of the revolution.

THERE IS NO ROOM FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

All this picture shows that, objectively, without a co-ordinated leadership, without a central leadership the objective world process directs itself towards the centralisation and the world united front of the revolution, to apply the programme of the socialist revolution in the struggle. This is the objective. There is no place for peaceful co-existence, for diplomatic manouvers, for agreements, for deception, in order to contain imperialism and capitalism. There is no possibility to overthrow capitalism by means of persuasion, by reasoning, by economic strength or economic and social superiority.

Yankee and world imperialism understands and has sensed that it cannot oppose to this advance of the world revolution measures of social and economic progress. The measures they have tried have failed, and the European Common Market is the highest ex-

(continued from page 2)
pression of this failure. In spite of the gigantic development of the monopolies and the concentration of capital in the European Common Market, in spite of the gigantic concentration of capital in the countryside and the liquidation of hundreds of thousands of small peasants and the concentration of the agrarian production, the European masses increase their struggles around the socialist and communist parties, and increase also the level of their living conditions. That is to say, the only thing that the Common Market has achieved and can achieve is the concentration of gigantic monopolies and trusts, but it cannot achieve a historic solution, social development, necessary to respond to the needs and requirements of the life of the masses.

Yankee Imperialism loses constantly its economic capacity on a world scale. It has no confidence in the development of production, of productivity, of the investment of capitalism, of economic and commercial competition, because in spite of its power and its concentration of capital which is getting larger and larger, the development of the revolution is going to take away from them areas of investment, of exploitation of profit. The advance of the revolution has made it clear that the principal enemy is not the commercial development of the workers states, but the world development of the revolution. Because of this the principal part of their budget and their preoccupation is directed to be military preparations.

The response of Imperialism to the development of the revolution in South Viet-Nam is an irreputable demonstration. Against a little country, which economically does not have any importance — as Cuba also which has no economic importance in the world — imperialism is dedicating all its forces. North Viet-Nam is the centre of the world crisis which could lead to the unleashing of the atomic world war. When such a country leads to such a crisis it is not because of its own economic or social importance, but because it is the centre which promotes the maturing of the conditions for the outbreak of the war on a world scale and because imperialism cannot allow any more the advances of the revolution. When imperialism defends and supports a small gang of criminals who govern South Viet-Nam, sending the majority of its fleet, a great part of its army, dispersing 3 to 8 million dollars a day a finance to war, it is because it does not feel itself capable of allowing a new workers state, it does not feel able to allow the development of the revolution, and feels that the loss of South Viet-Nam is the development of the revolution in all Asia, and in consequence, is the less of a

The Manifesto of the 1st of May

principal area of support for capitalism.

When capitalism needs to defend such a small portion of land, it is because socially it does not feel confident or capable of competing with the development of the world revolution. This shows how vain the illusions of those people who believe in the possibility of peaceful co-existence. Imperialism cannot accept peaceful co-existence, but can only profit from it to arm itself, to try to delay the process to continue to exist and gain time. If Imperialism could have already unleashed the atomic war it would have done so. The last speeches of Johnson, speeches in which he cynically spoke of peace — in Vietnam and at the same time he was sending 7,000 more marines, more ships, fighter planes and is going to send atomic arms, were directed in part to the American people to contain the enormous pressure of layers becoming more and more important who rebel against the imperialist policy of American capitalism, and who clamour for the independence of South Viet-Nam and demand the bringing back of the fleet from South Viet-Nam. But at the same time as it is directed at the American masses, it is also directed at the Soviet Bureaucracy and seeks a front of agreement with it, a point which acts a wedge in the Sino-Soviet dispute and widens it trying to gain time historically.

When capitalism cannot base itself on its own strength and must have recourse to such secondary measures, it is because it does not feel capable either socially or politically of sustaining itself; and has to use military means. Trying to gain time by profiting from the policy of peaceful co-existence of the leadership of the workers states and of the Communist parties, it tries to gain historical advantage, nothing more.

Nevertheless, it understands that it cannot have a great success because it cannot really intervene in the Sino-Soviet dispute and the consequent party splits in the world to sustain itself.

At the same time as it tries to profit from such divergencies it increases its fleet and its military power.

The capitalist countries of Europe, as in the case of France, appear to take up an intermediate position in Viet-Nam and in Asia. This is totally false. France dedicates the most important part of her resources and energies to the preparation of the war, to the development of nuclear arms, to the reorganisation of the army, to greater fire power etc. The retreat of French Imperialism has been forced by the revolution, British Imperialism, German

Imperialism dedicate the most important part of their resources to military preparation. This is the reply of imperialism to the policy of peaceful co-existence.

FOR A NEW WORLD ORGANISATION OF THE COUNTRIES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

This 1st May shows that capitalism is in greater retreat than ever before. The recent discourses of the Pope are not devoted to attacking communism nor do they appeal to the catholic flock against communism but are appeals for a peaceful united front. In a cynical form, the Pope in the name of world capitalism, calls for an agreement between the workers states and capitalism, calls for an agreement to prevent world disputes resolving themselves in war, when previously a few years ago the Pope was concerned to stimulate the capitalist world to prepare the war. Today they are similarly preparing the war, supporting secretly the preparation of the war and counter revolution. But the Pope is obliged publicly to appeal for agreement. In part this is a cynical attitude directed to the catholic masses who do not want war and are against imperialism and capitalism, but partly it is an expression of the fear of the church that it is going to disappear, that it has no decisive role and that its historic mission allows it to play no role. It is not the Pope nor the blessings of the Pope which determine the will of the masses, but the resolution and will of capitalism to defend itself with blood and fire. Thus imperialism places its trust in nuclear weapons and not in the handshakes of Krushchev, of Brezhnev and of Kosygin.

The force of the revolution is today less contained than ever before. It is necessary to find the road for the united front. Imperialism is trying to win a victory or an agreement which means a defeat for North Viet-Nam and for South Viet-Nam, in order to reassure the world bourgeoisie and to sustain and raise its morale. American imperialism is conscious that the invasion of North Viet-Nam would create immediately a world wide response from the masses and an upheaval in the workers states liquidating peaceful co-existence. It would be an uprising of the masses against capitalism on a world scale, it would be an impulse which would crystallise the world united front of the masses with the workers states and hurl them against capitalism. For this reason it does not invade North Viet-Nam, hence its fear and its tactics; even so it is resolved to invade it and invade China. Its game of sending spy planes and other planes close to the coast of China are not simply pinpricks but they are feints to see the attitude of the Chinese. And the attitude of China shows that they are disposed to defend the workers state with war, whatever the consequence.

The masses of the workers states are longing to intervene. It is ridiculous to suppose that the masses of the workers states are indifferent to the world course of the revolution. If the masses of the capitalist states and the masses of North America realise mobilisations, campaigns, movements, demonstrations against capitalism, the masses of the workers states are equally ready. They

cannot realise demonstrations because their leaderships do not allow this, sabotage them, prevent them coming onto the streets. Nevertheless it is necessary to seek the road which links the will and the mobilisation of the masses of the workers states with the proletarian and exploited masses of the capitalist states of the world.

The mobilisations of the masses of the workers states will have a revolutionary effect on the masses of the United States above all; a powerful and decisive influence in the revolution. For this the bureaucracy of the workers states do not mobilise them either in the unions or the communist parties because it fears the revolutionary influence.

It is necessary to find the road for this mobilisation and this unification. The United Nations have shown that they are a nest of bandits. It is not possible to expect from them any favourable reply to the will and the interest of the masses of the world. The United Nations is a centre of unification and of co-ordination, of the conciliation of the interests of the soviet bureaucracy and of the bureaucracy of the communist parties with the capitalist states of the world. It is necessary to break with the United Nations and to organise the constitution of a new world centre of oppressed nations on the basis of an anti-imperialist programme.

In the same way that the masses of the colonial countries have an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme it is necessary to make an appeal for the unification of a new organisation of oppressed nations with an anti-imperialist programme. It is a simple form, the means of a world organisation for a world united front of the oppressed masses against imperialism and against capitalism.

The workers states have to play a fundamental role at this stage. It is necessary to make an appeal so that the workers states beginning with the Soviet Union break with the United Nations, a nest of bandits who defend capitalist interest and the soviet bureaucracy, to realise a new world organisation of nations on the basis of an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. It is necessary to formulate a programme of self determination supporting the right of national liberation by force of arms, unconditional support for the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial nations to free themselves by arms at any time, unconditional aid from the workers states to the colonial and semi colonial revolutions, support for those countries about to become workers states. It is necessary to support them economically and militarily to advance towards workers states by concluding with nationalisation of property and the expropriation of the land.

It is necessary to appeal to the exploited masses of the world to organise themselves in militias, to arm themselves. It is necessary to call upon the masses to reject being drafted into the capitalist armies and on the contrary to organise themselves in popular militias such as those formed in Zanzibar which overthrew the imperialist and capitalist power in Zanzibar and to appeal on this basis for the organisation of new workers states.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

It is necessary to appeal immediately for the example of Guatemala to be followed. There the guerillas have shown that it is possible to pass from the guerilla struggle to the struggle for the socialist revolution impelling the guerillas to co-ordinate their movement with the masses of the city, peasants, petit bour-

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LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The Belgian Section Intervene In The Elections

THE Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (trotskiste) the Belgian section of the IV International have put forward a complete list of 11 working-class candidates in the region of Charleroi, an industrial town in the south of Belgium, for the elections to the Belgian Chamber which are taking place on the 23rd May. This is the first time since the liberation that the trotskyst party has put forward candidates in the elections, in Belgium. This presentation of candidates does not mean that the POR(T) has any illusions or supports the parliamentary game; parliament is incapable of solving the problems or granting the demands of the working class. But it is nevertheless a means of uniting the force and the will of the masses who are struggling throughout the country against capitalism; stimulating their activity and participation in strikes and anti-capitalist actions, pushing forward the struggle for the formation of a united proletarian front on an anti-capitalist programme on the road to the taking of power by the working class.

The electoral platform of the POR(T) is a revolutionary class pro-

gramme with which the party pushes forward the united proletarian front, and the development of a revolutionary tendency among the Belgian masses.

The Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (trotskysts) has engaged in the campaign with great confidence and dynamism. They have already received a great support from the working class of the Charleroi region in the fact that they collected the 400 signatures necessary in order to be able to put forward a list of candidates. This support was the culmination of a campaign in which the P.O.R.(T) intervened with its propaganda, the systematic selling of their paper 'Lutte Ouvrier' from door to door, leaflet distributions, bulletins giving information on the progress of the campaign, posters and daily meetings at factory gates in the working class districts.

The intervention of the POR(T) in these elections, under the leadership of the IV International, has a profound significance not only for Belgium itself but for the rest of Europe including this country.

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of his assassination by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

J. Posadas.

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OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the

cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.

4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.

5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.

6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.

7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.

8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.

9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.

10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. For a workers government.

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geois and workers in order to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. In the colonial and semi colonial countries in their immense majority - Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, the struggle against capitalism is the struggle against imperialism. The only form of the existence of capitalism in these countries is based on the material, social, financial and material aid of imperialism, without which it would not sustain itself.

Thus it is stupid to seek to appeal to the masses against imperialism without uniting this to the struggle against capitalism and without uniting it to the armed front in the form of the militias, in the form of guerillas, in the form of the socialist revolution. There is no other way of struggling for or of preparing the liberation of these countries. The struggle for democracy, for independence for the rights of the masses to speak, give opinions, assemble, decide and raise their condition of life is united indissolubly with the struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. There is no other way of achieving democracy and improving the social and economic conditions of the masses.

These are the present conditions of the world, and the immense possibilities for the masses. Everywhere the masses unite their programmes and elevate the struggle on the basis of minimum and partial demands with anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist demands. Not only is this true of Guatemala but also of the struggles in Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, and the African countries. In countries such as Tunisia which a little time ago were under the control of a pro-bourgeois stratum agents of French imperialism it is now necessary for these people to speak of a Tunisian socialism, but a "socialism" of a particular muslim variety. When Bourguiba has to speak of "Muslim Socialism" it is because he must give answers to the enormous pressure of the masses, has no way out under the banner of capitalism and has to feign a development which acquires socialist forms to contain the revolutionary development of the masses and to avoid the formation of independent revolutionary tendencies.

There is a need for the organisation of a world united front of the masses, of a mass communist international, an organisation of the oppressed peoples of the world, of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, a new world organisation of nations in combination with the workers states. It is necessary that China joins with Indonesia, with Viet-Nam, make an appeal for a new organisation of nations with an anti-imperialist programme which unifies the struggle of the masses of the world in the form of armed revolution and of insurrections to smash imperialism throughout the world. There is a need for anti-imperialist and anti capitalist programme. There is a need for an appeal to the workers states, to the unions, to the workers centres, to the communist parties of the workers states — the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, etc. — so that they intervene in the united front and appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow capitalism. It is necessary that the workers states send unconditionally every class of aid: militias, arms munitions, atomic arms to hinder the continuation of imperialist attacks and to help those countries which are on the roads to becoming workers states such as Algeria, Indonesia, Burma, Iraq, Syria, Mali, etc.

ORGANISE THE WORLD UNITED FRONT OF THE EXPLOITED MASSES, THE WORKERS STATES AND THE OPPRESSED COUNTRIES

A world united front is necessary in an immediate form, on the basis of the situation of the masses and of the peculiar conditions of each country with a programme of specific demands, of anti imperialist struggle for a world united anti imperialist front with a programme of the expropriation of the land, surrender of the land to the peasant, worker and peasant alliance, guer-

The Manifesto of the 1st of May

illa struggle, armed militia of all the population, arming of the masses in the unions, the workers areas, the factories to intervene immediately in the struggles, unconditional defence of all the workers states, not one step backwards in the conquests of the workers states; out with imperialism from North and South Vietnam; reply with the revolutionary war of the whole of Asia to the provocations of American imperialism and of world capitalism to invade and destroy the workers states of North Vietnam and to impede the formation of a new workers state in South Vietnam. But it is necessary to make an appeal not with declarations but concretely: China must mobilise the millions of its population. In China they must make demonstrations of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred million people, they must mobilise the immense majority of the population, to prepare the armed military intervention to aid North and South Vietnam. China must make an appeal to the masses of the world to rise against imperialism. The Cuban CTC, the PURS, the government of Cuba must appeal to the masses of the world to intervene directly in South Vietnam, to appeal to the masses of Latin America to unify in a world united front and in a united Latin American anti imperialist and anti capitalist front.

There is no isolated Sino Soviet crisis. There is a crisis of growth of the workers states which struggle to advance and develop. A public discussion is necessary on a world scale of all these events and of this crisis which is united to the struggle against capitalism and against imperialism. The Sino Soviet crisis is part of this situation. It cannot be separated from it. Cuba is a reflection of this. The crisis which at present exists in Cuba is part of these events and of this crisis. The only way of solving the crisis in Cuba and the so called Sino Soviet crisis is the struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. The only form of unification of all the workers states is the programme of the world socialist revolution.

The most decisive, most rapid, least costly path for humanity, the one with the least risk, is to overthrow capitalism as quickly as possible. Capitalism will reply with the nuclear war and is preparing for this but it has not succeeded in terrorising — nor will it succeed — the masses, nor has it contained the revolution with its blackmail. It is mad to believe that it is possible to prevent the nuclear war. Imperialism seeks it as its only salvation. The discussion which exists at present in the United States shows this. In front of the cynicism of Johnson who declares that he is disposed to peace in Vietnam while he provides more nuclear arms, ships, planes, while he continues to bomb North Vietnam, while he prepares to invade Cuba and to invade China, it is mad to draw the conclusions that it is possible to contain imperialism with negotiations. Imperialism tries to gain time and nothing more with negotiations, because it has no other path or base. The only way of saving human lives and moderating the damage of nuclear war which world capitalism is going to unleash — is to overthrow as the Chinese and Indonesians have recently declared. The vice President of Indonesia declared that it is necessary to reply with the revolution to the attempts of imperialism to enslave independent peoples, at whatever the cost. This is the same declaration that the Chinese government has made.

It is necessary that the European proletariat and the proletariat in every country struggles to overthrow capitalism with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme; that the European masses, that the revolutionary currents of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the revolutionary tendencies who understand that it is necessary and are decided upon the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle, do not wait upon the leaderships of the socialist and communist parties but take the initiative to organise united fronts even on limited and small scale — in

the factory, the workers area, states, provinces or countries with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme which will impel and stimulate the struggle of the world masses.

The conditions are mature. The communist and socialist leaderships have no interest and are against the development of the revolutionary struggle. The leaderships of the workers states are opposed to the revolutionary struggles of the world masses because they fear to lose their own bureaucratic privileges. They conciliate with world capitalism for the benefit of these interests, thus the policy of peaceful co-existence. It is necessary that these currents who understand and feel the necessity of the revolutionary struggle, advance resolved and audaciously because they will have an immense echo in a very short stage.

It is necessary to prevent imperialism from organising on a world scale new attempts at invasion, at repression and provocations on the workers states as in North Vietnam. It is necessary to do this before imperialism can gain more time and arm itself more. The more imperialism arms the more damage it will cause to humanity. The more time passes the more imperialism will be able to inflict greater damage and destruction to humanity. It is losing its social base, its political base but it is augmenting its military and financial power, its concentration and capacity for destruction. Only the revolution can prevent imperialism inflicting greater damage with the nuclear war.

The IV International calls upon the exploited masses of the world, upon the revolutionary leaderships, currents and tendencies of the workers states, of the capitalist countries, of the colonial and semi colonial countries for the organisation of the united front in struggle even initially on a small scale and with small tendencies to launch with resolution the

struggle for democratic and trade union demands united to the programme of anti-capitalist struggle, appealing to the masses for the occupation of factories, statifications, expropriations to stimulate the revolutionary struggle and advance of the masses to brush aside the leaderships who oppose themselves to the revolutionary struggles of the masses. It calls upon revolutionary currents which exist in the workers states to hurl themselves into the struggle for the programme of socialist demands, for the right of the democratic liberties of the masses of the workers states that they intervene decisively with all the material, military, economic and financial force to defend the workers states against the attack of imperialism and that they appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow capitalism, beginning with the programme of immediate demands in every country, with the peculiarities of every country with their democratic and union demands, united to the programme and to the appeal for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front with the petit bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat to overthrow capitalism.

The petit bourgeoisie is gained for the revolution. The peasantry is gained for the revolution. The proletariat is on the march in the struggle for the revolution. The world united front evolves irrevocably. The Fourth International calls to the leaderships of the workers states, particularly to the leaderships of China and Cuba, to the revolutionary currents which exist in the advanced and under developed countries that they throw themselves decisively and audaciously into the struggle to push forward this campaign throughout the world, to prepare in a short stage the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale.

The International Secretariat of the IV International.

20 April 1965.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO STRUGGLE

(continued from page 1)

attracting and reaching out to unify with the industrial zones, they will sign the bill of racial integration.

From the point of view of the social interests of Yankee Imperialism, from Johnson to General Walker and the John Birch Association, all of these have interests in maintaining segregation, because it is a means of social pressure against the masses and also of exploitation. Racial integration, if it happens, is going to have as a result, not negro votes, but the raising of their fighting spirit and that of the white workers and the white farmers. When they sign a law which in some ways is a rope to hang themselves, it is because they accept the least evil, because they feel that 'winds' are going to reach also, Detroit, Pittsburg, Chicago; that is to say, the heart of the industrial centre of the United States. And the pressure reaches there not through the white proletariat, but through the negroes.

A series of demands has been made by the workers movement, and among them those which marked the elevation in the level of the struggle of the American proletariat, the 40 hour week: increase in holidays; and the vital central thing is that the weight of the demands is not for an increase in salaries but for an increase in holidays and less hours of work, a lowering of the age for retirement and pension. In America where there is no class party, there are class trade unions, because there are the workers, but they do not have the norms of the class struggle. The demands mean an enormous elevation of the level of struggle of the American masses. Chevrolet is prepared to pay when they ask for an increase, but it is not prepared to grant the shortening of hours or the lowering of the retiring age. In the same way it is prepared to grant longer holidays but not shorten working hours or a lower retirement

age. And the social political and economic calculation of these people (Chevrolet) are the following: the 40 hour week will mean that we will have more workers who are working and afterwards it will mean a social stimulus which tomorrow will cause them to ask for other things.

They feel that such a demand is not the direct consequence of the mechanism of struggling for salaries, for better conditions of work but is going to imply an anti-capitalist class struggle, that the existence of the capitalist boss is in dispute. It is not the agreement as before when a bureaucrat came and they discussed 20 cents or a dollar; no, today they are discussing a programme which means putting the capitalist in question. It implies workers control. They would not make such demands if they did not have the consciousness to apply them, of feeling themselves strong and capable of imposing them. And they feel resolved to intervene to control. This is in the United States not in France or Italy.

This question of the importing of technicians on the part of imperialism is not an occasional state of affairs; there is a real exodus en masse from all Latin America. There is a list of technical cardiologists. They import an immense number of technicians and all the time they are looking for more. Before they have scholarships, now they import technicians. This shows the decrepitude of the system. It is not only the assassination of Kennedy which shows their decrepitude but all this as well.

With respect to the political, economic, military influence of Yankee imperialism, the blow has fallen. Its economic power is more powerful than ever (notwithstanding the fall in its reserves); the Yankees today produce

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EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Organise Workers Committees In All The Industries

Employing Women

On November 6th, 1963 a strike was called at the Lucas Camp Company factory in Birmingham and over 600 women walked out in protest at their low wages. The women were later joined by some 300 men who struck in sympathy. This was one of the first strikes in the engineering industry called over the issue of equal pay for women. The strikers were, later in the week, persuaded to return to work by union officials 'pending talks'. As usually happens when things are given into the hands of union officials no satisfactory settlement was obtained. However, the important thing is that men and women united in action on this issue.

In British industry women comprise a third of the labour force, and, in some sections, are in a majority. For instance in catering 73% of the labour force is women and in textiles 53% of the labour force. However, the average national wage for women (£8-16-4d. in 1964) is only half that of the national average for men (£17-12-5d. in 1964). This great difference is partially explained by the fact that wages are low in industries which have a predominantly female labour force. Even in these industries women often receive lower pay than the men they work with. The inequality of pay is most obvious in the engineering industry which has a minority of women workers (27%) and, in which the piecework rates for women are often half that of the rate for men. In other words for a woman to receive equal

wages her production would have to be twice that of a man. Agreements do exist in engineering that provide for equal pay for men and women. These agreements were negotiated during the early 1940's when a large number of women entered industry, but they are rarely, if ever, enforced.

It is impossible for the workers not to see the danger of this particular form of cheap labour. In retail distribution, an industry which has the largest number of women employees (61% of a labour force 1.28 millions strong), the average wage is extremely low. The same is true of the catering industry which has a large majority of women. The capitalist class faced, as it is in this country, with a large, highly centralised working class needs to produce or perpetuate divisions among the workers. Thus race, colour, sex and youth are all used to create divisions in the ranks of the working class.

It is important for militant workers to explain to their fellow workers the importance of the issue of equal pay to all workers regardless of sex. 'The rate for the job' is a basic principle of the workers movement. Workers! take action now to destroy this source of cheap labour and to create unity between men and women which will strengthen the workers movement.

No economic discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or youth!

THE AMERICAN NEGRO STRUGGLE

(continued from page 5)

a car in half the time that was required 15 years ago.

They had 670,000 miners, today only 240,000 and yet production is the same. That is to say an increase in technical performance and production which is immense. The Yanks make a series of atomic arms for which an elevated level of scientific capitalism is required and also elevated an immense productivity. The automobile and steel unions have published statistics which show how the labour force has diminished by 20% but nevertheless produce much more than before. The miners union was for some time the most powerful union; today it is a union of third rate importance because the miners do not play a powerful role in production. Although it is certain that petroleum and atomic energy production are displacing coal under the capitalist system, coal is still necessary. Capacity has increased but not the wealth of the American people. And, the effect of this immense weakness is that the number of unemployed does not fall below four million. And they accept this evil as a permanent evil. Just as it is accepted in the capitalist system that the semi-colonial countries have to depend on the export of primary commodities so they accept the four million unemployed as a magic number. When its falls below this number they make an incredible hurrah. The CIO analysed the position as an increase in consumption, an increase in production but no decrease in unemployment. Similarly although employment increases — because employment does increase and every year an immense number are incorporated in the labour market yet some are not absorbed by production and there is always a remainder. The only means of eliminating this chronic evil would be to augment exports.

The present attitude towards the negroes is simply a very general calculation; it is an attempt of imperialism and of all the North American capitalist class to meet the tremendous pressure coming from the mobilisation of the negroes. But the mobilisation of the negroes has been in zones of very little social influence in the class struggle

such as New York, Manhattan, partly in Philadelphia areas close to New York; vital centres which are the industrial zones have not been attracted to these present mobilisations. But even these mobilisations are differentiated from the rest — they mark the direct intervention and the initiative of the negroes; not a defensive attitude but an offensive attitude. The mobilisation in the South was over education, and defensive; but in New York and Philadelphia the negroes took the offensive and demonstrated in thousands. Even though incoherent, even though only demonstrations reflecting an aggressive spirit against oppression, when in New York the negroes take initiative, this indicates a high degree of aggressiveness and combativity.

THE CONDITIONS ARE MATURE FOR A WORKERS MASS PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

The problem of the negroes in the United States is one of the most important and richest phenomena. It has not reached great conclusions, apparently it has ended, but it is necessary to realise that this is taking place in North America where there are no class unions — there are mass unions but not class unions; there is no workers party, consequently there is no political differentiation among the masses. When they mobilise, it is not only through the direct pressure of the colonial and African revolution; it is an error to attribute it only to the pressure of African revolution; it is an expression of the spirit of the masses from within the country.

A revealing test is that Yankee imperialism has not succeeded in developing, nor has it tried to make any demonstration against Cuba; the Cuban exiles have done so, but Imperialism, no. Why? Why doesn't it make the negroes demonstrate against Cuba? Why doesn't it in Detroit, arrange a demonstration of 30,000 workers? Because they would go beyond it; certainly they would shout: "death to dictatorship; 40 hour week; down with Fidel Castro! paid holidays! It is possible that they would shout something against Cuba, but joined with this they would certainly make demands against their own bourgeoisie. If imperialism has not made a demonstration it is not because there is no social base to

Letter To The Cuban Comrades On Their Release From Prison

J. POSADAS (Extracts)

The freeing of our Cuban comrades is a historical event comparable to the greatest advances of the revolutionary struggles of humanity. It is an advance indicating the unceasing progress of the revolution. Our fight and intransigent activity and that of the Cuban comrades has led to this advance. We greet and embrace with greatest happiness, solidarity and revolutionary fraternity the freedom of our Cuban comrades.

They have known to maintain intact, pure and in uninterrupted combat, the revolutionary dignity and immovable basis of revolutionary principles. In spite of the ignominious imprisonment that they had to suffer for more than a year and a half, they have not allowed themselves to become discouraged nor have they submitted to any unconscious reaction outside objective revolutionary interest.

The masses of the world and of Cuba have seen and have felt the activity of imprisoned Trotskyist comrades, the Trotskyist militants and the IV International, putting in the first place the unconditional defence of the Cuban Workers State and of the world revolution even before Party interests, and the freedom of our comrades. The liberty of our comrades imprisoned in Cuba will be, and is part of the world revolutionary development, advance and progress.

In jail, our comrades were dedicated to impelling the revolution to raising the fighting capacity of the prisoners in defence of the Workers State of Cuba. They were made responsible for giving courses in Marxism. Our comrades were dedicated to that activity with all their sense of responsibility and revolutionary objectivity in order to impel the revolution.

In the name of all the International, of the exploited masses of the World, of the masses of the Workers States, of the colonial and semi-colonial masses, who fight against oppression we embrace and are as one with the revolutionary firmness and responsibility of our comrades and of our Cuban section of the IV International.

We also remember, with all the force and the affection of our revolutionary conscience and will, — Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. In this historical stage of human progress the liberty of the Trotskyists in Cuba is principally a consequence of the firmness, certainty and historical conviction of Leon Trotsky, who was always sure of the final victory of the historical necessity — "Trotskyism". The Left Opposition in the Soviet Union is part of this world triumph of Trotskyism. With its firmness, persistence and continuity in fight it has been and is a factor of principle importance for the development of the world revolution, for the vigour, certainty and historic firmness of the revolutionary cadres, sectors and centres that in the Soviet Union have known and know now how to sustain their revolutionary principles and objectives. These have struggled and struggle, while they await the historical moment (not far off), when they can

impel and revive the socialist revolutionary advance in the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. Their struggles are an indestructible part of the progress and ascendancy of the political and socialist world revolution. All of them, as Leon Trotsky, are an indestructible part of world revolutionary progress.

The main reason for our happiness is that we are verifying, in our difficulties and hardships, that the International has a concrete historic function, and that our irrevocable decision to defend the principles of the proletarian revolution and of the Workers States has impelled groups, sectors and tendencies who stimulated by the objective process, come to realise the necessity of revolutionary changes in the policy and in the leadership of the Workers States.

The forces and tendencies that have collaborated in Cuba to free our comrades are still unconscious but this event signifies that a tendency is advancing which seeks to support the revolutionary struggle of the world masses.

The freedom of our comrades in Cuba shows that the fusion of Trotskyism with the ascendant course of the world revolution is beginning to express itself in an organic form, albeit indirectly and empirically.

The Trotskyists were jailed because of the Cuban bureaucracy's reactionary political interests. If a counter revolutionary tendency were to triumph anywhere in the world or if the revolutionary necessity was passive and conservative there would be no force or factor to assist in the liberation of Trotskyists in a Workers State. In full crisis over Vietnam, in Cuba and the Workers States, the bureaucracy and counter revolution have not had the historic strength to murder Trotskyists as they did in another period. Now the Trotskyists are liberated.

Our International, all our leading cadres, militants and sympathisers have played a principal part in freeing our comrades. They have imparted the influence and strength of our revolutionary positions and objectivity.

The liberation of our Cuban comrades is an historic event indicating that the final settlement with capitalism is advancing quickly, dynamically and with a vigorous, rhythm. We must not expect immediate results from this liberation. But we can expect them in a short period. We are entering the stage of a fusion of the IV International with the world revolution, in a united front "sui generis" with those tendencies which seek to impel the revolution albeit timidly and empirically. On the basis of these conclusions it is necessary to develop the work of our section. In the name of the International Secretariat of the IV International we embrace with great affection our Cuban comrades and all our sections who by their revolutionary activity have gained the freedom of our comrades in Cuba.

J. Posadas.

allow this; it has a social base. It is undoubted that Johnson has authority over the petit bourgeoisie; they do not arrange it because the petit bourgeoisie can be a source of agitation not only against Cuba but for the demands of their own North American masses against Yankee capitalism and a source of social differentiation.

The essential preoccupation of Yankee imperialism is to impede social differentiation, to impede a workers party. And if they have given so many facilities and so many privileges to the union bureaucracy, it is not only because they favour the corporations but from the social and political class policy, to impede the formation of a class party. For this they pay. If they allow gangsters — gangsterism is not always a necessity

sometimes it endangers them — and American society has to allow it for its normal functioning, it is because it is a means of preventing the organisation of a class party although not a workers party but a class party. Thus in every stage of the election and in every important stage of the class struggle in which the union bureaucrats make demands, one of the means of persuading the employers is "After all we can make a workers party". In every important moment the aim of Yankee imperialism in signing the law of racial integration is to impede the pressure which comes from the negro petit bourgeois, trying to seek a solution to the democratic social demands by means of a new party, whatever this might be. This is the decisive conclusion.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

— Trotsky

No. 22

JULY 1965

SIXPENCE

Unify the Workers Offensive Against the Incomes Policy

All Wages To Rise With Cost of Living

WORKERS CONTROL OVER RYTHM AND CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION

THE complete failure even before it started of Wilsons Vietnam "peace" mission shows the total paralysis of British imperialism. Many of the "Commonwealth" leaders inevitably refused to support the mission fearful as they are of mass pressures in their own countries. From sheer necessity to do something Wilson was forced to propose such a diplomatic manoeuvre. The Vietnam crisis has exposed the LP apparatus in all its weakness and to maintain some prestige with the petit bourgeoisie, whose discontents were reflected in the university "teach ins" Wilson had to undertake some initiative and inevitably failed completely. In 1959 Macmillan could make a trip to Moscow for talks and although these talks produced nothing could use the fact for some electoral advantage. However the world revolution has accelerated at such a pace that it is now impossible for such diplomatic manoeuvres to disguise the collapse of "peaceful co-existence".

The Chinese refused to discuss Vietnam with Wilson and with direct statements pointed out that such political stunts will not ease the pressure of the British masses upon him. However the Chinese policy towards Vietnam and the world revolution still lacks coherence and support of the Vietnam masses is confined to general militant statements and indirect support, whereas the situation demands full military intervention against imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucrats also refused to meet the Wilson peace mission—they dare not. The advance of the political revolution in the Soviet Union itself is part of the advance of the world revolution. The Soviet leaders only make anti-imperialist noises supported by their allies in the various Communist parties, such as the British Communist party. The best support that the British masses can give to the struggle of the Vietnam masses is the struggle to overthrow British imperialism. The orientation of the British Communist party is to engage in such stupid and objectively counter revolutionary activities as medical aid to Vietnam and committees for "peace" in Vietnam—all with the object of diverting serious revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

On the economic front British imperialism continues its unstable course. The president of the TUC, Mr. Woodcock, in a recent statement said that full employment always resulted in instability of prices and that the way to solve this problem was to hold down wages; he called it an incomes policy. He implied that the only alternative to holding back the workers standard of living was unemployment. The whole statement was a thinly veiled threat to the workers but the workers show little inclination to be intimidated by Woodcock, or his fellow bureaucrats. A member of the leadership of the National Guild of Telephonists put it quite clearly when he said that the executive of the Guild would have great difficulty in restraining their members from taking industrial action.

In the atomic energy commission the manual workers have refused a pay increase of 11 per cent which is three times the "norm" set by the government. This is just one example of the determination and militancy of the

workers in this country. On the London docks the workers have been refusing to work overtime during the weekends and have been doing this for months. The dockers have been able to do this because the London Docks Liaison committee continues to function and to provide an organising centre. The dockers created this unofficial committee during the successful struggle earlier for an increase in wages.

The pressure of the mass of the workers for an anti-capitalist programme in this country is reflected in the demands being made for more nationalisation. The National Union of Farmworkers has demanded the nationalisation of the land and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering workers, the largest trade union organisation in the country, has demanded the nationalisation of the aircraft industry. These demands are not only the idea of the union bureaucrats—who sense the weakness of capitalism—but the result of the pressure of the workers at the base of the unions.

FOR A WORKERS CANDIDATE ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The Leicestershire miners withdrew their support from Woodrow Wyatt because he opposes the Nationalisation of Steel, the miners must replace him with their own candidate immediately recallable by the miners themselves.

The total paralysis of the bourgeoisie and the LP apparatus was never more obvious. The leadership of the Tory party is entirely limp in this situation—much sound and fury in Parliament but with no ability or prospect of maintaining anything more than criticisms of the LP bureaucracy;

although there is no doubt that they are alarmed at the prospect of the LP being forced to put forward anti-capitalist measures.

With the continuous economic crisis there is no doubt that the attempt to hold back wages will be affirmed by the government, and it is certainly not excluded that a mixture of world trading conditions and deflationary policies may at some stage lead to a higher rate of unemployment. The statements of Aubrey Jones indicate the lines upon which the government is thinking. The LP apparatus is caught in the most terrible vice—it has to defend capitalism and at the same time hopes to maintain some sort of support in the working class; thus it has been forced to subsidise London Transport to prevent fares from rising.

Recently foreign bankers were openly demanding a harder line in relation to wage increases in this country. The workers must crush any attempt by the capitalist class to solve the problems of capitalism at the expense of the masses. In the course of the struggles over wages, over conditions of work, over how best to aid the struggles of the

Vietnamese masses, the social and political basis of capitalism is being called into question. The parliamentary game is meaningless; Grimond proposes alliance of Liberals and Labour from fear of the consequences of future elections destined to show the utterly hollow nature of capitalist rule. To meet the developing united front from below of the British masses he proposes to prevent any parliamentary embarrassments by a united front from above against the worker and petit bourgeois masses.

It is essential that in a situation which is weakening capitalism dramatically and preparing with amazing rapidity the conditions for socialism that the unofficial factory committees adopt a full anti-capitalist programme and that the comprehensive policy of nationalisations under workers control allied to basic demands such as the 35 hour week, etc., is pressed particularly in the trade unions so that they act as a centre to some degree of the workers struggle at this stage against the reactionary pro imperialist policies of the LP apparatus and the conciliatory "parliamentary road" of the Communist party.

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE ARAB REVOLUTION

On March 13, 5,000 Bahreini oil-workers came out on strike to demand the reinstatement of 185 of their dismissed fellow workers and they were supported by the entire population.

Seventy people including women, were shot dead by the British officered police. The Bahreini police refused to fire and soldiers from Muscat were thrown in to quell the rising.

This sudden and violent outbreak is a very clear illustration of the spirit of the Arab masses, their determination to overthrow imperialism, and bring about a real social change. It is not peculiar to Bahrain but is repeated throughout the Arab world, from the most socially and economically backward Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf to the more advanced countries of Egypt and Syria; everywhere the masses, men, women and children, are intervening constantly in strikes and demonstrations to destroy what is left of capitalism. There have been strikes by the oil workers of Qatar, Abu Dhabi, and Saudi Arabia, there are guerrilla struggles in the Oman and Aden, student demonstrations in Libya and Morocco; everywhere constant struggle, which even without a Marxist leader-

ship, is all the time gaining new victories.

Nevertheless, although the absence of a Marxist revolutionary leadership does not halt the process such a leadership basing itself on an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme and stimulating the whole mass of the population to intervene to carry out this programme, would immeasurably accelerate revolution. Without such a leadership, the revolution advances in a jerky uneven manner, in which at different times different countries become the transitory focal point of the whole process, and in which, periods (short from a historical point of view) of stagnation can occur. And the responsibility for this uneven development lies with the Soviet Bureaucracy and the Chinese leaders, who have aided the Arab revolution only in a bureaucratic administrative way, supplying arms and money to the leaders and never directing an appeal to the masses, never assisting in the building of Arab workers political organisations.

While all the masses of the Arab world show a common determination to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, there is a great division among the

The American Invasion and the Development of the Socialist Revolution in Dominican and Latin America

J. POSADAS (Extracts from article of May 4)

All this creates the basis for the weakness of capitalism. Imperialism does not fear for itself directly in relation to Dominican but fears the influence of Dominican in the rest of the world which will stimulate Latin America to continue on the road of revolution. Success in Dominican would provide a more stable situation for the development of the Latin American revolution. For this reason imperialism intervenes to block the process.

The direct intervention of imperialism shows that it has no confidence in investment nor in its own armies; nor in the Latin American bourgeoisie nor in the Communist parties nor in the Soviet bureaucracy. It has no confidence in any of them. Thus it intervenes directly with some 55,000 men.

Imperialism has determined to confront directly all Latin America by invasion and intimidation to impede the development of the revolutionary tendency in Dominican. Imperialism has reached the end of the line. If it were otherwise it would not act in this way because it is weakening its position from the socio-political point of view on the international level. This shows that the imperialists are disposed to go to war whatever the consequences and immediately. This goes against all the possibilities of co-existence, of alliance for progress, of agreement with the Communists, of alliance with the Latin American bourgeoisie. It clashes with all this. It clashes with the masses with the petit bourgeoisie, with the bourgeois governments of Latin America. Imperialism loses all its social and political bases.

The enormous potentiality which exists for the revolution in Latin America has been shown by the events of Dominican. Here under a military dictatorship preventing the intervention of the masses and killing the masses for years, a military uprising was immediately pushed forward and stimulated by the masses who impelled a wing of the military to go forward. And even with the invasion of 55,000 Yankee marines the masses dominate Dominican and arms in hand feel themselves masters of the situation. The whole policy of peaceful co-existence is in ruins.

The consequences of this situation are going to be a greater aggravation of the crisis of the Communist parties, of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the Sino-Soviet dispute and of the imperialist strategy itself. There are sectors of imperialism who wish to take a line which represents them as something other than open and complete reactionaries before the Latin American masses; and to give an opportunity to other governments in Latin America, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, so that they can appear as an alternative to Communism. But imperialism knows that this is impossible and it is dragging behind it all the Latin American bourgeoisie.

The war being waged and which will be waged is determined by what happens on the ground. They can use all manner of planes, bombs, ships, but it is on the ground where the struggle is defined. And the Yanks would need a thousand million men to control what they wish to control. If to control the capital Santa Domingo, which has 300,000 inhabitants, they have to send in 55,000 marines, how are the Yanks going to dominate the world. In addition the army of imperialism is receiving an enormous demoralisation because it is playing the role of an executioner.

There is no army in this epoch of the world colonial revolution which can

exercise the role of the Yankee army without decomposing. They wish to make an army of professionals, of technicians. De Gaulle proposed this type—which he proposed in 1934 and 1945: an army of professionals, of people devoted to making the counter revolution.

One of the conditions for the defeat of Hitler was not only that the Soviets could triumph but that Hitler's army decomposed. In the defence of Stalin-grad all this army decomposed—the proof is that 280,000 men surrendered when they did not have to surrender. The decomposition of the army comes about not only through defeat but from the function which it exercises and even more in this epoch. This happened at the fall of the Roman Empire: the decomposition of the Romans began because its historic function had already finished. And today the historic function of the Yankee army is that of being executioner of the world masses.

UNITE THE STRUGGLES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN MASSES

The decomposition of the army of imperialism is accelerating; although they rely on selected troops. In the Congo to assassinate the Congo masses who struggle for their independence the imperialists recruited 2,000 professional assassins—the dregs of society. Half of them deserted, demoralised by the heroic struggle of the Congolese masses and by its own role as an army of assassination, meeting a people without arms who fought for its liberty. Children, old people, women, men fought with all possible means against imperialism.

The soldiers of North America feel and will feel more and more their role as executioners and assassins trying to smash peoples who fight for their liberty. Within North America the North American masses will feel and feel the same effects. Recently 40 North American students refused military service, as protest against the invasion by imperialism in Vietnam. It is sufficient to see that Johnson launches a series of discourses and declarations not for external consumption but for internal consumption; to justify, to maintain moral, and to terrorise. All the speeches of Johnson and of the Assemblies of imperialism all the Yankee press is directed to maintain the morale of the soldiers, of the army and of the American bourgeoisie; but above all the army and the soldiers. And this because the soldiers in Indo China, in Laos, Cambodia, Congo, Cuba, St. Domingo and in the rest of Latin America meet hate, hate; they see that they have no progressive function because they see that the people are not only against them but that they are resolved to defend themselves and fight with rifles against artillery. This decomposes the army. There is no army which can sustain morale in these conditions. The less so in 1965 when there are 14 worker states, when the colonial revolution and the masses of the world with whatever weapons are combating the Yanks.

It would be impossible for Dominican to resist the 55,000 soldiers if there were not hatred in every one for the imperialists.

Within the Dominican masses lies the will to change the social regime. The origin of all this was the desire to impose a constitutional government—within ten days it was not a question of a constitutional government and the masses were going to decide. Within ten days there was an immense evolution in Santo Domingo from a consti-

tutional defence to a declared anti-imperialist action. When there is such an attitude this reflects a maturity in the masses, the loss of authority by imperialism. The masses here are very poor, exploited, very backward from the point of view of the conditions of life, but from the social historical point of view it is one of the most advanced in the world. Present in this is not a simple national will to impose a candidate. What is passing in all this is a historic national revolutionary will and a revolutionary civil war.

It is a revolutionary civil war which inevitably leads in the minds of the masses to a workers state. When the population of St. Domingo has resolved on such action it is because they are resolved to change the social structure, the social capitalist regime of Santa Domingo.

Before this movement in Dominican there was no political activity, the masses were not organised in a party, they could not function under a dictatorship. There were some strikes of transport workers and dockers. Apparently the masses were quiet, there was no political and class action. But the fact that in six days all the population was involved shows that in their interior life the masses were living, feeling the desire, the necessity, the will to intervene.

Dominican is a measure for the rest of Latin America. All those countries apparently quiet Nicaragua, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala must be measured by Dominican. Apparently there is tranquillity, small groups who intervene, but it is sufficient for a movement to acquire a certain importance and it attracts the masses immediately and the masses take into their hands the leadership or try to take it, to give to it an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front.

An important conclusion which shows the will of the masses and their pressure is that a little group of officials who intervened were transformed by the population. At the beginning this group was not trying to go as far as they did; they did not intend more than a military opposition, a military struggle. But the action of the people in the streets, the will expressed by the masses to seek to intervene and to use arms influenced and stimulated a number of the military and the people were appealed to. They could not go back on this. It is no longer a question of Bosch.

The people did not know how to use arms but they learnt. They learnt in one week what they were not able to learn in years. When they are so decided to use arms it is because within themselves they wish to direct, determine and change the social regime. This is the consequence of Dominican. If not they would not use arms. This is the image of all the rest of Latin America.

THE OEA AND UNO, A NEST OF BANDITS

The attitude of the Latin American governments is total cynicism and hypocrisy. When they accuse imperialism and condemn it, they take no measure to act upon this condemnation. They fear to appear at the side of imperialism to confront the masses hence they take the resolution to condemn. But it is simply appearance it is not a decision. If it was a real condemnation they would demand for example the expulsion of imperialism—not only from Dominican but from the United Nations, from the OEA—and withdraw the ambassadors of Latin America. Nevertheless when such declarations come from Chile, Mexico, Peru and even from Uruguay, declarations which condemn

imperialism as counter-revolutionary as imposing the armed will of imperialism against the masses, it is because they are responding to the enormous pressure of the population.

One example is the change of the Mexican government from a certain passivity in relation to Dominican. It went from the first position in which it expected a quick withdrawal of the Yankee troops to its declarations in the Congress of CEPAL, demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Yankee troops and declaring that Mexico would support Self Determination and non-intervention and the free right of the peoples to have the government and social regime which it desires; admitting Communism in fact. It is a reflection of the enormous pressures and conditions and of the objective situations of which they are conscious. Thus on the first of May they said simply "we are against the intervention, they must go" and they washed their hands of it. Five days after they make an aggressive attack on imperialism. It is not their political decision but the enormous pressure of the masses which makes them so act.

The declaration of Diaz Ordaz like the declaration of all the Presidents of Latin America—and in particular of Frei—follow the same road. It is directed to prevent the organisation of revolutionary tendencies and of independent revolutionary actions of the exploited masses. This appears in the declarations which Portes Gil made recently: "We must retake the road of the socialist revolution". This is the attempt to block the development of revolutionary tendencies. Similarly the change in the declarations of Diaz Ordaz comes from the enormous pressure of the 1 May, the banners of the electricians, of the FOR, of the textile workers. And this expressed the independent will, the independent action of these sectors. None of them expected anything from Diaz Ordaz to make these demonstrations.

PRESSURE OF REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS

From this we must observe that the declaration of Diaz Ordaz reflects that within the PRI itself, within the wings of the government, of the official party in the whole of the base of support to the government, a current is seeking a way of expressing itself through revolutionary ways. This confirms our previous analysis.

Yankee imperialism exerts pressure on the Latin American governments saying to them: "If we leave Dominican this means a new Cuba, a new revolution".

This is the basis which unites imperialism to all the Latin American governments. There is complete solidarity between the Latin American governments and imperialism. Even in their attempt to seek to differentiate themselves from imperialism to appear as independent to maintain the electoral support of the masses, these governments cannot take any measure of importance any serious measure because they are united to imperialism from the same fear of the development of a new Cuba. Everything is a total hypocrisy which all the governments display before the masses.

But at the same time all this signifies the greatest weakness on the part of imperialism and shows that the path towards new revolutions is irreversible and in a short time there will be war. Imperialism cannot remain impassive; it cannot resolve issues by discussing when the revolution advances.

(continued from page 2)

They are not interested, from the point of view of their reactionary imperialist interests, in leaving, Domenica because their leaving would be an advance for the revolution.

Within a short time there will be new conclusions, new advances in the crisis of the Sino-Soviet dispute, of the Communist parties, as also of the bourgeois governments, because the masses of the world have seen, and are going to see and feel that the OAS and UNO are worth nothing. And they are going to hope for nothing from the parliamentary point of view, from judicial decisions or decisions of agreement between governments.

OAS—FRONT FOR IMPERIALISM

All this is an impulse, showing the masses that it is necessary to take power by force. Because of this we say that the objective course is Trotskyist.

The OAS is simply a theatre in which in one way or another imperialism always dominates. To have passed the leadership of the army from the Americans to the OAS is not really any change. To admit that the OAS can decide to send troops to St. Domingo is already to admit in principle, that whatever the movement in Latin America—not only revolutionary but movements in opposition to imperialism—it can be suppressed by the OAS, no longer in the name of Yankee imperialism but of the OAS, of all the Latin American governments.

Basically, in reality, imperialism has gained an enormous success with the OAS resolution; and they gained this as much from those who abstained as those who approved. Imperialism has already set the precedent; any event in Latin America is going to be used by the OAS or imperialism to stifle the revolution.

The communists, the socialists the governments of Chile and Mexico, etc. talk as if imperialism was guilty of everything. It is not only imperialism, it is capitalism. None of these governments can take any other action than that which they have taken. They cannot call for a struggle against imperialism, because this would damage their own capitalists interests. Basically this is the intention of some governments as of Mexico, and Peru; simply diplomatic actions which are destined to try to develop the interests of the national bourgeoisie and resist imperialism. But nothing more. The bourgeoisie cannot offer any more resistance; not because it does not want to, but because it cannot. If it made a greater resistance, if it called for a demonstration, this appeal would be not only against imperialism but against capitalism.

It is not a question of the bourgeoisie not having enough courage or means, or that there are reactionary sectors who do not want to resist imperialism; it is that the capitalist regime of any country cannot make any other resistance.

The only way to oppose imperialism is to call to the armed masses to oppose it, expelling it from every country. And no capitalist government is going to do this. What they have done is the maximum they can do. And imperialism has shown that it is not disposed to restrain itself for any democratic question, for any democratic clause or principle.

Santo Domingo shows that on a world scale that the problem is a question of the capitalist system or the socialist masses.

The heroism of the Dominicans is indescribable. Encircled by imperialism which has 55 thousand men, the Dominican masses resisted for eight days; and they are confronting the new occupation of imperialism. This is going to have an enormous effect on the American masses, which is going to see Yankee imperialism confront the people, which sees the Dominican masses resisting the military power of imperialism and the resultant courage and anger of the Dominican masses.

It is going to have an enormous effect on the American, as much as Viet Nam or Cuba. Because they are going to see that imperialism has no authority or credit, but simply armed force. They are going to feel that its regime has its strength only through its arms and not through any social economic or moral superiority. It is an enormous effect which is going to push forward the development of the revolutionary current in the United States and the same in the rest of the world.

The United Nations have shown, once more that they are a nest of bandits, as have also the OAS. Imperialism has gained in that the Latin American governments, the bureaucracy, and Cuba, and the other leaders of the workers states, have brought the discussion to UNO which is going to resolve nothing, and is moreover the centre of conciliation, blackmail and mutual agreement between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism.

Imperialism has done this (the intervention) under the United Nations and the OAS. That is to say, it did not expect any organisation such as the UNO or OAS to intervene in defence of the rights of self determination and non-intervention. They are simply hypocritical organisations to deceive the masses and to play the game of speculation, conciliation and regulation between the capitalist sectors and the workers bureaucracies. The masses of the world must reject the OAS and UNO.

THERE MUST BE AN APPEAL FROM CUBANS AND CHINESE

The Chinese and the Cubans must launch an appeal for a new organisation, with the states who are fighting for their independence against Yankee imperialism, forming a new organisation of the Chinese and the Cubans and the greatest possible number of States to intervene directly in support of the colonial revolution.

It is the duty of the Soviet workers state not solely to launch a protest against the American intervention, but to appeal to the masses of the world to oppose Yankee imperialism. The Soviet Workers state, the Chinese Workers state and the Cuban Workers state must make an appeal to the masses of the world to rise against capitalism, to expel

IMPERIALISM
IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE
CGT OF ARGENTINE, THE CUT
OF CHILE, THE COB OF
BOLIVIA, CALL STRIKES AND
DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST
IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION
IN DOMINICA.
FOR A LATIN AMERICAN
GENERAL STRIKE.
EXPROPRIATE ALL
IMPERIALIST ENTERPRISES
PLACE UNDER WORKERS
CONTROL.

ADVANCE OF THE POPULAR LIBERATION FRONT IN BRAZIL

"The IV International unified with the Popular Liberation Front calls in Brazil for the insurrection to overthrow the pro imperialist dictatorship.

We publish below statements of the Popular Liberation Front composed of representatives of the Brizzola movement, of socialist and social Christian groups, of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), Brazilian section of the IV International, of the CGT and other anti imperialist organisations.

This is a programme of the united front with precise tasks: the revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship. In spite of the limitations of certain positions there is a really revolutionary content which we support with action because such action leads to the liquidation of capitalism in Brazil in the permanent process of the revolution in which the struggle for the land and democratic rights can only be victorious with the triumph of a worker and peasant government. In this process revolutionary nationalist tendencies progress who have not yet been given this objective consciously but from whom the revolutionary marxist leadership of the masses will be selected. The single manifestation of this movement produced panic in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre and in the other principal towns of Brazil. The distribution of the manifesto in Porto Algre forced the government to confine the troops to barracks. The manifesto was read over the TV to show that the insurrection was beginning.

It is of fundamental importance to publicise the formation of this front and to appeal for solidarity to accelerate the actions against the Brazilian "gorillas", against imperialism, against capitalism in Brazil and throughout Latin America and the rest of the world.

(Extracts from the first week in April issue of Voz Proletaria paper of the Argentinian section of the IV International).

EXTRACTS FROM THE MANIFESTO

"Have no illusions on the situation in Brazil after the coup by the "gorillas". Treachery, violence and imposture have occupied the country. In the name of democracy, they strangle liberty, annul the election of deputies, dismiss senators, suppress elections. In the name of God they violate respect for the human person, they arrest, torture, and install ideological terror. In the name of the struggle against inflation, they oppress the unions, freeze

wages, raise prices, increase brutally rents and aggravate inflation. In the name of the struggle against subversion, they annul popular rights, prevent the giving of the land to the peasants. In the name of the struggle against corruption, they protect the embezzlers, open the doors to corruption in military zones, install the machine of illegal enrichment on a gigantic scale never before known. In the name of the revolution they abandon our sovereignty, denationalise our industry and give our wealth to foreign countries.

Today Brazil is a country occupied by another country. It is the sad truth: military patriots have been expelled or neutralised and the armed Brazilian forces have come to be their own instrument of this occupation. But it is necessary that you know that a few days ago somewhere in this country a meeting was held of the legitimate representatives of the popular Brazilian forces, those who historically have struggled for the state monopoly of petroleum, for the minimum wage, for the right to strike, for trade union liberties for the nationalisation of our natural resources, for giving the land to the peasants, for the defence of legality in August 1961. We have taken a very important decision: to unify ourselves in a united front of struggle, the Popular United Front.

This Front is from now on the instrument of struggle and action of all those who wish to struggle to overthrow the dictatorship for the emancipation of the Brazilian people and for the liberation of the country. Whether civilian or military, man or woman, join the Popular Liberation Front! Seek out those who think like you, form with them groups of five or a factory committee and prepare, prepare to act in your street, in your residential area, in your place of work, in your school, in your barracks! Your first task: to planify carefully the revolutionary actions that your group can realise with the development itself of the struggle. To diffuse this communique under all forms possible including by post. Make it known that the United Popular Front has already been formed. The enemies of the masses have taken the initiative to prevent the peaceful course of reforms. They prefer to fight. They will have plenty of that. Every form of struggle is valuable. Do not do anything which can confuse the population. Do everything against the dictatorship which is installed in the country.

Only a spark is required. The straw is dry. . . .

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OUR PROGRAM

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the

cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.

4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.

5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.

6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.

7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.

8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.

9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.

10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21. For a workers government.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS DEVELOPS IN THE ARGENTINE

(EXTRACTS FROM AN ARTICLE BY J. POSADAS)

A process of elevation of the pre-revolutionary situation exists in Argentine expressed in the result of the elections.

The electoral triumph of Peronism has shown that the masses have not let themselves be intimidated. It must be measured from a social, historical revolutionary point of view, because before the elections, there was confusion in the CGT, divisions, internal struggles between Vandor and Framini, etc.

The apparent flowering of petit bourgeois liberal and capitalist sectors in the Argentine, the apparent crushing of the working class, following the failure of the parody of Peron, encouraged in the bourgeoisie the hope that the elections would mean a retreat for the working class.

But when the working class—after the leadership of the CGT abandoned the "battle plans", the absence of concrete results from these plans because of the treason and conciliation of the leaders of the CGT, the threat of the so called "independants" of the trade unions to divide the CGT the failure of the workers to impose new leaderships—in spite of all this concentrate themselves and vote massively for Peronism, it shows that there is in the proletariat, a concentration of spirit, of consciousness, and militant class will.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TUCUMAN TENDENCY

The massive vote for a party, a substitute for Peronism, expresses the fact that the working class is looking for a fighting centre in order to be able to push forward their anti-capitalist struggle, but at the same time the results of these elections show two fundamental consequences, which determine the character of the ascent of the pre-revolutionary stage in Argentina.

On the one hand, at the same time as the masses are concentrating themselves in voting for Peronism, a very important and fundamental sector, in Tucuman, has turned to vote for candidates who are to the left of the official candidates of Peronism or the Communist party.

It means the beginning of a workers party based on the trade unions, not because they had a programme to overthrow capitalism, but because it was an independent class action, expressing itself by putting forward candidates directly from the trade union field. The electoral results express the existence of a revolutionary class current throughout the whole of the country.

This attitude of a sector of the proletariat of Tucuman shows that an important sector of the proletariat wants this (a workers party based on the unions). The candidates from the union drew an enormous quantity of votes from the Peronist Party which got scarcely 25 per cent and this means that it is not only a phenomenon of Tucuman, but that it is a current which exists throughout the country. If the proletariat had been able to put forward trade union candidates in Cordoba, Santa Fe Buenos Aires, they would have won thousands of votes. It shows that there is a current in the working class, which is a continuation of the massive occupation of the factories, when a million and a half workers occupied the factories on the same day.

TOTAL CRISIS OF BOURGEOIS PARTIES AND ECONOMY

The great struggles in the workers movement, to elect revolutionary candidates in the trade unions are the expression that the process is not just a phenomenon peculiar to Tucuman or just a splitting up of a Peronist tendency, but a state of consciousness and spirit of the whole of the workers movement.

In the elections in the railways, textiles, steel, sugar, there is a continuation of the result of the elections in Tucuman, for there the workers have elected left candidates, who are recognised as revolutionaries, against the wishes of the Peronist leaders who have made a common front with the bosses.

This shows that there is a tendency in all the country wishing to conduct the struggle much more quickly.

This is the conclusion which must be drawn by the leading Peronist workers who hope to carry on a revolutionary struggle. It is a conclusion which must be drawn by the Partido Obrero (Trotskyista) of Argentina for its immediate future policy. Before and after the elections, there is everywhere, a current which indicates the revolutionary ascent of the struggles in Argentina.

THE POLARISATION OF THE BOURGEOIS VOTES

The election has demonstrated another fundamental characteristic. The failure of all the bourgeoisie parties, the liquidation of all the conservative Christian democrat currents, the division of the conservative parties, the near liquidation of these parties gave an enormous quantity of votes to Illia. They were not votes for the Partido Radical del Pueblo, but a polarisation of forces. It shows that the bourgeoisie feels that socially it can do nothing, so it polarises its forces in certain candidates in order to resist the proletariat.

The economic situation deteriorates. The peso loses its value constantly, the foreign debt gets bigger and has to be repaid. The gold reserves have increased only a little to 130-140 million dollars in spite of the increase in the wheat and maize harvest and the possible increase in the export of meat. Prices have gone down, exports have increased, but the lowering of prices has meant diminished profit. There is no possibility of improving the conditions of exchange nor of improving the conditions of life of the masses. There is no possibility of an economic improvement which the bourgeoisie could take as a basis of support to negotiate with the Peronists or to calm the social conflicts.

All this lessens the possibilities of an agreement on a common bourgeoisie front, or that a "Gorilla" sector (the most vicious right wing bourgeoisie, mainly land owners.—Ed.) can organise a social front which has an electoral weight.

But on the other hand there is a possibility of a coup d'etat. The preparation of a coup d'etat cannot be excluded, because the gorillas are going to try to compensate for their loss of social force with military force.

The moment has arrived when the process is approaching, within a short time, a violent collision; violent economic crises, coinciding with the growing centralisation and the struggle of the masses. These sectors of the proletariat must present a programme in order to confront the present crisis.

A programme of production, a plan of public works, which means houses, hospitals, schools, must be proposed. A plan to bring to an end the flooding five or six times in a few years of the banks of the Parana river, a plan for the defending of the population from these floods and making the bourgeoisie pay for it. Nationalisation of the banks must be proposed and through this a plan made for all the constructions of roads, factories, schools, hospitals, sanitary works. Commercial interchange with all the workers states is essential, not only with China and the USSR, so that every change might be for the benefit of the masses, and this demands the statification of the Bank and Plan of Public works which can give work to immense number of workers.

At the same time the sliding scale of wages, and hours, workers control factory committees, re-election of dele-

gates on the basis of the struggle for the Programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda must not only be fought for in the CGT in discussion but it is necessary that there is concrete agitation, mobilisation and struggle against unemployment for the sliding scale of hours of work, so that there is no worker unemployed, no factory closed. It is necessary to attract the rest of the workers movement in a general programme which can unite them not only in Tucuman but throughout the country. A programme for the renovation of the sugar industry, statification of this industry and through the state the improvement of the sugar industry in Tucuman is necessary.

The delegates, the deputies elected in Tucuman must be deputies subject to the constant control of the workers. For this it is necessary that the unions control directly their candidates who can be revocable at any moment.

The fact that members have been elected to the presidium of the Peronista parliamentary block and at the same time have been elected separately is an indication of the enormous pressure of the masses; but at the same time it is

a careerist parliamentary game because the elected workers leaders deputies have separated themselves in order not to submit themselves to the bourgeois leadership of Peronism but to the union. They seek to play their own bureaucratic game to benefit from the liquidation, weakness and decomposition of capitalism.

It is necessary that the CGT launches an appeal to the Cuban CTC, the CUT of Chile, to the rest of the workers and peasants centres, to the COB of Brazil, for a united front on the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda. It is not a programme only for the Argentine; the crisis is in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Brasil. Recently, the CGT drew up a resolution condemning Leitao de Cunha, the Brazilian ambassador. All this must be extended and a call made to all the powerful Centres of Chile, Peru Bolivia, the 13th of November of Guatemala, for a struggle on an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. And an appeal should also be made to the guerrillas of Colombia and Venezuela and to all those sectors who are fighting against capitalism and imperialism.

There is no capitalist solution to the problems of Latin America. South Vietnam shows this. Capitalism has no solution to the problems, neither for the peasant masses, nor for agrarian reform, the transfer of the land, nor the development of the economy.

The Latin American Common Market which a number of capitalists propose,

ARAB REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 1)

Arab leaders between those who are absolutely pro-Imperialist like Hassan of Morocco and Hussain of Jordan, etc., and those leaders who have shown themselves willing to respond even in a timid limited way, to the pressure of the masses, and have taken measures against imperialism and capitalism. Such leaders as Nasser, or Hafez of Syria, or Ben Bella, in order to maintain their positions, have yielded to the pressure of the masses and advanced the revolution. The most striking example of this recently has been the wave of nationalisations in Syria where the military government appealed to the masses to intervene and open the shops closed by the merchants as a protest against the nationalisations. The masses intervene, the shops were opened, and the power of the merchants, at one time a powerful conservative stratum, was smashed. But nevertheless the reactionary internal forces of opposition to the Syrian Military leadership (which is so far the most conscious leadership which has appeared in the Arab world) are still strong, and only by allowing the full intervention of the masses in every political, social, and economic activity can the gains of the Syrian revolution be developed to socialism.

ADVANCE TO SOCIALISM WILL CONTINUE IN ALGERIA

The crisis of the Arab leadership has shown itself most clearly in the recent overthrow of Ben Bella. The latter had responded to the pressure of the masses but in not allowing the masses to intervene in workers and peasant councils he gave opportunity to those forces who are afraid of the continuous pressure of the Algerian revolution to organise a coup based on the professional army—which is relatively isolated from the masses. The new government has to assure the masses that the struggle for socialism would continue—nevertheless the coup is a blow at the advance of the revolution. However any attempt to block the advance to socialism by bureaucratic methods is doomed to failure in present world conditions; the coup will only accelerate the struggle for a fully socialist programme and leadership for the whole Arab revolution. As usual the Chinese opportunistically recognised the new regime to try to save the Afro-Asian conference. All in all, the failure of the opportunist diplomacy of the Chinese insistently requires the adoption by the Chinese of a clear revolu-

tionary programme directed at the masses not at the various "leaders" of African and Asian states. We may expect new convulsions from Algeria in a short time.

The determination of British Imperialism to hang on to its interests in the Middle East, a determination shown by its military bases in Aden, Bahrein, Sharja, Masira, and all the British officered police forces in all the Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf, is not conditioned by oil wells or the rich profits which the oil yields. Oil is an important economic factor but economic factors are not the determining ones. If Imperialism was concerned only with economic factors, it would write-off South Viet-Nam to the revolution, it would write-off the Dominican Republic which has absolutely no economic importance; but Imperialism does not write these countries off, it sends men and arms to try to ensure that they do not escape its control. The prestige and authority of Imperialism is at stake. The effects on the rest of the Arab world if even one of the smallest and poorest of the Arab states suffered an upheaval in which the masses overthrew a pro-imperialist ruler, smashed the state machine, and set up their own government, would be tremendous. And so British Imperialism cannot afford to let this happen, and the Labour leaders do all they can to prevent further victories by the Arab masses.

But today British Imperialism is terribly weak economically it is in a constantly deepening crisis, it has lost much of its authority before the British petit bourgeoisie, and more and more areas of the world escape its control. The struggles of the British and Arab masses constantly weaken it; in practice there is a united front between the Arab and British masses. Strengthen this united front by fighting around the following demands.

BLACK OIL CARGOES KNOWN TO COME FROM ARAB OIL INSTALLATIONS WHERE WORKERS ARE ON STRIKE.

SOLIDARITY STRIKES BY OIL WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY WITH ARAB OIL WORKERS ON STRIKE.

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE OIL INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

SOLIDARITY OF BRITISH TROOPS WITH THE ARAB MASSES!

WITHDRAWAL FROM ARAB COUNTRIES OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS AND POLICE OFFICERS!

NO IMPERIALIST BASES IN THE MIDDLE EAST!

THE NECESSITY FOR WORKERS CONTROL

It is in industry, at the moment, that the struggle of the British working class against capitalism finds its profoundest expression. The present situation in all its confusion, reveals the great strength of the class and its determination to block capitalism. Those who are unable, or unwilling, to use marxism to analyse the situation find themselves confused by developments and are quite capable of describing the workers as backward and apathetic. To such people the lack of attendance at union meetings, the failure to actively support the labour party, or even to vote for it, reveals a lack of understanding. It is, in fact, this so called "apathy" that reveals the development of the working class in this country. For, at the same time as they hold aloof from the labour party and trade union branches, the workers are engaged in continual and militant action in the industrial field. Sectors of the workers have entirely rejected the reformist postures of social democracy.

Workers employed by British European Airways, for instance, have been involved in nine disputes this year and action has not been confined to the lower paid "industrial" sections. The air-lines pilots and clerical staff have also been involved in struggles with the management of BEA. It is significant that over half of these disputes were not concerned with pay claims, and of those that were one or two were concerned with other demands. For instance the pilots threatened to strike over a pay claim, but they also questioned the system by which the number of hours a pilot flies each month is decided.

The recent strike of porters was concerned, in its origins, with a new three-year agreement on working conditions. The porters objected to the demand for a "more flexible working system" which would include Sunday in a five-day working agreement. It is in such action, where the workers show concern about the actual running of the industry in which they are engaged, which indicates their developing consciousness.

The understanding of the need for workers to control industry can be seen in two recent incidents. One at the Scottish factory of a car-body manufacturer, involved a small number of workers who had been "laid-off" as the result of a dispute in another part of the factory insisting that there was work available for them. The workers also insisted that the management was using the dispute which only involved a small number of men as an excuse to close the factory. This is, of course, a device often used by employers to break workers solidarity. However, the men insisted on being employed and were, after some argument with the management, given a mornings work. At the end of this period the men refused to leave the factory on the grounds that work was still available. The police were called to remove the workers and 27 of them were charged with trespass on the companies property. Later, this charge was dropped and no action was taken against the men. The action of the management in calling the police from outside the factory—usually the company's internal "security" police are enough to deal with any trouble—is a sign of the great fear that capitalism has of workers action which directly interferes with the process of production and the "managements right to manage".

The "sit-in" strike is not a traditional form of action by British workers, but, not a week after the sit-in of car workers, a group of textile workers staged a sit-in at the Preston factory of Courtaulds. This action involved "coloured", mostly Pakistani, workers and was the result of a new agreement on production. The workers objected to the new agreement and to the fact that

it had been produced by the union officials and Courtaulds' management without consultation with the workers. The agreement called for one man to work one and a half machines instead of just one and for the payment of an extra threepence an hour to the workers. Threepence an hour for fifty per cent more production is not, from the workers point of view, a very good agreement, although the Courtaulds shareholders were probably delighted with it. After two weeks of refusal by the workers to work the machines, dismissal notices were issued to the men. These dismissal notices combined with pressure from the union officials and the actions of some of the workers leaders who confused the situation by making it a racial issue had the effect of breaking the strike.

However, the important thing is that the workers showed their determination to impose their own control on the speed of production. It is an objective necessity, as capitalism is incapable of improving the condition of the workers and of developing society, that the workers gain control of the organisation of production. It is this objective necessity that provides the driving force of the workers struggle in this country and in the rest of the world.

Another, particularly interesting, aspect of the industrial scene was the strike by colliery officials in South Wales. It is no coincidence that this dispute arose immediately after the pit disaster in the area. The pit officials were reacting to the situation that makes them responsible for safety and for the speed of production. As a result of this system there is a continual pressure both from the management and from the workers on the underground officials. The deputy on a district is responsible both for measuring the length of seam by which the miner is paid, and also for applying safety measures. Thus when, as so often happens, the interests of speed and safety clash the deputy is held responsible either for delays and the loss of production, or for injury or loss of life that may result from the disregard of safety regulations. The whole system of "contract" work, of payment by results that exists in coal mining is directly responsible for the high accident rate that exists in British mines; what is required is a united front of miners and safety officials against the NCB and the NUM bureaucracy.

In another nationalised industry, the railways, there are signs of the workers determination to control the industry in which they are engaged. This is reflected in the refusal by the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) to accept the "liner train" system which involves the partial use of the railway by private road haulage companies. The bureaucracy of the NUR has refused to consider the idea and has threatened industrial action. This attitude is a direct result of pressure at the base of the union and a sure sign of the determination of the railwaymen to control their own industry; to run the enterprise for the benefit of the workers and not for the profit of capitalist companies.

CO-ORDINATE NATIONALLY UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES

The unofficial committees are the embryonic organ of workers control of industry. The very existence of this form of organisation reflects the movement toward workers' control. The labour leaders recognise this fact and react with great violence. Ray Gunter, the Minister of Labour was forced to launch a violent attack on the BEA strikers and this was echoed by a leading member of the BEA management who attacked the whole tendency towards unofficial strikes.

In Peru, as in the rest of the world the revolution constantly advances. Strikes, occupations of the land, and guerrilla activity, express the determination of the worker and peasant masses to throw out imperialism and finish with capitalism. The advances in the revolutionary struggles are expressing themselves in the decomposition within the organisms of repression and the development of nationalist tendencies in the army. The development of the nationalists in the government Party, and the position which they adopted faced with the question of Dominica, were not determined by an anti-imperialist position of defence of the interests of the masses, but by fear faced with the revolutionary advance of the masses.

The Peruvian masses have continually occupied the land, organised guerrillas, occupied factories, and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) has played a most important role, basing itself on the combative spirit of the masses, to push forward this process. The intervention of the party is shown in the most important union, that of the miners of Cerro Pasco where the miners have adopted not only a trotskyst programme, but the struggle for the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics of Latin America. The Vth convention of the Miners unions approved anew a revolutionary class programme, with which the proletariat could intervene strongly to advance the ideological struggle and intervene in the fight for the construction of revolutionary class organisations.

In all the activity and the advances of the working class in Peru, of the peasants, and the petit-bourgeois, and the nationalist currents, the activity and the intervention of the trotskysts, who as in all the world are growing in influence, authority and organised force, plays a fundamental role.

The capitalist state represented, at the moment, by the labour government will continually attack the unofficial committees and will attempt to isolate and crush them. This was the case with the Fords joint shop stewards who were attacked by an alliance of trade union bureaucrats and managements, many militants lost their jobs and the committee was greatly weakened. This was only possible because the Fords committee was isolated from the rest of the car industry. The car industry workers are very militant, but the lack of a co-ordinated national organisation prevents them developing the struggle beyond the individual factory.

Two things are necessary if the demands of the workers are to be taken forwards. One is the national organisation of shop stewards committees based on industries and the other is workers control of industry. The struggle between workers and bosses already intense will inevitably increase with the social and economic stagnation and putrefaction of British imperialism. Not only are wage demands on the agenda; workers' control is being posed quite clearly. It is necessary to overpower the obstacles of the union leadership and co-ordinate all strikes and industries in the struggle to crush British capitalism as part of the world overthrow of Imperialism.

ARGENTINE

(continued from page 5)

has no possibility of development, even with the union of all the capital of the Latin American bourgeoisie, it cannot hope to compete with the constant increase of productivity of US and European capitalism. It is not a question of the accumulation of capital, or eliminating customs, but of productivity. Yankee and European capitalism advance daily in productivity much more than Latin America is capable of doing.

In 20 years Latin America is not going to reach the productivity of American and European capitalism, this is ruled out. Basically the attempt at

An expression of this advance is that the last four editions of the paper of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) have been completely sold out.

Lately, the party has carried out, in the university of San Marcos, emergency meetings about the national and international situation. The last two meetings attracted, at the first, 200, and at the other one, 1,000 people: 160 papers were sold.

The student fraction of the party has a paper "Noticiero Revolucionario" in the University in which they publish news about the revolutionary struggle which the bourgeois press does not print. Another of their ideas has been to connect up seven loudspeakers and for seven hours each day to broadcast extracts from the articles of Posadas, and appeals from the party, etc.

CONSTANT INTERVENTION BY THE PARTY

Recently the Party led a demonstration against the imperialist intervention in Santo Domingo, it was a very militant demonstration which attacked and smashed the windows of the offices of the Cerro de Pasco, Yankee imperialist mining enterprise, and the American embassy.

Also the party has produced various leaflets, which have had a good reception among the exploited workers and peasants.

In a recent meeting at which 500 were present the shock groups of APRA (the government party) tried to break up the meeting, but were beaten off by the action of the party and those who were at the meeting.

We salute the dynamic activity of our Peruvian comrades, which is a part of the great development of the International throughout the world.

A Latin American Common Market is a dream of the bourgeoisie to try to gain historical time, to give itself courage and justification in order to save itself, but it has no solution.

The proletariat must reject all illusion in respect to the Latin American Common Market; any attempt at economic development of these countries is totally excluded. The call which the CGT made condemning the arrival of the Brazilian ambassador, must be extended, supporting the guerrillas of Brazil and calling to the Popular Front of Liberation supporting it in its fight to eliminate the dictator Castelo Branco and installing a workers and peasants government.

All the Latin American struggles lead to this. All the masses of Latin America are in revolution. There is not a single Latin American country in which there are not demonstrations occupation of the factories, strikes, even in Ecuador under an iron dictator there are demonstrations every day.

We have the recent triumph of the workers of Panama who have had a tremendous success. The sugar workers succeeded in imposing 70% of their demands which all shows that there is no possibility nor perspective of capitalist development in these countries to solve the economic and social problems of the masses.

The CGT of Argentina, the Peronista base, the Peronist sectors as in Tucuman, who see and feel the support of the masses have given to Tucuman, must come out resolutely to fight for this programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda. They must call to the rest of the workers movement of Latin America to make a united front to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, a programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda for all Latin America which is the basis for the worker and peasant alliance, for the expropriation of the land giving it to the peasants, and for workers and peasants government in the whole of Latin America.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

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— Trotsky

No. 13

AUGUST 1965

SIXPENCE

For The National Unification Of Factory Committees On The Anti-Capitalist Programme, No Workers To Be Dismissed All Factories Under Workers Control

The persistent striking of the British workers and the equal persistence of a hopelessly stagnant capitalist economy has provoked the expected response from the LP apparatus, that is a violent attack by Wilson on "overmanning" in British industry i.e. the defence of the workers against unemployment and a promise to the capitalist class that the LP will keep a sharp check on government expenditures. Apart from any modifications of arms expenditure the new budget means restraint on the necessary expansion of education, housing etc. (Yet a 20% salary increase is proposed for judges).

As usual the masses are expected to pay for the utter parasitism of the capitalist economy. The latter fails to expand, cannot increase exports sufficiently, and threatens an increase in unemployment. The Wilson apparatus in view of the weakness of sterling opts for deflation to meet the crisis — none of these measures will exactly benefit the world capitalist economy or indeed solve the insoluble problem, how to inject a failing British imperialism with the breath of life.

Continuously the British proletariat defying the union leaderships have organised unofficial strikes. They have tried to gain the maximum that they can, now that a Labour government is in power—and in the case of the postmen recently the LP apparatus fearful of the consequences of refusal made considerable concessions over wages. The actions of the Southern Region railway men are a further example of the tenacity of the unofficial committees; rejection of the union leadership and great defiance of the pressures brought to bear on them despite their not being supported directly by other proletarian sectors. The struggle is waged partly over wages but also over the question of unemployment which arises when fewer men are required for the diesel trains. The union leaderships will do nothing in general to meet the demands of the men except under very extraordinary conditions. Even when under the pressure of the lower paid workers, the TGWU rejects the incomes policy and the line of the LP apparatus, over Vietnam, the leadership offers no perspective of struggle and the union leadership continues to support Cousins who as a member of the government is supposed to back the incomes policy and the LP support for the war in Vietnam. The utter hypocrisy of the "Left" union leadership could hardly be better indicated.

As with the Southern region railwaymen other sectors of the working class are at the mercy of spineless union leaderships. Miners have been leaving the mines in thousands because no opposition to the policy of the coal board has been offered by the union leadership. Similarly wholesale redundancy on the railways has been connived at by the union leaderships. Sufficient employment elsewhere has taken the edge off a more violent social collision with capitalist interests but the stagnation of capitalism and the deterioration in the prospects of the world capitalist economy do not give British capitalism

much scope for similar future cushioning of unemployment. The dangers of future recession demand that the unofficial strike and factory committees adopt a full anti-capitalist programme with particular emphasis on demands such as, no worker to be dismissed. More and more the process cries out for nationalisations under workers control, the anti capitalist programme, that is a political orientation; limited industrial strike action can obtain some concessions but even in this sphere, the employers try to insist on package deals giving wage concessions against reduction in hours. This is all done with the connivance of the unions (as with the recent steel workers negotiations).

Although the absence of a clearly defined political anti-capitalist centre in this country delays the maturing of the revolutionary situation to overthrow capitalism, the decomposition of capitalist authority continues at a hectic pace.

CAPITALISM LOSES AUTHORITY

The attitude of the doctors brings further discredit upon the capitalist system. Their latest demand i.e. that patients should pay a consultation fee is of course reactionary but despite the refusal of the doctors leaders to link their struggle with that of the proletariat, the whole problem exposes capitalism and the LP apparatus as totally incompetent to solve the burning problems of a proper medical service. To achieve this demands the overthrow of capitalism.

The resolutions for the LP conference in September are a pale reflection of the struggles of the British masses. Even so the large number of resolutions on Vietnam reflect the great crisis of the LP apparatus and point to the maturity of the situation whereby all the demands ranging from minimum economic demands to withdrawal from Nato and alliance with the workers states are on

the agenda for the British masses in the struggle to overthrow British imperialism. In face of social crisis Wilson has already delayed steel nationalisation.

A recent small example of the slow maturing of the situation in this country was the July 18 demonstration, by the "Young Socialists" (expelled by the LP apparatus). This was militant in spirit and openly supported the struggle of the Viet Cong. It lacked slogans which seriously linked the struggle of the British proletariat with that of the Vietnamese masses. Nevertheless it was one of the best of the demonstrations on the war in Vietnam held so far. At the moment these young socialists are not integrated with the proletarian struggle and largely conduct their activities away from the factory committees, but in essence they are a current tending towards Trotskyism. Their leaders are attempting to isolate them from the proletarian struggle by claiming that "revolutionary leadership" will somehow come from the expelled Young Socialists despite the fact that they are not oriented with clear revolutionary perspectives to the workers and the "Keep Left" group is dedicated to "changing the leadership" of the Labour Party. However this current reflects the maturing of conditions in this country for revolutionary struggle and the serious revolutionaries in the tendency will go far beyond "Keep Left's" infantile agitational sloganising, lack of perspective and dedication to capturing the LP apparatus.

Meanwhile as a permanent background to the inexorable pressure of the British masses, the world revolutionary situation develops dramatically. Guerilla activity spreads in Latin America-Peru seeing a great expansion of guerilla fighting—a new workers party is founded in Turkey, the Greek masses despite the total absence of a revolutionary party embark on the opening stages of revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism and the monarchy; guerilla activity revives in the Philippines. In Europe itself the search by the vanguard for a hundred per cent revolutionary line has been accelerated by the appeals of the Swiss Communist Party which having broken away from the old conciliatory CP has rejected "peaceful co-existence" and called for the formation of a new mass communist international. This is Trotskyism. All this is happening also when a furious struggle is raging in the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union; one Soviet journal called for discipline in relation to the conflicts now raging in the Political bureau i.e. the bureaucracy can no

longer conceal its crisis. Letters actually published in the Soviet press reveal the hatred of the masses for the privileged caste who live well, while the Soviet masses have to contend with great material difficulties. Soviet economists admit to the chaos which has occurred in the economy (even large areas of unemployment)—all of which reveals the hopeless mismanagement resulting from arbitrary bureaucracy where Soviet democracy is excluded. The conditions are being prepared for the overthrow of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy; and the British masses by their intransigent opposition to the necessities of the capitalist system participate and will increasingly participate in the massive united front of the colonial revolution, the proletarian revolution and the political revolution in the workers states destined to form the basis of the new mass communist international.

(Continued on page six)

NEW LETTER OF CDE POSADAS TO THE CUBAN SECTION

Dear Comrades of the Cuban section of the IV International,

In the preceding letter we gave an analysis of the reasons for the liberation of our Cuban comrades. We repeat our great joy at the liberation of the comrades and repeat the judgment we have made in our letter on the existence of empirical currents who seek to reanimate and stimulate the Socialist revolution. When we wrote the previous letter to the Cuban comrades we did not yet know the nature of the document which they had signed. At least we did not know it exactly. Now we know in general that they had signed a document in which they accept the dissolution of the party in Cuba and withdrawal from the International. We understand the tremendous and difficult situation in which the comrades have had to live and decide but that does not justify the signing of such a document. Our life and perspective in life is to make, to organise to encourage human progress in its most complete and necessary form, the Socialist Revolution. The Socialist democracy, the right of revolutionary tendencies and of the independent functioning of the revolu-

CIVIL WAR IN BOLIVIA

The United Front, and the new Leadership of the Proletariat (J. Posadas)

The conclusions which it is necessary to draw from the events in Bolivia are not optimistic. The working class tries means of reforms, tries to resolve the problems which are posed by the class. On this road it can receive a defeat, a blow which has no great importance; but when events occur as those in Bolivia—which is a real civil war—this affects integrally the class and is a serious and important blow.

The class has been disposed to struggle but has seen that it lacks leadership and that the structure and programme on which it is based is contrary to its interests. It cannot find immediately the decision to find another leadership. A very important sector of the class withdraws passively, observes, reflects; and only a small sector continues boldly. Some sectors without having the ideological consciousness of the most advanced sectors maintain their vigour in struggle from instinctive hatred of Capitalism.

In Bolivia we must expect that this blow given to the miners has a sufficiently serious effect; but from this it does not signify that the Junta is going to install a fascist dictatorship, the only way to dominate the situation. There is no possibility of this.

The miners have been defeated partially but the military Junta were also defeated; because their intention was to smash the miners by military action and now they are negotiating. Now the military have offered a final concession — to pay wages if arms are surrendered. This is no demonstration of power. They have strength and capacity but fear to use it completely.

This is partly because the Junta does not know what might transpire and partly because of internal divergences. But these differences between Ovando and Barrientos are not because one or the other is trigger happy and wishes only to launch the showdown; that is certain.

The divergences spring from the resistance which they find among the miners and from this resistance, a sector is afraid to go forward, as also a sector of the bourgeoisie. Both have the same fear which they transmit to the rest. Hence it is important to judge the differences among the Junta which causes hostility between them as a product of the pressure from the resistance of the workers movement. To have conquered, the Junta would have had to have utterly smashed resistance. If in fact worker resistance continues, this makes the Junta feel insecure and the workers do not feel defeated. They have not negotiated or surrendered their arms, proof that they are continuing to struggle.

The whole process indicates that a sector of the workers has been severely punished in the fighting. But the workers as a whole are going to see that they are not conquered because they are keeping their arms. Their leadership fled but the miners did not. An important period is now necessary to draw conclusions and a new stage of struggle to be able to construct a new leadership in which miners, peasants and petit bourgeoisie will be united.

Bolivia is a country — the most heterogeneous possible — in which 70-80% of the population is peasant and in which the petit bourgeoisie is one of the poorest in the world. In other countries and in the immense majority the petit bourgeoisie has opportunity to develop; there is industry, science, art, the universities; in Bolivia there is nothing, some mining engineers or lawyers to litigate among the peasants, nothing more.

The Junta to sustain itself has to smash the miners and then immediately the peasants. It has to stabilise the capitalist system, to develop it, to content the petit bourgeoisie by giving it a perspective. But what perspective? militarily it can provide money, subsidies, but for how long? This is to create a vast inflation — a quantity of money thrown on the market which finds no equivalent in goods. There is no possibility of stabilising the capital-

ist system in Bolivia. There is only a perspective of massacring half the population, miners, peasants, and/or a military dictatorship.

This limited, decisive triumph of the Junta has to sustain itself even at the present level by smashing peasants, workers, and the petit bourgeoisie. The petit bourgeoisie, did not enter the conflict, the peasantry did not fight because they were not sufficiently attracted. This does not mean that they lacked the spirit to struggle or hatred of the oligarchy, they had not been entirely neutral. They had tried to intervene in their way by helping the miners and established a united front at the beginning of the strike, paralysing the whole country.

The factor which impeded the extension of the strike was the absence of the programme and of the leadership resolved to overthrow the Junta. The strike can never triumph proposing as an objective the line of the miners leaders. Never; the immense majority are peasants and factory workers; the petit bourgeoisie see nothing but rotten leaders such as Lechin and company.

In any case even if the leaders were any good what of the programme? None. The day before everything began, Lechin was conciliating with the Junta. One must not measure the absence of the intervention of the peasants and petit bourgeoisie as a defeat or that they lacked the spirit of struggle or social interest to intervene. In fact they had no programmatic interest.

DIRECT APPEALS TO THE PEASANTRY

The Junta to stabilise itself has to massacre an infinity of miners and the repression is going to establish the conditions for a united front. From this process is going to emerge a new leadership. The Junta is going to repress and this is going to be very bloody, worse than before, because there is no means by which they can sustain themselves. But their offer to pay wages in return for laying down arms shows that they feel unable to establish the control they wish to operate. They gave the miners twelve days to lay down their arms, otherwise they would massacre them. But they have given more time and now simply say, "We do not pay them if they do not give up their arms."

The peasants and petit bourgeois did not enter into combat—they will do so very shortly—but they were on the point of doing so. From the information which we have received and the other notices which we have heard on the radio at Huanuni, sectors of the peasantry wished to intervene but were not sufficiently attracted. The appeals made by Radio Huanuni were abstract, i.e., "aid us, they wish to destroy us", why should they? When Lechin has done all in his power not to make a united front with the peasants, it is logical that the peasants do not make spontaneous initiative to unite themselves to the miners movement.

Events demonstrate that it is possible to expect reactions in a short stage from the miners. The first thing that emerges is that the miners will not abandon their arms; a defeat imposed by the army expresses itself immediately by the demoralisation of the miners and the specific expression of this stemming from a withdrawal of the miners, is to surrender arms. But the miners are not doing this; they are negotiating and they are resisting the surrender of arms, because they are thinking of returning to them.

The fact that an officer killed a soldier because he did not wish to fire, was not an isolated fact. It reflects a general condition of demoralisation, a sentiment which affects everyone; a soldier was killed to halt the process. When they have to do this it is because there is a general condition of demoralisation throughout the army.

When the workers mobilise and march on the road to attack the airport at La Paz—to take it means a great effort because it is a narrow road at a height of 3.800 metres; when they try to attack barracks, their attitude shows that they have not given up and that they wish to continue in struggle.

The activity of our comrades must be immediately without delaying the fight, to make an appeal to discuss the consequences of this situation which is not a defeat but a step backwards, a more favourable position for the Junta. It is most important to draw the conclusions and to make an appeal to organise the struggle; to throw back the plan of the Junta; to reanimate the workers movement through economic demands, demands related to conditions of life and democratic liberty; and on this basis to form a united front with the peasants. These points should be emphasised—the giving of the land to the peasants, the expropriation of the big estates for collective exploitation; means which would tend to attract the peasants, not means which tend simply to eulogise or glorify democracy.

Nothing is gained by simple denunciation of the Junta, i.e., "they are assassins, they are going to kill the miners", this is not enough; they know this but what to do now? On the first of May the miners, and peasants showed that they were ready to overthrow, the military Junta. The Junta saw this, felt it and they struck not because they had a great belief in themselves but they knew they could trust in the cowardice of the leaders. It is possible that the Junta had been in contact with the miners leaders and had paid them. In an earlier period the military juntas did not take prisoners nor deport them.

They shot them, put them on a plane and at night they flew over Lake Titicaca and threw them out. Under Paz Esstensorro they put them in dungeons; a living death. Now these types had to negotiate. The Junta does not proceed with political social or military security. The military blow that the Junta has given to the miners does not mean an advance for them. The situation cannot only be measured by events in Bolivia but by events in Latin America and the rest of the world. The exploited masses, the worker masses, the bourgeoisie do not only rely on the national situation but on the international setting. They receive strength, stimulus, impulse, and help from the balance of the world situation.

The Bolivian bourgeoisie or what one can call the bourgeoisie has neither security or strength. In Brazil the position is the same; the bourgeoisie thinks to terrorise the masses with a military dictatorship; but the masses do not allow themselves to be terrorised, they maintain alive their resistance. This leads to their internal

decomposition and weakness in consequence within the military dictatorship; what passes for a military dictatorship is a weak, sponge like government which does not yield directly to the masses but yields continually from its interior struggles which express the pressures of the masses upon it.

The decisive proof is the freeing of Arraes and the other important politicians. Arraes is enemy number three, Goulart being first and Brizola second. And now Arraes is free in Algeria. Where is this military dictatorship going? What security has it got? It works to make a military dictatorship but it lacks the force of a military dictatorship. There is an abyss between what it would like to do and what it can do. And the military dictatorship in Brazil cannot use all the force that a military dictatorship has to have.

Likewise in Bolivia. The events of St. Domingo and of Chile, or Peru and of the Argentine—which until now has not sent troops and where the CGT calls for the first time for the defence of Sto Domingo and appeals for demonstrations—all this tends to support the Bolivian proletariat, tends to support its level, its spirit of struggle and does not stimulate the spirit and morale of the bourgeoisie and the Bolivian army.

WORLD REVOLUTION AIDS BOLIVIAN MASSES

It now appears from the papers that the Bolivian army is appealing to the army of the Argentine for help (and it is certain that these bandits are going to give help). But when they have to do this in secret it is because they fear—not the reaction of public opinion—but the concrete reaction of the Argentinian proletariat. They do not fear the public opinion of the bourgeoisie or of the petit bourgeoisie but the resulting action of the proletariat which is disposed to occupy factories. This is the language which they understand, the other no. They can discuss for twenty years and while they discuss they enslave, kill assassinate as are doing the OEA.

The OEA at present are investigating what is happening in St. Domingo. The investigators are saying, "we do not see anything happening here", and others say, "but look they are murdering", and the investigator replies, "I still do not see them". When they arrived at Colombo (the Argentinian delegate) and found a grave they said, "Look here is the corridor, here are the troops of Imbert, here are the Yanks who allowed them passage", and the delegate replies, "it does not seem to me that the Yankee army is helping".

All the process of the Latin-American and world revolution is favourable for maintaining the fighting spirit of the Bolivian masses and they find an ally in this world situation; they maintain their fighting spirit, their sureness and their optimism; the people who don't do this are the Bolivian bourgeoisie. The terror of Barrientos was demonstrated by an incident when he went to Cochabamba and his escort was kidnapped; when he discovered this he said, "no, I am not going any further" and locked himself behind 40 padlocks. They are panic stricken. They are brave when they are surrounded by machine guns and without enemies in sight, but when they see the armed miners, then they say, "let us hope, let us talk". This is how they are; they don't have any confidence, and if they did, they would have swept the miners aside.

(continued on page 3)

(continued from page 2)

Because of this we must expect that the influence of the Latin-American and world revolution sustains the mining workers and the factory workers of La Paz and the peasants, and the poor petit bourgeoisie, reanimating them to establish a United Front. The conclusions of this stage of the interrupted civil war in Bolivia is the necessity for a leadership decisive at this stage for the action of the masses. But it is not possible to make a leadership underground, one must go into the streets. For this our Trotskyist comrades of Bolivia must use their ability to establish agreements with the leadership which emerges at this stage, even if it is timid and limited, in order to advance the movement, to reconstitute the front.

This is the present stage. One cannot expect internal discussions and assemblies, etc., now. Now, without ceasing the struggle, it is necessary to form a new leadership, an intermediate leadership, which we can call in historical terms "provisional", which will take into its hands the task of reconstituting the front of the exploited masses in order to be able to pass immediately to the offensive.

Without doubt, one must also expect a Yankee intervention. They are going to intervene with arms as they intervened in Santo Domingo. The Argentinian bourgeoisie too is going to intervene but not with the same confidence; Peru and Chile, one cannot say; and if the guerrillas of Cuzco of Peru continue on with their struggles, it will be collaboration and a united front which will support the Bolivian workers and miners.

There is a united front with the world masses in their struggles. This united front manacles the bourgeoisie. If imperialism has not unleashed all its force in Santo Domingo; if it has not already gone over to the offensive to invade Hanoi and China, it is because it is stopped not by the attitude of the Soviet Bureaucracy—but by the vigilant action of the masses and the world working class struggle, and the struggle of the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which puts pressure on the Soviet bureaucracy to force it to make a front against imperialism. It is not a direct resolution of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The resistance of the Soviet bureaucracy is expressed in an indirect form, the pressure which they receive from the Soviet masses and from the masses of the world affects workers states. The Soviet bureaucracy expresses and reflects the world united front, in the resistance it makes to imperialism. Not armed resistance, but certainly diplomatic resistance which means that the Soviet bureaucracy cannot remain passive if imperialism invades North Viet-Nam and China. Behind this attitude of the Soviet Bureaucracy, which is not its own resolution—this rabble are gangsters who want to conciliate with imperialism—the terror which they feel and the enormous pressure of the world masses is expressed.

The Communist Parties of Europe met recently. The most important point of the discussion was the problem of Viet-Nam, and they made a resolution declaring that the attitude of American imperialism in Viet-Nam and Santo Domingo put the peace of the world in danger and brought the third world war nearer. If they are disposed to allow imperialism to continue and not to respond there is no world war; then imperialism continues to gain positions which is what it wants to do.

When they speak of the third world war, it is because they see themselves obliged to resist now, not because they want to resist but because it is the pressure of the struggle of the masses which makes them resist. Because of this, this resolution of the communist parties of Europe, in a confused indirect language, is an expression that the proletariat of Europe feels the danger from the advance of imperialism, not only in Viet-Nam but also in Santo Domingo.

What revived the problem was not Viet-Nam but Santo Domingo. This revived the problem of Viet-Nam and why? Because imperialism showed that

it was ready to go to the end to massacre the masses? But it had already shown this before. The new fact lay in the relation with the masses of the world, particularly with the masses of the communist parties.

The reaction of the masses of the communist parties shows that they receive the influence of the masses of the world. The same in the countries of Latin America, Peru, Chile, Mexico, Colombia, etc., this influence is expressed there. The declaration of Lopez Mateos which was in the newspapers is a militant attitude. When they publish it they are fighting against whom? Against Imperialism? Certainly, but also against a part of the government which is allied to Imperialism. Thus it is an expression of the internal struggle which is going on.

Lopez Mateos is not a brave man, his attitudes are not the result of ideological comprehension; they are a reflection of the state of spirit of the Mexican masses and which, concretely, the masses express in their resolutions. The last conference of the Confederation of Young Mexicans demonstrates it; Cardenas was also at this conference, which shows in reality that he is younger than the others because he maintains his positions from 1934—youth is not measured by vigour or by the state of the muscles, but by the social attitude—and when Cardenas maintains his positions from 1934 it is important, because it gives a very great impulse to the Mexican revolution, and when recently he said that he would have nationalised coal and Banks, etc., he said it, not to recall old times, but to remind the others that this is what must be done, that is to say, to fight, to combat.

The support which the Bolivian masses receive from the masses of the world, is not a direct but an indirect support. Without doubt it does not have an immediate affect, but it certainly has a permanent affect, on which they are going to base themselves for a later reaction. It is necessary to support the Bolivian masses, and the best way to support them is to advance the class struggle in each country.

The important thing which has been demonstrated, is the weakness of all the workers leaderships. Neither Cuba, nor China, nor the USSR has drawn any conclusion from the class struggle of the Bolivian masses. Nothing, neither from Santo Domingo either. The Bolivian process is old; the conclusions concerning the guerrillas, the militias, the workers army, are there, but they have drawn no conclusion. The only ones who have known how to measure and understand this process of Bolivia has been ourselves, and also we are the only ones who have intervened to encourage the intervention of the masses.

CONCILIATION BY

PRO CHINESE ELEMENTS

The pro-Chinese have acted in the following way. Pimental and Escobar, leaders of the pro-Moscow Communist party, broke some months back and formed pro-Chinese Communist party, they are pro-Chinese leaders. They have in their hands the leadership of the most important trade unions: Siglo Veinte and Yayagua, they are the unions with most weight; and what did they do? They abandoned them and fled; they did not put up any fight as they should have done.

The possibility and the responsibility which existed was to resist the communication of the Junta that they should give up their arms. They should have replied with the general strike, the appeal to overthrow the Junta with occupation of all the factories and for an anti-imperialist programme. This should have been their reply, but they were not prepared to do it and they surrendered; it is a capitulation. The conclusion which one must draw is that this is the policy of the Chinese. It is not enough to accuse the Soviets of conciliation with imperialism. What policy are the Chinese putting forward? It is expressed, there in Bolivia, the same with the Chileans and the Cubans.

What is the policy of the Cubans?

BALANCE OF THE BELGIAN ELECTIONS

From "Lutte Ouvriere" Organ of Belgian section of IV International

The legislative elections have shown with even more evidence the process which already became clear in the elections of October; the polarisation of class forces in Belgium. Throughout all the country a process of movement within the social classes has been produced. This growing polarisation is the consequence of the revolutionary process which matures in Belgium and of the pressure of the influence, ceaselessly becoming stronger, of the world revolution on the evolution of the situation in Belgium. It is the whole of the world situation, the world relationship of forces which is expressed here; the exploited masses have shown a single tendency under different forms, which is the search for a class leadership, the search for a revolutionary policy necessary for their struggles.

The bourgeoisie on its part, expresses the same intention; it has voted PLP, because it can no longer have confidence in the PSC (Socialist party), to resist and impede the anti-capitalist maturing of the masses. The advance of the PLP comes essentially from the bourgeoisie and those layers of the petit-bourgeoisie who have a capitalist mentality or interest, in their search for a centre capable of meeting the advance of the masses.

Among the exploited masses, the petit bourgeoisie has sought to show its repudiation of the conciliatory policy of the PSE, of the blind alley into which the governmental parties has lead it,

in massively refusing their votes to the PSB and the PSC. The FDF of Brussels and the Volksunie in Flanders have been able to receive these votes because of the enormous confusion which is to be found within the petit bourgeoisie masses; in the measure where none of the workers parties puts forward a revolutionary policy, a class policy and on the contrary introduces bourgeoisie ideology with linguistic problems, federalism, etc., the bourgeoisie uses the confusion of the petit bourgeoisie and the general "Front Unique" against the PSB to direct the dissatisfaction and discontent, concentrating them on secondary issues, such as linguistic problems. Thus it is under this form that the petit bourgeoisie expresses its discontent which is fundamentally social.

The poor petit bourgeoisie, the small peasants and the proletariat have pronounced themselves against a reformist policy and for a class policy. They are not able to express themselves through one class centre as for example, in France and Italy, where the masses vote massively for the CP or the PSIUP. In Belgium the organisational expression of this tendency of the masses has many forms. There is no centre to canalise the force of the masses.

But the class expressed itself, in increasing the votes of the pro-Soviet CP, in supporting the PWT, the pro-

(Continued on page five)

The Cubans say, "We don't interfere in other countries", and if they don't interfere they are isolated. But they must interfere. Imperialism interferes; the class struggle is international not national. The triumph and the survival of Cuba is not due to its production, because it has produced 6 million tons of sugar. If Cuba actually exists it is because the masses of Santo Domingo are fighting and resisting imperialism; because the masses of Bolivia are resisting imperialism; because the masses of Chile, the supporters of Frei make a united front with the communists and socialists. This manacles, strikes, fetters, and weakens imperialism.

The masses without theoretical understanding, work resolutely as in Chile? Why does Frei take the position he does? Frei takes a militant position infinitely superior to that of Fidel Castro; already he has accused imperialism as no one else, neither the Soviet Union nor Fidel Castro have done. Frei does not do it because he is thinking of overthrowing capitalism; but because of the contradictions of Chilean capitalism—which is expressed above all by the rising struggle of the masses; it is this which makes him take up such a position. To cover himself and stay where he is, he must take this position; and secondly, to try, in these conditions of crisis and weakness of world capitalism, to extract advantages for the Chilean bourgeoisie, basing himself on the action of the masses. And this attitude weakens imperialism.

If the Cuban leadership took a responsible attitude with respect to the Bolivian situation, they would have already drawn some conclusions favourable for none of them have a programme for the development of the revolution; they simply accept things as they are.

The leadership in Bolivia retreated the masses did not. The leadership surrendered, fled. The conclusion is that if the leadership was one which the movement supported, and on which the movement depended, the masses would lose. The masses have not lost, they are still alive and they will make a leadership in the streets.

The leaderships have failed because they had no confidence, no security, nor desire to fight for an anti-capitalist programme. It is the same in Santo Domingo, a series of leaderships gave up but the masses continued to fight.

The continuity of their fight, their struggle, stimulated new leaderships among them Caamano.

It is the same in Bolivia. If the masses had wanted to accompany the flight of their leaders they would have gone home; but they remained. Why? To defend what—their wages? They were defending the nationalised mines; this shows the historic comprehension of the masses and the fact that the actual leaderships were behind and below the masses.

The miners feel strong; they don't feel beaten or crushed. They feel partly defeated, because they did not have a leadership which organised the struggle and also because they did not have a united front. All this delays events a certain time and allow the Junta to establish a certain equilibrium to be able to strike once again. We cannot make a precise prediction when the Junta will strike, but we can say precisely that to maintain themselves they must strike again. We cannot expect that the miners now, take the initiative. On the contrary, we propose that immediately the miners must launch a programme of democratic and wage claims, in order to establish a front with all the exploited masses and on the basis of raising the standard of living.

The first thing that the miners and our Trotskyist comrades in Bolivia must do is; to establish the basis for the reunification of the miners, the factory workers, the petit bourgeoisie and peasants. And a common programme of demands in which above all, the miners are going to have to make important concessions in order to attract the other sectors. In the development of the struggle they are going to establish the condition to raise the programme and the objective themselves, this is what they must do immediately.

This is the basis for a new leadership. We believe that the masses are going to turn to it, and impose it. This stage of rethinking by the Bolivian masses will also be one of blows against them. They will not be able to disarm them; the fact that they kept their arms and broke with the trade unions immediately, is because they want to find anew, a directing centre. Without doubt they will receive more blows, but these will not split them up nor demoralise them, nor terrorise them. In a short time they will revive. This we are confident of.

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT IN GREECE

FINISH WITH THE CONCILIATIONISM OF THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY



Finish with NATO, the Monarchy and Capitalism

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEXICO: *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 1370, Ad. de Correos No. 1, D.F.

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

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

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

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

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the

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

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J. Posadas.

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New Letter of Cde Posadas to the Cuban Section

tionary party is the most complete and necessary form of struggling for the Socialist revolution. To renounce this is to renounce our life.

There is no force to impede the masses struggling for the Socialist revolution. Neither atomic bombs nor continuous atomic terror, nor the criminal assassinations of thousands of human beings, of the exploited masses in Vietnam, Congo, in Latin America, in Africa, all this terror does not block the masses of the world, and the struggles for the Socialist revolution advances invincibly. Recently in Panama 10,000 people constituted an independent republic and are organised in the form of guerillas to sustain their decision to live independently (it is an expression of the decision to smash Capitalism; this is their historic decision). The means which they have used are those of the colonial revolution. The historic personality, the eruption into life of the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America begins in reality with their eruption into revolution; all the threats of Capitalism and Imperialism have failed.

They assassinated Trotsky 25 years ago to try to smash and reduce to silence the struggles of the Trotskyists. But the revolution advanced, 14 new workers states have been created, Trotskyism has developed on a world scale and the objective line of the revolution is Trotskyist. The most recent example is Dominica. Reality demands the policy, the line and the Trotskyist programme. Trotskyism is not the intransigent aspiration and defence of the ideas and positions of our international in the cause of particular motives, of a tendency or groups. Trotskyism is the expression in principle of the objective necessity of the course which the revolution must follow, to advance, to triumph and to construct Socialism.

Recently in Moscow 400 young students and intellectuals have given homage to Mayakovsky (a poet who in the USSR committed suicide in 1929 as a protest against the policy of repression and the crimes of Stalin). His line was that of an honest revolutionary tending towards the Left; thus he sympathised with the positions of struggle which the revolution in the USSR and the world tried to develop.

There is no need for remorse or shame about signing these resignations. It was not correct; it is shameful for the dignity of revolutionaries. But like all mistakes which our movement and militants commit they must and will be corrected. The masses of the world and our International understand and will understand the reasons for and the situations in which such a document was signed. All the International expects and demands this rectification. The Spanish comrades in situations as difficult as yours have refused to make any declaration which would compromise their revolutionary dignity and paralyse them, that is to say, statements saying that they would not enter upon militant activity and would not develop activity in the name of the International.

The crisis of the leadership of the Cuban revolution is only part of the world crisis of the bureaucratic leaderships. This means that the margin for their bureaucratic manoeuvres is becoming narrower. Prepare for this perspective in a short time! Sustain the interrupted political life with all the sectors of the masses who can do it. We are disposed to make negotiations, agreements, alliances with all those who wish to carry forward the socialist revolution — however minimal these agreements.

All the perspectives are for the impelling and the constant progress of the revolution. In Guatemala the revolutionary movement of the 13 November directs the revolution on the basis of the programme and of the struggle for the revolutionary socialist objectives which are ours. In Mexico a left revolutionary tendency is developing which demands Trotskyism and in Trotskyism, the re-

Continued from page 1
volutionary orientation.

The blow which imperialism has received in Santa Domingo will smash all its strategy and structure in the Caribbean; it will stimulate and push forward the socialist revolution in the whole of Latin America including Cuba. If in Guatemala the guerillas of the 13 November movement have adopted our programme soon other countries of Latin America will follow the same course. In Argentina the United Front of our party with the Peronista revolutionary tendency, develops; already a revolutionary peronista current which accepts our programme and our revolutionary objectives is on the march. Our comrades in the Argentine are developing their influence in the workers movement. In various sectors and in various provinces our comrades are at the head of union struggles.

In Italy our section increases in the tendencies and groups in the PSIUP who won a million votes and are organising for more elevated revolutionary struggles. In Peru our section sells every number of its paper and increases its political and revolutionary influence. In Switzerland a new pro-Chinese party has been formed, it has sought relations with us it has written to us, we are in permanent contact with them and our influence increases there; the same in the communist party of the pro-Chinese in Spain. The writer Deutscher wrote three months ago that in circles regarded as Trotskyist it is said that a furious inter-bureaucratic struggle is raging.

TROTSKYIST CURRENTS

If today in Moscow 400 young people render homage to Mayakovsky struggle with the police, march through the streets, make declarations saying that they are on the Left like Mayakovsky, wish to publish a review on the Left, it is because the necessity and the conscious forces who are seeking to express and stimulate the Socialist spirit in the USSR are seeking to impose Socialist democracy. And the Left opposition in the USSR was suppressed, assassinated and decapitated 38 years ago. Today it is reborn even if its first initiatives are still weak. But for the first time publicly a numerous group finds the courage to declare itself of the Left and wishes to differentiate itself as a Left revolutionary tendency in opposition to the bureaucratic leadership. They are the first manifestations which can be considered as coming from the masses in the USSR. Its significance is Trotskyist.

All the assassinations which the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucrats of the whole world have committed have not been able to contain the necessary and objective development of the socialist revolution.

Your signatures and your withdrawals from the party and from the International must be repudiated. To uphold them would be the negation of your life and of the perspective of the development of the political revolution and of the world proletarian revolution. The weakness, consequence perhaps of isolation, the thought to make a manoeuvre against the bureaucracy who have obliged you to make this withdrawal all these intentions have no value. They lead in the ultimate analysis to demoralisation and to loss of confidence and historic security. It is necessary to repudiate these signatures.

One of the fundamental reasons for which comrades you have been put at liberty has been the firmness, the decisive and firm revolutionary security demonstrated during your imprisonment and the campaign and struggle of our sections throughout the world for the development of Trotskyism which is the development of our struggles, united at the same time to the development of the world revolution.

But it has also been your dignified revolutionary attitude in prison, the

activity of the comrades of the Cuban section who have not ceased activity which has led to your being set free. It has been our firmness, yours, that of all the International, revolutionary firmness and action which has powerfully affected the obtaining of your liberation. These are the conclusions upon which it is necessary to lean now, to continue the activity of the section in Cuba.

MAINTAIN THE ORGANIC POLITICAL LIFE OF THE PARTY

The perspectives are not those of retreat but of advance. When the bureaucrats and the apprentice bureaucrats are obliged to put our comrades at liberty it is because they feel themselves to be weak and feel above all, the uninterrupted and decisive struggle, the constant objective, direct and world progress of Trotskyism. It is necessary to continue to function as before, to maintain the centralised and organic life of the party living, discussing, adopting resolutions on all the problems of the socialist revolution in Cuba and in the world. The sectors which the party influence expect the continuation of this activity. The activity of the party has encouraged them and will encourage them to maintain their resolution to struggle.

In Vietnam and now in S. Domingo it has been demonstrated that the advance of the world revolution is irreversible, that imperialism is finished, that the proletarian revolution is necessary, that armed action is necessary to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. Peaceful co-existence has been destroyed in whatever sector of the world that the communist parties have tried to practice it.

Trotskyist groups and tendencies are constantly appearing; the IV International increases its influence and effect also on the Chinese. Their prolonged silence is a sign that there exists a deep internal discussion and that there are tendencies who are seeking to accelerate the colonial revolution and the world socialist revolution. It is on the basis of this perspective that the Cuban comrades must decide the continuation of the activity without any fear from having signed these documents. The bureaucrats who ask the revolutionaries to stop their struggles and revolutionary activity do it because they are disposed to renounce and have renounced any struggle for the proletarian revolution and are content with their bureaucratic and conservative life. Only from the contemptible and the rotten, from the corrupted and demoralised can one expect demands to revolutionaries to cease activity. Only those who do not feel the revolution or fear it or make bureaucratic concessions could make such a request. All such will be eliminated in a short time.

Dear comrades, we understand the complicated and difficult situation in which you live but it is necessary to endure this for a period. Your freedom shows that the course of the world revolution is in the ascendancy; part of this is our struggle. It is necessary to maintain it at any cost. We embrace our comrades with all our revolutionary fervour and we expect and desire ardently that the comrades who have signed, repudiate this document immediately and without any complication in relations with the rest of the comrades.

Long live the Cuban section of the IV International! Long live our courageous and honest comrades of the Cuban section! Long live the Cuban masses who with us aspire for struggle and expect to develop the socialist revolution!

In the name of the IV International Repudiate the signatures! Long live the decision to maintain the activity of the Party and the life bound to the International!

For the International Secretariat

J. POSADAS.

BELGIAN ELECTIONS

(Continued from page three)

Chinese CP, the Trotskyist party and also by abstaining. The increase of 100,000 votes of abstention (which brings the number of blank voting slips and abstentions to 400,000) is one way of voting! It expresses a high level of politicisation, because it is a conscious opinion which shows itself to be against all the workers parties who put forward a policy of reformism and conciliation.

In Charleroi, this vanguard was able to encounter the revolutionary policy and a sector voted for the Trotskyist Party.

There is not any contradiction in the spirit of the masses, between those votes for the pro-Soviet CP, for the PWT, for the pro-Chinese CP, for the Trotskyists or the abstentions. They all reflected a tendency of the class to seek a class leadership. They reflected the enormous pressure of the world revolution, the repudiation of the pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist policy of the PSB, and at the same time the rejection of reformist methods in the struggle in Belgium itself.

The reception of the revolutionary programme.

The electoral campaign carried out by the POR(T) has a significance and an echo much more profound than the votes obtained (377) express. The party, with extremely small material means, had to face a thousand obstacles through the sabotage of the PSB and the bourgeois police. We denounce this sabotage: the police of Montignies confiscated our loud speaker, the PDB systematically tore down our posters or covered them up with their own. On the other hand, the party had no access to the TV nor to the radio, as all the other parties did, to make known its point of view and its programme. The impossibility of presenting tellers allowed a fraud to take place with the voting slips. One can take it that the real number of votes was double that officially published.

On the other hand, the presentation of the party, if it had been able to operate nationally would have gained a more important number of votes.

We appeal to all the comrades who have voted Trotskyist in Charleroi and those who would have voted Trotskyist in the other regions, to work with the directives and the orientations of the party, to help with the maturing of the factory groups, to edit factory bulletins, to sell "Lutte Ouvrier" at their place of work, to win subscriptions, to assure the twice monthly appearance of "Lutte Ouvrier" and its next appearance as an eight pager, to hold monthly meetings to discuss "Lutte Ouvrier" with their comrades, to create a discussion with the students, the youth, to get them to push forward the struggle for the programme in their own party.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST LEFT REFORMISM

The electoral result obtained by the party is very important in the conditions where the campaign was developed but it nevertheless does not reflect the echo encountered and the reception for a Trotskyist programme. Hundreds of comrades, all approving of the programme, gave their votes to the pro-Chinese or the pro-Soviet CP with the desire of appearing as a greater class force. All the campaign showed the marvellous conditions which exist to orientate better the pre-occupations of the class towards a revolutionary policy. The uniformity of the votes for the Trotskyists in the different boroughs of the region of Charleroi express also the existence of such a sector in the whole of the country. Everywhere, a part of the working class abstained because it had not encountered us, because it had not encountered the way to express in any other way its revolutionary consciousness, its aptitude for a revolutionary policy, and its great combativity. It is this sector which is going to encounter the revolutionary policy and programme of the Trotskyists, and which is going to apply and develop its findings in the class struggle. This

(Continued on page six)

AN ATTEMPT TO BLOCK THE IV INTERNATIONAL IN GREAT BRITAIN

Recently an organisation known as the Socialist Labour League held a "Congress" (June 5, 6, 7). This organisation purports to be "Trotskyist" but it has nothing in common with the line of the IV International. The role of the SLL was defined by Comrade Posadas at the VII World Congress of the IV International—that is an organisation which while purporting to be Trotskyist is in fact working directly or indirectly in the interests of Imperialism. This is shown by the considerable publishing activity allied with altogether insignificant political perspectives. The relevant "reports" at this SLL Congress contained a tissue of distortions about the line and activity of the IV International. The highly conscious degree of this distortion was particularly revealed in the "report" by C.S. laughter claiming to be of "International" scope! The fantastic degree of dishonesty revealed therein is another manifestation of the total degeneration and anti proletarian viciousness of the people who constitute the "leadership" of the SLL.

In the first place a good deal of space is devoted in the report—as also in the publications of the SLL generally—to attacking the old capitulators i.e. Pablo, Germain, etc. In fact these people are totally insignificant and finished; the enormous amount of space devoted to the various errors of the capitulators and the SWP in the United States is simply to make it appear that the IV International has been destroyed and needs "reconstruction."

In practice the crisis of growth in the International was swiftly solved in the extraordinary congress of April 1962 when the Latin American bureau reorganised the International, preserved the line of the International and rebuilt the European sections. There is no mention of this in Slaughter's "report." On the contrary he makes a series of remarks totally slanderous of the IV International to make it appear that the IV International had capitulated in Latin America. Thus "Posadas and others started afresh in sectarian movements. The balance sheet in Latin America is the loss of revolutionary opportunities and the liquidation of the revolutionary movement." This is imperialist nonsense and we emphasise the word imperialist. Only those consciously wishing to block the advance of the International in Great Britain could put forward such lies. The whole Latin American continent is lurching towards civil war. Bolivia despite the blows of the Junta shows the enormous level and advance of the proletarian struggle. As we have shown in previous articles in "Red Flag" the proletariat of the Argentine gains rapidly in maturity and goes towards revolution; the military dictatorship in Brazil is in confusion and despite its terrorism has failed in its objectives to crush the proletariat and the peasantry. Civil war is developing in Peru, Colombia and Venezuela. In Guatemala the November 14 movement has in fact a Trotskyist programme. Quite apart from the enormous progress of the sections of the IV International, the persistent struggles of the Latin American masses is the guarantee of the Socialist revolution in Latin America in a very short stage. Slaughter's remarks are a vile imperialist denigration of the Latin American masses and is a reflection of a total absence of serious perspectives. Earlier Slaughter had indicated that "Trotskyists" had become the left wing of Peronism. Pre-

sumably this is another attempt to vilify the Argentinian section of the IV International. The party has always maintained independent Trotskyist activity in the Argentine and is now working in a united front with the revolutionary tendencies in Peronism. Again these SLL attacks reflect the desire to denigrate the IV International and to confuse militants in this country struggling towards a Trotskyist conception. Also in the same report another fatuous remark is dashed off, to make it appear as though the IV International was not operating in Algeria i.e. that the Algerian section had liquidated into nationalist movements. On the contrary the Algerian section maintains a constant revolutionary activity under very difficult conditions.

Incidentally so profoundly centrist is this gentleman that having attacked the line of the SWP, he seems to fear their complete liquidation—considering that they are totally petit bourgeois in conception their disappearance should surely be welcomed.

The whole of this particular "report" reflects the absence of any coherent understanding of the historic process of our epoch. There is no mention of the coming war revolution. In other words these people hold to the possibility for peaceful co-existence between the workers states and Imperialism—before he capitulated, Pablo at least in 1953 was clear on this point (since then he has accepted peaceful co-existence). The SLL would seem to hold that there can be no workers state unless the SLL is leading it. Well in fact the Chinese masses pushed their leadership into a workers state without the intervention of the IV International. But this is not to lessen the role of the IV International; everywhere the situation demands a specifically Trotskyist leadership. The continued development of the Chinese revolution, the overthrow of the soviet bureaucracy demands the intervention of the IV International. In Latin America and in Europe the process of fusion of the Trotskyist sections with the revolutionary currents makes continuous progress whether with the revolutionary currents in the Peronista movement or with the PSIUP in Italy.

The SLL "leadership" puts forward positions which are a total caricature of the positions of the IV International; thus it sees no serious significance in the Sino soviet dispute, cannot comprehend the advance of the colonial revolution under transitional petit bourgeois leaderships, cannot comprehend the significance of the revolutionary nationalist currents in the middle east or Latin America. These currents do not exist for them, the world revolution is not advancing because the SLL is not in control—they slander all these movements because they judge them purely by the insufficiencies of the leaders rather than by the enormous expression of the advance of the masses. They choose not to understand the split in the Belgian Socialist party simply because its leadership is totally opportunist; they choose not to see that the pressure of the masses has fragmented a traditional apparatus, that the split despite the leadership has in the conditions in Belgium an altogether positive value. It would be absurd to suggest that the PSIUP tendency in Italy was to be judged by the utterances of its leaders conciliatory towards the Communist party. The crisis within these tendencies are not finished but these tendencies mark the breakdown of the apparatuses and is the prelude to the fusion of the revolutionary party with the class. The SLL leadership characterises the Cuban

BELGIAN ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 5)

sector has rejected the "Union of Left Forces" of the CP, but prepares to construct and organise the United Front from the base, the united Proletarian and anti-imperialist Front.

We call all those comrades who by their abstention have shown that they are conscious that the reformist policy of the CP amounts to nothing, to organise in their factories, in their districts, United Front groups in order to advance the demands and the struggles of the working class.

The Current against Left reformism
This important current of the class has rejected the policy of the pro-soviet CP and of "La Gauche", has voted against its reformist programme and of the union of the lefts. This is because neither the PWT nor the pro soviet CP have given any perspective, of class solutions to the fundamental problems which are posed to the masses. The problem of the closing of coal mines for example; capitalism cannot in any way resolve this problem and complaining that the Government is not keeping its promises, and asking for more important subsidies from the state to keep the mines going, does no good at all in these conditions. The perspectives and the only solution, is the nationalisation without compensation of the mines, workers control by the trade unions and the workers committees, over the production and functioning of the pits, the modernisation of their technical capacity; and this solution must be won with class methods by the direct and massive intervention of the class.

It is the same for the other fundamental problem of the masses today; unemployment. "Drapeau Rouge" in relation to the situation in F.N. proposes an equal distribution of unemployment among the factory workers. But this is not a solution! The solution from the proletarian point of view is to see that no worker is sacked and that the work is divided between all without a lowering of wages. These two examples show where the policy of 'structural reforms'

workers' state as bourgeois because of the various petit bourgeois utterances of Castro—despite the expropriation of the Imperialists, the expropriation of the Capitalists, the smashing of the old state apparatus and the existence of the popular militia.

One could catalogue the errors of the SLL and it would be interminable. However, the principle significance of its role particularly shown in Slaughter's vile performance, is to confuse militants in an effort to block the development of the IV International in Britain. Despite all their air of militancy the SLL and Keep Left is old centrism writ large—indeed social democracy writ large. These bold fellows (Keep Left, June 1965) say "our present policy is to demand a conference of the labour movement to change the policies and leadership of the Labour party". How respectable can you get? In face of mass expulsions from the Labour party they put forward a programme to "change" the leadership of the Labour party. The role of the SLL in the enormous crisis of the Labour Party is to put a protective cloak over the youth searching for a revolutionary programme and keep them simply to militant demonstrations without a clear perspective. But of course the current will go far beyond the intentions of the Healyite group; when demands such as wholesale nationalisations under workers control are put forward at a time when British imperialism is in process of collapse this reflects the growth of a revolutionary current which will go beyond parliamentary methods and centrist obstacles.

We appeal to all the militants in and around Keep Left in particular to examine the programme and policies of the IV International to read the documents of Posadas and to build the IV International in Britain.

which refuses to go outside the limits of capitalism leads.

It is against this policy that a whole current of the working class was expressing itself in the elections.

The pro-Chinese CP has not been able to collect all these votes. This is due to a lack of a programme for the everyday anti-capitalist tasks. They say that it is necessary to liquidate capitalism, but in general, abstractly. Faced with unemployment, and closures, they have no programme to put before the working class. On the contrary, the leaders of the pro-Chinese CP camouflage the necessary programme, which is the Trotskyist programme, for they do not give an honest reply to their own militants who are thinking about this programme and about Trotskyism. They say to them that Mandel is the leader of Trotskyism of the IV International in Belgium and easily show that Mandel's programme is reformist, that he conciliates with the pro-Soviet CP, and this with the purpose of diverting them from the Trotskyist programme, from the programme of the POR(T). This attitude and the lack of a revolutionary programme helps the pro-soviet CP; it does not allow the pro-Chinese to gain more votes and to attract towards them the sector which abstained.

The pro-Krushchev CP, The PWT, "La Gauche" are already looking for a new alliance with the PSE, by appealing to it to leave the government and to find once more its worker's party role, but the guarantee to make the struggle go forward is not the withdrawal of Spaak from the government.

THE END OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GAME

The masses have said no to parliament and to parliamentary solutions. The elections have only been a reflection of the process of the anti-capitalist struggle which is rising throughout the country. The campaign does not signify a truce in the class struggle. And after the elections this process is going to elevate itself still more.

A symptom of this is to be found in the demonstration organised in Charleroi by 300 trade union delegates to protest against the non-respecting of agreements by the bosses. This same trade union apparatus, which has never ceased to impede the struggles of the class, and shackle its intervention, stages this protest! It wants to give the alert to capitalism that it is no longer capable of maintaining its policy of conciliation, that the working class is putting pressure on it and goes beyond it.

It is necessary to measure the existing balance of forces in the country, by the class struggle. It is not parliament which can express this relationship, but the intervention of the proletariat in the fight against capitalism, acting as a leader of the exploited masses to conquer their demands in constructing the United Proletarian Front in organising with the anti-capitalist programme in the trade unions and the workers parties, the revolutionary current which has appeared in these elections.

EDITORIAL

(From page six)

In the absence of any other proletarian centre in this country, the unofficial factory committees must press forward with the programme of nationalisation under workers control, linked firmly with all the minimum demands such as wage increases, and improvements in conditions of work.

The declaration of Warbey against the Wilson leadership reflects the growing crisis of the LP apparatus. At the TUC congress and the LP conference militants must intervene with the anti-capitalist programme to build the revolutionary current which will smash the LP, the monarchy and imperialism.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

No. 24

SEPTEMBER 1965

SIXPENCE

Unite The Factory Committees To Smash The Policy of Wage Freeze and Unemployment

The crisis of British capitalism becomes more and more glaring, industrial production drops and the number of unemployed rises. Bourgeois economists talk about the need for continuous industrial semi-stagnation and rising unemployment, if all Britain's debts are to be paid off by 1970! The boom period of capitalism is over, not just in Britain but to varying extents in all capitalist countries; the world market is saturated and shrinking and the world bourgeoisie has no perspective of an expansion of world trade.

The crisis of world imperialism is not merely economic, this is only one aspect and not the most important one. Most important is the continual loss of authority before the masses, whose own confidence and combativity is constantly advancing. The riots in Los Angeles by the negro workers (the most exploited sector of the American working class), who rose and fought the police and the army for a fundamental change in their conditions of life, show the confidence of the masses even within the citadel of imperialism itself. Nothing that imperialism tries to organise, succeeds; most recently of all, Malaysia (an artificial creation of British Imperialism to form a bulwark against the revolution in S.E. Asia) splits up with the secession of Singapore.

In this country the inability of capitalism to solve the problems of its own system, is a product of the desire of the British masses to improve and change their existence. The fact that sectors of the workers press as much for shorter hours as for higher wages, is an indication of the dissatisfaction of the British workers at their present conditions of life, and their determination to change these conditions. The workers at Leylands have recently won a four 10 hour shift system in place of the old 4½ shift system and a struggle for the same objective is being waged at present in B.M.C. The latest offer to the railwaymen includes a two hour cut in the working week, and represents, including a pay increase, a rise of 11% over 12 months; but of course the bourgeoisie also demands increased productivity.

Now the deflationary measures of the government, which were taken to ease the balance of payments crisis, are beginning to take effect. Pye Radio has closed a factory employing 800 workers in Ulster, Hoover is on short time, Vauxhalls are ending overtime, and Fords are putting 10,000 on a four day week. In the face of this the Union leaders have done nothing; the struggle against unemployment will come first from the unofficial committees and then, only to try to keep the union rank and file under control will the union leaders react reluctantly. Already the shop stewards at Fords are threatening one day strikes against the short time working and against the rejection of their latest pay claim. The workers are maintaining their offensive and the sharpening of the economic crisis will force them to intensify this offensive.

DOCKERS REJECT CONCILIATORY LEADERSHIP

In the London Docks, the lifting of the one-day suspension of 1,600 dockers by the Dock Labour Board was a partial victory for the dockers. As the "Times" of the 17th August says . . . "By withdrawing the suspensions the labour board has ended a difficult situation, but yielding to pressure in this way can only have damaged its standing and authority." It is true that the TGWU officials managed to extract a mass appeal from the dockers against the

suspension, but earlier the board had said it would accept only individual appeals, and so the acceptance of the mass appeal was a retreat for them. The rejection by the dockers, of the conciliation attempts by Jack Dash and the leadership of the Portworkers Liaison Committee, was an expression of the high level of consciousness of the dockers, and their determination to sweep aside all leaderships who become a drag or a hindrance to their struggle. We appeal to the dockers to build a Liaison Committee on the programme of nationalisation of the docks under workers' control. The proposals of the 'Devlin Report' show the capitalists wish to intensify exploitation and cut down the number of men employed; it also declares war on the unofficial committees and urges the union officials to carry out a struggle to reassert their authority in the docks. This report is an attack on the dockers and on their own organisations; the dockers must discuss and plan (without waiting for the directions of Dash and the Communist Party) a struggle against the proposals, basing themselves on the unofficial organisations which must be strengthened and extended.

LABOUR LEADERS TRY TO IMPOSE WAGE FREEZE

Now with the perspective of rising unemployment the Labour government is taking steps to restrict the flow to this country of immigrants from the West Indies. In the past few years British capitalism desperately needed them to carry out many of the worst paid jobs, particularly in the social services, and it is a glaring example of the inability of capitalism to provide for the basic human needs of the masses, that many West Indian workers are living in overcrowded insanitary slums. The housing shortage was not caused by the immigrants but they are the worst hit victims of it. To counter attacks by racist thugs, Jamaican and other immigrant groups are planning to set up their own patrols because they are not getting enough protection from the police. This is an example of the confidence of the immigrant workers, who say that they have no need of a Martin

Luther King and that they are going to fight to stay here. These workers have seen the class character of the police force—the police are not impartial, their role is the defence of bourgeois order and property — and they are organising for self protection; it is the beginning of the workers militia. Nevertheless it is wrong to isolate, in this way, the struggle of the coloured worker and we appeal to all immigrants to unite with the white workers in the trade unions and the unofficial committees.

Faced with the economic crisis and the unceasing struggle of the workers, the Labour leaders move further to the right to try to find a solution. Brown is now talking about "Statutory controls" to back up the incomes policy. This means that the government has seen the worthlessness of its agreements with the TU bosses to keep pay rises down to 3½%—the TU Bureaucrats have had to demand more because they were forced to do so. Now the Labour leaders want a period of wage freeze and a much tougher policy in relation to incomes than previously, and they are considering passing laws to enforce this, and to curb the resistance of the workers in unofficial strikes. They are even at odds with their own National Board for Incomes and Prices which they set up only a few months ago, over whether any increases of over 3% should be allowed if coupled with increased productivity; the board has said yes, now Brown is saying no. In fact the leaders want an increase in the rate of

exploitation, to try to haul capitalism out of its crisis.

This then is the situation; rising unemployment, industrial stagnation and an increasing rate of exploitation (possibly enforced by law) and from the workers' side a struggle to shorten the working day and improve their conditions of existence. The workers, even without a Marxist leadership have won or partially won many of their recent struggles with the bourgeoisie and are confident of their own ability. Capitalism is demoralised and losing on a world as well as on a national scale. The balance of world forces is in favour of the workers.

The struggle between the capitalist class and the workers is intensifying and in this process the unofficial committees, despite the conservatism and failures of some of their leaderships, will play an ever increasing role and they will inevitably begin to formulate political solutions for the problems facing the working class. The immediate demands now must be around the slogans of the sliding scale of hours, work sharing, no worker to be dismissed, and nationalisation under workers' control of all closed down factories. These demands must be included in the programme of the unofficial committees in the coming period of industrial stagnation and unemployment, and on such an anti-capitalist programme the committees must build and link together nationally to become the vehicle for the workers' final offensive.

GREEK MASSES TAKE THE ROAD TO INSURRECTION

The level of struggle in Greece is one of the finest examples of the maturity and speed of the world revolutionary process. The French paper *Le Monde* quite correctly called the situation pre-revolutionary. The level of struggle reflects the strength of the world united front of the masses against imperialism; and it also reflects the tremendous weakness of European capitalism. The Greek masses have entirely recovered their confidence after the appalling betrayal of the Greek revolution by the Stalinists in co-operation with the army of British imperialism at the end of the Second World War when Stalin arranged with imperialism at Yalta that Greece became part of the British sphere of capitalism.

The process in Greece is the result of a continuous mobilisation and maturing of the Greek masses—who have seen through the conciliationism of the Greek Communist Party and in no way make this the centre for their mobilisation. In recent years the vicious and bloody regime of Greek capitalism has

been seriously undermined to such an extent that the whole structure of capitalism is now decomposing and conditions are ripe for the revolutionary overthrow of the present regime. Karamanlis fell after the electoral defeat of his right wing ERE party—reflecting a loss of petit bourgeois support. The period prior to the "constitutional crisis" was overshadowed by huge popular demonstrations against NATO, for democratic liberties and in support of the Cypriot masses.

The "constitutional" crisis developed originally because such was the enormous pressure of the masses that the government of Papandreu began to actually call in question the royal control of the army; this was what was meant by the wish of Papandreu to remove Garafoulis, the defence minister who was investigating significantly a "left" group in the army. In some small degree Papandreu responded to the desires of the masses so that finally his party was split when Tsirimokos, a "left socialist" broke to form a new government

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The Military Coup in Algeria and The Postponement of The Afro Asian Conference (J. Posadas) First Part

THE Coup d'etat in Algeria is an expression of the process of the colonial revolution entering upon crisis. This crisis does not mean inability or failure, but it means that the Colonial revolution meets a series of obstacles and conflicts during the process of its development, and it is necessary to overcome these obstacles but the strength and the direction are not organised. The existing elements which exist to resolve this process — whether to go ahead or regress — have not sufficient strength to impose advance or retreat. This Coup d'etat in Algeria is one expression of this crisis. But it is a question of a crisis of growth in the colonial revolution; so it is not a question of stagnation, of weakness or incapacity. This marks and characterises the process of the colonial revolution. To pass from the phase of capitalist state to a workers state a transitional process must take place, in which a series of measures not only of an economic but also of a social character are necessary, and they have not been taken. This is why we see still existing some causes and conditions of crisis which may be exploited by groups or tendencies — military, economic or bureaucratic — who are trying to stop, to contain, to divert and limit the process, the importance, the development and the rhythm of the colonial revolution.

The colonial revolution means first of all that all the economy and property goes to the State. It means the ownership of the property by the state and at the same time control by the masses. The development of the colonial revolution does not mean simply that the bourgeoisie as a class has been expropriated or that the minority of the bourgeoisie rules it; the manner of measuring the process of the colonial revolution is the degree to which the economic apparatus is in the hands of the state, controlled and determined by the exploited masses.

If this process does not take place, you have inevitably an open platform, a basis for the possibility of pressure by some sectors of the bourgeoisie, by world capitalism, by imperialism as well as one of the main consequences of every revolutionary development: the organisation of bureaucratic sectors rising from the economic apparatus and the political and T.U. apparatus.

In Algeria this Coup d'etat expresses the process of maturity of the colonial revolution: and the colonial revolution in this phase—in order to arrive to spread and affirm itself—needs the massive intervention of the masses in an independent form as a class, through its independent organisms, in order to determine and impel the development of the revolution. During the process of development the colonial revolution reaches a level which is the decisive phase of transition, where the property, the basis of the economy and the economic forces of the apparatus of the state are nationalised. But while these forces are nationalised they are not yet represented nor followed by the intervention and the control of the masses.

The state apparatus has an immense strength which is the nationalised property; but in turn the social control over the state is weak, leaving open a large sphere to the pressures, to the force of the organised sectors of the society: not only to the proletariat and the peasantry but also the military forces, the bureaucratic apparatus of the party, the economic apparatus and organisations of imperialism and world capitalism.

PATERNALISTIC ATTITUDE TO THE MASSES

By its economic organisations, such as the banks, embassies and every kind of representation world capitalism has many forms of representation and of pressure in all the colonial states as well as all these countries which are evolving from a colonial situation and which find themselves in the process of their independence and national liberation, on the road to becoming workers' states. In this process the sectors determining the economic life of the country have an essential importance. In almost all these countries the proletariat even if organised in trade unions does not rule, does

not intervene and does not determine the economic, military or political administration; so it can't have any influence. This is not because the proletariat has not the strength, the capacity, the means or the desire to intervene: but because it is prevented from doing it.

The revolutionary leaderships of these nationalist movements—like Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sekou Ture, Sukarno—depend on and stimulate the exploited masses, workers, peasants and petit-bourgeoisie; nevertheless they don't let them decide or determine the economic life of the country. They do not let the proletariat control and decide, in the same way in which during the Russian and Chinese Revolutions the masses could intervene and decide through their organisations and the Communist Party—then a revolutionary party—which expressed the interests of all the exploited masses of Russia and China.

CONSERVATIVE INTERESTS OF THE APPARATUS

The concentration in the state apparatus of the national property creates by its strength, by its power of concentration, a series of interests: the military, political, and bureaucratic apparatus which in their entirety form the state apparatus. But all the apparatus struggles among themselves reflect different interests. It is through these interests and these sectors of the bureaucracy that what remains of world capitalism and imperialism, can intervene in the states, can contain, stop and divert the process of socialisation of the economy, through its trade unions, political and military links and relations.

We see the same phenomenon in all the colonial revolutions. And also in the proletarian revolution. But the difference is that if the proletarian revolution is directed by the revolutionary party, it is the party which assumes the power. The party is organised during years of preparation, formed by organised elements, who are resolved and have the authority and the influence of the class. It is the revolutionary party which holds in its hands the apparatus of the economy and it prevents the organisation of forces or sectors or tendencies which exert a capitalist pressure aiming to stop the socialist process, or to divert the revolution for their own aims. In order to achieve these aims they must seek some allies who being against the development of the revolution, inevitably must be sectors interested in halting the revolution.

All these tendencies try to contain the revolution, for fear or for different interests, for opposition to the interests of the nationalisations and the organisation and the building of socialism, because they have economic interests tied to the capitalists, rich petit bourgeois, feudal, industrial and tradesmen; and in

their turn these latter through the religious organisations—which are insecure, and incapable and which do not represent their specific interests but the interests of a little elite with some private property—join together and try to support all the tendencies against the revolution trying above all to prevent the control of the masses.

In the absence of a revolutionary party, in the absence of a party with a real influence on the masses and which can determine the organisation, the development of the activity of the society, which can mobilise the masses, which has an influence on the officers of the army, on the state apparatus, on the technicians on all the organisations, which the state needs; in the absence of a party which shows itself as the leader of the society, and in the absence of a permanent state of control of the masses—through such an organisation as workers control, organisation of workers councils, of communes and Soviets—the forces which are not interested, which are afraid of the development of a revolution, always try and always find the way to organise themselves by forming a united front to associate themselves in order to contain the revolution.

NECESSITY FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE ARMY

They are heterogeneous interests, without a common harmony but they can always find a centre; the alliance to stop the development of the revolution, or its rhythm and dynamism. But this doesn't mean that they are against the development of the nationalisation or that they want to retreat. However they want to contain the real development of the revolution; and this permits them to open a series of links, in which the opposition of capitalist interests expresses itself — national and international interests—thus, the association of international capitalism with the sectors interested in maintaining private property.

This is the process in Algeria. The existence of a so called "socialist" party which supports the revolution, doesn't mean the existence of a revolutionary party, if the proletariat is not involved. Its action is needed in order to have a real influence and to avoid the organisation, the constitution of groups which can determine a Coup d'etat—military, political or economic—in order to prevent these groups exerting pressure and having the power.

In Algeria there are still numerous groups of little, middle, and big land owners, as well as private enterprises and commerce. So there is still a very important base of private interest and commerce who try and will try to contact the milieu of the state apparatus and the army and the bureaucracy of the state apparatus, the most ready to receive such an influence, to establish such a link. The apparatus of this state, which is not yet a workers' state must give way in a certain measure to this influence. These sectors with a private interest exert pressure and will continue to exert pressure in order to contain the revolution. This is why the first measure to be taken is to eliminate all of them. By eliminating them we have no more pressure and on the contrary we can abolish a basis of constant corruption, of bad influence and of counter revolution.

The army apparatus is the most subjected to this influence because it is the most independent of society. This sector of the state apparatus is the most dangerous and needs more control, because it tends immediately to raise it-

self over the society, because it lives by exploiting society in a parasitic form. It is only under the control of the masses —the independent functioning of the trade unions, plurality of the revolutionary parties, the full political life of the masses which must prevail in conjunction with the soldiers who are a part of the revolution and must control the army itself through the trade unions and revolutionary parties—that one can control the army and avoid the development of tendencies, ideologists feelings and the spirit of parasitic exploitation of the society. Ben Bella didn't want to do it. He could have done it, in spite of the brevity of the available time. Cuba showed that such measures could have been taken in two years.

This is a very great experience, which all the leaderships of the colonial revolution must consider. Through the state apparatus, action is limited, extremely limited. The state apparatus cannot control all the groups which oppose themselves to the development of the economy. The state apparatus cannot control and limit these groups because its control is very indirect: bureaucratic relations express very weakly the feelings, the interests and the links which rise from the base and under the form of elites or sects or groups or sectors. On the contrary the intervention of the state is unconscious, inept, and its bureaucracy as well as that of the trade union and military apparatus have no interests in common with the revolution. They do not see the danger because their own power is not directly involved, because it does not diminish their interests, their salary or their exploitation. Consequently they do not see these dangers; as they do not belong to organisations or to revolutionary actions with pre-established interests but on the contrary they are usurpers whose main purpose is the liquidation of the development of the revolution. This is why they don't feel directly the pressure of the revolutionary process.

CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE OF WORKERS' STATES

On the contrary the organisation of the proletariat in the form of workers control, the independent intervention of the proletariat in all the organisations of the state—with an independent action directed towards the peasantry, the army and the state apparatus which may organise itself in an independent form—can control from day to day. Then the soldier has to obey not the orders of his superior but the orders of the interest of revolutionary development: then he can see and control the revolution because he is directly bound to the workers movement and to the revolutionary party and he reacts and denounces and prevents the organisation and the action of bureaucratic groups. This is the meaning of an independent action of the proletariat and its organisations. And this means also the possibility for the proletariat to organise itself and to influence the state apparatus.

The Soviet Union, the workers states, Cuba and China—with the difference that Cuba and China have a more direct interest in supporting the colonial revolution and in certain phases they support them with decision—in general, all of them show to the colonial revolution not a revolutionary way to follow, but the conciliation, the alliance with and also submission to imperialism.

Nationalist revolutionary movements in their development—as in Algeria, Indonesia, Guinea, Mali, Congo, Brazzaville, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and so on—are not supported in their experience by

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THE MILITARY COUP IN ALGERIA J. POSADAS

Continued from Page One

a revolutionary policy, in which it is the masses who decide. All these countries have a policy of conciliation with Imperialism. They cannot base themselves on a historical process of confidence in the masses. Actually all these leaderships, Ben Bella and Sukarno, have a paternalistic attitude of protection towards the masses. In their conception it is not the masses who must decide, who will never retreat, who on the contrary will fight in order to avoid the falling back of the revolution. They think that they are doing a favour to the masses and to history. They think that they are acting to profit from the development of the economy of the country, because it is they who determine this development; they don't realise that what has pushed them has been the strength of the masses. If the masses would not support the revolution as well as every progressive measure, capitalism and world reaction would already have won.

This process in Algeria is cumulative. A phase in some ways critical for the colonial revolution has opened. It is not critical because it shows that it cannot progress, but it is critical because it needs measures to progress that must be not only economic, but involving the massive and independent intervention of the masses in Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, etc.

These revolutions and nationalistic leaderships have not the experience of the workers states and of the communist parties. On the contrary they see that the latter have a policy of alliance of agreements with imperialism, a policy of measures of diplomatic cunning and they think that they can progress only in that way. This does not develop the confidence of the masses. Only confidence in Marxism can develop confidence in the masses. And in the last analysis security and confidence in Marxism means security and confidence in the working class and in the exploited masses in the world in order to build socialism. Confidence in the masses must not be considered only as a support, but we must hold as a central axis, the fact that the masses must determine, intervene, organise and decide.

The existence of single parties is a usurpation, an expression of protection towards the masses. But the masses do not need protection. Without their decisive intervention, if they don't understand historically that socialism is progressive, that capitalism is an obstacle and that capitalism means war, destruction, death and hunger; without their will and ability to advance there is nothing. Nobody can force them to struggle! They don't choose to struggle only because they want to raise their standard of living—and this is logical and correct, historically it is a necessity and also a legitimate aspiration—they are attracted not only by the immediate solution of better conditions of life, but by the prospect of being able to determine the life of their countries. They can determine and feel through what they have achieved. Only the great masses can advance historically. Undoubtedly there is a legitimate aspiration to raise and better their own conditions of life, but the masses learn in the process that the only way to better their conditions of life and to reach a human condition where they can determine their existence, the only way consists in their massive intervention. This is why the masses mobilise themselves immediately, hold demonstrations, and rallies, support every action which means a blow at the counter-revolution, and stimulates revolutionary actions.

The masses will never agree to anything which is against their historical and immediate interests, they will never adopt anything which involves a purely egotistical policy; in spite of any "self management" in Algeria and Yugoslavia, which are actually only measures for sectors of the working class, as un-

der capitalism, in order to stimulate everyone to intervene in the economy on the basis of "to each according to his work," every man for himself. This doesn't mean development of the economy. If it was so capitalism would be right, because capitalism gives wages "according to his work," by the piece work wage, by shift work, by bonuses; thus capitalism would have more means, more conditions and more economic strength to attract workers.

If in the workers' states and in the rising colonial revolutions the masses intervene developing the social relations and give a stimulus to the general development of the society, they are not motivated by the concern to increase their wages at the expense of other workers, but in order to develop the economy. And the essential base of the general development of society is the intervention of the masses. This is the only measuring scale: that the most important sections of the population, the masses, can determine everything in a democratic way. This is the way to measure the rise of the revolution; whether it is colonial or whether it is passing from a nationalist phase to a socialist one, or whether it is in the workers' states. There is no other possible way of judging.

This is what we see expressed in Algeria. The measures for the development of the nationalisations have attained a phase in which any advance was possible only through the massive intervention of the masses and the nationalisation of the principal properties. This is the basis of the crisis. The fact that they have not taken the measures of nationalisation with the support of the masses in time, has left open the conditions by which a group of military men together with small landowners, Arab proprietors and French and American Imperialism is able to aim an important blow at the course of the Algerian revolution.

The fact that they are "able to aim a blow" does not mean that this group of Boumedienne represents the interests of imperialism or French capitalism, but it represents the interests of a sector interested in containing the further development of the revolution; a group which is afraid, which is insecure and influenced by all the sectors interested in keeping the revolution passive and limited. It is the Arabic and Algerian feudal sectors of land-owners and tradesmen as well as a part of imperialism which stimulates this group. This is their support and not the exploited masses, because the exploited masses do not support such a policy but on the contrary they want to progress with the revolution.

THE SINGLE PARTY DOES NOT CALL UPON THE MASSES

The Algerian government has left the field open for the organisation of forces opposed to the revolution, by its refusal to mobilise the masses in order to take measures of nationalisation and socialisation of the land, measures of nationalisation of the industry and of all the main sources of trade and property. This is the present process. The single party has once again shown itself unable to mobilise and to appeal. Again for the second time it has shown itself incapable of this.

This is not the only crisis: in Ghana, in Guinea, in the Congo-Brazzaville, and in the past in Gabon—as the masses couldn't intervene and mobilise themselves, the possibility of counter-revolutionary blows or attempts to paralyse the revolution, always remain open. This attempt to paralyse the revolution comes internally and not from abroad. It comes from these elements and sectors which united in the mobilisation of the Algerian nationalist revolution, the same as in the Congo-Brazzaville, in the U.A.R., in Indonesia, in Mali, in Ghana, etc., sectors of the nationalist leadership itself, the most

backward sectors who wish to halt the revolution in the bourgeois phase of the process, seek contact in a direct and conscious way, with those sectors of the population which can support them in containing the revolution.

The nationalist movements are not homogeneous, they are heterogeneous. Algeria, Ghana, Mali, Indonesia, Guinea, U.A.R., Iraq are movements with nationalist leaderships ranging from the bourgeois sectors to the proletarian sectors. The internal struggles are not determined by the struggle amongst the "tops" but by the influence of the colonial revolution. In all this phase we have seen in the various currents that only those who were pushing the revolution ahead, have won. But not all the currents, there is an immense quantity of potential workers' states in Africa and Asia which are contained. In Revolutions as in Laos and Cambodia, we see that the influence of the colonial revolution, through the pressure of the masses, must lead to revolutionary anti-capitalist measures and must depend on the masses, because of the impossibility of rationalising the economy from the capitalist standpoint. This does not mean that they will organise a revolutionary programme in order to carry it out consciously. They obey the pressure and yield to the logical necessity to advance the economy, but they try to contain and to exclude the masses. This is what is taking place in all the experiences of the colonial revolution.

In the nationalist sectors which are homogeneous against imperialism or which are going to discuss with imperialism, an internal process of differentiation is taking place. What is the basis of this differentiation? How does it take place? It is not fundamentally the consequence of internal ideological discussions or programmatic experiences of the leaderships. They are fundamentally the echo of the pressure of the world revolution, because the sectors which advance in the revolution don't base themselves on their own deductions by which they learn and develop, but on the examples of the advance of the revolution in the workers' states and in the other colonial revolutions. Undoubtedly this allows them to seek a co-ordinated form of ideological comprehension of Marxism. But in so far as they don't base themselves on the masses and on the socialist democracy of the masses, they don't receive the influence, the sureness, the optimism and above all, the firmness necessary to arrive at an understanding. And they struggle amongst the "tops" thinking that in this way they will win, through an indirect support from the masses. It is not a direct support of the masses, because the masses do not intervene. It is an indirect support of the masses which supports the tendencies apparently more to the left. But between these tendencies and the masses there is a gulf; the gulf of a paternalistic attitude, of a protectionist policy towards the masses.

This is why the single party reflects the insecurity, the doubts, as to the objectives of the revolution, and also as to the revolution itself. These are the main conclusions which we must draw from this phase. If there are internal problems in the nationalist groups the differentiations take place under the pressure of the world revolution. Neither the leaderships of the workers' states nor the Communist parties, not even in part China and Cuba—which are the two countries which tend to stimulate the revolution more—help the nationalist tendencies to see the Marxist way of the revolution, because they themselves don't see it. And they don't apply it in the main and historically most important form; the masses don't intervene, the masses are not independent.

THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT

The nationalist leaderships must understand that the essential basis of support is the organisation of a revolu-

tionary party, the Marxist party. But the basis of the Marxist party is not a declaration of Marxist affiliation, but it is the way of operating its programme, its structure, and its objectives. The programme must be nationalisation, the objective must stimulate the socialist revolution through the intervention of the masses. The structure of the party must be the structure of the revolutionary democratic party, i.e. democratic centralism, the intervention and influence of the masses; in which the will of the masses to push forward the revolution must not be stopped, eliminated or diverted. On the contrary we must stimulate this will.

The structure of the party, the democratic functioning of the party allows the masses to influence, to intervene and above all it doesn't choke any capacity of initiative. The basis is the capacity of initiative by the masses. This is the example of how power was seized in 1917 and in China. The Marxist revolutionary party is necessary. But the Marxist revolutionary party expresses itself through its programme, its objectives, its structure, its functioning, and its proletarian basis.

But this doesn't mean that the majority must be proletarian. The fact that a series of countries have peasant majorities doesn't mean that there the Marxist revolutionary party which is the proletarian party, cannot be formed. What defines the party is the programme, the revolutionary objectives, the structure, the social basis, it is sufficient that it has the programme of the proletarian revolution, i.e. nationalisation of every form of property, nationalisation of the banks, monopoly of foreign trade, expropriation and nationalisation of the land, land to the peasants, collective exploitation of the

(Continued Page 5)

GREECE

(Continued from Page 1)

when Papandreou had called for a struggle against the monarchy to the very end. The attitude of Papandreou is a reflection of petit bourgeois sectors attracted to the struggles of the proletariat.

The situation of course has long passed by any control by Papandreou and the government has launched a campaign of terror against the "anarchist" (!) insurrectionary elements. But any time gained by the rotting corpse of the monarchy and Greek capitalism before being finally buried is very short. All the weakness of the regime has been disclosed. The masses have suffered no defeat and they will revenge themselves shortly on the bourgeoisie by taking power.

The systematic planning of riots in Athens points to the emergence of a new leadership of the masses. The press may call them "anarchist". Significantly they are not called "communist". In practice they are a further example of Trotskyism—the masses have not the clear programme of Trotskyism but they fight as Trotskyists. They are Trotskyists without knowing it.

The original cause of the crisis, that is investigations into "left" groupings in the army is an indication of the decomposition taking place within the military wing of the state apparatus. Hence the enormous danger for capitalism of a boomerang from any projected military coup from the right.

Imperialism is in not position to prevent the development of the revolutionary process and the Soviet bureaucracy though its agents in the Communist party will try to sabotage but cannot betray the Greek masses as in the past. The struggles of the Greek masses are a great encouragement to the world and particularly the European masses.

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cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.

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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.

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ALGERIAN MILITARY COUP J. POSADAS

(Continued from page three)

land where there are big farms, worker militias. If in Algeria we had had the militias as it was proposed by the IV International, as the IV International is fighting for them, as we have had in the Russian and Chinese revolution, Boumedienne could not have won; neither a military coup nor a counter revolutionary coup nor any other coups which tend to contain the revolution could have won, because there would have been an immediate reaction of the masses. Not only a control but an immediate reaction.

It is the programme which defines the character and the structure of the party. But for this it is necessary for the democratic revolutionary functioning of the masses, their organic independence as a class, so that the masses can react and intervene immediately, full of initiative. The masses are full of initiative and if their organisations function in an independent way, these initiatives can be developed without any obstacles. It doesn't matter that the party is mainly of peasant origin, it is sufficient that it has a proletarian basis, that its programme as well as its objectives are revolutionary, that the proletariat can intervene, that the army can base itself on the militias, in order to triumph. A very significant fact is that Boumedienne could triumph because there is an army of capitalist type. There had not been sufficient time to change, never the less, Ben Bella didn't take the necessary steps in order to change. The victory over French imperialism was obtained by the militias. Why then was a regular army formed? We see there a retreat of the revolution, as we would consider as a retreat, the installing of a parliamentary system and "a constitutional" regime, which are forms of bourgeois development.

LEADERSHIPS LACK SECURITY

The Trade Unions in the workers' states, in the colonial revolution, must be independent, in their programme and in their mobilisation. But the programme of the trade unions and of the organisations of the exploited masses, must base themselves on the support and on the stimulus of the revolution. If they don't advance more it is because the leaderships retard the process; because these nationalist leaders which want to go towards the left—as Ben Bella wanted—try to imitate the others, because they lack the security and the historical support of the leaderships of the workers' states and of the Communist parties. The latter are the only examples that these organisations have and the influence that they receive from them consists in making diplomatic manoeuvres, making agreements aiming at a limited advance.

On this basis you can advance only for a very brief period. Inevitably the economy, in order to advance in a certain phase, needs the massive support of the population, i.e. it needs the control of the leadership through the intervention of the population in order to eliminate every obstacle stopping its development, obstacles which consist in the bourgeois sectors and interests, the bureaucratic cliques and consequently the organisation and the relations between the military, political and trade union cliques which can co-ordinate themselves in some ways. The trade union cliques because of their dependence upon the workers' movement tend to oppose themselves to the other cliques. But they also, in a certain moment, can find themselves united with these other cliques against the march of the revolution, or in the desire to contain the further development of the revolution.

The greatest experience of the colonial revolutions in its development and in its passage to socialist revolutions, shows that an army acting in an independent way or a police of a state apparatus cannot exist. If they act in an independent form they can hold back the development of the nationalised economy by containing the interests of the masses and the development of the socialist revolution. Thus the army apparatus, when it is not governed by the control of the masses, produces its own limited interests, and it doesn't produce the historical and ideological sure-

ness in socialism. Such an army believes more in its paternalistic intervention, in its administration; so it must be very sceptical and also antagonistic towards the action of the masses and of any nationalisation. In fact it sees in that, the loss of his power.

As it doesn't succeed in elevating its socialist consciousness through control by the working masses, imposing the socialist development, the army apparatus of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries tends to produce a conscious interest opposed to the socialist development of the revolution, but opposed to the development, not to the partial socialist measures which it can also accept, as they are the source of its existence. But in this process of containing, this apparatus must find allies, and it can't find these allies either in the proletariat or in the sectors which want to stimulate the revolution. They are against, want to stop the revolution and inevitably they seek their allies in the sectors opposed to the development of the socialist revolution. Even if at the beginning they desire to contain the revolution without damaging it, without pushing it back, nevertheless in order to maintain themselves they need the capitalist support of the land owners, of the shop keepers, of the national and international financiers. This is the experience of the Algerian revolution.

The most important and categorical experience is that the independent action of the masses does not mean that they do what they like. The masses never do what they like, but rather they do what in their conviction and class interest they feel as being the most convenient for the development of the revolution. There is no historical example of masses who in their struggle have supported counter revolutionary and reactionary measures. And if at a certain moment a sector of the bureaucracy succeeds in dragging a part of the proletariat to some counter revolutionary or reactionary measures which holds back and contains the revolution, the masses on the whole react against them. There is no measure which can be taken in this way.

The Algerian revolution, as all the other colonial revolutions and all the workers' states, support each other reciprocally because the masses of the world prevent capitalism from advancing and from containing the revolution. The struggle of the masses in Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and England, the struggles of the masses in Latin America, is the fundamental point of the support for the Dominican masses in order to prevent imperialism destroying them or imposing a military dictatorship. This is the meaning of the support, but without the action itself of the masses of Dominica, undoubtedly the world influence would not have any point of support.

The masses of Dominica and their struggles find a point of support in the world struggle of the masses which prevents imperialism from imposing a criminal repression—as imperialism intended when it sent in the marines—it tried and made this repression but it has been halted by the action of the masses of Dominica and these latter in turn were stimulated by the world revolution. And the world revolution is in turn influenced by the decision of the masses of Dominica. This confirms that the action of the masses in the world has an effect and an echo. It is an action of cause and effect.

We see the same in Algeria: the reaction of the French masses though late, prevented imperialism from intervening. The world crisis of capitalism, the world contradictions of capitalism, are a point of initial support for the development of the revolution. The world contradictions of capitalism does not express itself fundamentally in the struggles between French imperialism and Anglo-American imperialism: this is only a partial aspect. The world crisis of

capitalism expresses itself in the fact that it has lost all authority; the workers' states exceeds its level of production, its economic capacity. Capitalism has no authority to make the masses of the world submit. It has no authority even over the petit-bourgeois. In the U.S.A., the intervention of the petit-bourgeois masses and of the workers advances constantly, they discuss and mobilise themselves in order to expel imperialism from Vietnam and Santa Dominica. It is the masses who do it, and the masses of Santa Dominica see and feel this. This is the real world link of the masses.

The world contradiction of capitalism, the struggle of French and American capitalism is determined by the advance of the world revolution. This makes them insecure and doubtful about their future and about the measures they are taking, because they haven't any support or authority over the masses. And not even of the petit-bourgeoisie. So now it is different from twenty years ago, when a decision of the capitalists found an absolute authority for its methods without any inconvenience. Now capitalism finds increasing difficulty in applying its decisions.

The American imperialist crisis, the discussion between the Pentagon and the White House, the struggle between them and the existence of rival cliques is determined by the insecurity of imperialism in the future. If imperialism was secure, it would take measures convenient for all of them, despite the internal struggles and the contrasting interests. But if we see that for a problem there are six or seven contrasting solutions this means that they no longer know what to do. The Pentagon takes measures against the White House without the latter knowing it. For example: The Camelot Plan. This plan of the Pentagon to study "the degree of maturity of a violent revolution in every Latin American country" in order to prepare the intervention of imperialism shows their contradictions. The basis of these contradictions is the rise of the world revolution, which introduces doubts and quarrels among the imperialists. The insecurity pushes them to seek thousands of different ways because they have not the security to act. This is the situation in world capitalism: this is the context of the Algerian revolution. The limitation of the Algerian leadership has prevented it from having a more solid and firm point of support in the world. The masses didn't mobilise themselves because they see it as an internal struggle, not realising yet what is happening. They see that they are fighting among themselves and they are a part of the same team, and also they don't yet see any measure damaging the revolution. But undoubtedly if these people succeed in supporting themselves and in taking measures against the revolution and against the masses the latter will react.

The Coup of Boumedienne took place in a grave economic situation: in the midst of the criticisms, the protests and the general complaints of the population. But there is a difference in these complaints, the petit-bourgeois sectors directed their complaints to attacking the development of the revolution; the masses on the contrary expressed their complaints trying to stimulate the revolution. The complaints of the masses for the grave economic situation, for the negligence of the leadership, for the bureaucratic way of distribution, have never led them to damage the revolution. On the contrary the masses tried to take measures for stimulating the revolution, for solving the economic problems; while Boumedienne and Bouffika try by this coup to face the economic situation with measures of retreat, with the stagnation of the revolution.

The Algerian crisis shows the highest level than can be attained by the

measures leading towards socialism within a capitalist state. From a certain moment—as in Algeria, where the passage to a workers' state is already necessary—the development of the revolution meets all these difficulties. The essential bases in order to pass to a workers' state, in order to develop itself even with difficulties and resistance, is the intervention of the masses, the revolutionary democracy, the socialist democracy.

The Algerian revolution is of all the other colonial revolutions, the most advanced, and the Algerian masses are the masses who intervene and decide the most, i.e. they reflect the desire to stimulate the socialist revolution. If this revolution hasn't advanced any more, it is not because the masses were not there nor because the conditions are not ripe, but because of the insecurity of the leadership of Ben Bella. This is why the masses did not demonstrate in the streets for Ben Bella. If Ben Bella had been united with the masses by a socialist revolutionary relation, the masses would have demonstrated. It is the same when in Viet-nam where the masses under the control, the terrorism and the threats of imperialism, fight without any fear and they are chasing imperialism from their country. They are pressing and pushing it back towards the sea.

We realise that it is necessary to give a certain margin of action and manoeuvre to the leaderships of the nationalist governments in their advance towards socialism and towards history. But we understand also that those margins of action, if they are not accompanied and supported by the independent action of the proletariat and of the exploited masses, don't give any security and confidence in order to advance. These leaderships are timid. They hesitate and consequently they slow down the rhythm of the revolution and permit the organisation of counter-revolutionary forces.

These leaderships have not the historical support from which to draw experience. Neither the leadership of the Communist parties nor the workers' states give conscious support, they only give an example of actions tending to stop the development of the economy. The Communist parties are against the revolution on this basis. The Communist party has supported French imperialism against the Algerian revolution. The Socialist party—led by Mollet—prepared the programme for destroying the Algerian revolution, kidnapped Ben Bella and all the revolutionary leadership of the F.L.N. And the leadership of the workers' states (the leadership, not the masses who wanted to intervene) left the nationalist leaderships to their own devices.

The bureaucracies of the workers' states have no historical basis of revolutionary policy and action. The masses have not a means through which their influence could be echoed because the leaderships of the workers' states exert no influence for a revolutionary policy because of their own policy of conciliation. And these nationalist leaderships who wish to advance, meet an obstacle; the policy of all the leaderships of the workers' states and of the Communist parties.

26th June, 1965 J. POSADAS
The second part of this document will be published in the next number

(Continued from Page 6)

RHODESIA

vention against Smith we counter with the slogan for the return of all British troops from overseas bases and for complete solidarity (including money and arms) with the revolutionary struggle of the masses in Africa, for a programme of the expropriation of imperialist property without compensation and under workers control with the perspective of the United Socialist States of Africa. It is necessary to link minimum economic demands with the demands for a popular militia and the overthrow of Imperialism. In this country we call for a complete trade embargo against S. Rhodesia led by dockers, and for sympathy strikes by British workers in support of the masses of S. Rhodesia.

THE ASSASSINATION OF GUERILLAS IN GAUTEMALA WITH THE AID OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear Comrades,

On the 23 July two comrades, leaders of the 13 November movement, were assassinated and five others taken prisoner. The members of the 13 November movement were in a house, were surrounded by the army and the police who riddled the place with bullets. Two of the members of the 13 November movement, comrades Augusto Vicente Loarea Arguete (called Estefa in the movement) and Ramon Najera (called Paco) went out to oppose the intimidation of the army and police. They defended the house, went into the street to confront openly the police (more than fifty in number) to allow time for the rest of the comrades, the other five to escape.

Estefa did not kill five policemen (as the police say.) He went into the road to confront the military and the police and then returned to the house and when he was wounded and could no longer fight, a policeman entered from behind the house and shot him in the back. The other comrade Paco was gravely wounded and tried to escape; the police pushed him into a car and let him bleed to death.

On the same day four houses of the Communist party had been broken into and ten to 14 members of the CP had been detained—many arms were taken. Two members of the Communist Party knew the house where the members of the 13 November Movement were to be found. No one else knew. It was the Communists who betrayed the house of the 13 November Movement to the police. A few weeks before, a militant of the Communist Party had passed over to the 13 November movement for a few days only; he deserted and returned to the Communist Party or to one of the groups. Two militants of the Communist Party knew the house. They were the direct or indirect betrayers.

Turcios—who was formerly a member of the 13 November Movement publicly betrayed some of the members of the movement. The police were directly informed through the services rendered them by the Communist Party and Turcios. No member of the Communist Party defended themselves or defended their positions and their houses. They submitted as usual. Thus was arranged the betrayal of members of the 13 November movement. Two members of the movement defended their home at the cost of their lives. The five were arrested because they had arms and they tried to escape through the roof. One was able to escape but he was wounded and was detained a day and a half later.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A SOURCE OF POLICE AGENTS

The members of the 13 November were betrayed by the Communist Party. For weeks before the Communist Party directly and indirectly used Turcios, and dedicated itself to denounce, to provoke directly the members of the 13 November movement as Trotskyists, as adventurers who did not merit the respect of revolutionaries or militants. Turcios played a direct role of agent in the service of the provocation of the Communist Party. In the CP the police have various experienced agents. The policy of conciliation, of coexistence, of alliance with and betrayal to the bourgeoisie enables the police to plant agents and gain for their service members of the Communist Party, disillusioned with its policy. The policy, the line, the objectives of the alliance with the bourgeoisie, of the Communist party, prepares, extends the bases so that the police can find agents when it wishes.

The members of the 13 November movement demonstrated that they defended their policy in public polemic against the Communist Party and their agent Turcios, political betrayer of revolutionaries.

(Turcios passed from being a commandante of the 13 November movement to the Communist Party). The members of the 13 November movement have demonstrated that they know how to defend their positions and the programme of the revolution, as much against the CP in political struggle, as directly arms in hands against military and police repression. The CP and Turcios accuse, calumniate the comrades of the 13 November movement as being adventurers and provocateurs. They made a public campaign to calumniate the 13 November movement, declaring that it was incapable of struggle, that this programme had no possibility, that it was a product of Trotskyist provocateurs. They presented the position as if the programme of the socialist revolution of the 13 November could not attract, affirm the resolution to struggle, because it was false and utopian. The armed struggle of the comrades of the 13 November; the assassination of two of its leaders, demonstrates that the programme of the socialist revolution in arms gives the security and confidence to struggle for it, to act with decision and to give one's life in face of the assassin repression of the police and the army. The force, the decision of the comrades of the 13 November to defend their positions and not to give in without fighting against the police, is the example of how the programme of the socialist revolution arms the resolution against the police.

It is the programme of the socialist revolution which arms and will arm the resolution of the militants of the 13 November" to defend all type of conquests, of positions and actions for the programme and the socialist objectives of the revolution. The militants of the Communist Party betray or as in the case of Turcios desert the struggle for the programme and involve themselves in adventures and individualistic actions. The blow has not demoralised the comrades of the 13 November movement. It is part of the struggle. They continue decided and firm in the struggle; the Communists have sought to intimidate the 13 November movement calling them Trotskyist as if that was an error. The Communists have not the authority to convince anyone; on the contrary, those in the 13 November movement proudly reject the actions of police provocation by the Communist Party and of Turcios and proceed forward with their struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. The police are torturing and applying murderers' methods against the other five members of the movement who have been arrested. We do not know what the position is, because the police have not allowed them to be seen or allowed their relatives to see them. There is a combination, an alliance directly between the police and the Communist Party to smash, to repress the 13 November movement. The police while detaining the Communists utilise the interests of the CP against the 13 November movement, to make use of them to repress the movement. Neither Cuba nor the world Communist press have made references or made resolutions about this event. They have ignored it completely.

The police obtained denunciations, direct declarations to detain and assassinate the members of the 13 November movement. Recently Turcios proceeded to circulate a document publicly with names of members of the 13 November movement which is clandestine, and they run a great deal of risk for this betrayal. The interest of the CP is above all to try to eliminate the 13 November movement at all cost. They do this not politically, by revolutionary ways; in discussions or polemics dealing with questions politically. They do not do this because they are incorrect and have no force, no authority. The programme, the policy of the 13 November

FULL SUPPORT FOR THE RHODESIAN MASSES AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

The overwhelming electoral victory of Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front, and the virtual elimination of the so-called multi-racial opposition Rhodesian Party, shows the polarisation of a privileged and now frightened white caste around an organisation which they hope will be able to resist the growing forces of the African revolution, both outside and within Rhodesia.

Smith's party won all the 50 seats on the A roll for which the educational and monetary qualifications are so high that only a couple of thousand Africans can vote. In the elections for the 15 seats of the B roll for which only 11,000 Africans out of a population of nearly 4 million can vote, 5 Independents and 10 African Rhodesian Party candidates were elected. That the Rhodesian Party failed to win a single seat in the A roll shows that the whites are not prepared to accept any concessions to the Africans, and at the same time it shows the impossibility of any "middle way," any partial phoney solution cooked up to deceive the masses and calculated to preserve the economic domination of Imperialism under a more liberal capitalist form. Imperialism, in Rhodesia stands or falls with the Smith regime and it draws closer to the other last outposts of white imperialist domination, the Union of South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, as they prepare themselves for the final settlement of accounts.

THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME

The African nationalist leaders of the states near to or bordering Rhodesia put forward only one policy (which is echoed by all liberal shades of opinion through to the C.P.) for that country; that the British government prevents by military means if necessary a unilateral declaration of Independence by Smith. Independence certainly means white minority rule, but to put forward the line that British Imperialism should intervene to prevent it, shows a complete absence of faith in the masses, and the absurd expectation that imperialism will act through humanitarian motives. Although the working class movement has always sought to use for its own advantage, rivalries between different capitalist sectors or different imperialist

powers, this is totally different to relying on one imperialist sector to protect the rights of the African masses against another sector. In the unlikely event of British Imperialism intervening, it would only mean a change of yoke for the African masses.

The African leaders put this policy forward because they are forced by the masses to oppose Rhodesia, but they seek to oppose it in a bureaucratic administrative way so as not to stimulate the African masses to independent revolutionary activity which would endanger their own precarious positions. Kaunda of Zambia has even gone so far as to offer facilities for a military base to British Imperialism. Such are the actions of the pro-Imperialist black leaders. The only way to effectively combat imperialism in Rhodesia is to put forward the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme of expropriations of imperialist property, of the land, etc., and to organise and arm a struggle for this programme, to call for a popular militia. The African leaders are afraid to do this from their class standpoint because it would mean the end of their rule, they have no alternative but to rely on imperialism to remove imperialism. Thus they are exposed as political lackeys of imperialism.

The Rhodesian Nationalist Movement is split into two organisations, Zanu, and Zapu. Zanu accepts violence as the means to overthrow the vicious government of Smith and the white fascist gangsters but makes no programmatic appeal for the revolutionary and class programme to activate the independent activity of peasants and workers. Such bourgeois and petit bourgeois leaderships act as a brake on the masses.

And the leaders of the workers states do nothing to correct this wrong policy, but support slavishly the African nationalists. Once more the absence of a Marxist world leadership delays the process, but in spite of this lack, and the failures of the nationalist leaderships within Rhodesia itself, the African masses will triumph.

To those liberals and C.P. members who call for British imperialist inter-

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movement is correct. For this reason the PGC is an ally of the police, directly or indirectly.

It is necessary to develop a campaign by press and radio in defence of the members of the 13 November movement now arrested and to vindicate the two murdered comrades. The world press has kept silence about this assassination and the valiant and revolutionary action of the 13 November movement, the heroic action of Estefano and Paco. There is a conspiracy to silence the struggle of the 13 November movement. It is necessary to organise activity to make public this assassination and these detentions; to see that the rights of defence are given to the arrested and the right to see their relatives.

It has been communicated to us recently that the University Federation of Guatemala has been charged with the defence of the five arrested comrades and has presented a criminal charge against the chief of the Police of Guatemala for the assassination of the two dead comrades, Estefano and Paco. It is necessary to interest the daily press, the journalists, MPs, and workers' leaders to organise the campaign and develop it in the name of the militants of the 13 November movement who struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, for the same objective in fact as the exploited masses of the world, of Vietnam, of Africa and Asia.

It is necessary that in meetings of all sections of the IV International this letter is discussed and a resolution made, to be sent to the 13 November movement and to all the worker and capitalist press. All the sections must push forward the campaign and hold

meetings where these facts can be communicated. A minutes silence must be held and the International sung in homage to the revolutionary militants of the 13 November movement, assassinated by the police in struggling for and defending the programme of the socialist revolution.

It is necessary to appeal to all the unions. Our leaders and union militants must put forward in all their unions and factories, resolutions condemning the police, the betrayal by the Communist Party and for solidarity with the 13 November movement. It is necessary to send communications to the press and to initiate discussions with all the worker militants, to propound the defence of the rights to freedom, of the revolutionary tendency.

It is necessary to render homage of revolutionary solidarity to the members of the 13 November movement in prison, to try to maintain the maximum public information on this fact. In due course there will be a document in more detail on the events of the campaign. But the base of all the campaign must consist in the struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, which gives security to defend these objectives by force of arms. And the task of the CP is to ally itself with the police to sabotage and restrain the struggle for the socialist revolution.

With fraternal greetings,
For the International Secretariat of the IV International.

J. POSADAS

28th July 1965.

EDS NOTE: The success of the 13 November Movement was shown recently by their execution of Colonel Molina Arreaga, Minister of National Defence.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

113—Trotsky

No. 25

OCTOBER, 1965

SIXPENCE

Prepare Now To Intervene In A General Election with Worker Candidates On An Anti-Capitalist Programme

ALL the various capitalist powers in Europe despite the diversity of conditions display the social weakness of capitalism and the development of a crisis which traditional reformist methods are powerless to modify. The reformist leaderships offer their services to capitalism wherever possible but although their policies undoubtedly block the masses, increasingly events pass outside the apparatuses and the masses shake the existing structures of political, economic and social power. This is shown as much by "negative" situations as by clearly articulated events. Thus the German elections were among the most fatuous parliamentary episodes ever recorded. Both the CDU and the SPD (the social democratic apparatus with a feeble programme) made every effort not to say anything. The votes cast simply record continuous polarisation of class forces, but the very fear of saying anything likely to rock the boat is a reminder that the economic "miracle" has not changed capitalist fear of the German proletariat. A political campaign such as this only reveals the utter paralysis of German capitalism. It is waiting to die and will do so shortly in the war revolution. In Italy Nenni goes out of his way to assure capitalism that the socialist party is intent on reform. The fact that he says this when Italian capitalism is fully integrated with the imperialist war alliance and when it is total nonsense to think that Italian capitalism can meet the needs of the Italian masses (there is a continuous insoluble economic crisis,) is an indication of the impotence of reformism because capitalism has no concessions to offer. The dependance of the Italian capitalist class on the centre left alliance signifies the feebleness of the supports for capitalism. The de Gaulle regime in France displays all the marks of senility — persistent uncertainty in economic affairs, ridiculous postures in foreign policy (as though to appear independent of the fate of world imperialism by criticisms of Yankee imperialism) and is clearly only allowed to remain in power by the determined goodwill of the French communist party and the soviet bureaucracy who play the diplomatic game of supporting de Gaulle against Yankee and German imperialism. But all these diplomatic games cannot conceal the impasse of capitalism in

Europe. Even in the small country of Norway the last elections reflect a polarisation of forces and to say the elections show a tendency to the right is ridiculous — the reformist labour party continued to lose votes to the left socialist party which trebled its popular vote.

Great Britain, citadel of imperialism, enjoying also one of the highest standards of life in the world shows all the signs of wear and tear. Here too capitalism shows its impotence both in Parliament and in its hopeless inability to cope with the strikes and the continuous demands of the masses for a higher standard of life. Imperialism cannot balance its accounts because the masses refuse to go without. Wilson has recently attacked the "wrecker" shop stewards and fumed and threatened. It is certainly not ruled out that there may be tougher action against these "wreckers" and that police intimidation may increase—on the other hand where is the strength of the government to enforce terrorism on the workers and their militants? And in face of all manner of trade union obstacles the workers continue to shake the system mercilessly. Railway workers refuse to be pushed into acceptance of the liner train depots open to private hauliers, and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions was forced to submit to the will of its members and put forward the demand for a four night working week for nightworkers in engineering.

capitalism could not afford it!

As for the National Economic Plan it is so ludicrous that only a thoroughly desperate LP apparatus could have the effrontery to put it forward. The capitalist economy is expected to reach a growth rate of 4% well before 1970, despite the fact that the economy has never reached anything like this consistency of performance; and invariably under the conditions of monopoly capitalism and war expenditures economic expansion leads to inflation and balance of payments crises. Throughout this fantastic document there is no indication of any measures to reach this never never land. Where is new investment to come from? How do they expect to pay off this vast external debt of £900 million and modernise capitalism so that it can reduce its imports of semi-finished goods, and nearly double its export performance over the next five years? They give no answers because there are none to give. As for the direct representatives of capitalism, the employers organisations, they are so pessimistic these days that all they can say is they wish the plan gave more "incentives" for industry. In other words capitalism is ready to surge forward provided it is pampered with subsidies, tax reliefs, etc., etc.; the capitalists say they will make efforts provided everyone props them up. The attitude of the captains of industry reveals the total lack of confidence of capitalism, the complete parasitism of "private enterprise."

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF KAREL MODZELEWSKI

THE IMPRISONMENTS IN POLAND SHOW THE MATURATION OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS STATES

Karel Modzelewski and other of his comrades have been imprisoned for criticising the government. The charge levelled against them accuses them of giving out texts "containing false information prejudicial to the interests of the Polish state in the sphere of political, economic and social relations."

Comrade Karel Modzelewski, son of an old functionary of the Polish Communist party, victim of the the purges of the Polish Communist party before the war, was one of the militants of the vanguard of the Polish October. He was one of the principal animators of the student group who formed the "Young Socialists" and who organised meetings with the workers of the automobile factory of Zeran where the insurrection broke out on the 17 October 1956 against the Stalinist leadership. The present struggle of these comrades—for which they have been condemned today—is that of following the way of the Polish October, to impose the Leninist concept of the workers state, political power to the worker masses and to the Soviets in the USSR of Lenin and

Trotsky in 1917.

These students and the group persecuted with them, support themselves upon and express the existence of a whole current of youth and of the working class who are seeking for the revolutionary path of the development of their workers' state and of the world revolution. United to the Hungarian revolution of 1956, to the fall of Khrushchev provoked by the objective opposition to peaceful co-existence, united to the struggle of the Cuban masses against the bureaucracy and the privileged, united to the historic measures of the Chinese government to equalise the soldiers and officers, giving them the right to criticise and intervene, this struggle of the Polish revolutionaries—as an integral part of the Polish October—is part of the advance of the Polish Revolution which gathers momentum in all the workers states against the bureaucracy.

This arrest is the expression, as was the condemnation and imprisonment and

CRISIS OF CAPITALISM REFLECTED IN DISUNITY OF TU BOSSES

The recent trade union congress at Brighton apart from being a total shambles was in fact a defeat for the bureaucracy, a defeat for the LP apparatus and a devastating blow at attempts to stabilise capitalism in this country. The fact that the "early warning system" was accepted by the "majority" of delegates means nothing. The TU delegates are in general quite remote from working class interests, they are handpicked professional bureaucrats and when in these conditions a powerful union the TGWU rejects government policy on incomes, (showing it thus to be completely unworkable), and over foreign policy, i.e. calling for no support for American intervention in Vietnam, it is a sign of an insoluble social crisis for imperialism which will generate tensions leading directly to the struggle for power. In desperate efforts to prevent themselves being tilted against the rest of bureaucracy on all issues the TGWU bureaucrats did not support the nationalisation of the aircraft industry, nevertheless these left bureaucrats were forced by the enormous pressures from the base in practice to shatter the policies of the LP apparatus. One delegate supporting the demands for equal pay for women was forced to admit that

LP APPARATUS TRIES TO CURB WORKERS STRUGGLES BY MOVING RIGHT

There is no doubt that the Tory leaders are increasingly anxious over the inability of the LP apparatus to curb the militant activities of the British proletariat. They would like to be directly in control but they also realise that it is difficult to maintain capitalist authority and they lack a programme to reassert it. The precarious parliamentary majority of the LP reflects indirectly the delicate balance of class forces in Great Britain. The Liberal Party Conference has shown the weakness of capitalist authority over extensive middle class sectors—the fact that there was wholesale condemnation of the LP immigration policy indicates the influence of the colonial revolution even with a party geared to support of capitalist enterprise. The Liberal party conference shows the confusions and dilemmas and lack of a clear perspec-

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The Military Coup in Algeria and The Postponement of The Afro-Asian Conference

J. Posadas
Second Part (Extracts)

They (the workers states) do not produce a confidence, a confidence which cannot come from the movement already organised, from the already existing historic experiences. Hence the difficulty in the way of the advance of these nationalist movements. But at the same time it means that the nationalist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries who advance from the nationalist revolution to the Socialist revolution reach a stage in which a moment of crisis arrives. Algeria shows this crisis. This crisis is expressed in the organisation of independent groups who have no interest in Socialist development but they do not oppose themselves to certain socialist measures; they have an independent caste interest, they are a bureaucracy of sectors who have no confidence in Socialist development. An example is the army. The nationalist leaderships of the colonial revolutions and those leaderships who wish to organise revolutions by armed struggle whether by guerillas or by mass revolutions against imperialism, against capitalism, against the oligarchy and against latifundistas must draw upon the historic definitive experience that in no colonial revolution must the army be independent of the apparatus of the revolutionary state. The army must be controlled by the masses, that is to say under the direct control of the state and the state must be under the control of the masses.

Every army of the colonial and semi-colonial countries must be submitted immediately to workers control. There is the example of the Sudan; without the intervention of the unions and the mobilisation of the masses the army would have been led towards the counter revolution. Even so the unions could not weigh sufficiently on the peasant masses to be able to impell the Sudanese revolution. The same in Algeria, Algeria is a peasant country; but a peasant revolutionary country. The peasant of this epoch is not the peasant of 100 years ago. The revolution in the world, the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the Socialist revolutions have raised the historic confidence for the massive intervention of the peasants, raised their collective sentiment. The peasant who lived bound to the interest of the land has passed into history; even in countries in which the closed indigenous communities play a greater role as in Bolivia, Peru and Guatemala, such communities feel the influence of the world colonial revolution. There they have the example on which they can support themselves.

THE NEED FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS MILITIAS

One of the essential faults of the nationalist movement of Ben Bella is that he has impeded, has limited the worker and peasant alliance. Through the worker and peasant alliance — of organisms in which the basis of the alliance is the expropriation of the land from the big feudal landowners and the Arab Algerian, French landowners—it is possible to expropriate the rest of the land. This would give an enormous base to the worker and peasant alliance and would have influenced the army, controlling it.

The basis of the independence of the army in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is not that the army has the capacity to organise and segregate itself from the revolutionary influence; no, it is the weakness and paternalism of the nationalist leaderships and also the socialist leaderships who have

allowed a base to develop so that the bureaucratic leadership of the army can segregate, separate the army from the influence of the rest of society. If the peasants and the workers intervene in society, if they function, control and determine, the army does not mobilise nor obey when they order it to repress the government and the masses; on the contrary they would rise immediately as would rise the armies of the masses of the world against imperialism.

The army of the militias is the base upon which to impede the bureaucratisation and dominion by a sector of society and to make the masses intervene. It is for this that there is nothing to fear from the majority of the population being peasants. The great majority of the latter are already gained for the revolution.

The workers militia do not form part of the permanent army: they complement it; but that is its fundamental base. The workers militias are organised in the place of work, in the workers areas, in the unions. They obey and are dependant not on the mandate of the army but on the unions and the workers areas; and these through its organisms are united to and depend in a centralised way on the line, the programme and the revolutionary objectives of the revolutionary state.

The social weight, the social, political, revolutionary force and the influence and decision of the exploited masses exercises itself through and by means of its class organisms even over the official party itself. The plurality of revolutionary parties does not perturb, does not harm, does not block the functioning of the revolutionary colonial state, nor of the workers state. The plurality of revolutionary parties is obligatory; it responds to the necessity and revolutionary will of the masses and of the tendencies which develop in the revolution. Its existence allows a full capacity for initiatives, for the elaboration of thoughts, of ideas, of the generalisation of the most elevated experiences of the masses and of the control of the state apparatus and the army.

On this road it is fundamental that the nationalist leaderships follow the example of China which has just taken a step of enormous historic importance. This measure obeys interior struggles indubitably but it signifies a pressure and a process of advance of the Chinese revolution which is going to express itself in a short time. Thus as we have said in other articles, the silence of the Chinese is not an indifference to the actual process whether in Cuba, whether in Dominica, whether in Vietnam but reflects an internal ideological and programmatic struggle around the recent course of the world revolution and the preparation for the unleashing of the world nuclear war being prepared by Imperialism.

The recent measure of the government has been to suppress military salutes, to put the soldier and the Commander on the same level. The most important aspect of this measure has been that the soldier has the right to criticise his officer, to hold meetings in which he can criticise his officer. The soldier has the right to refuse to obey orders, to refuse to accept and to criticise and to reject every means which goes against the revolutionary policy of the programme of the party. This is a measure which all nationalist governments must follow.

It is necessary to have revolutionary democracy in the colonial countries. It is not Socialist democracy because there is not yet a workers state but it is a

revolutionary democracy which means the masses must discuss, intervene in everything and decide. In the army they must discuss. If in the unions in the factories and the fields they discuss, why not in the army?

It was the historic limitation of Ben Bella that he did not allow the masses to intervene to control the army.

Ben Bella did not use all the force which he could have used. On the contrary he limited it. For a year the masses increased their pressure, their intention and desire for an appeal from Ben Bella so that he would respond by intervening, statifying and expropriating. In a recent Congress the government yielded on the question of self management, as a means of organising a point of solid support but nevertheless to organise a worker aristocracy, as in the USSR. It is not a worker aristocracy from the capitalist point of view, but is a worker aristocracy from the point of view of the worker states which have interests in delaying, containing the advance of the revolution.

The masses rejected self management and proposed on the contrary, the development of workers control and collective measures. The masses demonstrated that they wished to expropriate imperialism, to statify all the property to take over the land. Ben Bella restrained this. What reason did he have? That he would have to meet imperialism? Tomorrow he would have had to meet that anyway. What would the French army do? The Algerian masses had defeated an army of half a million men. The masses were disposed to liquidate completely the property of the great Algerian and French landowners; were disposed to liquidate and expel imperialism. But Ben Bella and his team, held back, impeded and repressed the impulse of the revolutionary tendencies to liquidate capitalism.

In a series of worker and peasant Congresses, the masses criticised in the Congress of electricity, engineering, of the sectors of self management even when these congresses were selected and prepared beforehand and they discussed under paternalist and terrorist pressure so that they might not pose revolutionary perspectives. Even so in all these congresses, representative delegates of very important sectors of the peasant, worker and public employees

showed their lack of conformity to the state apparatus. They denounced the formation, the functioning and the usurpation of the bureaucracy. Among the criticisms some said "they ask us to make sacrifices but the only ones who sacrifice are us not them" (which means the union leadership, the leadership of the army) and similarly there were those who said "they ask us to have patience, we have it but they have a house, car and eat well." Others said: "We want schools, we want to intervene." This is the force of the Algerian revolution.

Revolutionary democracy means the right of the union to function freely and independently to propose what they wish. And they are going to propose all that helps the revolution, everything which impells it. The workers are not going to propose a salary which is against the state apparatus; they have more practical, historic and concrete sense than these leaders because they feel that it is part of them, they are struggling to impell the society led by them. But for this it is necessary for them to have the means to intervene: workers control, control through the unions, control in the army. The army cannot resolve by itself, it has to live politically as the Chinese; as in Cuba in part, though here there does not exist an independence from the masses, there exists a much more adequate means to impede the organisation of bureaucratic tendencies. The error of the Cubans consists in the fact that they do not allow an extension of the socialist democracy; in a certain degree it exists but in a very limited degree.

Algeria is a country in revolution towards socialism and it must take revolutionary means. The conclusion is not the parliamentary constitutional road. The existence of the parties must be on the basis of unconditional support for the development of the Algerian revolution towards a workers state. The basis of existence of all the parties must be the struggle to impell the statification, the socialisation of Algeria. This is the basis for the plurality of parties. If Algeria passes to the road of constitutional bourgeois parliamentarianism this is a retrograde step which is going to have economic and social effects on the masses. The masses must throw this out and must mobilise now, proposing the

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EDITORIAL : — from front Page

tive among sectors of the middle classes. Although nothing whatever is to be expected from these people their state of mind is an expression of the continuously diminished authority of capitalism even over economically affluent sectors of the population.

In face of the intransigence of the British masses the LP apparatus polarises itself increasingly towards the right. Electorally they hope to maintain support by talk of holding down prices and providing better housing; which they cannot guarantee. The LP apparatus has backed down so far on steel nationalisation and also on the nationalisation of building land. They have no serious plans for education, housing or social services though some trivial reforms may emerge. In other words they stand out completely in their true colours as one of the last and failing defences of British capitalism and imperialism. (In Aden, Guiana, Mauritius, their policy is no different from that of imperialism).

Daily the situation becomes more

favourable to the workers in this country. Employers try to act tough, i.e. the lockout at the Rootes factory, Linwood, Paisley. But all the offensive weapons are really in the hands of the workers—a vast centralisation of the class in one of the most industrialised countries in the world, confidence of the workers in strike action, weakness and decadence of the capitalist class. It is necessary to concentrate this power, to give it expression with the anti capitalist programme. It is possible, a general election may be necessary, shortly. To show their strength many workers will still vote Labour but it is essential that the vanguard workers prepare to intervene with their own candidates on a programme for workers power. In essence the parliamentary game is altogether secondary but any elections must be used to express the revolutionary programme — nationalisations under workers control, a planning of the economy without capitalists, full support for the colonial revolution, the building of the revolutionary party.

THE MILITARY COUP IN ALGERIA J. POSADAS

Continued from Page Two

organisation of an assembly of workers, soldiers and peasants to decide the course of the Algerian revolution. The masses must mobilise in the streets to decide. Why has the government of Boumedienne and Bouteflika not appealed to the masses? Because it is against them. If they had real interests bound to the masses they would have appealed to them.

The recognition by the Chinese has no importance, this is no support for the government of Boumedienne, it is only a diplomatic manoeuvre of the Chinese, an incorrect one, which we reject. The diplomatic manoeuvre is incorrect because it gives political authority to a government which it is necessary to overthrow. This measure of the Chinese was to try to push forward the Afro-Asiatic conference. The Chinese believed that this was more important than the government of Algeria. Because the Afro-Asiatic conference would have an effect including an effect on the military coup of Boumedienne. It is incorrect what they did. They could equally have supported the conference and rejected the coup.

Their recognition gives authority to a military coup which is not progressive and which tends as a minimum to block, to diminish the rhythm of the revolution. If they had wished to impell the revolution they would have demonstrated this and would have taken measures.

The stagnation which exists at the moment is not because they do not know what to do—the intention of Bouteflika is clear, that is to contain.

This actual government, this military coup, nevertheless finds itself without the authority to impose itself, if it was otherwise it would already have done so.

The surprise of the coup should have been accompanied by the imposition of military force. When they don't do such a thing it is because they are frightened

KAREL MODZELEWSKI

from front page

the liberation of the Trotskyists in Cuba on the part of the Stalinists with the complicity of the government—of the contradiction of the bureaucracy of the workers states. These leaderships of the workers states at the same time that they have to defend the Socialist structure of the state, in order to defend the conservative interests of the bureaucracy, oppose the intervention of the masses to direct the Socialist development of the state removing bureaucratic obstacles. The arrests reflect the weakness of the bureaucrats. No repression can block the progress of humanity which passes inevitably through the political revolution in the workers states—as Trotsky analysed more than 30 years ago—as also through the social revolution in the developing capitalist states and in the colonial states and semi-colonial states, that is to say through the massive intervention of the masses throughout the world.

We Trotskyists salute with immense revolutionary fraternity the struggle of the Polish revolutionaries, of Karel Modzelewski and his comrades. We salute with immense revolutionary joy this new expression of the development of the "Trotskyising" current in its objective of the revolutionary reorganisation of the struggle to overthrow the usurping bureaucracy of the revolution and to take the political power of the state for the Polish masses.

We call upon union branches, the unofficial organisations, student organisation to publicise the news of these arrests and to pass resolutions demanding the release of all revolutionary prisoners in Poland and to send resolutions to the Polish Embassy. Long live the struggle of Karel Modzelewski and his comrades for the restoration of Socialist democracy in the workers states.

to impose it. It is undeniable that not all of them had the same intentions. It is very possible that Boumedienne wants to restrain the revolution, but not to push it back; while there are other sectors within the same group who want to restrain the revolution and push it back as well. The masses are not going to allow it.

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE TO IMPOSE A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The solution of this crisis does not remain with what Boumedienne and Bouteflika decide, nor is it the re-appearance of Ben Bella; we are not against the re-appearance of Ben Bella, but it is necessary to see how to resolve this crisis in which the masses must intervene. It is necessary to make a general strike to impose a Constituent Assembly, and the worker and peasant alliance and mobilisation to expropriate what remains of French land; to appeal to the army not to obey orders, because it is against the development of the Algerian revolution. On the contrary, a Constituent Assembly of workers, peasants and soldiers is necessary to determine a programme of the nationalisation of all the rest of the property, not of the medium and small poor property, but the fundamental ones, the big commercial farms, industrial properties, nationalisation of the banks, monopoly of foreign trade, the co-operative form of functioning in agriculture and the big enterprises, in order to pass not to self management but to workers control.

Self management is a backward step in the economy. It is a measure to try to impell the development of the economy under individual interests and this goes against the creation of a socialist sentiment, against the creation of the collective bases of society. Socialist society is not going to build itself solely because production increases more than under capitalism. In order to increase production and productivity in relation to capitalism, collective forms of production are required, and collective forms of production cannot develop with the individual interests of each person. The formula 'each one according to his work' is very limited. The programming, the determination of the objectives of the plan and of production is determined by the totality of the interests of society, thus overcoming the limitation of one sector of the economy with others and creating the socialist spirit. Socialism constructs itself not because there is more ability than under capitalism but because above all there is a socialist consciousness and sentiment which allows the development of the economy in this way. The economic progress of any workers state is going to be accompanied in reality, by the socialist sentiment and consciousness of the masses who will support this economic development, influencing it, governing it, dominating and controlling it.

RETURN OF BEN BELLA IS NO SOLUTION

Neither Fidel Castro nor the Chinese have appealed to the masses. Fidel Castro made a speech which in the last instance was a superficial speech of accusation against Boumedienne; what call did he make to the masses? Why didn't he call the masses to rise? He called for the restoration of Ben Bella. It is not necessary to restore a Ben Bella, it is necessary to install proletarian power, a workers and peasants government, it would always lead to the same basis of crisis, even restoring Ben Bella, if he doesn't call to the masses for a workers and peasants government to remove the military power, to impose communes and soviets, to permanently statify the rest of capitalist property, where there are still bases for a coup d'etat.

It is necessary that the Cuban government, that the party, that the trade unions, that the CTC, the Chinese government, the trade unions, Chinese Workers Central and the trade unions and governments of all the workers states call for the masses of Algeria to intervene and to carry out demonstrations to demand the Constituent Assembly. It is necessary that they give an immediate solution, that they do not remain motionless. The present immobility actually favours all those calculations of the counter-revolutionaries who are trying to profit from this situation of passivity in Algeria in order to try to advance in positions of command of the Algerian state. It is necessary to intervene immediately in a way to push forward—even the tendencies within the coup d'etat who do not wish a step backwards to a previous stage—the measures of nationalisation to strengthen them and resist those sectors who want to turn back to conciliation with French Imperialism or to give a step forward to the influence of the big landowner sectors.

THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE AND THE MILITARY COUP

The military coup d'etat has a certain relation to the Afro-Asian conference. Had this Conference been realised, it would have been a blow at world capitalism.

But at the same time, its postponement is a considerable advantage to world capitalism, which allows it to gain time. The realisation of the conference would have meant the influence of the Chinese on the colonial revolution.

It is totally incorrect to say that the fundamental factor of this conference would have been the Sino-Soviet dispute. It is totally stupid to look at it this way. Independently of the intention of the Chinese, the value of the Afro-Asian conference was that it could transmit to the 60 countries who were going to take part, the influence of the most advanced of the colonial revolution and the workers states; the Chinese Workers State. It is necessary to see that this conference of the Afro-Asian countries is greatly superior to the Bandung conference of 10 years ago because in this conference, China has a power and an enormous world influence. And other countries, such as Vietnam, Korea, Cuba itself, have also an enormous influence on the world colonial revolution. In this Afro-Asian conference, independently of the measures of capitalism and of the governments of the recently liberated colonial countries that are trying to stabilise the capitalist system, an immense quantity of colonial and semi-colonial countries which are on the road to becoming Workers States are going to receive the influence of the most advanced revolution, not the colonial but the Workers States which is China. It was a vital centre to influence the revolution.

It was not a question of the Sino-Soviet polemic. In this meeting the Chinese were going to influence the colonial revolution, not so that they did not follow the Soviet Union but in order to push forward the revolution against imperialism, which is the fundamental thing about this conference.

Thus this postponement gives an advantage to capitalism. It is not a solution nor a triumph for capitalism, but it gives a certain historic advantage. The sole fact that the conference could not be eliminated or annulled, means that capitalism cannot break in any way, a centre of organisation (which can reanimate itself at any moment, any instant), of a development of the revolution, as is going to be seen in a little while, in Africa and in Asia.

The realisation of this conference was an indication of the elevation of the world revolution. The government of Ben Bella neither saw nor felt the im-

portance of this Conference united to the Algerian revolution. The fact that Ben Bella was taken by surprise in a certain measure, was not because he was ignorant of what was going on, but because he did not want to turn to the masses. He could have had the assistance of the masses; but to turn to the masses was to place himself under the pressure of the masses, and he was still not very sure either ideologically or politically; he feared to put himself at a distance from the rest of Africa and of Asia, above all from the rest of the Arab world; and without doubt, the only way to make the revolution advance is to do this.

The crisis develops according to the process in each country, but each country receives in its turn, the influences of the world revolution. In Algeria, it has been shown that in a determined stage, the revolution, in order to advance, has to acquire a socialist character and base itself on revolutionary socialist democracy. That is to say, the control of the masses over the whole functioning of society. The masses are not going to go against anything which advances society, the economy, production and productivity and the needs of the exploited masses. Never, on the contrary they are going to push them forward.

This conference has an immense historic importance. It means that in the last ten years a comparison can be made between the development of the capitalist colonial countries, and the development of the colonial countries going towards the socialist revolution. It was going to have an immense influence, where China, Cuba, Algeria are going to weigh, above all China, in spite of certain errors and limitations of the Chinese leadership, in general lines it tries to develop the colonial revolution. Here would be found the enormous weight of the most advanced of the revolutions of the backward countries influenced by the socialist revolution which is China.

THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A GREAT IMPULSE TO THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

The moment in which Boumedienne's coup was made does not have any significance. All those eloquent newspaper men try to divert peoples' attention into how the coup was carried out, whether Ben Bella is alive or dead, as if everything depends on whether he comes back or doesn't come back. The declaration of Sekou Toure and all the leaders of the colonial countries, that Ben Bella must appear, has no importance. What is important is what the coup means. Nobody has criticised the coup. Neither Sekou Toure, nor the Chinese, nor anybody have criticised the meaning of the coup. The Cubans have criticised the coup, in a certain way, the speech of Fidel Castro has a certain value, because he criticised the meaning of the coup and called it reactionary, but the rest said nothing, there is not any real criticism and nobody says what must be proposed against the coup. To oppose the coup with the bringing back of Ben Bella is to stay in the same place as before. It is necessary to oppose it with the development of revolutionary democracy towards socialist democracy. This is the measure which must be taken.

Because of this, this Afro-Asian conference would have been an immense impulse to the Algerian revolution. The solution of these people in this moment, the coup having taken place has a certain historic importance: they did it to prevent the strengthening and stabilisation of Ben Bella. The Afro-Asian conference would certainly have stabilised Ben Bella and weakened the internal front who wanted to restrain the revolution; because of this they launched the coup. It was not because they did

(Continued Page 5)

Put An End To The Carnage Of Capitalist Building Methods

WORKERS CONTROL ON EVERY SITE TO DECIDE BUILDING SCHEDULES

Of all the ramshackle and squalid sections of British industry, the building industry must be the worst. Conditions on "the buildings" vary from unhealthy to highly dangerous. Lack of washing facilities lack of hygienic toilets (you can always tell when the toilets on a job become usable by the notices saying NOT TO BE USED or STAFF ONLY), filthy canteens and the permanent cold and damp, along with the hundreds of pitfalls and booby traps such as head height scaffolds often erected under the pressure of bonus earnings; all contribute to make the buildings the most naked exhibition of the brutality of Monopoly Capital in extracting its needs from the working class. Of course construction in general is a rough game but most accidents especially fatalities

are the result of faulty equipment and the pressure of the schedules. For in building as in most British industry there is a lack of productive investment because the bosses cannot invest in new equipment to the necessary degree and still maintain a high and increasing rate of profit. The workers are sacrificed to the need to increase profit, and pay with life and limb, for the sake of enriching shareholders and attracting investment from the Threadneedle Street punters. And as the directors of the banks and the big contractors are one and the same, it is the Finance capitalists who profit and rule, not only in production but in consumption through mortgages.

Of the sub-contractors the accident rate among painters and the steel erectors is amongst the highest. With typi-

cal hypocrisy the bosses will claim that this is because the workers can't be bothered to take the necessary safety precautions. They claim that workers would rather run over a narrow girder than climb down a ladder and up again at another point and that the workers can't be bothered to tie down scaffold boards and secure ladders, etc. On the surface accidents are due to carelessness and bravado but in fact in the mind of every worker on a job is the knowledge that the foreman will arrive and want to know why this or that hasn't been done. And there is the consciousness of a worker who takes an hour for lunch instead of half an hour that he must make a show. The workers feel constantly the pressure of the schedules. Another cause of

accidents resulting from the pressures of Capitalism is the need for some craftsmen to increase their differential individually by trying to do jobs that are too much for them. Thus workers chop off fingers being "skillful" with an axe or get crushed trying to move big pre-cast slabs alone. This is not a matter of individual greed but the logic of the capitalist division of labour. The charge hand pushes the men, the manager pushes the charge hand, the boss pushes the manager, the boss and the bank count their rake off while the workers count their dead at a rate of nearly 4 a week over the 10 years from 1953 in the building industry and 1 a week for civil engineering.

(Continued Page 5)

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the

cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.

4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.

6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.

7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.

8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.

9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harrassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.

10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, OENTO, 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.

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

22. For a workers government.

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THE BUILDING WORKERS STRUGGLE

Although builders and building supply firms are making record profits, the reports of the National Federation of Buildings Trade employers recently published, is permeated with gloom and reflects the pessimism of the whole bourgeoisie in the future of Capitalism. The Capitalists seem to have lost confidence to such an extent that even the law of supply and demand no longer works. Trying to get Portland Cement in some parts of the country is like digging for gold and the lack of plaster board (a stipulated necessity for fire precautions) is another example of their incompetence.

The Labour and Trade Union bureaucracies are struggling hard to solve the balance of payments crisis at the expense of the workers by holding down wages but the workers won't wear it. Brown's incomes policy has been kicked out by every section of industry and most non-manual workers.

The whole struggle of the British workers is empirical, lacking co-ordination on a national scale, but the building workers are in some ways in a worse position with regard to organisation. The casual nature of employment, the hit and run character of the nomadic sub-contractors and the fragmented positions of the sites are all obstacles to overcome, but they can and will be overcome. For this purpose every site must be 100% union. There is no contradiction between building union membership and struggling against the bureaucracy, by means not only of union branches, but of unofficial committees.

Build the unofficial committees and unify them around the anti-capitalist programme! Demand the nationalisation of the building, building supply industries, civil engineering and the banks without compensation and under workers' control.

No wage restraint in any shape or form!

To end graft and cut down waste; divest architects of all dictatorial powers. Plans to be examined by workers' committees. General foremen and clerks of works to be hired and fired by the workers' committees. Gangers, and charge hands to be elected by workers at a low differential and subject to recall. Workers committees to dictate the rhythm and speed of production.

**SOLIDARITY WITH
THE BARBICAN
STRIKERS.
CONTINUE AND
EXTEND THE
STOPPAGES IN
SUPPORT OF THE
BARBICAN STRIKE ON
ALL LONDON
SITES.
BLACK ALL
BUILDING MATERIAL
GOING TO THE
SITE.**

ALGERIAN MILITARY COUP - J. Posadas

(Continued from page three)

not want the conference to take place, on the contrary they were interested in the conference going on to give themselves some authority. But this shows the crisis which exists, the impossibility of being able to control and govern with everything upside down. This shows that the crisis continues among them and that the fact of not holding the conference has produced an element of crisis within the group of Boumedienne and Bouteflika itself.

But the problem is not going to be solved by the crisis of these people. In order to solve the problem it is not necessary to wait for their crisis or for the return of Ben Bella, it is necessary to call the masses, now, to mobilise themselves to strike at and unseat this government and install a workers and peasants government. A Constituent Assembly, with the programme of the monopoly of foreign trade, expropriation of all the banks and their nationalisation; expropriation of all the big agricultural properties both French and Algerian! expropriation of industry and of big and medium business enterprises; development of Soviets and Communes; development of workers control; the army submitted to the state apparatus and this under the control of the masses through the organisations of the worker and peasant masses and for the plurality of revolutionary parties, whose basis for existence must be the unconditional support of the Algerian revolution and the unconditional support for the Socialist revolution. Not plurality of bourgeoisie parties, but democracy directly bound to the interests of the masses in society.

What does installing "democracy" in Algeria mean? Capitalist democracy means measures which tend to reanimate and give a centre of harmonisation, of functioning and of pressure to capitalist sectors. This is capitalist democracy, this will be what installing a constitutional government and a bourgeois parliament means. The parliament which is necessary, is a proletarian parliament, which is based on communes, on Soviets, on workers control, on the independent life of the trade unions and on the plurality of revolutionary parties. These are the measures which must be taken.

It is not necessary to put the accent on the demand that Ben Bella must return. We agree that Ben Bella should reappear, but this is not a solution, the solution is the development towards the socialist revolution. These people are already in conflict and it is necessary to expect in a short time, demonstrations of the masses when they see the intention to push the revolution back. If these people have had to hold back it is because of the masses, of the reaction of the masses. One of the defeats which they suffered is the non-realisation of the conference, but this is not fundamental. The sectors who want to go forward in the measures of restraining the revolution and limiting it are going to try every way to find a way and reorganise themselves internally, in order to do it. But they are not going to encounter an important support, because of this we prophesy a short period of power for these people and of the mobilisation of great struggles in Algeria to bring them down.

In this sense it is necessary to prompt the masses so that they see the leaderships and tendencies (including that of Ben Bella), realise that the trade union and party leadership cannot continue the revolution on a mixture of capitalist and socialist measures; what are necessary are firm measures, resolved, towards measures of revolutionary democracy; not parliamentary democracy nor constitutional democracy, but revolutionary democracy, that is to say, democracy which bases itself in pushing forward measures of socialist nationalisation, measures which tend to give control and power to the masses, measures which tend to push forward the revolution, expropriating imperial-

ism and capitalism.

This is the only acceptable democracy. It is necessary to struggle on this basis. One must push forward this programme, this is the experience which all the nationalist leaders have to assimilate. It cannot be stopped or limited. This is the great experience which Algeria leaves for all the masses of the world, for all the nationalist leaderships which are in process of development towards socialist revolutions. The colonial revolutions, in order to advance, need not only the support of the Workers States, but an alliance with the Workers States. Because of this the Afro-Asian conference would have been a very great and powerful advance of the alliance of the colonial and semi-colonial revolutions which are going towards the socialist revolution, with the Workers States. It is immensely important. It was the practical form of establishing a "sui-generis" alliance with the workers states, which meant the beginning of a push forward to a world alliance of the colonial revolutions with the Workers States.

In this sense it is quite legitimate to take the measure of recognising Boumedienne. But in every way they should have condemned the coup, even though they were forced to recognise it in order to have the conference. It is an error of political calculation. The Conference is, without doubt, an elevated expression of the beginning of the world alliance, independent of its limitations. The masses of the world, the nationalist currents and tendencies which are developing towards socialist currents and leaderships, would feel an immense influence, would see the road before them and feel a certain historical sureness which would make them develop closer to a socialist consciousness. Because this postponement of the conference is in a certain measure, an advantage for capitalism; but it is not a triumph because it has not been destroyed. Without doubt, imperialism manoeuvred, immediately it saw the opportunity, to impede this conference.

The conference was not postponed precisely because of the coup d'etat in Algeria, but it had already come under the pressure of capitalism to impede it. It was the same before the Bandung conference! This Commonwealth meeting of British imperialism led by the Labour leadership of Britain, had already in its head, in its mind, the desire to impede it, because imperialism and world capitalism saw that this Conference was a step forward in the world alliance of the Workers States with the Colonial Revolution.

The Chinese must not abandon it, they must insist on it and not wait for four months. They must continue their attempts. Included in this they must make regional meetings with the Workers States and with the colonial revolutions of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in order to prepare a new later meeting. They must not leave the initiative to capitalism so that it gains advantage from this postponement, but must resume activity to make regional conferences with a programme for the development of the colonial revolutions, condemning capitalism. But concretely this conference must extend, not solely to condemning capitalism for its invasion of Vietnam and Dominica, but it must make a complete programme for the development of the economy and for political alliances between the colonial revolutions and the Workers States. This is the best way to push forward the World Revolution.

Without doubt the Conference was going to allow in a direct or indirect way, a criticism by the Chinese of the Soviets, of the policy of peaceful co-existence, and conciliation with imperialism. This was important and necessary. But this was not the object. It was not a struggle between the Chinese and the Soviets, but it formed part of a fight for the development of the world revolution, expressed in the

Sino-Soviet crisis. This was not the object of the Conference, but part of it, nothing more.

The Chinese must draw the conclusion that diplomatic measures and diplomatic tricks are not enough, but that it is necessary to base oneself on the mobilisation of the masses.

This postponement of the Conference, which is a semi-failure, a historic time interval which gives advantage to imperialism which it can use, must demonstrate to them that it is necessary to combine diplomatic measures of trips, of meetings as they are doing, with appealing to and mobilising the masses. If the government of Chou-En-Lai, at the same time as recognising the government of Boumedienne and Bouteflika, called in an indirect way, through the other organisations or the Chinese Communist Party, for the masses to mobilise for a Constituent Assembly of worker, peasants and soldiers, the authority which it would have gained would have been immense, the historic advantage great, and the progress of the revolution immense, because it would have prevented Boumedienne from being able to consolidate himself in power. The immediate recognition on the part of the Chinese has allowed the government of Boumedienne to consolidate, strengthen itself in a certain way, at least momentarily, because it has given it a certain prestige. The masses of Algeria seeing that China recognises the government of Boumedienne, feel a blow because the authority of the Chinese revolution has been transferred to Boumedienne. It is an immense diplomatic error.

That the struggle against the Soviet Bureaucracy, against the bureaucratic leadership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union cannot be carried on by diplomatic means alone without being combined with a revolutionary call to the masses, is one fundamental conclusion which must be drawn by the Chinese and the leaderships of the colonial revolution.

The Algerian masses, the workers and peasants unions, the civil servants and the students must organise a united front in order to struggle against the Government of Boumedienne. Not in order to restore Ben Bella but to decide the continuation of the Algerian revolution. They must throw themselves into organising from the lowest to the highest level. They must struggle for the programme which the masses require and must intervene to solve the crisis of Algeria. They must decide the form of government (revolutionary anti-imperialist government) which will direct the country.

The masses must struggle to impose the continuation of the revolution towards the complete statification of all the property and the installing of a workers and peasants government based on the workers militias, workers control, the independence of the unions and the right of revolutionary parties to function, while opposing all forms of functioning of bourgeois parties which defend the capitalist system.

They must struggle for the constituent assembly of workers, soldiers, and peasants in order to impose all the programme for the continuation of the revolution until the setting up of the workers state. Expropriation of what remains of imperialism and capitalism. Nationalisation of the banks, expropriation and collectivisation of the lands, of the big and medium property, the delivery of the land to the peasants and the monopoly of foreign trade.

For a world united front of the countries liberated from imperialism with the workers states to continue on a world scale the struggle to push back and destroy imperialism. For a new United Nations of liberated countries and workers states incorporating the countries of Latin America and Africa based on the anti imperialist programme and the realisation of congresses to plan the economies on a national and world scale.

The masses of Algeria must struggle for this programme to provide a progressive solution to the crisis in Algeria, caused by the Military Coup.
26th June, 1965

J. Posadas

THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN DOMINICA

SHORT EXTRACT

J. Posadas

ON THE LIMITATIONS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP

We are publishing some extracts from an article by Cde. Posadas called "The programme and tasks of the Revolution in Dominica," on the necessity of a re-orientation of the leadership of the Chinese workers state. The enormous weakness of world capitalism shows itself at every turn—the collapse of Malaysia, the enormous resistance of the Vietcong to the full military weight of American imperialism, the crisis of the Indian Pakistan conflict. In all this the Chinese leaders have shown themselves incapable of developing a clear revolutionary leadership; even their latest declaration puts all the emphasis on the colonial revolution which will "encircle imperialism." Such a strategy is incoherent, grossly underrates the role of the western proletariat besides ignoring the relationship of the world revolution with the political revolution in the workers states. It is true of course that the outstanding military reform in the Chinese army (the right of soldiers to criticise their officers) points to the developing process of the political revolution in the Chinese workers state, but this has yet to reflect itself in the strategy of the Chinese leadership in face of the coming nuclear war of imperialism against the workers states, and the world revolution.

"The limitation of the Chinese leadership is expressed in the fact that the Chinese have not yet intervened resolutely in this crisis (Vietnam). They have made no appeal for an uprising, they have not sent reinforcements in men and arms. Why? This would have been a way of forcing the Soviet leaders to intervene. The workers states, the so called Socialist states, must send in troops, arms of all types, money, militia in the right proportions for Vietnam and Dominica. It is impossible to tolerate for much longer the bombardment of Vietnam. To tolerate this is to encourage imperialism to intervene with nuclear arms against the workers states and to avoid the formation of new workers states: Dominica is a striking example. The bombardments against North Vietnam are in part destined to maintain the morale of world capitalism.

THE WORKERS STATES MUST SEND TROOPS

The workers states must intervene massively by sending troops, militia to Vietnam and Dominica in order to stop the bombardments against Vietnam and expel imperialism from these countries.

The masses, the nationalist progressive movements of the world which resist or which oppose imperialism must feel the immediate aid of the workers states; they must see that the latter intervene directly, militarily. This will encourage these movements to advance further in their struggles; thousands of the nationalist movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries would be encouraged to hurl themselves in revolutionary actions against imperialism; in particular in Latin America. If imperialism unleashes nuclear war immediately so much the worse for imperialism; today it has less nuclear arms than it will have tomorrow. At the present moment it is possible to force imperialism to retreat though not to expel it. Dominica reflects this. Imperialism will thus confront the nuclear war in the most unfavourable conditions. Thus many human lives would be spared and historic advantage would be gained in favour of the development of the revolution and of Socialism. The world crisis of capitalism and of the Soviet bureaucracy expresses itself in the great bluffing which goes on "Bomb

Bomb there but no further." They observe, evaluate to the nearest millimetre of intervention. This allows one to appreciate the degree to which the crisis has attained, the degree to which the nuclear war can break out from one minute to the next and the immense weakness of the two leaderships, Soviet or American; under pressure they advance a little and wait to see the reaction of the other. Neither the one or the other can act with confidence. Johnson addressing himself to the Soviet bureaucracy declares that he will not intervene against every Communist movement to keep open the possibility of negotiation. In reality imperialism will intervene as long as one allows it against every revolutionary movement (not against the CP which does not struggle for the revolution nor for the Communist mobilisation of the masses).

The Soviet bureaucracy is able to intervene. The workers states have an immense base upon which to support themselves: the force of the masses of the world. But the leadership of the workers states is opposed to this, the masses lack a political leadership and this provides an enormous advantage for imperialism. The last meeting of NATO had as an object the preparation of the capitalist camp, to work out its strategy to confront an increased resistance, an amplified revolutionary struggle on a world scale. They were preparing equally for a greater intervention of the workers states (USSR, CHINA) in support of the colonial revolutions and North Vietnam.

THE MASSES AND NOT NUCLEAR ARMS WILL DECIDE

Imperialism is preparing to respond to this new phase by war on a grand scale and by the atomic war. That is why it is madness to allow imperialism to gain time as the Chinese are doing. There is no historic delay sufficient which can render the Chinese powerful enough to arm themselves with nuclear means so that they become a real force in that way. Imperialism will not allow it. In fact for each bomb that the Chinese construct, the Americans can manufacture 20, 50 or a hundred. It is madness to expect nuclear weapons will give final advantage in the war. What matters is still and will be always the development of the revolution. The Chinese must put into practice the principles which they expound—which are ours in fact, the principles of the IV International and not theirs. The issue of the war does not depend on arms but on the masses. The war takes place and is won on the land. The nuclear weapon will not destroy humanity or life. After nuclear arms comes the armies of occupation. Imperialism to survive the war and maintain the capitalist system alive has need of an army of not less than 100 million men—supposing that they could find them. Capitalism is conscious of its historical weakness. If it was sure of its historic force for example it would have destroyed the Dominican state without bothering any more about gaining world public opinion. If it submits to world opinion—that is to say to the opinion of other capitalist governments, it is because it feels itself weak, incapable of liquidating Dominica whatever happens. It is also an indication of the state of affairs in the USA itself where public opinion exerts an enormous pressure. Imperialism realises that historically it is finished, dead. That is why the attitude of the Chinese has no sense. It is necessary to pass resolutely to the offensive and to support the IV International and the Trotskyists.

The leaders of the Chinese workers

The India Pakistan War, An Attempt To Divert The Revolutionary Process

Soviet Bureaucracy Makes United Front With Imperialism

The war between Pakistan and India over Kashmir is in fact a deformed expression of the gigantic social crisis particularly marked in India; but developing throughout the Asiatic land mass.

One of the many vicious heritages of the direct rule of imperialism in India was in the first place the completely unjustifiable partition of the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan and secondly the turning of Kashmir into a source of contention between the two nations (in 1947 the British made the decision that Indian princes should decide the fate of their own states). Not only is the Kashmir problem entirely artificial but one has only to look at the map to see that the complete geographical separation of East and West Pakistan points to the absurdity of the separation between the two nations of India and Pakistan.

The most significant aspect of the Kashmir dispute is that even such an apparently internal issue can cause enormous international repercussions revealing the impotence of both imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy to control the process. What imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy fears, is that the situation might develop so quickly that the war could lead to social upheavals, and imperialism particularly fears the disintegration of the imperialist war alliances from within (Cento). So delicately poised is the international situation that a "national" dispute can in fact precipitate a series of events leading to the third world war.

The masses of India and Pakistan are powerfully influenced by the whole tempo of the world revolution. In India in particular the effect of the Sino-Soviet dispute has shown itself very clearly in the victory of the Pro-Chinese tendency in the elections in Kerala. Within the last two years there have been extensive food riots in India and it is perfectly clear that the Indian bourgeoisie is sitting on a social volcano. Its five year plans cannot satisfy the needs of the Indian masses. If ever a continent demanded socialism as the only way forward, it is India.

FAILURES OF CIA SHOW INCREASING WEAKNESS OF IMPERIALISM

There has been considerable speculation as to the precise origins of the renewed disorders over Kashmir and it has been widely canvassed that the CIA (American imperialist agency for sabotage, assassination, etc.) were endeavouring to precipitate the downfall of Ayub Khan as they did not consider him a sufficiently docile member of the entourage of American imperialism. They seem to have convinced themselves that he was on the way out, and acting on this the Indian bourgeoisie proceeded to invade West Pakistan. However the consequences have only served to highlight the weakness of imperialism. Whatever the machinations of the CIA, they have been remarkably useless in the present situation. No doubt the CIA

state must arrive at the conclusion that it is necessary to aid with support the struggle of the IV International of the Trotskyists, for therein lies the essential basis for the development of the revolution.

What the Chinese must discuss with the Soviet bureaucracy is not what Stalin said but "what is the policy that must be pursued today?" It is necessary to call concretely upon the masses to take power to overthrow capitalism. Every past struggle remains past. To discuss the past without saying what policy is required now is to disguise the problem, to distort reality. It is necessary to say what has to be done in Dominica, in Italy and in Spain. ...

thinks to dominate history by intrigue and assassination but they are rendered historically incompetent because of the weakness of imperialism. Today American and British imperialism are alarmed at the outcome of the struggle particularly as the Cento alliance seems to be disintegrating under the strain, i.e. Persia and Turkey are offering to come to the aid of Pakistan. Just as de Gaulle in the West undermines the authority of the NATO alliance so the Indo Pakistan struggle disintegrates the military and social supports of imperialism in Asia. The prestige and authority of American imperialism has suffered a great deal recently. Also from the revelation of bribery by the CIA of the Prime Minister of Singapore.

The attitudes of the leaderships of the workers states provides the usual graphic examples of how the leaderships of these states either act as a block to the revolutionary process (the Soviet bureaucracy) or mislead it through opportunist manoeuvres (China).

The Soviet bureaucracy with its traditional desire for conciliation at almost any price has shown itself desperately keen for "peace." It is a characteristic example of their efforts to conciliate with Yankee imperialism and their refusal to use the opportunity to advance the revolution in Asia.

The Chinese leadership with their usual opportunism instead of giving the Indian and Pakistan masses a revolutionary orientation against their respective exploiters have opted simply to support the claims of the reactionary Ayub Khan government. It is true that Pakistan is no great rock of support for Cento but a decisive revolutionary lead to the masses of Asia and the world by the Chinese leadership would be of infinitely more significance than founding a policy on opportunist cavortings with a reactionary government for diplomatic advantage.

IMPERIALISM USES UNO IN KASHMIR

Sukarno recently called for the formation of an anti imperialist axis based on China, Vietnam and Indonesia, but the axis Pakistan-China versus India is thoroughly opportunist. Certainly a workers state should take advantage of inter-bourgeois rivalry wherever possible but not at the expense of subordinating fundamental revolutionary appeals to the masses. The Chinese leaders are now taking advantage of the disintegration of the imperialist war alliance Cento to embarrass imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy but how much greater would be the effect if they directed their attention to preparing the ground for the mass insurrection of the Pakistan and Indian masses against capitalism and feudal remnants with the perspective of a Socialist federation of the two states. It is necessary in relation to Kashmir itself, to call for an independent Socialist Kashmir based on workers and peasant councils with the perspective of federation with the Socialist states of India and Pakistan. The revolutionary tendencies in Pakistan and India must reject any UNO negotiations destined to ignore the aspirations of the Kashmiri masses and their social interests in common with the Indian and Pakistani masses.

UNO is being used by the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy to "stabilise" the situation in Kashmir. The world situation demands that the Chinese leaders direct their appeals to accelerate the revolutionary currents in India and Pakistan with the programme of workers and peasant governments, with the perspective of the revolutionary struggle for Socialism.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

— Trotsky

No. 26

NOVEMBER, 1965

SIXPENCE

Build The National Organisation Of The Unofficial Committees On An Anti- Capitalist And Anti-Imperialist Programme Full Support For The Rhodesian Masses

Everywhere in the world, imperialism and capitalism is disintegrating. The leaderships of imperialism argue among themselves incapable of a united policy and perspective. In the USA leaders of the Democratic party have attacked the Johnson administration over its action in **Dominica**; thousands have demonstrated against the war in **Vietnam** and the President has been forced to express alarm over the mass attempts to avoid the military draft. Civil war begins to develop throughout the **Latin-American** continent and nowhere in the world does capitalism show confidence. The regimes of **Franco Spain, Italy and France** in particular cannot solve their political, social and increasing economic weakness (France has at least four presidential candidates in the field showing the decomposition of support for **French imperialism**); even as in **Indonesia** where a bonapartist military clique attempts to prevent **Indonesia** becoming a workers state, world imperialism has not the strength to tip the balance of forces decisively against the revolution. In **Bolivia** where imperialism savagely massacres workers and peasants the masses fight on and demoralise their assassins. Imperialism continues to lean on the soviet bureaucracy and the lack of confidence of the Chinese; but there is not much time left for manoeuvre. Inexorably history demands the final encounter to obliterate imperialism and its soviet bureaucratic allies.

Great Britain to some extent appears insulated against the epic events taking place elsewhere. The workers superficially would appear to be unaffected by the crisis which is shaking the whole world. The General Strike in **Aden**, British intervention in **Mauritius** would seem to have no echo in Great Britain. Whereas in the **United States** the eruption in **Los Angeles** directly expressed the force of the world revolution. But it is necessary to remember that in Great Britain the monolithic party bureaucracies, the existence of large privileged sectors with a conservative outlook, not least a strong aristocracy of labour prevent a real expression of the desires of the least privileged sectors of the proletariat. They are through this in part isolated from feeling the full power of the world revolutionary process. Nevertheless a process of politicisation is undoubtedly developing among the workers. This was shown by the **TGWU's** rejection of the **Vietnam** policy of the Labour government. Student and petit bourgeois sectors reject the policy of the **LP** apparatus in relation to **Vietnam**. The pressure against the **LP** apparatus was shown recently in the speech of **Bertrand Russell** rejecting the Labour Party and calling for a new socialist party. His speech reflects the desire of petit bourgeois strata for a socialist policy and all this is part of the process favouring Trotskyist tendencies in this country.

We have called for the national unification of unofficial committees for some time and this objective necessity has been expressing itself in the tendency of the dockworkers committees to establish national links between committees in **London and Hull, Bristol, etc.** The conservative tendency under **Dash** representing the **CP** will try to control this tendency but the process is against

any permanent obstacle. The struggle of workers against police on the **Barbican** site also testifies to the determined militancy of the workers; here also unification with other sites was carried out. Capitalist attempts to rationalise industry at the expense of workers will simply accelerate the tendency to unification of the workers movement via the unofficial committees. Thus the attack on the miners, i.e. closing of pits due to the passivity of the union leaders will not demoralise the workers but intensify their resistance.

Furthermore the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, which is collaboration with imperialism and which is encouraging capitalist methods within Soviet industry, confuses the workers and diminishes their confidence.

ALL THE PARTIES FEAR AN ELECTION

Neither the Labour or Conservative party conferences indicated the full scope and extent of the crisis of British imperialism. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that both are completely controlled by apparatuses associated with imperialism and the whole object of these conferences is to muffle discontent and present an appearance of bland confidence in the continued existence of capitalism. Rigid bureaucratic control prevents in general any serious opposition. Nevertheless the crisis expresses itself in indirect ways. The Tories repeated the same old viciousness against immigration and the need to control the unions. They made up with mindless cheerings for the total absence of a firm perspective for imperialism. The most revealing speech was that made by **Enoch Powell** when he seemed to be advocating reductions in military

expenditures east of **Suez**—this in itself reveals the spirit of defeatism within the very heart of imperialism. The imperialist camp prepares for war yet it also feels the helplessness of its position. The **LP** conference was equally stage managed. But owing to the relationship of the party within the trade unions the apparatus cannot entirely crush some expression of proletarian discontent. The fact that the **AEU** supported the **TGWU** against the government incomes policy shows the weight of workers discontent with the policy of imperialism. The reformist left showed itself for what it has always been and as **Trotsky** described it in "Where Is Britain Going"—a shadow of the bureaucracy, a phoney "opposition" refusing to appeal to the workers, content with parliamentary careers.

Wilson may well postpone an election as long as he can despite the "favourable" polls. A tacit alliance exists in

some measure with the Tories and the Liberals — no one is really keen for another election because it would reveal the electoral weaknesses of everyone, i.e. abstentionism, lack of perspective, etc. However workers must be prepared with their own candidates to intervene in any election with their own candidates on an anti-capitalist programme.

NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION TO RHODESIAN CRISIS

The Rhodesia crisis, an expression of the advance of the African revolution, has given **Wilson** nightmares because again it is impossible to find a solution which can benefit capitalism. To give way to **Smith** completely over a Unilateral Declaration of Independence is to further lower the prestige of imperialism; to intervene via **UNO**, eco-

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Indonesian Coup Result Of Failure Of Chinese Leadership The Masses Pay For The Opportunism Of The Aidit Clique

The crushing of **Colonel Untung's** coup in **Indonesia** and the subsequent wave of demonstrations and military actions against the **P.K.I.** (the Indonesian Communist party), is the second failure in a few months of the opportunist policies of the Chinese leadership. In July it was **Algeria** and it resulted in a postponement of the Afro-Asian conference which was a gain for imperialism, now it is the victory of the reactionary generals in **Indonesia**.

In **Indonesia** the same process of stagnation of the colonial revolution, at a level which is not yet that of a workers state—where the masses cannot intervene to socially control the state apparatus—is going on as in **Algeria**, and with similar consequences.

The military planned to move against the **P.K.I.** and the organisations of the masses to prevent further progress of the revolution. The fact that **Untung's** coup occurred first and was directed against the right wing generals does not alter the analysis of the situation. The Communist Party and some sectors of the army, perhaps with the connivance of **Sukarno** wanted to see the most reactionary sectors of the army crushed and any attempt to push the revolution back to a lower stage prevented, but none of them were inter-

ested in the mobilisation of the masses; no appeals were made to the workers and peasants to rise, to take the factories, the land, all the enterprises and to organise themselves into militias and to form soviets and communes. **Untung** and his backers hoped to carry out the coup without the masses; making it a purely apparatus struggle to substitute themselves for certain government and army leaders. The coup failed and now the **P.K.I.** is paying the price. It seems evident that **Sukarno** also supported the coup, for during the fighting in **Djarkata** he sheltered in an air force base commanded by Air Vice Marshall **Omar Dani**, the only high ranking officer who supported **Untung**. Now **Sukarno** is only a figure head for the right wing military who hope to use him to stabilise the situation in their favour.

Only a few weeks ago, **Aidit**, General Secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party, was saying that the idea of an army—C.P. clash was a "western illusion"; now the clash has come and the **C.P.** is unprepared and unarmed. The **P.K.I.** has a membership of 6 million and an influence over millions more through the trade unions and peasant organisations, and with a correct policy of wholesale expropriations, the

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THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM SHARPENS AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES IN A WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

J. POSADAS (EXTRACTS)

The crisis of Greece indicates the process of the advance of the revolution in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean, proceeding with gigantic steps not only in Yugoslavia and Albania but in Cyprus itself, this process has stimulated the struggle in Greece. But directly it is the development of the struggle in the Middle East which has stimulated this struggle.

The vital centre of imperialism in the Middle East is Greece joined with Turkey. With respect to the Atlantic, countries like France, Great Britain, Italy and Germany are the most important, but in respect to the Mediterranean these two countries Greece and Turkey are the key points. All this strategy is dissolving particularly because in Greece there exists a very profound social crisis.

In 1943-1945 the revolution was ready to triumph in Greece but Stalin made an agreement with imperialism to betray the Greek revolution and he assassinated all the communist leaders. Not only the Trotskyists—he assassinated 300 in one night—but the leaders themselves of the Communist party, among them the General Secretary who was with the revolution. They betrayed him and they liquidated him. Afterwards the Greek bourgeoisie succeeded in stabilising its power; but now this crisis develops beyond its control which is to say that the social crisis is very profound. We reiterate that this is a very great blow to the stability of imperialist power in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

The ministerial crisis in Greece is the reflection of a very profound social crisis. The basis of this crisis in Greece is that a team of officers about 250 strong were discovered forming a movement to lead Greece into neutralism. Greece is one of the pillars of imperialism joined with Turkey in Nato. When in Greece a group of officers is formed who struggle or push for neutralism it is against imperialism; particularly when the one who is considered the leader of this movement is the son of the ex-premier Papandreou who passed from being a minister of the crown to being a leader of the opposition.

The crisis of Greece with that of Turkey—where a group of military men has also appeared demanding the neutrality of Turkey and the nationalisation of petroleum has taken place with that of other products—weakens all the potential and basis of imperialism in the Mediterranean. Their essential bases are Greece and Turkey which dominate the entrance to the Black Sea and to the Soviet Union; thus it is the centre of the terrorism of imperialism against the revolution in the Middle East. If imperialism loses control of Turkey and Greece everything is lost. And this crisis has been very acute; there have been demonstrations of more than half a million in favour of Papandreou. This man is a liberal minister, nothing more; within the Conservative party there is a minister more liberal than he is who wishes to take some progressive measures in questions of political liberty, etc.

IMPERIALISM TRIES TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS FROM THE BUREAUCRACY

With respect to Vietnam, the liquidation of Taylor denotes the profound crisis of imperialism. Taylor is the strategist of the war against North Vietnam and China. He has made various plans for winning; from strategic villages to strategic withdrawal. Taylor said "a few months from now, we will be masters, and the masses kicked him out. But the collapse of Taylor does not mean that the Yanks will abandon the invasion of North Vietnam and of China; it simply means that they are trying to establish a base for negotiation with the USSR. It is a point of support to discuss with the Soviet Union and the negotiations with the Soviet Union have reached zero.

Now Harriman declares that he did not go to the Soviet Union to make concessions in Europe as against Vietnam. What he denied was true; but the truth was that the Soviet bureaucracy did not wish to cede what imperialism asked. On the contrary the Soviet

bureaucracy had seen itself obliged to make an appeal for the unity of the Communist parties to resist over Vietnam and then to give a greater quantity of arms to Vietnam than has been given until now.

Imperialism vacillates about going any further over invading North Vietnam, because it fears a direct confrontation with Soviet planes for example. You will remember that a few months ago Soviet planes intercepted the planes of the Americans and dispersed them; afterwards they did not appear. From this we have said in several articles that it was a warning from the Soviet Union.

The sending of Harriman to Moscow was to see what new negotiations were possible with the Soviet Union; what agreement was possible on the dismissal of Taylor—with which the Yanks demonstrated that they were disposed to discuss and to negotiate. It seems that the Soviets have conceded nothing. But in the last communication of the Soviet bureaucracy it called for the socialist states to confront imperialism but it made no mention of the withdrawal of the American troops from North Vietnam, whilst in previous announcements it placed as a central point the withdrawal of the North American troops from Vietnam.

This is a weakening on the part of the Soviets but it favours very little the Yanks because what negotiations can they make with the Vietcong? By allowing neutrality, elections, or withdrawal by the Yankees, everything is lost for the imperialists.

What is evident is that the Yankees feel that they cannot win the war like this and that the principal North American politicians are against the continuation of the war whilst the military are for its continuation. This is the struggle between the White House and the Pentagon. There is no disagreement over the objectives and the conclusion; there is disagreement on how to achieve them. And this disagreement implies and expresses in a clear objective form that the crisis of imperialism obeys the fact that it can only pursue the war until the end; that it cannot smash Vietnam; it cannot withdraw and cannot conciliate with the Soviet Union nor arrange with the Soviet bureaucracy to reach an agreement that permits them to go further in their aggression. For nevertheless the bureaucracy can only permit this because there is an internal crisis. There is a definite proof of this: in the most recent phase it has been the paper Red Star which has spoken and not Pravda. The dismissal of Taylor is not an elimination, an annulment of the imperialist plan to invade North Vietnam and China. It is simply the removal of the

representative of this plan, to provide the basis for discussion with the Soviets, to see what new agreement can be arrived at. In reality this indicates the immense weakness of imperialism which has nothing to offer and which can offer nothing, but can only increase the number of military involved. Imperialism feels that to conquer the Vietcong is to launch the world war or at least to invade North Vietnam and a little later to extend the war.

VIETNAM AND DOMINICA REFLECT THE WEAKNESS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

If imperialism had the force and the decision to invade North Vietnam, it would have done so—as in Dominica—If it had not done it, it is not because they lacked military forces. They did not do it because they realised that to bomb North Vietnam with everything which they had, meant the intervention of China and the massive intervention of the Soviet Union whether in the form of military aid, of military technicians, of volunteers that is to open the road to war, which shows the fear of imperialism.

The weakness of imperialism is immense. Not only is it reflected in North Vietnam but also in Dominica where they have to discuss whether to accept a President, to seek a President who might be acceptable to the Dominicans; they do not impose him with the bayonet and have to advance three feet a day. For three months from the beginning of the fight, imperialism has not been able to smash the masses of Dominica. The fact that a viable solution had not been found in spite of the fact that Camaano had tried to conciliate, reflects the advance of the revolution. Camaano accepted the candidature of Garcia Godoy, whilst in a meeting and in declarations of organisms of the masses etc., the masses rejected him saying that he was one of Trujillo's men and that they wished to go forward with the objective of the Dominican revolution. The socialist force of the Dominican revolution, without a programme without prepared organisation expressed itself in this resistance to yield to the alliance, to conciliation with capitalism. Whilst Camaano tends to yield the masses say they will yield nothing. This is the force of the revolution.

The crisis of imperialism is immense. The voyage of Frei is an expression of the crisis of imperialism. Frei did not come to seek economic support; he sought help for a social policy. The trip of Frei is the attempt to seek the support of European capitalism; it was not only to contain, to blackmail Yankee investment and finances with the pressure of imperialism, but to try to associate with a sector of capitalism, to allow for a plan of economic development which could contain the revolution. It is a vain attempt but it is an attempt which shows that the bourgeoisie takes initiatives and tries to seek some means to contain the revolution. But it does not seek it in North America, it seeks it in Europe, this is the most important fact of all.

IN LATIN AMERICA THE REVOLUTION ADVANCES CONSTANTLY

The Latin American bourgeoisie through Frei shows that it can no longer trust American imperialism. There is no uniformity in this thought but the activity of Frei is to open the way for other sectors. And it was not simply to seek investment of capital

but to seek an economic support for a policy of a wider perspective. Undoubtedly this policy is going to fail. The proof is the situation in Chile, from the fact that Frei has tried to declare that they are not capitalists or communists but seek an intermediary solution. It is not simple demagoguery to ask for votes; he is trying to find a team among the capitalists even among the imperialists who understand the necessity of making concessions. It is a vain attempt because imperialism cannot make any more concessions; it has reached the limits of what it can do. This shows the weakness of imperialism that it can no longer intervene to contain the social crisis in Latin America.

In Latin America there is a constant increase in the struggle of the peasant and worker masses. There are occupations of land everywhere. All the dictatorships which have been imposed have had to retreat, that of Ecuador, Guatemala and Brazil. They cannot increase their power and the dictatorial strength; their intention is to attempt this but they lack effective force.

The decomposition of the dictatorships in Brazil, Guatemala and Ecuador is a consequence of the struggle of the masses. Their internal contradictions are because they have not attained an equilibrium to dominate the masses.

In Ecuador an event has occurred which indicates the decomposition of the military dictatorship; they have made an agreement after the general strike, after the enormous mobilisation of the masses stimulated at first by the sector of the bourgeoisie (attempting to

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EDITORIAL: from front Page 1

conomic sanctions, etc., will not stop the African revolution. The latter alternatives are not the most likely, but whatever the position British imperialism has suffered a further blow. Wilson is a total hypocrite on the issue, of course; his "liberalism" is a fraud but he has to take account of an African revolution beyond his control. We call upon British workers to refuse to handle Rhodesian trade and to demonstrate in support of the Rhodesian masses. It is necessary for the workers states to take advantage of the crisis of imperialism in Rhodesia by appealing for the establishment of militias throughout the continent to aid the Rhodesian masses and by sending in full military and technical aid.

It is necessary to accelerate the development of the revolutionary current in this country. British imperialism has contracted enormous loans to avoid extreme economic crisis but the crisis remains and despite the reactionary pressures in support of imperialism within Great Britain, the social and political support for capitalism is weakened in face of the war in Vietnam and the inability of capitalism to satisfy the basic social needs of the masses. We appeal to all militants to intensify the struggle against imperialism by struggling to build the revolutionary current, the united front against imperialism, by struggling around the following programme.

No worker to be unemployed. Expropriate luxury offices, etc., to meet the housing shortage. A basic minimum wage. All union officials to be immediately recallable, and to have no more than the average wage. Nationalisations under workers control. Withdrawal of troops from the colonies. Arms and money for the colonial revolution for a workers government.

The Crisis Of Capitalism Sharpens

J. POSADAS

Continued from Page Two

extract advantage for the particular interest of the bourgeoisie); but the students continue their struggle and will stimulate the struggle of other sectors among them workers, dockers, stevedors, transport workers. From this it is possible to observe the dissidence of the bourgeoisie of Guayaquil with the bourgeoisie of Quito. There is a difference between them. The bourgeoisie in Quito represents directly the old oligarchy based on coffee on sugar cane, on cotton; the bourgeoisie of Guayaquil has a more direct interest in the internal commercial development of the country; it has more interest in the internal market than Quito, which is more interested in the export trade. The military dictatorship after these movements yielded to and ended these movements, when it included in the government three civilians of Guayaquil, not of Quito. It seeks a contact with the national bourgeoisie who have an interest in the internal market. If certainly this does not mean that it is going to weaken very much or that it is going to terminate the dictatorship now, it means a blow at the homogeneity in the dictatorship and thus the opening of an enormous field for the pressure of the masses

In Brazil it is the same. Lacerda who presents himself as the centre of the central axis of the resolution to impose

INDONESIA

(Continued from page 1)

land to the peasants, and the formations of workers and peasants militias to carry out this programme the P.K.I. could have led the masses of Indonesia to the overthrow of capitalism without any difficulty. But instead of doing this the P.K.I. supported Sukarno; while supporting the so called anti-revisionist line of the Chinese communist party and attacking the conciliatory policy of the soviet bureaucracy they collaborated with the Indonesian bourgeois nationalists; and the Chinese leadership who have more faith in leaders like Sukarno than they have in the masses, supported this policy.

In the past Sukarno has shown that he has been capable of responding to the revolutionary pressures of the Indonesian masses to a limited degree. The two clearest examples of this are the walk out from U.N.O. (which is a more advanced action than anything the Cuban or Chinese leadership have done) and the campaign against Malaysia, even though it is carried out in a purely military way with no appeals to the masses of Malaysia. Nevertheless Sukarno does not express all the maturity of the situation. The maturity of Indonesia for the socialist revolution has been demonstrated by the actions of workers, expropriating imperialist property in various enterprises all over Indonesia on dozens of occasions. These expropriations were usually followed by nationalisations by Sukarno but on some occasions in the past they were even handed back to the imperialists after the appointment of some Indonesian managers. In every case the initiative has come from the masses. Today Indonesia is not a workers state, not because the masses are insufficiently mature for socialism but because the leadership of the P.K.I. and the Chinese leadership has failed them.

Fortunately in today's conditions where the balance of world forces are against imperialism, the mistake of the C.P. will not have the disastrous consequences which similar mistakes had formerly, i.e. Greece, Iraq, but nevertheless a period is opening up in which the army will try to repress the masses and the P.K.I. The army lacks the necessary social support to stabilise the situation and new crises will occur. The Indonesian masses will suffer unnecessarily because of the mistakes of the Chinese and of the Communist Party but in the coming period of repression a new leadership will be formed in the course of the struggle which will take Indonesia along the road to the socialist revolution.

a dictatorship, is now pushed aside and the government of Brazil attacks the hard line with more attention than other sectors. It has just set free nine Communist leaders. We do not believe that this is because the regime is liberalising itself; it is a means of preparing the way for a united front and a support of the Communists for Castel Branco or for a candidate of that line. This is in every way a weakening on the part of the dictatorship.

And in Guatemala also, in Guatemala the dictatorship is impotent to contain the November 13 movement in spite of all its military means. Their interior decomposition continues so much that among themselves they seek to eliminate each other and they count themselves happy when a minister is eliminated because another tendency is favoured. Throughout the whole of Central America there are peasant movements and the occupation of the lands; guerillas in Guatemala, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica; strikes of teachers, of students, of doctors, office workers always repeated and they are not repressed in the savage way of former times.

Imperialism demonstrates an immense weakness, an increase in the world division of imperialism; de Gaulle takes different ways to those of American imperialism although he does not differ from Yankee imperialism in relation to its objectives and its conclusion. The two wish the defeat of the workers states, the defeat of the world revolution and the development of capitalism. But they are incapable and de Gaulle places at various moments, as first interest his imperialist interest against Yankee imperialism at the cost of the common interests of imperialism; but there is no confidence in a capitalist solution. The capitalist crisis, the contradictions of capitalism, the motive of capitalist competition is a fundamental factor of the world crisis of capitalism, intensified through the development of the revolution accelerating the loss of confidence and security in the perspective of capitalism! Thus the bourgeoisie tries to resolve problems for itself.

A decisive indication of this is the attitude of Wilson who has taken a series of capitalist measures; he is an agent, a defender of imperialism. He has defended unconditionally the policy of imperialism in Vietnam and Dominica. Nevertheless he has taken measures which indicate that he has to respond to an internal pressure.

When British imperialism has to make such a resolution forming a committee as that formed by Wilson it is directed above all to calm the internal pressure within Great Britain. And a demonstration of this world pressure internally is the resolution of the TGWU which has voted against the British government supporting Yankee imperialism in the policy of aggression against Vietnam and Dominica. This is a real revolution! The union in spite of supporting the Labour government votes against its foreign policy. Why this committee of Wilson? It has not been formed because there is a desire on the part of these people for peace in Vietnam, in favour of Vietnam or to obstruct the Yankee imperialists; it is the expression of a defence against the pressure of the British proletariat.

Thus all the international panorama shows the immense weakness of imperialism. In front of this the attitude of the workers states is criminal! It is an attitude which shows the stupidity of the bureaucracy because its economic interests prevent it acting in a rational manner, prevent it acting dialectically, prevent it acting as a revolutionary force. It cannot see the world clearly, it cannot impell the revolution when it has interests which are against the revolution. The workers states including China have a magnificent world situation to make an appeal to the masses

to overthrow capitalism but they do not do it.

The recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist party in which they said each workers state should be independent. What could be more absurd? Simple independence in every country is a capitalist measure. The workers states should not draw up resolutions to maintain the independence of each workers state. What they should do is to decide how to unite and plan the workers states and how to defend them. This resolution of independence of each workers state does not respond to the interest of the development of the workers state but to the interest of the conservative bureaucracy which has partial nationalist interests; not nationalist from the anti-imperialist point of view—as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries—but from the backward conservative point of view of its final interest of containing the revolution. Hence this resolution is an ignominy for the revolution in front of the capitalist world which divides itself constantly, which conflicts, which weakens, which enters into acute crisis.

The workers states make resolution imitating the capitalist regime; not because it is a necessity of the workers state but because it responds to the conservative interests of the bureaucracy. This resolution is an ignominy in the full crisis of capitalism.

The Sino-Soviet dispute would be resolved in two minutes if its leaderships responded to the objective necessity of the advance of the workers states. Thus it appears so confused. Such confusion is simply appearance. The recent declaration of Rumania that it is neutral in the Sino-Soviet dispute, demonstrates and confirms the existence of national interests, not of international and revolutionary interests.

When they speak of Democratic Centralism these are as vain words as when they speak of the Marxist Leninist line. But what is the Marxist Leninist line? The Marxist Leninist line is proletarian internationalism, is to impell the revolution in whatever part of the world; and the workers states should impell the revolution. Not only because it is a necessity and a historic obligation—this is not the fundamental reason. The fundamental reason is that the existence of the workers states is inseparable from the development of the revolution. Just as capitalism needs the sustaining force of other capitalist states, so the workers states need other workers states. And the only way of extending the workers states is by revolution and there is no other way of doing this than by violent means, armed militia, revolutionary guerillas.

The attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy over Vietnam is not dictated by the decision of the Soviet bureaucracy but imposed by the Soviet army which sees a danger in the relation of forces favourable to Yankee imperialism. It is a bureaucratic attitude more appropriate than that of Breznev and Kosygin but bureaucratic in the last instance, because it does not appeal to the masses but tries to restrain the military advance of imperialism.

All these conditions show the state of the crisis of capitalism, the weakness of its resistance, its incapacity to confront the revolution; the workers states cannot make use of this because their leaderships instead of basing themselves on this crisis of capitalism to impell the revolution, try to conciliate, to contain the revolution. They know that the revolution is the end of them. It is not fear of nuclear war—that is false. The Soviet bureaucracy does not stimulate the revolution not through fear of the nuclear war, but above all, because it is conscious that the revolution pushes them aside, has no need of them.

And the attitude of the Chinese has been no better than that of the Soviets. The Chinese were there (Rumania) and

took no position which was superior to that of the Soviets. They shared all the conciliatory resolutions with a language more to the left but with stupid attitudes, indifferent attitudes with bureaucratic accusations but they pose no appeal to the masses.

The Chinese have made no appeal to the masses; neither the Chinese or the Cubans, nor the Soviets or any other.

In Italy there is a constant crisis; Italy has been in crisis since the end of the war. This meeting in Rumania made no appeal to the Italian masses to take power. There was no appeal to push forward the socialist programme. There was no appeal to push forward the programme of revolutionary action, the only way to be able to mobilise the masses and to struggle against capitalism. There was no appeal of support to the Spanish masses. There was nothing; a complete indifference.

This meeting in Rumania demonstrated the complete ignominy of the bureaucracy which in exceptional conditions for a world united front was silent and also has ignored the existence of the struggle of the masses of the world—which if it were not for the Communist leaderships—would have taken power. The bureaucracy has no power which is immune to any phase of the revolutionary process. The situation within China, the reforms in the Chinese army are the expression of an interior struggle and this struggle stems from a sector which wishes to impell the revolution. The form in which this necessity is reflected to impell the revolution are the measures which they have taken; as there is no independent action of the masses by which they can express themselves, as there is no independent life of the masses in the the struggle to be able to determine to impell the revolution; it is necessary to measure this in an indirect form.

Whilst imperialism had made a coup in Bolivia—a blow serious enough—whilst imperialism has succeeded in one way or another to deliver a blow at the 13 November movement in Guatemala, assassinating two revolutionary militants and taking prisoner other militants; it is not going to detain the action of the 13 November movement nor the Bolivian revolution. The news has just shown that the army has been withdrawn from the mines and will be replaced by a special police; it is a retreat; if the army had sufficient force to smash and kill all the miners as they had in the past they would have done so.

When in Bolivia they do not do this after having conquered, it is because they have not the strength for this. They have arms, artillery, tanks, etc., but the resistance of the masses defeats them, disconcerts them and then the continuity of the struggle of the masses creates an interior crisis which weakens them. This is the situation which exists. Outside the IV International, outside the Trotskyists, no one has analysed this situation in history. And in this meeting in Rumania they have not said a word on Bolivia. Not a word, when the duty of the worker states—which is the most elevated expression of organised proletarian force—is to intervene in the world and they do not intervene at all. They do not intervene not only because they are not capable of understanding how to intervene but because they do not wish to clash with capitalism. As in Dominica the Soviet bureaucracy says: "I won't interfere with your affairs if you do not interfere with ours; but the result is that neither one or the other can refrain from interfering because the revolution and the counterrevolution try to advance continually."

The reforms in the Chinese army have a very great significance. It means that there is an interior crisis and a section of the communist party, of the Chinese government—possibly the majority—which decides and seeks the support of the masses and stimulates the action of the masses but in a military form; the Chinese will not stay there. There is an

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immense contradiction between the resolution of the Chinese to eliminate the military salute to raise the right of criticism of the soldiers over its own officers, and the fact that they do not make an intervention in Bolivia nor in Santo Domingo nor even in Vietnam; it is an immense contradiction.

In augmenting its power and defeating the Soviet bureaucracy they must commence by establishing a united iron front with the world revolution. The only form of doing this is to support the revolution directly, among others, that of Algeria.

When the Chinese do not analyse the situation in Algeria it is as if they were staying in the void and they don't orientate the world revolutionary vanguard, they don't orientate the Communist Parties, they don't orientate the masses of the workers states to understand the phenomenon of Algeria, which is simple and which is going to extend to the other colonial revolutions within a short time.

The Chinese give no thought to this situation and consequently weaken their world position. The force of the Chinese is not in the strength of its 650 million inhabitants, it is not in the unshakable decision of the Chinese masses to defend their workers state, it is not the military power of the Chinese or the Chinese atomic bombs; it is not this which is the power of the Chinese. So also the force of the Soviet Union is not its bombs, nor its regiments, nor its satellites. The force of both of them as of all the workers states is the will of the world masses to overthrow capitalism.

In Santo Domingo capitalism confronted neither Soviet shells, nor the Chinese atomic bomb; neither the Soviet satellites nor the atomic bombs, they confronted the will of the Dominican masses. And if imperialism has not gone further, it is because it fears to clash with the reaction of the masses of the world and of the United States. And when imperialism fears to clash with the reaction of the American masses it is because they receive the influence of the world revolution; this is the force of the world revolution; this is the force of the workers states.

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chinese say "It is the masses not arms who will decide in the world;" why then don't they base themselves on the masses? They go to the masses in a conciliatory way. We repeat; Algeria is the culminating point. Algeria shows a stage of the world colonial revolution; a phase from which one must draw a principled conclusion. Apart from ourselves no one has been capable of orientating themselves to see the causes of the phenomenon and the conclusions, of the phenomenon of the coup of Boumediene in Algeria. And they have not been able to do this because between them and the revolution there is no objective identity.

CASTRO FAILS TO PUT FORWARD A CONCRETE POLICY

The speech of Fidel Castro is not simply a speech, it is an interior expression of the fact that there is a crisis; the political revolution advances and he can no longer restrain it, he must yield. In the previous stage he imprisoned the Trotskyists, this time he allies himself objectively with the Trotskyist line; he has shown that the revolution advances and cannot be contained, that the final decisive thing is the atomic war, he calls the revolutionaries of Latin America to follow the example of Cuba, but he doesn't appeal to them concretely to take power. It is not enough to say that it is necessary to make the revolution.

The speech of Fidel Castro is a repetition of what the Trotskyists said 6 years ago, and for which they expelled comrades and imprisoned members of the Cuban Section of the IV International. For example it is not enough to talk about making the revolution but to say how the masses in Argentina occupied factories; and the Cuban CTC must support them openly. The masses of Santo Domingo are fighting for progress, the differentiation between Camaano and the masses is beginning. It is necessary to call openly to the masses in Santo Domingo, in Brazil, to fight for the programme to overthrow the capitalist regime, and calling openly for demonstrations and meetings in Cuba.

Making independent mass demonstrations does not mean doing it with a programme independent of the socialist revolution, it means that the organisms make the decisions, this is to support the revolution! An abstract declaration "Long Live the Revolution" is not enough. It is necessary to support the revolution and to impel it. The mobilisation of the Cuban masses in an independent form will be a more powerful force than all the speeches of Fidel Castro and all the revolutionary leaders of the world.

The Latin American and North American masses will see the revolution led by the masses and this will give them immense assurance.

Appeals in an abstract form like "Do the same as us, Imperialism will be powerless, take power" all this is good, and the Trotskyists have been saying it for six years, and for this they were persecuted by the communists and by Fidel Castro as well, but it is necessary to appeal to the masses concretely to take power. It is not enough to send arms, and money, even though the Cuban revolution has the right to do this. The greatest blow against imperialism is to call to the masses to overthrow the capitalist system, supporting each strike, and each advance that is made, as well as giving the programme for the liquidation of capitalism, expropriating capitalism without compensation, land to the peasants, expropriation of the big estates without compensation, the appeal to form militias. For example to appeal to the Argentinian worker masses to form guerillas is an idiocy, it is necessary to call them to make a general strike, for the taking of power; the same for the Chilean masses. It is necessary to call for the United Front for the expropriation of imperialism, of the big estates, for the organisation of militias, for occu-

pations of the factories and the land, and for the formation of workers and peasants committees.

This is the objective form of the struggle for the revolution. In Peru the action of the guerillas is limited. If the Peruvian masses, workers and peasants, did not feel that they are organising themselves the guerillas would not have had the effect they have had up till now. It is necessary to make the appeal to them to organise themselves and to occupy the land, to control the factories now, to work the factories, to make a general strike, to expropriate imperialism by occupying the factories.

There is a need for a world united front. It is necessary to repeat, to insist that it is necessary to struggle in each country for the World Anti Imperialist United Front. Today, the world anti-imperialist struggle is the anti-capitalist struggle. There is no other way of overthrowing imperialism from Latin America, from Asia, and from Africa, than by overthrowing capitalism. There is no other way of including the millions of peasants of petit bourgeoisie, of the non proletarian exploited masses in Latin America, Asia, Africa; there is no other centre than the anti-imperialist world front.

What determines the World anti-imperialist common front is not the form of the World Common front, but the programme of the struggle, and the programme of the struggle is the mobilisation against imperialism, expropriation of imperialism; occupation of imperialist factories, expulsion and taking of hostages from imperialism, and the liquidation of imperialism. Without the Chinese, or the Cubans, or the Soviets saying anything, the masses are acting. In Argentina the masses took 37 managers as hostages. In Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay, Italy, the occupations of factories and the taking of hostages constantly develops. The masses act without being led by the Communist parties, without directives, but on the contrary with orders from the communists against the occupation of factories. This is to say that they reached an understanding of the struggle, by their own experience, and are united in the sentiment of the World Anti Imperialist Common Front.

Occupying the factories in Italy is not the same as to occupy them in—for example—Ecuador. The Italian masses are organised in a party, they have a Workers Trade Union Central, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, but all these are against the occupation of the factories and yet the workers occupy the factories. Why? Because the Italian masses have the confidence to do it. The vote for the PCI and without doubt they are going to continue to vote for it, they vote for the PSIUP and will carry on voting for the PSIUP. They feel the need for a centre which will unify the general struggle they feel they must be united, organised against capitalism.

The Anti-Imperialist United Front must define itself not by a declaration in itself of its programme and its objectives, but by a concrete programme of struggle; of strikes; of occupation of the factories, expropriation of the land, collectivisation of the land; expropriation without compensation of imperialism, a call to the peasants to occupy the land, to defend it arms in hand, and to pay no compensation for it; an appeal for the organisation of militias, in each district, each factory each trade union, a militia which is armed—as in the Congo, which started with arrows and finished with planes they had taken from imperialism. The organisation of workers militias is the form for the organisation of the class struggle; the guerilla struggle, combined with militias combined with the action of the proletariat of the big cities. All experience shows that the masses are launching themselves into this type of struggle through their own experience.

In Ecuador the masses occupy factories, places of work, and organise the

beginnings of a militia. In Columbia, Venezuela, Guatemala as well, there is a tendency of the masses towards the formation of militia; in an empirical way, very empirical and confused, because they have neither directives, leadership, centre, nor material means in order to organise. But they are tending to do this. In every strike the masses tend to use revolutionary class measures; taking hostages, occupation of districts, arming themselves. This is the militia. The principle of the militia, is not to have a gun and to parade and to know military matters. The principle of the militia is; the decision of the people to arm themselves and unite recruiting one, ten or a thousand in each place of work.

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OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Crisis Of Capitalism Sharpens

This is the beginning of the consciousness of the militia, and it is everywhere, there is no country where it is not so, be it Argentina, be it Brazil, be it Mexico. The masses are showing, they are saying to leaders of the Workers States that they are able and disposed to take power, but the leaders close their eyes, they turn their backs and discuss the independence of each workers state. This is stupid and criminal, it is an ignominious action against the development of the world revolution and the need of the world revolution. The masses are above all these stupid leaders who are only the left overs of history, not reflecting nor representing the interests of human progress. Human progress is reflected by the masses who without leadership, without a party, without centralisation in organisms, which organise them, teach them, orientate them, are trying to generalise their experiences.

The masses in all the countries of the world immediately apply the conclusions, the actions, the measures of struggle which they see being applied in other countries and which are having success. And there is no party outside the IV International, which generalises this experience. Then why does this experience transmit itself and develop? Because the masses are ready for the struggle. If they were not, they would not be convinced. The masses are not doubtful nor frightened.

When the masses reflect and hold back it is because they feel unsure of the step they are going to take, not because of fear or cowardice or historic indecision, but because they do not have a political centre of unification. Because of this, the action of the masses which rushes forward empirically, in a disorganised way, spontaneously in the struggle, has not succeeded in uniting into major actions. It does not meet an echo, a reception in the parties which have dominion over the masses; the communist parties and the Workers States. This is what the communist parties must discuss today. It is most important for the Communist parties to discuss and draw conclusions. This is the mission, the duty, the historic obligation, which the leaders of the Workers States have, in order to respond to the will to take power which the masses express.

It is necessary to discuss the events of Algeria, the action of the masses, the spontaneous organisation of the masses, of guerillas, of strikes, the occupation of factories; it is the essential base to organise action and continue to overthrow capitalism. On the other hand the bureaucracy of the Workers States continues with summit talks with imperialism. It is untrue to say it is because of fear of the atomic war. The atomic war is inevitable and nothing is going to prevent it. When we Trotskyists said this a few years ago, people said we were mad, nuclear war maniacs; today it is a common belief. Bosch has just said on radio and television that the nuclear war is inevitable, after having analysed the policy of the United States. Thus he found that imperialism is not going to leave, save by force. Imperialism is not going to go; it will reply with the atomic war. This is the process by which Bosch reached the conclusion of the inevitability of the war.

Imperialism is going to reply with the atomic war. The more the revolution advances, the more it deepens, the more it weakens the power of imperialism the less damaging less grave will the atomic war be. The more the revolution advances, the fewer bases imperialism will have to inflict damage on humanity.

From this comes the need to advance the revolution. If in 1945 the communist parties had not prevented the masses from taking power in Iraq, Greece, and the rest of Europe; if in 1948 the communist parties had developed the Workers States which had been set up they would have influenced all Europe, and today Europe would have been on the road to Socialism. In consequence the ability of imperialism to arm itself

would have been infinitely less than today and it would have been beaten immediately. They are historical delays.

Imperialism tries to gain time historically so that when it considers the time convenient or when there is an internal crisis; or even when they don't think the time convenient, it will launch the war even if it is irrational. The reasoning of capitalism obeys its interests of property and of exploitation; this is the rationality of capitalism. Faced with this, the interests of humanity are irrational and capitalism has no interest in them. To expect a rational attitude of capitalism to prevent the atomic war is to be stupid, is to believe that capitalism is going to reach a moment where it will say; "good. You have won. Socialism is better, I have accomplished my mission and I am going home." This is all right for the stupid dreams of the bureaucrats who think it is going to be like this. But Imperialism does not need any more reason than its own interests; that is to say, the interests of private property, and they are not going to leave the field of history until they are thrown out by force. Before being overthrown by force they are going to have recourse to the ultimate resistance, which is the atomic war.

It is necessary to prepare for this. The more time passes the worse it is going to be. It is naive of the Chinese to think that they must wait until they have atomic arms to beat the imperialists, or at least to have a greater power of reprisal. It is undeniable that the arms of the Chinese are going to mean a power to retaliate, but at the same time the Yankees are going to make bombs even more powerful. If, at the same time as they prepared atomic bombs, the Chinese made a revolutionary policy and called the masses to take power, developing the soviets and the communes in China and transforming the militias by organising them on the basis of soviets allowing an independent life of the masses then certainly it would be correct to do it.

If, while they appeal to and support the revolution, while they call to overthrow capitalist power, they organise the actual social organisation of China in the form of soviets, it would have an enormous influence, more than all the atomic arms they are preparing. But they do no such thing. But they don't do it because they have a feeble Marxist understanding of history, little experience and little concern to raise their Marxist understanding of this stage of history.

We repeat an eloquent fact. The events of Algeria are not a simple internal coup d'etat. They mark a stage of the revolution. Why haven't the Chinese studied it. They have made neither discussion, nor articles nor documents, nothing. They have let it pass because of their bureaucratic empiricism, because of their theoretical inability to understand, and also because of social fear in view of their policy of conciliation. We repeat; it is necessary to intervene.

FOR A UNITED FRONT TO APPLY THE TROTSKYIST POLICY

The Trotskyists have had a triumph in Belgium, presenting themselves for the first time as a party in the elections, with the programme of the party and in four very small zones drew many votes (377, which is 10% of the vote of the pro-Chinese). These 377 votes to the comrades, which were in small localities, were votes given to a Trotskyist programme. To have voted for a Trotskyist programme meant that workers who had done it had overcome a resistance, a pressure, and an enormous campaign against voting for the Trotskyists. All the areas were dominated by the socialists, by La 'Gauche' by the communists and also by the pro-Chinese. When there is such a diversification, three currents called left, La Gauche, the pro-Chinese and the pro-Moscow communists, and in spite of this, 377 votes were given to the Trotskyists this shows that there is a

current of opinion much bigger, more extensive, more numerous, infinitely more numerous than the 377 votes. The mechanism, the process by which the votes are decided is not determined by the individual position of each particular voter.

The votes given to the Trotskyists are the result of a rejection, of all pressures resistance to the pressures, to the attacks of the socialists, the pro-Chinese, of the government, of the press, etc. The fact that such resistance was overcome, comes about when there is a state of public opinion in a whole layer of the population. A state of public opinion where they are discussing, interchanging impressions, mutually encouraging each other in these exchanges and impressions and only a sector of these decide to take the step. It is an example of the process of the revolutionary vanguard compared to the rest of the class. It is the expression of a lively attitude which is advancing. It is the expression of a sector of the proletariat which advances further than the rest of the class, and which expresses a determination of the rest of the class.

We must consider that the 377 votes express only a minimum quantity, minimum percentage of the area, the group of sympathisers, of those who are determined to support the Trotskyists. We can easily calculate that it is necessary to multiply this number by 7 to find the number of votes it was possible to obtain. This signifies the quantity of adherents from layers of the exploited population who are disposed to support a Trotskyist programme or to sympathise in other activities. Also the Belgian Trotskyists must base themselves on this conclusion in order to make new appeals for a United Front and to organise, with determination, the activity leading towards a local United Front in different zones; this will have quite a success.

The support to the Trotskyists in Belgium does not mean a particular or peculiar attitude in this particular country towards the Trotskyists, but that the conditions exist for the organisation of a revolutionary tendency which fights for the programme of the socialist revolution. That is the significance. Also the votes to the pro-Chinese—which were quite numerous—and the maintaining of votes by the Communist Party, are undeniably significant. All this indicates that there is developing in layers of the working class, a state of public opinion which wants to support the Trotskyists. And the basis of interpretation is not capricious nor is it abstract, but can be measured through the votes of the pro-Chinese which show the existence of a state of public opinion which is going towards the left, not left in an abstract sense, but towards a revolutionary policy.

When on a world scale the policy of the Trotskyists is more and more received; when "Capital" is published in Italy with a prologue in which they say "the III and the IV Internationals have already entered History as a recent fact (that is to say that it has justified itself) and Leon Trotsky formed the IV International basing himself on the purest principles of Marx and Lenin;" when Trotskyist policies circulate in one or another form in every country of the world; when factories are occupied; where hostages are taken, militias formed, guerilla movements are formed and arms in hand push forward the revolution; when the guerillas of Peru come to life with a semi-socialist programme and with anti-capitalist objectives; when the guerillas of Guatemala in spite of having suffered blows and experiencing the enormous pressure against them of the communist party and the silence of the Cubans and Chinese, are advancing, it is not because the Trotskyists have increased in number and in material force, but because the historical experience, the historical need is going to eliminate conciliatory, conformist and co-existence policy and is going to objectively assume the Trotskyist policy.

The Trotskyists are not boasting that the struggle of the masses is reaching a Trotskyist road, reaching the policy and objectives of the Trotskyists, but that it shows that this policy is the historic necessity, and we call for the United front to apply it. We call for a United Front of all the revolutionary tendencies; a United Front with the Chinese, Soviets, Yugoslavs, with all the currents of the workers revolutionary movement with whom we will fight for this programme; a programme in which is synthesised what the masses, regardless of all their leaders, are working for, in front of their leaders raising, transmitting their experiences over the heads of their leaders.

This programme is: militias, guerillas, occupation of the factories, of the land, taking of hostages, etc . . . that is to say everything that the masses are doing. Not a single communist Party has appealed for this; the Chinese CP neither speaks of it being necessary to do this nor calls concretely for it to be done, when there are events as in Bolivia, Algeria. They say nothing to the masses on what must be done. Why? Because basically they are unsure. We appeal to them so that this programme be carried out.

We call for a WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT of Workers States, of the C.P.s, of the revolutionary socialist tendencies and currents, of the IV International and of the sectors of Revolutionary Nationalists on the basis of the expropriation of the land of Imperialists—without compensation, expropriation of the factories of Imperialism without compensation; out with Imperialism from every country, out with their military missions, out with their military bases. And to throw them out it is necessary for the organisation of militias, of guerillas of a general strike, organisation of the masses and a workers centre, a workers' revolutionary Marxist party, a united front of worker and peasant, an alliance of workers, peasants and students on the programme for the expulsion of Imperialism, expropriation and nationalisation of all property and organisation of militias under workers control. This is the programme for which we call. It is the programme which accelerates the downfall of capitalism, which profits by the immense weakness of capitalism which is seen in this period and assures us in consequence joined with the downfall of capitalism, the less damage for humanity in the nuclear war. This is the conclusion to be drawn from this world situation.

The analysis of the economic situation is not fundamental the economic situation is not the determining factor. It is an important factor but not decisive. The factor which determines is the social will of the masses to struggle, even in this situation of prosperity of capitalism. It is necessary to record that the economic power of Yankee Imperialism diminishes constantly, for this reason they study the situation minute by minute.

The significant thing is the weakness of capitalism. Over all world capitalism is based on the existence, on the production and the commerce, fundamentally of war. Recently the daily papers mistakenly stated that 60% of world production is dedicated to the war. It is 25% but in any case this is monstrous. 25% of the world production dedicated to war! It's an immense quantity.

It means hundreds of millions. This affects the capitalist system enormously and increasingly. Capitalism is able to increase the concentration of capital and concentration of finance but its social force and social weight diminishes, because it is losing its petit bourgeois and peasant support and what is going to determine the process of history is the power and the social authority of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. For this reason we reiterate our appeal for the World Anti-Imperialist United Front.

J. Posadas

Statement By The Bolivian Section Of The IV International On The Recent Massacres In Bolivia

ORURO 22nd September 1965

TO ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL, ITS PAPERS, TO ALL THE WORKERS FEDERATIONS, ORGANISATIONS, TO WORKERS PARTIES AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANISATIONS, TO THE PEASANTS ORGANISATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA.

The PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO TROTSKISTA (IV INTERNATIONAL), Bolivian section of the IV International, denounces before the workers movement, the peasants and popular masses in general, the military dictatorship of Bolivia which has just carried out the most bloody massacre in the last years against the Bolivian Miner Proletariat.

Continuing massive round the clock massacres, the dictatorship finds no other way than murder to prevent the development of the revolution and the road to power of the Bolivian masses.

The actions of the National Guard and the reactionary army in the miners camps of Siglo Veinte, Catavi, and against the populations of Llallagua and Unica, has brought a total of 55 dead and 110 wounded and a unaccountable number captured who have been confined in the concentration camps which the Dictatorship has at Beni.

The provocation of the dictatorship began with the detention of leaders who formed the clandestine committee which the workers had elected and which was acting as a leadership in Siglo Veinte and Catavi. As a result of these detentions, the workers made an assembly in which they resolved to organise and make a demonstration which marched on the local police station, to rescue their leaders who were held in that police station. The first clashes developed in these conditions, which later took on the characteristics of a localised civil war. The workers smashed up the police station and using dynamite and guns they inflicted the first losses on the police.

Two policemen and two miners killed as well as 17 wounded, were the results of the first confrontation. But in spite of this the workers did not succeed in rescuing their leaders. Tension remained in the air, to such an extent that fights broke out again with greater intensity and extent the following day. The dictatorship strengthened itself

even more with the army and military occupied the mining camps; three specialised regiments to repress and complete the massacre, were sent in. The struggle, unequal in arms and numbers, started again and thus brought into play all the heroism, all the combativity, all the revolutionary fervour which has made and is still making the history of the mining proletariat of all Latin America. All the exploited population is attracted to these miners centres, affecting all the population of the country. It was an uprising, a miners insurrection which acquired the character of a civil war. It was fought with bloody ferocity and without discrimination, on the part of both sides.

In the middle of the curfew period, in spite of the indiscriminate repression by the army and the police, the miners re-grouped, relying on only scarce munitions, arms and dynamite, without a leadership, but with the support of all the population of the miners areas and of all the country. The revolutionary initiative and energy, the firm decision not to retreat, even with the knowledge of not being able to count even on the solid mobilisation of all the mining proletariat whose areas were also militarily occupied at this moment; with these elements, scarce from the material point of view, immense from the social point of view, they rushed to resist the bloody provocation and repression. Important sectors of the miners, children and some women participated in the struggle. The rest of the miner and population of Catavi, Siglo Veinte, Unica and Llallagua, encouraged with innumerable gestures and attitudes, this contingent, which fought for four days against immensely superior forces and which inflicted no small losses on the forces of the army and the police, as sections of the press have indicated and as the actions of the workers in destroying the buildings of the church, the town hall, and the police station, and every thing that signifies the authority of the capitalists and murderers, have shown. The dictatorship has not dared to divulge this information because to do so would be to recognise the sort of victory it had been able to obtain over the masses.

The workers, without the leadership which would have organised the struggle, organised themselves im-

mediately after the events which the provocation precipitated, developing initiative second by second preventing this coup from succeeding in its objective; to smash the fighting spirit of the miners. The feelings of the mining workers of Catavi, Siglo Veinte, Llallagua and Unica, are not of defeat. On the contrary they have kept their fighting spirit intact, which will express itself in future confrontations with the dictatorship.

The rest of the population of the other mines, has lived intensely through these events, as have all the masses of the country. The workers of the unified mines of Potosi have made stoppages of 48 hours in that mining centre, the miners of Colquiri, Huanuni, Viloco, Quechisla, San Jose, Caracoles and Coro. Coro stopped work and demonstrated, rejecting the dictatorship. The universities of La Paz and Oruro have announced demonstrations in the same sense.

Even if the army has occupied the mines, has brutally strengthened its forces in the miners areas, the struggle must continue in the next weeks with new confrontations, be it in Catavi or in some other miners centre. Catavi-Siglo-Veinte, as the vanguard of the miner proletariat was the detonator of the general situation in the country.

The dictatorship, powerless to prevent this process, sheds cynical tears for the dead, blames the Trotskyists for the massacres. It has felt the demoralising effect on itself and on the army which has been responsible for these things. The dictatorship attempts with this massacre to accomplish what the relationship of forces had not allowed in the coup which was carried out against the organisations of the masses in May.

Our Party and our International already said at that time that the dictatorship would not succeed in smashing the spirit of the masses and that new blows, massacres, imprisonments, would be undertaken and that the miners, as an expression of a state of national feeling, were going to start again and reorganise its leadership and its actions. The dictatorship struck in Catavi-Siglo Veinte, because here it encountered the vanguard of the masses. It sought to strike at all the exploited population, at their revolution in process of reorganisation. Nevertheless its ob-

jective, in spite of this coup, has not been accomplished. It has failed once more.

Faced with this situation, The Partido Revolucionario Trotskista (IV International), renders its revolutionary homage to the fallen in the struggle with the conviction that their lives have served and will serve to strengthen the struggle for a workers and peasants government for Bolivia.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario appeals to all the sections of the International, to the trade unions, workers federations and centres, to the organisations and unions of the peasants, to the workers parties, to the university and students organisations, to the anti-imperialist organisations, to give this communication the fullest publicity by all the means at their disposal. We call for the organisation of actions of protest and rejection against this new massacre of the dictatorship and imperialism against the Bolivian masses. We appeal for the sending of resolutions and statements from all the organisations mentioned and they will be given at the same time full publicity in Bolivia through our intermediary.

We appeal also for statements of denunciation and protest; for a struggle in Latin America for a single Workers and Peasants Centre, for the organisation on a Latin American scale of an anti-imperialist United Front to fight against imperialism and for the installation of Workers and Peasants governments in Bolivia and all Latin America. **GLORY TO THE FALLEN IN THE MASSACRE BY THE BOLIVIAN DICTATORSHIP, THEY HAVE FALLEN AS PART OF THE STRUGGLE TO LIQUIDATE IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN BOLIVIA.**

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN MASSES WITH THE FIGHT OF THE BOLIVIAN MASSES IN FULL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MURDERING DICTATORSHIP AGENT OF IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN BOLIVIA.

For the Political Bureau of the PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO TROTSKISTA (IV INTERNATIONAL)

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ITALY

The production of "Lotta Operaia" as a weekly paper by the comrades of the Italian section of the IV International is a major victory not only for the Italian masses but for the whole of the European proletariat. The constant struggles of the Italian masses have prevented any stabilisation of Italian capitalism and the economic situation remains critical; Italian capitalism cannot compete with more powerful capitalisms such as France, Germany, Great Britain and neither can it raise the living standards of the Italian masses. In a recent issue of "Lotta Operaia" Cde Posadas has made a lengthy analysis of the situation in Italy, the tasks of the party and the possibilities of a military coup, entitled "The Proletarian United Front with the anti-capitalist class programme is the only progressive solution to the crisis of the capitalist regime in Italy." The British section congratulates the Italian comrades on their enormous success which will contribute in the not so distant future to the downfall of capitalism in Europe.

MEXICO

The fraction of the Trotskyist students of the Revolutionary Workers party (Trotskyist) Mexican section of the IV International has realised and directed an action of great importance with the support of the faculty of economics and political science, inter-

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vening in the struggle of the workers of the bus line "General Amaya." The students seized 17 vehicles of this enterprise and drove them to the university where there was a large assembly of workers and students. The workers and students threatened to burn them, if the firm did not liberate the secretary of the union in the hands of the police and agreed to sign the contract demanded by the workers.

The tendency of the workers movement to appeal to the student movement as the way to advance in its struggle is an expression of the great pressure of the Mexican masses; they are impelling a way through which they can demonstrate, advance and gain security preparing themselves for the next struggles. The worker-student alliance, the assembly of workers and students and the seizure of the buses are three of the most important steps which have given confidence and security to the workers movement and the student movement for the next struggles.

ARGENTINE

On the 26 July last an attack was made on the headquarters of the FIAT factory of Cordova and 30 hostages were taken prisoner. This direct action taken by the comrades of the Workers

party (Trotskyist) in a United front with Peronista workers had to overcome all the resistance, the boycott, the physical terrorism of the bureaucratic leadership of the CGT and of the Peronista political leadership.

The party has distributed two leaflets which directed appeals for the occupation of the factory with the taking of hostages, with their functioning under workers control, with the unification of the struggle with other sectors and factories. The bureaucracy and their gangsters tried to prevent the comrades distributing leaflets even to the extent of charging with a van trying to smash through the comrades who carried banners supporting the seizure. Despite everything a group of delegates of the group outside the control of the leadership and in united front with the Trotskyists, based themselves on the 1,500 workers who were in front of the gates of the factory and protected them from assault.

The importance of this occupation is that it took the form of a direct assault on the factory outside the control of the leaderships and that it was organised by a vanguard in an objective united front with the Trotskyists. This united front applied the Trotskyist policy, imposing itself on the union leadership and constituting itself as the

political centre throughout the province of Cordoba and it prepared the conditions for an united front action through the application of the "battle-plan" and of the "13 points" of the CGT, of the programme of La Falda and Huerte Grande (which are the decisive programmes of the General Labour Confederation—CGT) and for a workers government based on the unions.

SPAIN

The fortnightly paper "Lucha Obrera," organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party Spanish section of the IV International has reached its third anniversary. "Lucha Obrera" is duplicated and is the only workers journal published in Spain itself. "Lucha Obrera" publicises the programme of the IV International and carries forward a concrete programme for the struggles in Spain. "Lucha Obrera" is playing a fundamental role in the construction of a revolutionary current organised and centralised in Spain. Many bulletins, programmes of "Clandestine Revolutionary Unions" throughout the whole country, carry forward permanently the slogans and the Trotskyist interpretation of the situation and the tasks of the proletariat in Spain. This is the direct product of the diffusion of the thought and of the activity of the IV International.

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*Workers of the World, Unite!***RED FLAG**

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

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

— Trotsky

No. 27

DECEMBER, 1965

SIXPENCE

Meet Any Attempt to Curb Wage Increases, Repress Strikes or Close Down Factories and Pits with Occupations and Workers Control

While expressing opposition to the white racials, the Wilson Government, concerned above all to defend imperialist interests in Africa, has refused even to go along with the U.N.'s oil embargo on Rhodesia. Nevertheless, under pressure from the African revolution, expressed in a deformed way by the O.A.U. conference, Wilson has been forced to impose much stricter sanctions than he originally planned. The threat by 36 African states to cut off relations with Britain if the Smith regime is not brought down by the 15th, will probably cause a further intensification of the measures against Rhodesia but if Wilson is forced to intervene militarily to defend the interests of Rhodesian capitalism and British Imperialism.

British troops could intervene in Rhodesia if the African masses move to overthrow the Smith regime or if it suffered from internal decomposition. The course of the Rhodesian crisis will depend on the degree of mobilisation of the African masses. British imperialism has no wish to precipitate the downfall of the racists but only wishes to obtain a more formally pliable regime which would give phoney concessions to the African masses. The whole crisis is a grave embarrassment to the British and world imperialists—it has displayed all their weakness in front of the advance of the African masses. If Britain intervened militarily it will be to block the African masses.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS SOLVED NOTHING FOR CAPITALISM

The absolutely capitalist and imperialist nature of the Labour government is shown up not only by the Rhodesian crisis, and by its support for the US in Vietnam but by its attitude towards the working class and particularly the working class vanguard in the unofficial committees in this country. In order to prop up capitalism the LP bureaucrats must become harder because so far all their plans and agreements with the trade union bureaucracy have failed. Callaghan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking a few weeks ago admitted that the incomes policy had failed, saying "despite the injunctions and the signatures on the declaration of intent, earnings are still rising much faster than productivity," and this is a permanent crisis for British capitalism. The policy has failed as we said it would fail, because most of the strikes are outside the control of the union bureaucracy and also because the bureaucracy itself has been forced by rank and file pressure to demand increases greater than the norm. But the Labour government has more 'solutions' to the problems of capitalism than the declaration of intent; solutions like the closing down of 150 pits in the next two to three years with little or no regard for the lives of the 120,000 miners affected, or the proposed legislation against unofficial strikes. In the meantime before the Labour government brings in laws against unofficial strikes, individual managements are making agreements with local TU leaders to curb unofficial activity. Two recent examples of this are, firstly the award to 77,000 municipi-

pal busmen in which a bonus scheme was linked to a system of penalties against unofficial strikes, and secondly the agreement between Ilford Photographic and the NUGMW where a closed shop agreement was made so that unofficial activity in future will mean loss of union membership and therefore automatic loss of job. Agreements of this type arranged with trade union officials must be fought every step of the way.

The Bakers strikes had a very great significance both from the point of view of the level of the demands (30% wage increase is being demanded) and the fact that they were official. The union leaders admit that there is a great pressure on them from the rank and file for a nation wide strike, and their scheme of guerilla strikes around the country is nothing more than a manoeuvre to diminish the effectiveness of the strike. In spite of the pressure on

them from the rank and file, the leaders have capitulated to Gunter and agreed to refer the claim to the Incomes and Prices Board. Against this betrayal by the union leaders the workers must struggle unofficially, making the strike national and linking up with other associated sectors like the bread deliverymen, etc.

The glaring inability of capitalism to expand, has shown itself in the last month by the cut back in production in two steel firms, by the bankruptcy of the Scottish shipyard, Fairfields which has escaped closing down for the time being because of a government loan, and by the fact that industrial production actually fell 1% last month. Capitalism has no solution to such basic problems as road communications, especially in cities, or providing an adequate power supply. A drop of a few degrees in temperature last month caused thousands of men to be sent home from Midland car works because of a shortage of gas, while power cuts caused enormous chaos elsewhere. It is mediaeval to be still at the mercy of the weather.

In relation to cars, a survey recently published decided that London would grind to a halt within two years because of the number of private cars parked in, and driving to the city. They proposed that only those who had garages to put them in should be allowed to have cars.

On almost the same day that the survey was published, Hennessey the chairman of Fords was talking about the necessity to sell more cars at home and the desirability for cuts in purchase tax. Because capitalism is unable to provide either an adequate public transport system or an adequate road system, more and more car owners will attempt to drive to work each day with the resultant imbecile confusion characteristic of a lifeless and degenerate civilisation. The accident rate reflects the dehumanised condition of capitalist society.

The Labour government has solved nothing. The balance of payments crisis has been eased by causing industrial stagnation. The struggle between the unofficial organisations and capitalism is intensifying. The labour government has "postponed" although retaining it as part of the programme, the nationalisation of steel. Wage freeze legislation will soon be passed in some form or other, and the alliance of employers and TU bureaucrats is already making local agreements to curb unofficial activity. The workers can smash this offensive against them as they smashed the Declaration of Intent, but it will need a higher level of organisation and an anti-capitalist programme. The bourgeoisie are not strong, both nationally (Continued on Page 3)

Act to Save the lives of Roberto Duarte and Lucindo Ramirez

Appeal from the MR 13th November of Guatemala

To the Workers Parties, Workers and Peasant Trade Union Trade Centres, Workers and Peasants anti-imperialist organisations, Guerrilla and Liberation movements in every country and to all the Workers States:
Friends,

The 13th of November Revolutionary Movement of Guatemala, which leads and organises the armed guerilla struggle for the Socialist Revolution in our country, addresses all the workers revolutionary and anti-imperialist world movement, to denounce the new crime which has just been committed by the pro-imperialist dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia.

Carrying out the orders of the United Fruit Company (promoters of the counter-revolution in Guatemala in 1954), the judges of the dictatorship have condemned two agricultural workers, ROBERTO DUARTE DIAZ and LUCINDO RAMIREZ MUNOZ, to death. They are accused of having participated in the shooting down of a helicopter of the UFCO on the 21st of July of this year, and of the execution of two of the occupants; the American Green, and the Guatemalan Minondo, elements judged for their services to the UFCO in repressing the workers and

peasants. The helicopter was shot down and these two individuals executed by a patrol of our movement, the MR-13, as we have already informed all the people of Guatemala.

...ROBERTO DUARTE DIAZ and LUCINDO RAMIREZ MUNOZ were arrested later in an arbitrary way, for being inhabitants of the zone, and are completely innocent. The sentence is based solely on confessions extracted under torture; in these confessions they did not even admit to being responsible for the deed. The dictatorship has not been able to produce a single witness to justify the sentence.

Apart from sanctioning a vile murder, the whole trial is, as the Guatemalan Students Association and the Association "El Derecho" of the students of juridical science, qualified it, a juridical monstrosity. The trial was held in the Sixth Court of the district of Zacapa, after several judges had excused themselves in order not to be accomplices in this crime. The dictatorship has had to dictate a new special law, designating special judges to sanction this murder. They have just formed a Sixth Court which is ready to give sentence.

...The guerrillas of the MR 13 have pointed out publicly to the judges of

this court and to all the accomplices of this crime, that if they gave a death sentence, it would be their own death sentence that they signed. They will be executed by our movement at a suitable moment, as we have done with bailiffs and hangmen in the past, the last of which was the Minister of War himself, in the service of the Dictatorship, who was about to send troops to Dominica.

But at the same time, the MR 13 has called to all the sectors of the population to mobilise in order to stay the murdering hand of the dictatorship. The student organisations, the AEU and the AED have mobilised denouncing this trial and appointing defence committees for the accused (who in the first instance were not even allowed to speak with the official "defenders"). The Railway Union, the Union of Workers of the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, and other organisations have sent telegrams of protest to the Sixth Court. Taking into account that in our country the majority of the trade unions are led by puppets imposed by the dictatorship, and those who are not, live under the permanent pressure and terrorist persecution of the government, only when there is immense indignation

(Continued on Page 5)

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 (EXTRACTS)

We must prepare ourselves for the nuclear war. We must define in general lines the attitude, and the importance which the action of the Trotskyists will assume, their tasks, the importance which those sectors of the anti imperialist and revolutionary soldiers will have, which today through the decomposition of capitalism exist in almost all the countries of Latin America and in the rest of the world.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the Chinese and to all the workers states to foresee that the nuclear war is coming nearer, that each time the crises are becoming sharper and that the stages to give them a solution are being abbreviated; the measures of conciliation between the workers states and capitalism, co-existence, the measures of containment are being exhausted.

There will always be a greater tendency to decide things by launching the war. It is necessary to proclaim the coming of the war and to prepare for it hour by hour. And the preparation hour by hour means: immediately, all together to intervene to overthrow capitalism in every country.

In certain countries as in Mexico through their proximity to American imperialism and through the characteristics of the Mexican army this can have a great importance.

In Mexico they have not succeeded in consolidating a real caste army. Through its recent formation, through having emerged from the Mexican revolution on the basis of the destruction of the army of Porfirio Diaz, it is based on the foundation of the Mexican revolution. In addition the invasions of the Americans and in consequence the policy of Cardenas-expropriation of imperialism, distribution of the land have stimulated constantly in the army, anti imperialist currents. The army has not experienced the power of the bourgeois apparatus because it is not there. It has seen only the apparatus of the state and thus there is a very large sector which sees the apparatus of the state and does not see the bourgeoisie.

Through the nature of the Mexican army, authority is centralised in a small group. In reality they retain the authority and can maintain it in the army because there is no class party, no mass party, no mass unions. If such a class party, mass party, mass unions existed these would already have gained sectors of the army, would have stimulated the army to a much more important anti-imperialist activity.

Nonetheless although many years have passed and the bourgeoisie have had great strength to organise a nationalist sentiment submitted to it, the bourgeoisie have not succeeded; if in the army anti-imperialist currents exist which are numerous, which express themselves in one way or another, it is because the bourgeoisie have not won to themselves, among important sectors of the army, faith in the capitalist system.

The absence of the mass party, of the class party, the absence of mass unions, the absence of a revolutionary policy from the workers states particularly of Cuba has prevented there being a stimulus which would impel sectors of the army to organise itself as a current.

The army, in the capitalist apparatus does not feel itself master of the society and does not feel itself independent; it feels itself chained to the structure of capitalism as in Mexico; it feels itself under the influence of the anti imperialist struggle and the absence of a bourgeoisie which has weight.

One cannot measure in an absolutely clear way the reaction of the Mexican army.

If there existed in Mexico a class and revolutionary party and mass unions, a greater number of soldiers

would be exerting their influence on the structure itself of the Mexican army, to decide from the anti-imperialist point of view; it does not do it with greater weight because it feels itself to be in the air politically, does not feel itself supported, does not feel the influence, does not feel a force of orientation, above all it sees that the leadership of the Cuban revolution carries forward a conciliatory and empirical not a revolutionary policy. But if despite the non existence of a mass and revolutionary class party and mass unions, anti-imperialist currents persist in the army and show themselves at the top as recently in Argentina, right down to meetings of simple soldiers and officers, if such anti-imperialist currents persist it is not because their education had allowed them to advance in the army. If there is no class party, revolutionary party or mass and class unions and there is no political ideological influence of overwhelming weight to transcend these factors, what then is the reason that this persists? The reason lies in Mexican society itself. For this reason, it is necessary to expect an important class and mass movement which influences the population and gains sections of the army. Above all because opposed to it is the hated enemy of 90% of the population, the Yankees.

They have a thousand reasons for hating them—because they have invaded Mexico five or six times, have stolen half their country, and ultimately have caused their droughts; there are constant motives for hatred by the population, not only historically but permanently, hatred of the oppressed country, constantly hatred for every day of the week. For this reason it is not possible to measure with precision or in all its force and in all its possibility the capacity for a favourable reaction to the revolution on the part of the Mexican army. It cannot only be measured from the crimes and assassinations which they have made against the peasants, through the repression against Gasca, because there is a sector which demands action but the rest of the army remains paralysed. It cannot yet be measured; there is an enormous quantity of officials, smaller functionaries, officers in higher position who are anti-imperialist, this is evident.

A fact upon which we insist particularly to place as evidence of this is the little interest or non-existent interest on the part of the Mexican bourgeoisie and on the part of the imperialists to create a large army. They realise that a large army would be against them. For this reason they do not do it because inevitably when the nuclear war begins or once there is the danger of the nuclear war, instantaneously the Americans will invade. Not before, because it would mean to warn people that something was going to happen. At the same time that imperialism invades Mexico this will be a disaster for it, it would mean to invade the whole of Latin America.

One of the conditions which in part

paralyses and in part makes American imperialism vacillate and in a certain measure contains it even if it does not paralyse it, is that to make the nuclear war means to invade Latin America and the rest of Asia. It has not the force to do it. To invade it must bombard the whole of Latin America, and it can bombard it but it has not the force to occupy it, and apart from that it must continue to exist, it must justify itself before its own people.

It is necessary also to consider that the containment which the Americans are meeting in Vietnam is not only because of the Soviet Union and China but also as a consequence of the North American people itself which is part of the permanent world revolution, reflects the revolution. The North American people are not the decisive or the fundamental factor but they are one of the factors.

THE LOWER RANKS MUST INTERVENE IN THE SOCIAL LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF THE MASSES

In Mexico it is necessary to await, to measure the reaction of the army; this is not yet expressed clearly. In Mexico the army cannot be indifferent to the development of society. Sixty per cent. of Mexican property is in the hands of the state. And this is sufficient. The pay of the military is inferior to the pay of the well paid office workers; the soldier is not considered a person of a privileged category; on the contrary it is possible that once the movement is begun, an important reaction of the masses would have weight and influence among great sectors of the army. It is not important that it will go in the first phase goes forward to confront the masses, to bombard, to kill; the fact is that it will receive the influence of the masses. And on this it is necessary to measure the activity of the soldiers in confrontation with the masses. In this sense it is very important not only to expect the nuclear war but actually to measure that this is the situation; to measure the consequences; to foresee and prepare. If a group of soldiers in this situation were commanded to bombard the masses and said "We will not do it," it would have an enormous effect; they would see that there is a point of support. To say "We will not do it" would find a considerable repercussion, would find sufficient support. Undoubtedly the military command will not command blindly; they will seek, will select to have the security that they will be obeyed. None of them believe in the responsibility and in the docility of military discipline. There are a thousand proofs of the fact that they have not obeyed orders; thus they will seek the way to give orders and see that they are applied.

For this reason there is need of a more active life, not from the military point of view, no, at the moment there is not the security to go forward on this basis, but of a more active life from the point of view of discussions, or reflections, above all without departing from a very high level but from a lower level, from that of officials and lower officials; that is to lead an intense political life of discussions for example on the struggles of the masses. It is very important to discuss as do the masses without dogmatizing how to make imperialism retreat. For example, it is very important to have a discussion on the struggles in Vietnam, in the Congo, also in Cuba, on the struggles of the guerillas who have liquidated imperialism and are liquidating it in Marquetalia. A series of polemical discussions, which show the continuous stages of retreat by imperialism; the superiority of

the masses and the lack of perspectives of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. There are many important discussions but for this reason they must be systematic and constant.

For this reason as regards the general behaviour of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary soldiers there is a general line which whatever the situation in which they find themselves they must apply; to appeal to the people to revolt, to unite themselves to the masses. It is possible that through the place in which they work, they are connected with the unions, with militant workers or with organisations in the workers quarters, to organisations in the workers areas to organisations which represent the popular will even if on a limited scale. If they are certain that they have such connections they must immediately make an appeal for an uprising and support themselves on them for a struggle opposed to the war, an appeal for the anti-imperialist struggle. Their first task is to measure, and to start from that basis, their degree of connection with the population with the rest of the army. And it is very possible that they would find a sufficiently fertile base in the non commissioned officers and the officers who are closer to the population and among them military veterans who still feel the influence of the Mexican revolution. These last may not necessarily be from the time of Cardenas but there are men who are over 45, from the epoch in which the military called themselves comrades as nothing extraordinary. Cardenas did this. It is not strange in consequence that there are relatively young soldiers with political intentions—and it is evident that their object was to form a team of the national bourgeoisie—but with a bourgeoisie which had to put up with the fact that in the schools they sang the International.

Soldiers and non commissioned officers are the sectors which have access to the population; it is difficult for an officer of a high position to have access to the poor masses, to the poor and medium petit bourgeoisie; the senior officers live in another sphere. But on the other hand the non commissioned officers and the younger and junior officers come into contact with the masses; it is necessary to find support in them to find access to the people.

The first step from now on even if it is not their province is to intervene in the social problems or social activity, in movements, strikes, mobilisations, occupations of the land, etc., which they discuss, exchange impressions in this sense, which means to link it always to what happens in the world. The orientation of this discussion must be directed to show the enormous weakness of capitalism, its lack of perspective and the weakness of imperialism which the children defeat, as in Vietnam, and as the Chinese and Korean children defeated them before.

THE WAR IS THE REVOLUTION AT THE SAME TIME

On the nuclear war it is not yet possible to get a clear image of how it will happen but the immediate consequences of the nuclear war will be the immediate loss of control, of the sense of serenity, of stability of all the centres and directing organs of society. The first action will be still to lean on previous tradition, on the day before, on precedent the blow delivered immediately, chaos will engulf everything. Such a situation can be a question of hours, of days but in any case it will not be more than three weeks. Nuclear war is a rapid war. In this sense a team, the decisive team

THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY

with a capacity of foresight and the army decide everything because in a moment such as this the indignation, the fury, the hatred of the population together with fear—in the matter of a few hours it will pass from fear to hatred—is unchained. Above all when it knows that New York has been destroyed.

They will communicate by radio but they will do all that is possible not to stimulate the masses. But when the masses of the world will know that New York has been liquidated, that London has been destroyed, that the vital centres of capitalism have been liquidated, there will be a reaction in a matter of hours, not of days but hours "Seize the land. We support you." is the appropriate slogan. A call is necessary to unite the soldiers and all the members of the army disposed to take up a progressive stand in support of taking the land, land to the peasants and putting forward slogans as for example "Death to the Yanks, seize the land, sentence the vile proprietors, the union bureaucrats, the governors." Such an intervention tends to unite the peasants, the soldiers and the officers and non-commissioned officers to the masses.

The way to unite with the base are slogans which unite the sentiment the will and the need; the demands of all which can be united. Out with the Yanks, death to imperialism, elimination of the arrogant and rotten governor, distribution of the land, improvement of the conditions of work for the workers with demands such as expropriation of the railways. To assure this, it is necessary to perfect the slogans, but the general line is to unite always the rising against imperialism with local demands at the same time. In Mexico slogans such as, the banks to the state, death to the Yanks who have stolen all the land, the land is ours, nationalisation of the land, recover the land. Although the slogans to recover the land do not correspond to this phase, at the first moment in the struggle against imperialism, it is correct because after the slogan changes it will not have created its own roots, it is a measure to attract the nationalist sectors, nationalist because they do not see the necessity of a workers state, of the socialist movement. But there is no point in putting forward a slogan that is merely a demand against the war, if

it is not united to the interests which there are in the population. We recall what the Bolsheviks said: bread, peace, and land. Peace was the centre, land was the ambition of the peasants and bread reflected the fact that they were dying of hunger; it is a slogan which had an enormous success. In the nuclear war the masses will say: why should we pay for the consequences of the past? To the invasion of the Yankees, it is necessary to reply with the slogan Smash the Yanks and the government which supports them. In fact the first activity of the Americans will not be to occupy, they will seek for a government to invest them with this task but who will do this? There will be a rising everywhere, there will be an enormous decomposition and the Yanks will have to bombard and then there will be a motive for the unification of the whole country. This is the moment to put forward these demands, these slogans with that of smashing down the government, agent of imperialism, to struggle for a worker and peasant government, a constituent assembly. At this moment the slogans can vary enormously. If local governments can do this and it is not necessary to wait, local governments can make workers power advance.

To the invasion of the Yanks, to the repression of the government which will follow the Yankee invasion it is necessary to oppose the rising of the masses against the new invasion, against the Yankee bombardment, against the government which is the agent of the American imperialists. In this sense it is necessary to form local governments without waiting for them to be in every state, to form local governments which tend to make appeals for their formation departing from this basis in all the other states and to appeal to them to make a united front with the whole country; a single state which forms a united front. It would have repercussions everywhere in whatever country of Latin America. If, for example in Brazil at Porto Alegre, they took power at this moment and appealed to the rest of the world, this would have an enormous repercussion. It is not necessary to wait for a central power. In reality all power is not taken in the same moment. It can be taken at one point and from there its influence will irradiate. But always it has been an important centre, a political centre.

What will unify the possibility to take power is the fact that the nuclear war will produce an immediate chaos in the capitalist system, in capitalism. The bourgeoisie leans on an apparatus, on a structure and the apparatus in its turn is constructed on the private interest of private property. The nuclear war will crush, will destroy the faith of capitalism in itself. The disaster which has happened will have the effect that each will act as he can. The capitalists will immediately lose their authority. They believe that people will still continue to obey them.

The nuclear war is at the same time the revolution. It is not the war in which only the military have the strength to act. No. In the Second World War in fourteen countries there were uprisings; wherever there have been wars there have been uprisings. This will be verified still more because now there are 14 workers states and the workers states will be obliged to make appeals and to give everything. This shows that the working class is centralised through its place in production.

ERRATUM

We regret that an error occurred in the Editorial of last month. In relation to the measures against the Smith regime.

For "The latter alternatives are not the most likely" read "The latter alternative is the most likely," i.e. economic sanctions more likely.

It has seen that its force, its faith through years, for two centuries comes from its class centralisation. The working class will maintain its centralisation while the bourgeoisie will lose all its strength, the petit bourgeoisie will be taken with panic and the bourgeoisie will have no point of support, will have only the organs of repression and all the sentiment of hatred of the population will manifest itself and will extend itself. The bourgeoisie will lose everything, above all in countries where there is not a solid bourgeoisie. These will lose all support and all confidence, will fall apart, will lose.

Each will seek to save himself as he can. In Mexico if the Yanks invade it will be worse for them, because the mass of the population will see the bourgeoisie allied with the enemy which all the Mexican people hate and there will be a source of unity among the people to rise and overthrow the capitalist system. The loss of confidence of the bourgeoisie will be enormous, instantaneous; while for the proletariat it will be the opposite by reason of its tradition and life, by its experience and social necessity. In its life it has always been centralised as a class and thus it will continue because even if in a first moment the bombardments disturb and cause emotions and disconcert sectors, it will immediately recover its sense of class. A proof can be seen in earthquakes; the present earthquakes have never produced in the working class any panic or sense of being disconcerted and this notwithstanding that in the earthquake they do not see the end of capitalism, they do not see the war, they see simply a local situation; and this is not the news that New York has been destroyed. Imagine what the masses of the world would do under these circumstances. Imagine above all the reaction in the United States, above all when the American masses feel that New York has been destroyed, while they have believed in and have developed under capitalist power.

THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE TROTSKYISTS

For this reason, American imperialism is saying that the war will cause the death of 100 million Americans. They are preparing it because those who remain think that they will dominate the world. Each can be idiotic according to his wish—these are the monopolists. When the masses of the world will see, will learn that "New York is destroyed" all the faith in the capitalist system and in the bourgeoisie and in the strength of capitalism will vanish. The security of capitalism has been shaken, everywhere and is retreating everywhere. It is necessary to imagine the consequences, it is necessary to deduce what will happen when New York will be destroyed. On the fact that it will be destroyed there can be no doubt not even from McNamara. They say that 100 million Americans will die but they also say 100 million Russians will die. But the Americans say "What does this matter to me" a hundred million will die here. For the masses of the world this problem does not exist. They are used to this life; for the American it is different; the war would be a total break in their psychology, in all their habits, the loss of confidence in capitalism and there will be an enormous disorder which will paralyse in the last instant all the life of North America. It will paralyse it, there will be no refuge for anyone and then the chaos will mean the loss of water, the lack of food, the destruction of the economic apparatus. Their centre is the economic apparatus which unites everything, all of which will go to hell. All this will mean the loss of confidence of the bourgeoisie because everything depends on this. The fact of not having their bank, their industry, their police which protects them, their car and their chauffeurs. All this will disorganise the American bourgeoisie. But for the workers, no. On this, it is necessary to have confidence.

Immediately after the outbreak of the nuclear war it is necessary that our comrades previously prepared, await the opportune moment to launch such slogans. This does not mean immediately the war is declared that they launch them. The war means a political preparation, the bourgeoisie will prepare, will eliminate the cadres whom it considers insecure. They will try to kill at the first opportunity. But the preparation of the nuclear war even if instantaneous leads to a preparation among the population. The population will understand and even the soldier and at present the military are thinking "And what do we do if there is a nuclear war?" We assume that they must be discussing because they are not insensible to this. It is necessary to realise that they are at present preoccupied with what will happen, they are preoccupied with tomorrow and they will react.

The bourgeoisie has the advantage of knowing the moment to decide, but with the difference from other wars this advantage is not very great. This time there are 14 workers states, other states are in process of being inaugurated, that is: Zanzibar, Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, Mali, Guinea, Laos, Cambodia and Burma. South Vietnam and Syria are in a new stage and the next stage will be the taking of the land and there is no need to doubt this. The next stage will be the taking of the land, the appeal to the masses.

It is necessary to consider that the soldiers are thinking what will happen in the war and that they are preparing to intervene. There are new workers states on the way, there are powerful communist parties in France, in Italy which are decisive, there is a powerful Labour party in Great Britain whose basis is not capitalist even if the leadership is. All this indicates that capitalism is very weak.

Immediately after the beginning of the nuclear war there will be an enormous influence on the revolution, an influence which will have undoubtedly an enormous force. All this process will be of short duration; then it is important to prepare to intervene. In the workers states not only—as a Soviet general says—will the war be different and be a popular movement but also these states will be obliged to appeal to a popular movement, will be forced to. The fourteen workers states already have an enormous influence on the workers of the world and an appeal which they would be forced to make would have an enormous importance and would discover a complete and concrete support, because the war will destroy every possibility of co-existing with capitalism of conciliating with capitalism. It will be confrontation. On the other hand as we have said the bombardment of Moscow will be the rising of the world proletariat and will provoke the revenge of the world and European proletariat.

The workers states have no interest in destroying the populations, they will destroy the vital industrial centres, while capitalism has an interest in destroying their principle enemy which are the military centres, centres of nuclear weapons and the world proletariat. Capitalism, quite differently from the workers states has two enemies: the vital centres which are the producers of arms for war which concentrate on nuclear weapons, the industry which manufactures them and the proletariat. The workers state on the other hand has no interest in eliminating the proletariat, on the contrary they have an interest in maintaining it, because it is their maximum point of support. This is a logical conclusion.

The workers state in this war will not eliminate the proletariat as did the bureaucracy in Germany in 1945. It cannot do it, the problem will not arise. We can measure the reaction of the proletariat if we consider that after the dominion of Hitler, after 12 years of Hitler's power, after the brutal war which had almost destroyed Germany,

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EDITORIAL

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and internationally they are divided, squabbling among themselves, using the decline in the authority of US imperialism to manoeuvre for their own advantage, but with little confidence in the future.

The struggle against the closing of factories and pits, and for economic demands, must be linked to the struggle Rhodesia. The best assistance the British workers can give to the masses of Rhodesia or Vietnam is to weaken capitalism here. All attempts to limit trade union freedom or democracy within the unions must be met by nationally co-ordinated unofficial committees. No pits or factories to be close. Not one worker to be dismissed. All the profits of automation to go to the workers. No union official to have more than the average wage and to be immediately recallable. Meet any wage freeze or any other anti-working class legislation with workers control in all enterprises, the establishment of workers defence committees, and occupation of factories. Specifically in relation to the Rhodesian crisis we call upon workers to black all trade with Rhodesia, Angola, South Africa. Collect money for the strikers of Bulawayo. Arms for the Rhodesian masses.

In the event of the sending of British troops to Rhodesia or Zambia, strikes on a national scale must be launched. Troops sent must refuse any orders to repress Africans and must solidarise with the African masses.

Wages - qualification;

SAVAGE level

Referendum v Worker States
Concessions

middle range minerals
- No
- Juma
- Centes
- unbel
- Aches

THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY . . .

(Continued from Page 4)

the country, and put forward a programme for all the country, such as has been expounded here. Not so that they limit themselves to guerilla problems but so that they call to all the population to arm itself and to unite them with all the rest of the Latin American countries. It is necessary to make an appeal to the workers states, now and later.

The revolutionary and anti-imperialist soldiers must distribute the arms to the people, call the people to assault the barracks, to take over the barracks, to try to take all the arms, whether they are planes or battleships, to form committees of soldiers, workers and peasants in which the most capable comrades will teach the people how to use the arms, but submitting themselves to political power, organising a revolutionary leadership, a leadership which bases itself on the revolutionary programme and with this; land to the peasants, workers and peasant government; expropriation of all the factories, nationalisation of the banks, land, factories, everything; support for the peasants; functioning of co-operatives; immediate credits to the peasants—in the case where money is still in use, use it for this—foreseeing that a complete breakdown is going to occur, of commercial interchange and of monetary interchange.

It is necessary to appeal for fraternisation with the Soviet troops. Appeal to them to impose the re-establishment of Socialist soviet democracy in the Soviet Union. The most important measure and task in the USSR is the re-establishment of Soviet Socialist democracy, which means the basis for the solution of all the other problems. Even if in order to reach socialist democracy if the war doesn't break out before, a series of measures such as discussions, disputes are possible, nevertheless socialist democracy is united to the political revolution. Except through insurrection, the insurrectional breaking out of the political revolution, the re-establishment of socialist democracy in the Workers States cannot be expected. The level of insurrection, of violence, depends on the conditions in each state. In some it will be simple, in others as in the Soviet Union where there is a very big bureaucracy, installed with big organisations and where there are twenty three million privileged persons, there is going to be a ferocious and tremendous resistance, but as it is going to be combined with the war, it is going to weaken all the organs of the bureaucracy.

In the last war, the masses emerged from a state of frightful misery, disorganisation of the economy, of the purges and the terrorism imposed on them. They are going to enter this war with the development of 14 Workers States, with the development of the colonial revolution, with the development of big communist parties. A completely favourable situation as compared to the last war which was completely unfavourable. The last war was linked with the ebb of the world revolution, after the defeat of the Spanish revolution above all, which was the centre which Fascism saw as the basis in order to launch the war.

The war is going to break out because imperialism cannot sustain itself and advance any longer, so that it is going to react immediately towards a tendency to reconstitute socialist democracy in the Soviet Union.

Because of this the consequences of the nuclear war will be infinitely diminished by the advance of the political revolution in the Workers States, by the triumph and development of the world revolution. Humanity is going to pay for the war in every way, but it will be infinitely less through the immediate development of the revolution which is going to allow the utilisation of all human forces, to reconstruct from all the devastation caused by the nuclear war. Consequently, there is not going to be the need for big internal struggles, it is simple because the war is going to eliminate the bureaucracy and capitalism.

One must make a centre of power, a centre of power which is based on the power of the people and to proceed to elect immediately a Constituent Assembly, one which springs from the popular will and whose power is based on the people in arms; and which the centre of power joins. Expropriation of all the factories, expropriation of all the land, of the banks, workers and peasants alliance; this alliance is the workers and peasants government in which the land is given to the peasants and plantations worked in a collective way.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL LIFE OF THE MASSES

The problem of money, of how to function, will be discussed later, but in every way the dollar is going to lose value and all its force because the dollar has all its power not only in being backed up by gold, but in the industrial power and all this is going to change. Consequently, no basis can be found in the dollar. The prices, the values of the products, at this moment, are going to be fixed, must be fixed on the basis of their cost of production at that moment; then it is necessary to revalue the value of the money at the cost of production in these moments.

The State can manufacture a money, one that cannot be counterfeited, so that there can be no forged paper money, so that it can be launched on the market as a new coinage, for example, or with a new form in a way which the state can control.

One of the essential problems which can be posed is how to exchange? On the basis of what? To one who sells shoes, and is given cash he will say "why should I take this?" What will I buy with this?" Then again the problem of the exchange of products will be posed.

For a whole ^{limited exchange} period, there will be a return to the epoch of mercantilism, exchange, that is goods-money-goods; but there are things that it will be impossible to exchange for example Johnson, who will want him? Some objects can be thrown away.

It is necessary to pass from a phase of exchange of goods to a new currency which allows opportunities to develop to stimulate production. Exchange, barter of goods is a very limited form which does not allow reproductive power and expansion. It is necessary to allow a reproduction, to increase a power of accumulation and funds of accumulation which allows the development of the worker states and of the revolutionary states.

For all these problems, what must be realised without doubt, is that the initiative of each comrade is decisive. In each step, in each team it is going to be decisive.

In order to prevent barter persisting for a period so that it begins to have consequences, it is necessary to find the organisation of a monetary system in order to be a centre of commercial development and a centre of accumulation. It is necessary to make an interchange with the other countries, but organising the production immediately to feed the population, to provide, food, houses, water, sanitation. These are the most important sectors.

Without doubt the problem of armaments and of war are not going to be posed if there is no counter-revolution, while if imperialism has a certain strength it is necessary to give attention to the organisation, to the manufacture of arms, but at the same time as the making of arms and of heavy industry for the making of arms, and for production, to look after the production of food, and light industry, above all food and sanitation. Immediately. It is necessary to do as the Chinese have done, who overcame the five evils with the intervention of all the people. Going from zone to zone, in order to eliminate pests, insects, cockroaches, flies, typhoid and radio-activity.

It is necessary to eliminate, in this way, the affects of the havoc of the war. Hygiene immediately. It is necessary

to clear away the rubbish and all the sewage, organising the purification of the water district by district. Assigning responsibility in each district, not only for those in charge of the militias, but so that in each district there will be, continually, assemblies for the organisation of district committees in which privileges will be eliminated, for example, not giving a bigger share to one than to another. It must be in accord with the needs of each one, and needs more or less. This is the basis for the equality of salaries. The same salary and no one is going to tend to slack because they are going to see that it is a common benefit; they are not working so that one type will get rich.

This is fundamental and decisive for the development of our party during the nuclear war. At the same time it is necessary to make contact with the international leadership, if it exists, and where it exists to put oneself in contact with the international leadership immediately, even if there is confusion and there are delays getting in touch with it. It is necessary to have contact with the International, to put forward the programme, the programme for the workers state, for the workers and peasants government, for workers control, soviets, communes, for factory committees. The factory committee is very important but the factory committee is only for the factory, it exclusively controls the factories. The real control over the state is the political activity of the masses, the soviets, the communes; above all the soviets and the independent political life of the masses. This is to say the right of formation of tendencies and parties which support the workers state. This is the control over the state, because the factory committee has a control limited to each factory! On the other hand, the control over the state is the political activity of the masses, their right to

independent organisation, a revolutionary party and the formation of soviets; this is their control.

As Lenin and Trotsky said: "The soviet is the organised control of society over its own state."

But on this theme, do not wait for the initiative of the International to make contact, but take the initiative in whatever place the comrades succeed in developing themselves immediately and where they manage to find strong bases of support. They must seek contact immediately, but the best way to seek contact is the development of the programme of the International; the need for a new International is posed which is not the IV International, but a new International, on the basis of our programme and to show that it is based on the ideas of the IV International;

It can also call itself the IV International. But the fundamental object is to make an intervention struggling for this programme, and developing it for all the world; for all the world or the rest of the world.

In relation to the American masses, an immediate appeal is necessary in so far as it is possible. Appeal to them, whether by radio, by direct contact through the frontiers, by sending people, if it is possible to send them after having had contact with them, to set up the same form of government; the workers and peasants government, but at the same time, broadcasting in all directions, the solutions achieved in draining, cleansing, of drainage in consequence of the nuclear war, of radio-activity. Try to be prepared before, during and after the war with all the measures that are possible to combat radio activity; (apart from those types who put themselves underground) who we are certainly going to put underground.)

Seek the expert means to combat

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APPEAL OF THE M.R. 13th NOVEMBER GUATEMALA

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at the base can union leaderships, as in this case, make these pronouncements.

This legal murder which the dictatorship is attempting to carry out, is in order to give satisfaction to the UFCO and to Yankee Imperialism, but it is also to terrorise the workers and peasants of Guatemala, in order to try to restrain, through terror, the development of the guerrilla struggle, of the peasant committees, of the armed peasants militias which the MR 13 is organising and extending throughout the rebel territory of Izabel, in the north-east of the country. The dictatorship sees that the influence of the MR 13 and of the guerillas extends itself in all the country, that new sectors are joining or are preparing to join with the struggle. Part of this campaign of terror, of burning farms, the torture of peasants, the stealing of their crops and animals, for the army, the complete destruction of villages. The last repressive raid of the army of the dictatorship has been against the villages of NAHUAS and SEMNOLA, invaded by troops after the guerillas had inflicted severe losses on them after an ambush. The army shot, without trial, FOUR PEASANTS that they took there, and took away seventeen, by force, who still have not come back and may also have been murdered.

Friends: The MR 13 addresses all of you, appeals for a great mobilisation, a world campaign of solidarity, in order to save the lives of the two peasants that the dictatorship wants to murder "legally", so that in every country the workers organisations, the trade unions, the Workers and anti-imperialist parties organise meetings, reunions, pass resolutions and deliver speeches, send delegations to the Guatemalan embassy denouncing by every means, this crime which the dictatorship is preparing, so that all worker and peasant movements

of the world know that the Guatemalan dictatorship is preparing to shoot two innocent agricultural workers, **THAT ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT SPEAKS AGAINST, DENOUNCES THIS CRIME, MOBILISES BY EVERY MEANS TO STAY THE MURDERING HAND OF THE PERALTA AZURDIA DICTATORSHIP.**

Friends: It is necessary to mobilise in order to save the lives of ROBERTO DUARTE and LUCINDO RAMIREZ! The dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia is weak, corrupt, punished by the guerrillas and the resistance of all the people of Guatemala. Hammer it, friends! Mobilise against its crimes! Denounce the savage repression against the peasants and the people of Guatemala! The dictatorship says it holds 300 political prisoners, in fact there are more than 1,500 imprisoned revolutionaries, workers, peasants and students held in jail in Guatemala. Let all the workers and revolutionary movements demand their liberty, so that the dictatorship feels all the powerful mobilisation against its representatives, its ambassadors, its colonels, arrayed against it. Let our class brothers support us in all parts of the world, to help us to save the life of these two agricultural workers, **SO THAT THE SHOOTING OF ROBERTO DUARTE and LUCINDO RAMIREZ IS PREVENTED.**

Friends: We ask that this appeal has the greatest circulation, in papers, publications, and radios of the worker and revolutionary movement. We are certain that world proletarian solidarity with the Guatemalan revolution will make itself felt with all its force. Long live the Guatemalan Socialist Revolution!

Long Live the World Revolution.

The National Leadership of the 13th November Revolutionary Movement. Guatemala,

C.A. 13th of November 1965.

THE ROLE OF ...

(Continued from Page 5)

radioactivity in the most advanced possible form and at the same time, that you are seeking them, try to overcome it, seeking ways and means.

It is necessary to find the measures to combat radioactivity but above all to prevent the consequences which radio activity can cause in the first stage, panic among the population desperation and loss of control and reason; try to localise the centres of radioactivity, try to direct all the force of society to annul it. To make intense agitation and propaganda will only have an effect if the population participates in this directly and see that there is no more than this. This is the best way of combating also the attempt of individuals who are going to want to organise bands of thieves, to loot and steal. Win the support of the population in order to combat all these consequences of the atomic war.

I believe that we must quickly have at our disposal some measures of instruction on radio activity. But the important thing in this is the uniting together with the population, for the organisation of a new International; a world organism which tends to bind itself immediately to the rest of Latin America and with North America to make the north American masses aware of how life is here and what it is necessary to do in this or that problem; it has an immense importance, as much importance as production, because one must see that the apparatus of American imperialism is going to be smashed into a million pieces, but it is the most powerful and the strongest, and in it there is a real force. Each state in which the bourgeoisie still succeeds in maintaining itself will be used as a means to retake capitalist power in the whole of the country. In consequence it is necessary to support the American masses so that they overthrow capitalist power there where they are; above all, because they are relatively close to the most reactionary sectors of imperialism, those of the south. In this sense the same things must be done in Europe or in Latin America, as is done here.

Immediately get the productive apparatus going again, as in the first stage of humanity or as after the last war, in which many countries got going again with what existed. In five years after the last war, capitalism came to life again, in this war all is going to be recovered within two years; everything, because all the population is going to intervene. The Yugoslavs turned out as much railway as in 50 years of capitalism, six years, with the support of the population. The Yugoslavs made a productive apparatus, raising production in a way which no other workers state has done; it has quadrupled production.

Once the atomic war is ended, the population will see at once that it dominates through popular assemblies, through communes, through soviets, through a workers and peasants government, workers control, complete democratic rights of discussion and will advance rapidly. The condition in order that this process develops is that the party, that the revolutionary organisation, whatever it calls itself in a particular moment, develops the maximum number of cadres in order to influence the population, not to protect it, not in a protectionist way, but to appeal to it so that within the population revolutionary tendencies and currents are developed. But the basis for development is not the ability to persuade and agitate and propagandise, but the democratic and revolutionary functioning of communes, soviets, district committees, factory committees, which have full freedom and democracy to discuss all the problems; all, so that distribution is in agreement with the needs of each one and in some cases where it may still be necessary, through urgent or chance circumstances, to give wages.

It is necessary to try to unify immediately, the proletariat in Europe. Immediately the unification of all Europe,

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ADENI WORKERS WEAKENS BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY BASE

The recent arrests of the eight Adeni Trade Union leaders is an indication of the intensified struggle in the Colony. British Imperialism was finally forced to intervene militarily because of the reluctance of Mackawee's Government to condemn the terrorist National Liberation Front, which was having its leaflets published in all the Adeni national dailies under the noses of the Imperialist troops. The suspension of the constitution with its ridiculously small franchise of approximately 4% of the total population is in fact an admission by Imperialism that it has nothing whatsoever to base itself on in Aden and that it can only pose as solutions to the crisis, martial law and foreign rule either from Whitehall directly or indirectly through the motley bag of emirs and sheiks who make up the statesmen of the South Arabian Federation. But in this historical period when the balance of world forces is decisively against imperialism, British Imperialism cannot successfully coerce the population. Thus they are forced to try to crush the spirit of the Aden masses with a policy of systematic oppression—curfews, spot checks, house searches, interrogation, etc.

The spontaneous strikes of the Syrian oil workers in sympathy with the struggle of the Adeni masses shows the desire of the Arab masses to unite and advance the revolution. They are unable to do this because their leaders do not allow them to. The leaderships of the Arab colonial revolution can see the

writing on the wall (particularly Nasser) and they try not to say nasty things about each other which would increase activity within the Arab masses. They sense the fact that the further advance of the revolution means that they will be discarded.

British Imperialism needs the Aden bases, not simply to protect oil interests from the Arab revolution and even less as a block to U.S. influence in the Middle East. The Aden bases are an important link in the military chain from Portsmouth to Singapore which British Imperialism maintains, in order to launch assaults on the world revolution (putting out brush fires as Wilson calls it). The predicament of British Imperialism in Aden is parallel in some ways to that of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam. To withdraw under pressure from the masses would lower the prestige and authority of British Imperialism and would leave Aden on the way to becoming a Workers State, as part of the process in the whole Arab world. On the other hand to stay means further demoralisation of the British armed forces and the intensification of the resistance of the Arab masses.

The phenomenon of the intervention of schoolchildren in demonstrations in the Trucial States, in Algeria and recently in Aden show the depth of revolutionary feeling in the Arab world. When school girls face the forces of Imperialism armed with stones, shouting 'Out with neo-Colonialism' it is clear that Imperialism and Capitalism in the

Arab world has little time left to maintain itself.

The arrests of the Trade Union leaders is an attempt to head off further political interventions by the Adeni workers, following the 24 hour general strike against the suspension of the constitution such as it was. But the effect can only be to speed the polarization of forces. This is the dilemma of world capitalism in this period of history no matter how many leaders they assassinate or corrupt, the revolutionary tide rises against them because when the masses have the confidence and will to struggle, they will find a vehicle. More strikes will be organised which will lead to stronger repressions. The first strike was called by the terrorist N.L.F. but this organisation is petit bourgeoisie in orientation and sees the workers' struggle as being secondary to its own cloak and dagger performance. The struggle will advance in spite of the limitations of this leadership but the advance will be empirical and painful.

We denounce the entente between the Arab leaders as a pact among thieves and call upon the Communist Party of China to do likewise, to intervene in the struggles of the Aden masses with the programme for the Socialist revolution, soviets, workers control, planning of the nationalised economy, etc., to appeal to the Arab masses to sweep away the rubbish that is holding back the revolution for the building of the United Federation of Arab Socialist States.

THE INABILITY OF BRITISH CAPITALISM IS REFLECTED IN THE CRISIS OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

The present demand by doctors for shorter hours and higher pay points once again to the failure of the National Health Service. Although many of the doctors claims are justified, there is an extremely reactionary sector of doctors who want nothing less than the complete dismantling of the National Health Service and have shown this by withdrawing from the service and reverting to charging fees, while others remaining in the health service are in favour of charging fees (which can later be recovered from the state by the patient) for consultations. This proposed system, which is not backed by the doctors' own union, is supposed to dissuade "malingerers" from making unnecessary visits to their doctors. However in Britain today when capitalism is crumbling and the standard of living for many workers falling, it is just not possible for many sectors of the working class to pay again for medicines and medical advice which they have already paid for in taxes and National Insurance stamps anyway. The attitude reflects a capitalist spirit characteristic of many professions. But the rebellion of the doctors exposes also the crisis of capitalism.

British doctors are not alone in having come into conflict with a capitalist state. The general crisis of world capitalism and the declining economic and social position of the medical profession have in the past couple of years led to doctors' strikes in Mexico, Belgium and Italy. Doctors in Britain are

unifying through a single European leadership, planning the economy; the same in Africa, in Asia and Latin America.

And those countries which are most advanced must come to the defence of the other countries. It is useless to try to resolve the problems in one country, but it is necessary to try at the same time as stabilising and normalising the economy, to help the other countries to raise them up and to unify the economy upon the constituting of the new world revolutionary organisation to direct and organise on a world scale the planning of the economy and the construction of the socialist society. J. Posadas 12.4.65.

demanding higher salaries and shorter hours (in the case of junior doctors in hospitals a 99 hour week!) longer holidays and more time off for post graduate study. All this is essential if the National Health Service is to be kept running and patients are to receive even barely adequate treatment. With a quarter of the newly qualified doctors emigrating each year, and not enough doctors to go around; it is only the influx of commonwealth doctors which keeps the service going.

Very few hospitals have been built since the war, and some of those that have are still not in use because there is not enough money provided to equip them, and pay wages for the staff, and also there is not enough staff to run them. Hospitals are constantly shutting wards and casualty departments down because of the staff shortage. The majority of the hospitals in Britain were built before the twentieth century, many are germ ridden and falling to pieces. Hammersmith hospital which is a leading teaching hospital is constantly having to close its operating theatres due to infection there, and the same thing is happening in other hospitals.

The majority of these hospitals are kept running mainly by the exploitation of Student Nurses. These nurses earn about £4 to £5 a week, after deductions for food which is often uneatable, and rent for small and sometimes shared rooms. They are constantly on the run between the ward sisters and the patients. No other group of so called "students" are treated in such a way, a student at university has a grant of at least £370 a year and does not have to study while doing hard physical work for forty hours a week. Student nurses after working a twelve hour night sometimes eight or nine nights in a row have to attend lectures by day.

The enormous increase in the accident rate, swabs being left in after operations, wrong limbs being amputated, and patients receiving the wrong operation, all point to the long hours which doctors and nurses are forced to work. After spending 12 hours in an operating theatre, sometimes the same nurses and doctors are called back in the middle of the night to deal with an emergency operation, and will again

work eight or twelve hours the next day.

The National Health Service will never be run efficiently under a capitalist system where the main expenditure is on arms, and where under capitalist conditions the social services suffer from the lack of sufficient expenditure. In the new five year plan the health service is only given an extra 1/2% increase in expenditure which will probably not even keep it running in its present decrepit state.

To improve their present working conditions and to provide a basic health service for every one, doctors and all those employed in the health service should organise in their trade unions, and unite with other workers to struggle around the demands of the following programme.

100% increase in expenditure on the National Health Service.

The drug industry and all industries involved in making medical equipment must be nationalised, without compensation, under the control of workers and technicians.

All nurses to unite in a union, and by working-to-rule (by only doing strictly nursing duties), demonstrations, and by appealing for sympathy strikes from other sectors of the working class, to demand a 35 hour week, and the rate for the job.

All patients must be treated equally no private patients, private wards, private nurses or private doctors. ...

Abortion laws must be changed. Every woman, married or single, should have the right to have an abortion, this change will smash the existing racket between Harley St. gynaecologists and psychiatrists, which at present allows abortions only for the rich.

All doctors not employed full time in hospitals must be drawn into General Practice, and the number of patients divided equally between them, not as at present some having the maximum 3,000 and the others treating only a few privileged private ones.

Out with boards of governors, hospitals to be run by councils of doctors, nurses and other sectors of hospital workers.

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1) Role of leadership / Proletariat in Europe / Italy. Enormous accumulation of knowledge - outside, computers etc; industrial capacities; communes - collective - but not necessary / greater uniformity. 2) Reference in this country. - U.S. - powerful proletarian