

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

— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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SIXPENCE

SMASH CAPITALISM

A Programme for Power

The Profumo affair has revealed the demoralization of the Tory ruling class. It has brought about a crisis in the Tory Party, which at one time could have ridden such a scandal without a tremor. Today, however, it causes panic and confusion among the Tories and threatens to topple them from power.

The antics of the Tory leaders, and their inability to find a challenger to the moribund Macmillan, shows how the weakened popular support for imperialism steadily saps the confidence of its leaders. The demonstrations against the Greek Royals have shown that sections of the middle class are thoroughly disillusioned with the war plans of capitalism.

Yet not only the Tories are paralyzed. Labour is numbed. Wilson and his friends are not pleased that Keeler, Rice-Davies and Ward have brought more discredit on the Government than Gaitskell, Brown and Wilson were able to do in twelve years in Opposition. Wilson reacts by rushing to the aid of Macmillan. He chides the 1922 Committee for trying to oust Macmillan during Kennedy's visit.

With the Labour leadership unable to offer any alternative policy to the Tory preparations for World War III, this alternative can and must be advanced by the workers themselves. The workers are not that worried about Profumo — he is not the first squire to dip into a swimming-pool, and he will not be the last. But they are militant about conditions in the factories, about heavy unemployment in so-called "declining" industries, about boss-class arrogance at Ford and other places, about joblessness among youngsters, about the delay in implementing the 40-hour week.

LABOUR MUST CAMPAIGN

The workers did not build the Labour Party as a hobby for wet evenings. They constructed it in the belief that it would change the capitalist social order, replacing it by socialism. That is why workers now demand that the Labour Party must lead a campaign, inside Parliament and in industry, against the Tories. It is ridiculous that votes of confidence are passed at Westminster in a Government which cannot even serve its own master, Big Business, without periodically tripping and falling flat on its face.

A series of strikes, on the railways and the buses, in the car factories and throughout industry, will certainly be organized which will shake this Government until it shatters. The rank and file must pick the Labour Party up, shake it and force it out on the streets. Enough time has been wasted.

NO SACKINGS

Labour must be forced to take power on a programme which should contain the following key demands:

- 1) Nationalize all basic industries! Plan the economy and take over at once banks and insurance, the land and the building industry, shipbuilding and engineering, steel, chemicals and arms without compensation;
- 2) Place all industry under workers' control! Nationalized industries must be run by Workers' Management Committees. Those awaiting nationalization must be under the control of workers' committees which would regulate hiring and fir-

ing, have access to the books, determine work conditions, hours and wages, and enforce a 40-hour week and three weeks' paid holiday as minimum immediate measures; no sackings; all workers already redundant to be placed on full pay, work to be shared without reduction in pay;

ARM COLONIAL WORKERS

3) Stop feather-bedding wealthy farmers! Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organize direct marketing of produce and cut out profiteering middle-men;

4) House the workers! With land and building nationalized, the way would be clear to tear down the slums and construct new flats and houses: to solve the immediate shortage, luxury properties and royal palaces must be requisitioned;

5) Smash the war alliance! Replace it by an alliance with the colonial revolution and the Workers' States! Withdraw from NATO, CENTO, SEATO and all other war pacts; all British troops must be withdrawn from overseas and all war bases must be closed at once; colonial rule by Britain must be ended; not only must no arms be sold to Verwoerd and his ilk, but arms must be supplied to anti-imperialist liberation forces; the workers' states must be supported against imperialist attacks.

The Labour leaders will not carry out this programme which the workers must force upon them. Once forced into office, they will dangle their impotence in front of the world. The Revolutionary Workers' Party, with the working class, demands that Wilson and company take a position on the tasks which have to be done. If they cannot do the job, they will be replaced by Marxist revolutionaries who will.

World Trotskyist Press

Voz Proletaria (Cuba), Vanguardia Proletaria (Chile), Voz Obrera (Peru), Voz Proletaria (Argentina), Frente Operaria (Brazil), Frente Obrero (Uruguay), Voz Obrera (Mexico), Lotta Operaia (Italy), Lutte Ouvriere (Belgium), Lucha Obrera (Spain), Lutte Communiste (France); and the two theoretical journals published respectively by the International Executive Committee and the Latin-American Bureau from Montevideo: Cuarta Internacional and Revista Marxista Latino Americana. The last two journals are priced at 2s. 6d. per copy, the remainder at 6d. per copy.

Negroes Shake U.S. Imperialism

The tremendous upsurge of militancy among the American Negroes displays yet again the relentless strength and vigour of the invincible world revolution.

Accustomed for decades to providing the worst paid strata of the American working class, the Negroes are consciously striving for an altogether better life, a life which American capitalism cannot provide. They are encouraged in this by the decomposing social and political authority of American imperialism.

The victorious march of the colonial revolution has achieved a major step in the establishment of the Cuban Workers' State — not far from the deep South — and the struggles of the Latin American masses and the African revolution finds more than an echo in the recent Negro struggles. The inability of American imperialism to crush the Cuban revolution, its paralysis in front of the world revolution, its lack of support from the American masses gives the Negroes confidence to demand social change here and now and not tomorrow. Thus the world revolution has gained a foothold in the heartland of imperialism and as the crisis develops, the American ruling class stumbles and is baffled.

The Negro peoples have met with murders, arrests, intimidation, gaol. The racist trash and exploiters of the deep South are yet another facet of the Christian civilization which tortured Algerians and prepares for war. However the American exploiters have sown the storm and will reap the whirlwind. They cannot meet the demands of the Negroes for the required revolution in education, wages and employment.

Internationally this crisis within the citadel of imperialism yet again demonstrates to the world masses the social weakness of world capitalism and encourages them in the struggle to overthrow it.

West Indian Workers Stand Firm

A member of the strike committee interviewed by Red Flag provided valuable information on the recent strike at P. A. Marriotts, Alperton, Wembley. It is a classic case of the exploitation of mainly West Indian workers (with a large proportion of young women workers) by the employer class — payment of rates below the national minimum, compulsory overtime and so on. In this case the employer only agreed to a 42-hour week on the basis of a loss of two hours pay.

The strike has continued for over two weeks. The last reports indicated that the strike committee was endeavouring to black BSR goods in Birmingham — the parent company. In face of the workers opposition the management resorted to wholesale sackings.

The quality of this strike bears out again the general picture of the situation in Britain: enormous potentialities for struggle — opening the way for the seizure of power — but absence of the means to co-ordinate and centralise local struggles around a common programme.

Workers committees must provide the basis for this national co-ordination. Apart from basic minimum demands such as the 40-hour week, any question of sackings must be strenuously resisted. A slow "run

CUBAN TROTSKYISTS ON CASTRO'S ROLE

"The trip of Fidel Castro to the USSR"; "The USSR Workers' State and Transition to Socialism"; these are among the articles to be found in Voz Proletaria No. 26, published in the second half of May. Voz Proletaria is the organ of the POR(T), Cuban Section of the Fourth International.

We reproduce below several passages of the article on the journey of Fidel Castro to the USSR:

"The journey of Fidel Castro to the USSR showed again the precariousness of Khrushchov's position among the bureaucracy, and the policies of these people in relation to the Soviet masses.

"The demonstrations of support and solidarity by the Soviet masses for Fidel Castro were, in reality, big demonstrations encouraging and supporting the colonial revolution, the socialist revolution in the capitalist and colonial countries, and for the seizure of power by violent insurrectionary methods. The masses have wanted, through all their demonstrations, to show the strengthening of their support for the Cuban Revolution. They wished to assure the Cuban masses that the alliance with the USSR is indestructible, not only in the face of American imperialism, but also in the face of all the manoeuvres of the peaceful and conciliatory policies of the Khrushchov bureaucracy.

"Thus the Soviet masses have been able to show their disapproval of the withdrawal of rockets from Cuba, their disapproval of the CP leadership which fetters the revolution in the name of peaceful co-existence. They wished to underline the difference between the welcome they gave to Castro as representing the Cuban revolution, and that given to other leaders, who appeared in their eyes as agreeing with the peaceful and bureaucratic policy of Khrushchov.

KHRUSHCHOV'S VAIN ATTEMPT

Khrushchov invited Castro because he needed to present himself before the masses as an ally of the Cuban Revolution, as a leader under whose direction the revolution develops in the world. He sought to justify before the masses, his policy of conciliation by presenting himself with Fidel Castro, and trying to show that peaceful co-existence does not prevent the revolution.

"One sees, at the same time, an

(Continued on page 3)

down" creates conditions for pressure on wages. But resistance to redundancy must be unified nationally, otherwise workers become exhausted in fragmented local struggles.

Whatever the outcome of the struggle of the Wembley workers, the strike itself is part of the new stage in industrial struggle in this country.

Build the Marxist Revolutionary Party

Red Flag is the paper of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists), British Section of the world party of the workers' revolution: the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky and his comrades in 1938.

The idea of an International, to fight international capitalism and prepare the classless society, was developed by Marx and Engels in the mid-nineteenth century. With others they founded the First International in London in 1864. Unfavourable objective conditions combined with anarchist disruption destroyed the International in 1872. Marx died in 1883, but Engels helped found the Second International in 1889.

This International was buried in 1914, when its right-wing leaders took their national parties into the war coalitions on both sides in the first imperialist world war. The revolutionary minority, led by Lenin in Russia and Liebknecht in Germany, began at once to build the centralized Third International, founded in 1919 in Moscow, the seat of the Russian Workers' Government.

The capitalist powers failed to destroy the first workers' state, their armies of intervention on 21 fronts being beaten back by the Red Army under the direction of Trotsky. But, saved from overthrow by the right-wing socialist leaders, they succeeded in containing bolshevism within the USSR, then among the most economically backward parts of Europe. Backwardness and isolation bred and sustained a bureaucracy within the Bolshevik Party and the workers' state, which found its suitable leader in Joseph Stalin.

TROTSKYIST OPPOSITION

Under Stalin the Third International degenerated rapidly. Opportunities for revolutionary action in Germany (1923), China (1925-1927) and Britain (1926) were missed. Finally Thaelmann, Pieck and Ulbricht, the German Communist Party leaders handpicked by Stalin, allowed Hitler to come to power without firing a shot or even calling the workers on to the streets. This finished the Communist International, which for the last ten years of its life (1933-1943) was the pathetic pawn of Stalin's foreign policy.

From 1923 Trotsky had developed within the Soviet Communist Party an organized opposition to the bureaucracy headed by Stalin. In this he was supported by Lenin, who in a series of articles and letters dictated from his sick-bed between 1922 and his death in 1924, castigated the bureaucrats and demanded the removal of Stalin as General Secretary of the Party. From 1926 the Russian opposition was extended to become the International Left Opposition: the forces in the Third International not corrupted by conservative Stalinism gathered inevitably around Trotsky.

IVth INTERNATIONAL

After the German débâcle in 1933 Trotsky called on his comrades to leave the corpse of the Comintern and build a new world Party; the Fourth International was founded in Mexico in 1938. From the beginning the International stood against the corruption and gangsterism of capitalism, fascism and Stalinism. During the second imperialist world war Trotsky himself was murdered by a Stalinist now sheltering in Prague, and hundreds of Trotskyist militants throughout Europe were butchered by the thugs of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Stalin. In the USA the Trotskyist leaders were gaoled under the same Smith Act then supported enthusiastically by, but subsequently used against, the American Communist Party. The history of the Fourth International during its first ten years is an epic of Bolshevik heroism and firmness under fire.

Regrouping its forces, the International held its Second World Con-

gress in 1948, and subsequent world congresses were held in 1951, 1954, 1957 and 1960: preparations are under way for the Seventh World Congress, summoned for early in 1964. During these years the International has been faced with tasks as difficult, and in many ways more complex, than those facing the Trotskyist pioneers.

WORLD STRUGGLE

The world after the second world war has seen the extension of the bloc of workers' states to include most of Eastern Europe, China and two other Asian countries, and Cuba in the western hemisphere. It has seen the continuous sweep of the revolution against colonialism, which has replaced the direct rule of imperialism in most of Asia and Africa with local bourgeois governments under varying degrees of mass pressure. It has seen imperialism, gravely weakened and fighting for life, salvaged in Western Europe by the treachery of the social-democratic and Stalinist leaders, retreat into preparation for World War III, the final world conflict between capitalism and socialism.

The prospect is the world victory of socialism developing into communism, but the struggle is grim. The colonial revolution continues dramatically to evolve in Africa and Asia, and in Latin America under the Cuban impact; in the workers' states the political revolution pounds at the door of the bureaucracy — and the Sino-Soviet dispute is the product of both these mighty pressures. In the capitalist west, including increasingly the USA now rocked by the mighty Negro struggle, the ruling class is on the defensive; the workers, viewing their traditional leaderships sceptically but not yet ready to abandon them, flex their muscles in a series of unofficial, and occasionally forced official, strikes.

DOWN THE SLOPE TO SURRENDER

Never has there been a greater need for the socialist world Party, with its sections in every land. Yet, at this moment of decisive crisis, a section of former Trotskyists — Pablo, Germain, Frank, Cannon, Healy — has chosen, despite services rendered in the past, to beat a retreat. Lacking confidence in the immense revolutionary elan of the workers awaiting revolutionary leadership, this clique is in tow to the so-called "left" in the labour and peace movements. They deny the possibility and even the need of open revolutionary sections. They flinch from preparing the workers for war and the seizure of power.

Pablo, now a consultant of Ben Bella, recently took part in a conference in London called by the Forward Britain Movement which *unanimously* called on the United Nations to convene a world economic congress of "aid" to the "underdeveloped countries". By now, with the example of the Congo before her, every perceptive schoolgirl knows the nature of the "United Nations" and the kind of "aid" they give. Pablo's pupil, Germain, goes further. During the UN intervention in the Congo he urged critical support of this action, directed

to eliminating French, British and Belgian influence in the Congo — so as to make it safe for the United States! An article in the current issue of *Fourth International*, published by these revisionists from Colombo, says: "At the crucial moment, intervention from the outside (i.e., by the advance of the colonial revolution or measures by the workers' states) could immediately provoke a nuclear holocaust" — therefore no intervention, please!

THE PITY OF MERE WORDS

These people, like every other tendency in the Labour Movement, were put to the test in the Cuban crisis last autumn. Pablo upbraided Khrushchov for placing nuclear missiles in Cuba, but applauded him for withdrawing them. And these are "revolutionists"! It has to be said that, according to his own standards, even a Bertrand Russell cut a less ludicrous figure at that time.

The Socialist Labour League are revisionists of a different ilk who broke from the International in 1953.

Since their split from the International they have denied that war could be launched unless the American working class is defeated. Unless or until that happens peaceful co-existence can presumably proceed. They patronize the colonial revolution and pour scorn on every practical manifestation of it, damning Castro and Ben Bella without analysis of the mass pressure upon them, calling for Marxist parties in the colonies and simultaneously impeding their construction. So far from building the revolutionary Party in Britain they castrate their industrial militants by immersing them in Labour Party routinism. They led their youth to the top of the hill last April and there they sit, watching the Young Socialists slide down into a sea of aimless social activities and Labour Party canvassing. By bludgeoning instead of educating Fryer and Behan, whose deviations they had previously pandered to and fostered, the SLL leaders have done much to make "Trotskyism" stink in the nostrils of Communist Party dissidents. When their militants have been expelled from the Labour Party they have done Transport House the service of making sure that the expulsions were fought not by a principled call for the revolutionary Party but on the most petty organizational and legalistic grounds.

RANK AND FILE

We are for building a revolutionary Left Wing in the Labour Party and the Communist Party; but for this, the existence of a strong Revolutionary Workers' Party is essential. We are for building rank-and-file committees in each industry and linking these, vertically and horizontally, on a national scale.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY

But these efforts can be cohered, and the political consciousness of the participants raised, only by a strong Revolutionary Workers' Party. We are for building a socialist youth movement which will unite the best in the Young Socialists and the Young Communists League with young industrial militants and the Marxist students; we are for forging close links with the colonial fighters against British imperialism who turn increasingly toward Leninism. All these sectors in a common front of struggle cry out for the leadership which only a democratic centralist, Marxist revolutionary Party can give. **Build the world Trotskyist Party! Build the RWP, its British section!**

Founding Congress of Revolutionary Workers' Party

The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the British Section of the Fourth International met on June 15-16 and discussed resolutions on the following questions: **The International Civil War; The Cuban Workers' State; The Situation in Algeria; British Perspectives.**

The Congress had been preceded by intensive discussion around the documents of the April 1962 crisis of growth in the International. Commissions were formed on problems of Industrial work, the Youth and Colonial work in this country, followed by discussions to which all comrades contributed.

Comrade Ortiz brought the greetings of the IS and affirmed that the foundation of the section in Great Britain had great significance for the International, reflecting as it did the impetuous momentum of the World Revolution.

SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE

Finally the Congress decided the composition of the Political Bureau and arrangements to launch the paper of the Party, *Red Flag*.

The comrades expressed their complete solidarity with comrades Socrates Garcia and Juan Palacios of the Peruvian section and with comrades Hugo Gonzales and Ernesto Garcia of the Argentine section now imprisoned for their revolutionary activities in the service of the workers and peasants struggling to overthrow imperialism.

Peasants Seize Land in Brazil

Land and Socialism, No. 2, has come out, the paper of the Northern Trotskyists in Pernambuco. They are one of the regional committees of the Brazilian Section, who are invigorating and organizing the fight of the peasant movement. The Brazilian comrades have made new progress, as this second issue is printed instead of duplicated. Among other articles there is mention of the occupation of the land by peasants, and one article attacks the official CP opposition to the guerilla struggle.

REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

"The appearance and growth of the peasants' leagues, the daily taking over of the land in a more and more aggressive and organised fashion, the recent demonstrations and strikes by the workers to defend their standard of living, as well as the strikes of the port workers at the time of the imperialist invasion of Cuba, show the general tendency of the objective course of the class war in Brazil.

All these factors bring about a crisis, weakening and demoralising the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and introducing chaos — above all in the traditional base of support and recruitment of its political, military, and technical personnel, the petty bourgeoisie.

Two events confirm this analysis of the actual situation in Brazil: the rebellion of the Minister of Works himself (Almino Alfonso) in favour of a Central Council of Workers on the basis of factory committees, and of a sliding scale of wages; and secondly, the real revolution surging through the army, led by the sergeants, culminating in a public meeting, and the arrest of a sergeant who took part. The subsequent demonstrations for his release brought about the resignation of the Minister of War. This is far from being the end.

THE CLASS, THE PARTY AND THE LEADERSHIP

Extraordinary Conference of IVth International

The Extraordinary Conference of the IVth International held under the leadership of the Latin American Bureau, makes this call to all the Bolshevik militants and cadres of the International in Europe, Asia and Africa. It makes this appeal at the moment of taking the historic resolution to be the provisional leadership of the International. It was an urgent and imperious need for the continuity of the life of the International that this Extraordinary Conference under the BLA leadership, with the resolutions it has adopted, should take place. It was necessary because the process of corruption of the conservative sector of the International leadership had reached a critical point. This sceptical, demoralized, irresolute, dwindling sector, already crushed by the pressure of world events, was criminally paralyzing the life of the International and its activity. It was an urgent necessity, both historically and concretely, to take measures that would open the road to overcome this crisis, by the worldwide development of the International, joined to and rooted in the new and permanent upsurge of the colonial revolution, of the political revolution in the Workers' States and of the world revolution. This is the meaning of the Extraordinary Conference of the IVth International held under the leadership of the Latin American Bureau.

After bureaucratically obstructing the Sixth World Congress resolution which stated that the International Secretariat should have a colonial majority, the conservative, capitulationist and liquidationist direction of Germain, Frank, Maitan Livio, Pablo, Santen Sal, George and Renée have paralyzed the International leadership. Rejecting this capitulationist tendency of the Sixth World Congress, the Latin American delegation, led by the BLA, defended the strategy of applying the most important forces of the World Party to the struggle in the field of the colonial revolution. The congress adopted this strategic conception and appointed an International Executive and an International Secretariat with a colonial majority so as to apply it dynamically. For a whole year the capitulationist sector did nothing seriously to establish this colonial majority and finally resolved to maintain the leadership as it was, which meant that the members of the colonial countries were left in a minority. Thus the Sixth World Congress Resolution was blocked by a bureaucratic trick. The Liquidator Pablo agrees with this when in his Open Letter of March 1962 he stated that the colonial members will be well represented in the next International leadership . . .

CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT

Acting in this way, using a so called majority in the International leadership, this capitulationist and liquidationist group has maintained the political life of the International in a complete paralysis. It has blocked the International's development in the best conditions that the history of our movement has ever known. Thus the crisis of development already begun before the Sixth World Congress worsened. When this sector of the leadership kept silent on fundamental world questions, the Latin American Bureau had to maintain the International orientation, had to take resolutions to maintain the continuity of action of the International.

The BLA adopted resolutions on essential questions; among others, on The Vienna Conference; on the Sino-Soviet Divergencies; on the Atomic War and the Nuclear Tests by the Soviet Union; on the Yankee Imperialist attack on the Cuban Workers' State; on the XXII Congress of the CPSU; on the Recent Agreement between the GPRA and France; on the expulsion of Escalante, etc. In each case the BLA has kept the revolutionary Marxist conception, the International conceptions. The liquidationist group obstructed the International's participation in these fundamental events, and when they intervened they only showed their capitulationist spirit, as in the analysis of the XXII Congress; or they left aside the intransigent line of the revolutionary struggle to defeat imperialism within a process, in which the last settlement of accounts will inevitably be the nuclear war, immediately followed by the world-wide development and triumph of the pro-

letarian revolution. These capitulationists have proceeded along positions already hinted at by them in the Sixth World Congress, either for instance in their ideas of a "nuclear holocaust", or, as in the case of Germain, in an article in *France Observateur*, where it is argued that the imperialist leadership (Kennedy), is open to the pacifist propaganda of certain liberal circles, and wishes sincerely to negotiate with the "Russians". Here, Germain surrenders and goes even further along the road of accepting peaceful co-existence; similarly, referring to nuclear tests by the Soviet Union, Pablo rejects openly the Workers' States' right to defend itself or get ready to defend itself from imperialism, which is preparing nuclear war.

WAR AND LIQUIDATION

One of the slogans under which the Extraordinary Conference took place was: **"THE BOLSHEVIK MILITANT OF THIS EPOCH IS HE WHO IS PREPARED TO FACE THE LAST SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE WORKERS' STATES — WHICH WILL BE SETTLED WITHIN THE NUCLEAR WAR — HE WHO IS PREPARED ALSO TO FACE ITS CONSEQUENCES"**.

Instead of this, the group of Germain, Livio, Pablo, Sal, George and Renée surrender. They express the panic of petit bourgeois opinion in relation to war. They deny the Soviet Union's right, as a Workers' State, to perform nuclear tests, that is to say, to defend itself from atomic war, including its right to attack imperialism first. On this capital question of the development of the international balance of forces, the Extraordinary Conference approved unanimously an International Political Resolution, and a May Day Manifesto, where the strategy of the IVth International on atomic war is clearly stated. These capitulators, overpowered by the events developing everywhere, by the final encounter, which terrifies them, and causes them to lose their confidence in a communist future — carry their demoralisation onto the organisational field, give up Bolshevik principles and yield to a soft, hybrid, eclectic attitude towards the Bolshevik conception of the militant and the Party. Their demoralisation leads them to a centrifugal attitude towards the International, searching for allies in the ex-Ceylonese section, a rotten Section that has supported and supports today the bourgeois government of Bandaranaike; or in the SWP that has nothing in common not only with Trotskyism, but even with Marxism.

These capitulationist people are the ones today who affirm that there are fewer and fewer differences each day between the IVth International and the SWP! These are the same, who, having paralysed the International leadership, decided to "dissolve" the BLA, the

liveliest, the most mature and conscious part of the whole International, and to expel from the IEC comrades Luis, Ortiz, Lucero and Miranda. Here we have a complete expression of liquidationism. These liquidators are the same who, even today, after the treason of the Germain group towards the heroic strike of the Belgian proletariat, still consider that Section a part of the International. We reject the idea that these people are a Section of the International in Belgium! This question about Bolshevik conception of the Party was one of the most important that divided us in the Sixth World Congress. It is necessary to build Bolshevik Sections in Belgium and Europe. It is necessary to build the Bolshevik International in Europe, Asia and Africa to build the IVth International. This historical task is urgent. Thus the ascendant world wide revolutionary course, the onrush of events, which we face all over the world, demands Trotskyism, the IVth International.

COLONIAL REVOLUTION

Comrades: When the colonial masses of three continents triumph or prepare themselves for their triumph by means of new Workers' States; when millions of exploited people hurl themselves into revolutionary action with an enormous spirit of victory, when in the Workers' States, beginning with the Soviet Union, immense forces nourish the spread of the political revolution, which together with the colonial revolution already has powerful effects today and will have in future even more powerful effects upon metropolitan countries from Europe to the United States; when these effects have become visible most in France, Italy, Portugal and in Spain; when Trotskyism in one way or another is present in each one of these events; when these masses, these processes are needing and demanding more and more from the IVth International leadership and its organised activity, these capitulationist and liquidationist people transfer into our movement the fears of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie; they proceed on an ideological and political line irreconcilably opposed to the International. Unable to maintain the continuity of thought and action of the IVth International they adopt arrogant attitudes, expressing their contempt towards the revolutionary mass movements of underdeveloped countries. This is the meaning of the liquidator Pablo's Open Letter, on which the Extraordinary Conference adopted a separate Resolution; the meaning also of the resolution "dissolving" the BLA and excluding from the IEC cadres of the International leadership, who, being part of the colonial minority have endeavoured to keep alive the activity of the International leadership.

CONFERENCE OF THE IVth INTERNATIONAL

In this vivid and dynamic stage of the process of world wide permanent revolution, revolutionary leaderships and revolutionary cadres, who show understanding politically of this process, but are unable to organise the activity of the masses and root themselves in the class, have neither historical nor concrete basis; they will face the void and collapse.

This Extraordinary Conference of the IVth International, performed under the leadership of the Latin American Bureau, while adopting the historical Resolution to be the international Provisional leadership until the Extraordinary World Congress, which this Conference summons, does so with the profound conviction that this Resolution is in accord with the objective understanding of this world process; it does so with the decision to maintain the continuity of the IVth International leadership and its revo-

lutionary activity; it does so, conscious that, as it is today in Latin America, where our world-wide movement wins day by day new forces and positions, fuses with the revolutionary masses and reaches new triumphs, the same will be the position throughout the whole world. In Latin America, in the last two months, our movement reached great triumphs: in Peru, with the Electoral Class Front of Fertiliza, United Industries Yale Eusaco, and the Miners Association (with 35,000 workers); in Argentina, where in the recent elections in spite of the enormous polarisation of forces where the Peronista masses voted for the Labour Party to defeat the government, despite the chicanery against our Party, the Partido Obrero (Trotskyists) got 15,000 votes in three districts; in Bolivia, where the Partido Obrero Revolucionario is constantly winning new positions in the trade unions, particularly among the miners; in Chile, we strengthened our forces in the Huachipato steel works (with 4,000 workers) and in the Socialist Party where Trotskyists are engaged in bold entry work; in Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico, Cuba, we have made new and important advances; in the Dominican Republic, we are laying the basis for the development of a new section. As it is possible in Latin America, so we are convinced that in Asia, Africa and Europe, it will be possible, with bold activity, an activity theoretically and politically conscious of reality and of the tasks needed, tempered in the experience of the struggle for power, to organise the working class activity; it will be possible, we state, in a short time to lead or share with other tendencies the leadership of the revolutionary and mass process; or to fuse with the most progressive and politicised currents, determined to go forward.

With this conviction, comrades, we have decided to keep alive and dynamise the International activity. We are simply continuing the struggle we have always fought since our foundation, for the International's development and Bolshevik maturity. Today we take this resolution to keep the con-

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Khrushchov and Cuba

(Continued from page 1)

attempt to fetter the Cuban Revolution with a view to confining it within the limits of peaceful co-existence, and to limit its authority in Latin America. Khrushchov has no authority, and plays no part in the Latin American revolution. He strove to use the visit of Fidel Castro to gain prestige and authority in Latin America.

"The speech of Fidel Castro in Red Square on the day of his arrival in Moscow did not reflect the ripening of consciousness of the masses of the World Revolution. Although he did not adopt a completely conciliatory line, Fidel Castro adopted a whole set of conciliatory attitudes and pacifist declarations. We do not think he had to make statements against Khrushchov, but he made, however, some inadmissible remarks; for example, in affirming that socialism has already been built in the USSR, whereas it is a Workers' State in transition to socialism, as the ABC of Marxism teaches. His omission of all reference to the revolution in Latin America was equally inadmissible. In fact, Fidel Castro avoided directly addressing, by the contents of his speech, the Soviet masses who were acclaiming him. He deprived his intervention of political content.

"Another conclusion to be drawn is that our revolution constitutes more than ever a link between the workers states and the colonial and world revolutions, between the masses of the socialist countries and the masses of the capitalist and colonial countries".

ON THE SURE ROAD TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The First Congress of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyists) adopted the following resolution:

Britain, since 1955 increasingly the sick man of Europe, is the victim of economic paralysis. In 1947 and approximately every few years thereafter, the economy has suffered a series of weakening strokes; and despite occasional variations, the pattern has been of ever-deepening recessions and ever-shallower upswings. Nor have the wider markets created by neo-colonialism been of more than initial help. For whereas the price of exported raw materials and primary products from these areas has been increasingly forced down, the price of manufactured capital and consumer goods has risen each year, thus steadily increasing the gap between advanced and backward countries, and as steadily narrowing the market for capital goods in the backward countries. Britain, even more than countries with fewer imperial possessions, has been increasingly the victim of this particular contradiction: nemesis has trapped the lion! Hence the feverish and indeed almost abject attempt by Britain in 1962 to gatecrash de Gaulle's Common Market.

The rate of growth of British capitalism has reached an all-time low. At the same time, the so-called traditional industries, even steel, have spun into a spiral of decline, resulting in major shut-downs in the established centres of North England, South Wales and West Scotland. While it would be foolish to base our strategy on the expectation of massive unemployment, yet it can be safely predicted that the post-war full employment era is at an end, and that henceforward, as in the USA, automation and stagnation will between them ensure a return to the days of the classical "reserve army" of capitalism — a pool of permanently unemployed workers.

PARALYTIC ECONOMY

Although in Britain, as elsewhere in the capitalist world (most noticeably in France and least evidently in the United States), an attempt is being somewhat half-heartedly made to "modernize" and refurbish the economy through increasing centralisation and statification (a trend which, though bearing in mind a certain looseness and imprecision in this formula, we may join others in describing as "state monopoly capitalism"), yet these are gestures of despair rather than an expression of confidence in the economy of the ruling class. The much-vaunted Beeching Plan, to which so much ballyhoo has been attached, will in reality affect purely marginally the structure of an economy in permanent decline.

THE COMING WORLD SHOW-DOWN

The stimulus to this sick economy has been the build-up to World War III. Granted that the enormous resources in money and manpower diverted to military production and planning have resulted in the creation of capital properly described as purely fictitious — in the sense that it adds nothing to the nation's real economic strength — yet this colossal diversion of wealth has succeeded in staving off the worst effects of successive crises and in keeping the economy "ticking over".

A side effect has been, however, the inability of capitalism to find the necessary resources to carry through much needed reforms in education, housing, and health services, to say nothing of transport and scientific research (other than strictly military). This, in turn, has contributed at one and the same time to the further weakening of British imperialism vis-à-vis its competitors and to the narrowing of the possibilities for real concessions to the workers. On the contrary, the arms build-up has gone hand in hand with a whittling away of the "welfare state" and has contributed to that final confrontation with the working class which since 1945 has been moving steadily up the agenda in British politics, and is now nearing first place.

But it is precisely this impending confrontation, and the knowledge that the day of reckoning and retribution draws near, which has at last induced even in this most confident and shrewdly calculating ruling class, perhaps the cleverest in history, a state of insecurity and pessimism at times bordering on panic.

Yet this very lack of confidence, this approach to panic reflected in the permeation of the once-staid British society by violence in every sphere, will find its final expression in a desperate rallying of forces for the final throw. The discrediting of fascism and increasingly the Labour Party — the two classic saviours of declining capitalism in the past — will force, alongside world conditions analysed elsewhere, a final military showdown against the workers' states and colonial revolution. The Third World War is the coming reality, and any failure to point this out with absolute honesty to the workers, preparing them for the dreadful destruction and, at the same time, the decisive opportunity for seizing power which this war before or during it, affords, is treachery to bolshevism and a monstrous betrayal of the class. The right-wing social-democrats who advocate NATO and the American alliance, the left-wing social-democrats who foster the ridiculous claims of non-violent Gandhian protest and unilateral disarmament by a particular capitalism, the Khrushchovites inside and outside the Communist Party who peddle the shoddy wares of "peaceful co-existence" and zones of disengagement — all these are, as always, criminal misleaders of the working class and pensioners of capitalism. Bolshevism in Britain will be built in the fire of struggle against these revisionists and their wretched hangers-on in the ranks of the hopelessly petty-bourgeoisified "old" Trotskyists.

Meanwhile, the ruling class tries desperately to provoke an offensive against the workers at the point of production, hoping to delay by this means, for a year or two, the moment of cataclysmic reckoning. In this objective, they are assisted by the trade-union and Labour Party bureaucracy, as well as by the Communist Party, whose influence both in the unions and the Labour Party remains considerable.

The measure of the petty-bourgeoisification of the Trotskyist movement alluded to above is precisely the extent to which it has been effectively excluded, since 1946, from all effective participation as a distinctive and leading force, however small initially, in the ferment in British industry since the war. An analysis, necessarily outside the scope of this document, has to be made of the processes now at work in the industrial consciousness of the British working class. For the present it is possible only to indicate certain trends.

The growth of "wildcat" strikes, the mushrooming of rank-and-file committees of cohesion by no means all of an SLL-inspired or otherwise artificial character, and the massive pressure welling up from such threatened sections as the railwaymen, all indicate among the working class a desire to struggle against the capitalist offensive, a struggle which they sense must be directed as much against the bureaucracy in the Labour movement as against the

capitalists directly. Yet this undoubted industrial militancy has been diverted or defeated time and again by the lack of a strong cohering force, a force which, as long ago pointed out by Lenin, cannot come out merely through "economistic" struggle, however heroic, but requires a clear political lead, which can be given only by bolshevism.

The Labour Party can be described as a working-class party only because of the continued presence of the organized trade unions within its ranks. The eventuality of a Fourth Labour Government would not alter substantially the position occupied by social-democracy in Britain in relation to the class. Against the frothy waves of the Tory ad-men, the workers have stood like a rock by the Labour Party at the polls; in almost all the areas both working-class and traditionally Labour, the Conservatives and their Liberal echo have gained virtually nothing. But the fact that the workers vote for the Labour Party does not of itself and necessarily predicate an influx of worker-militants into the ranks of the reformist organisations. On the contrary, the individual membership of the LP has declined at the same time as the LP vote has remained static, or even increased slightly. Undoubtedly the recent sharpening in the class struggle has resulted in applications, nowhere a flood and scarcely anywhere more than a trickle, to join the Party. But these applicants are, in the main, drawn not from the most advanced, but from the relatively more backward strata of the class; moreover, so bureaucratized and mediocrified has become the apparatus of the LP, even at local level in most cases, that rare indeed is the worker-militant who can withstand the deadening disputes about minor administrative questions which bedevil LP meetings! In the result, very few of the workers now coming to the LP will stay to become active individual members, and of those who do a proportion will inevitably become infected with the virus of parliamentary and municipal careerism.

Despite its solid trade-union base, the LP is today, more than ever in its history, a thoroughly petty-bourgeois Party with a bourgeois ideology. To speak charitably, it is idiotic if nothing worse to confuse the Labour Party with the politically active working class: a process which leads straight to the substitution of the Labour Party for the working class — a purely idealist deviation. The plain fact is that the working class, whose basic social and political awareness is at a higher level than ever before, remains supremely apathetic towards "its" Party and the endless internecine disputes between the Right and Left reformist sections of its leadership: these manoeuvres are recognized by the workers as being, in the long run, irrelevant. To this must be added one more datum of significance: the growing stratum of technocrats, the "workers in white overalls" displays remarkably little interest in the Labour Party and in the whole programme of reformism, which they sense instinctively as bogus.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the struggle between Left and Right in the social-democracy is absolutely without importance: such an estimate would be grossly sectarian.

In localities where this struggle is, or is likely to become, very sharp and — above all — in fields, such as the Young Socialists, where it is possible to reach and educate sectors moving into a pitched battle against the bureaucracy, it would be criminal not to intervene. A bold entristm, of the type exemplified by the American Trotskyists in the late 'thirties and by the Uruguayan Trotskyists during the 'fifties, is absolutely in order in such a situation. But this very entristm demands for its success the existence of an independent revolutionary workers' press, which must rapidly become the organizer and builder of the independent revolutionary workers' organization. The Communist Party, despite

its thoroughly revisionist line, is able to exert an influence in the LP as well as in the trade-unions which is by no means adequately reflected in its parliamentary polling figures just because it is an independently organized force, albeit of a profoundly non-revolutionary character. Given the existence of an open Marxist organ leading to an open Marxist party, it will be possible to influence profoundly the struggle within the LP at those points where this is a real struggle and not merely a contest between rival elements of the bureaucracy. In this way, moreover, it will be possible to reverse the process, which has continued for many years in this country with such devastating effects on the ranks of our Movement, of recruitment of Trotskyists to the social-democracy, and to begin to set in motion the contrary process of recruitment of the best of the social-democratic workers, and above all the socialist youth in large numbers, to Trotskyism.

For years the misapplied and misunderstood entrist tactic, as interpreted by the Pablo-Germain tendency and its British supporters, has resulted in our comrades becoming the pimps and office-boys of those elements incorrectly described by Germain as the "Left Centre" (Cousins, Bevan and so on). In reality these people are not and never were centrists properly so-called (that is, people moving from a reformist to a revolutionary position); they are and were Left social-democrats, differing only tactically, or at best strategically, from their Rightist colleagues, whose ideology they wholly share. With an open base from which to operate, those of our comrades and sympathizers who work in the LP will be able to win the best Labour workers to the revolutionary position.

We embark upon a new line: the line of class against class, of clear and unfettered leadership in the class struggle, of the presentation of an alternative line, the programme of Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism, to the British working class.

CLASS AND PARTY

(Continued from page 3)

tinuity of that struggle which mingles and fuses with the International's activity itself. This is the only way to overcome the crisis of development of the International, by the only possible road: **WE MUST ROOT OURSELVES IN THE MASS MOVEMENT, BE IT AS IT IS IN EACH COUNTRY; WE MUST APPLY OUR FUNDAMENTAL FORCES BOLDLY INSIDE THE VITAL PROCESS OF THE WORLD WIDE COLONIAL REVOLUTION, AND WHERE WE WILL BE ABLE TO BE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF MASS CURRENTS AND OF REVOLUTIONS.**

While making this appeal, we encourage all Bolshevik cadres and militants of the IVth International in Europe, Asia and Africa to increase international revolutionary, militant activity in these continents; to battle in this way against the liquidators; to be ready to participate in the World Congress preparation; and finally to join in the resolution and spirit of the victory of the IVth International, the Latin American Trotskyist movement, the Latin American Bureau, the International Provisional leadership, which is determined to finish with the crisis of development, reviving the International leadership on the basis of the Sixth World Congress and the Extraordinary Conference Resolutions, rendering its activity more dynamic all over the world. With this Conference, the basis is laid to overcome the crisis of development. It opens the way to impel the world wide development of the International.

APRIL, 1962.

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

— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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SIXPENCE

Open the Road to the General Strike

The building workers' strike of August 19-23 is yet another example of the militancy of the rank and file being blocked by a craven union leadership, which seeks only to display its "responsible" and "statesmanlike" qualities to the possessing class. The leadership called only for limited strike action through fear that, mobilized massively, the building workers would have waged a much more effective and crippling struggle unofficially. The leadership acts only so as not to lose control of the situation, but it acts as conservatively as it dares.

The strike settlement was a complete victory for the employers and a complete sell-out of the workers' interests by the union bureaucrats. The workers demanded the 40-hour week: the unions accepted a 41-hour week starting in November 1964. The workers demanded wage increases of 1/6 an hour: the unions accepted fourpence (for craftsmen), only a halfpenny a head more than the bosses had originally offered.

The differentials between craftsmen and labourers have been increased and the system of linking wage increases to the rise in the cost of living has been abolished, and replaced by a system relating wage increases to rises in productivity. We are seeing, at a time when the authority and power of capitalism are being steadily undermined, the employers lean more than ever on their allies, the trade-union bureaucrats. But the more advanced workers are aware of this too: more workers came out on strike than were actually called out by the leadership, and after the sell-out a building site of 200 men in Manchester—to take only one example—struck unofficially for half a day and demanded the resignation of the union officials who had been responsible for the deal.

UNION BOSSES BETRAY

This sort of situation is being repeated continually throughout a whole range of industries. Railwaymen, seamen, vehicle builders have found themselves in conflict not only with the bosses but with their own union leaderships.

The financial press frequently carries reports of factories being closed or put on short time. In some expanding industries, such as the car industry, production is rising, but with a diminished labour force, as the increased productivity is through automation. There are 180,000 more unemployed than at this time last year. Meanwhile the Tory Government of big business interests tries, with such schemes as NIC and NED, to peg the wage demands of the workers to increases in productivity. But it can do little to step up the sluggish rate of growth of the economy, because the world capitalist economy is burdened with arms expenditure which narrows its markets, quite apart from inter-imperialist rivalry.

World Trotskyist Press

Voz Proletaria (Cuba), Vanguardia Proletaria (Chile), Voz Obrera (Peru), Voz Proletaria (Argentina), Frente Operaria (Brazil), Frente Obrero (Uruguay), Voz Obrera (Mexico), Lotta Operaia (Italy), Lutte Ouvriere (Belgium), Lucha Obrera (Spain), Lutte Communiste (France); and the two theoretical journals published respectively by the International Executive Committee and the Latin-American Bureau from Montevideo: Cuarta Internacional and Revista Marxista Latino Americana.

The last two journals are priced at 2s. 6d. per copy, the remainder at 6d. per copy.

It is not only the Tories who are pressing for an "incomes" policy. The Labour Party leader has said that, if returned to office, Labour would ask the unions to restrain their wage demands so that an incomes policy could be worked out. It is also becoming obvious that many trade-union bureaucrats will accept such a policy; even Ted Hill, leader of the tame opposition in the TUC, has said that he "trusts Wilson implicitly." Again we see clearly the role being played by the Labour and trade union leaderships: a role of class collaboration, as they use their influence and authority over the British working class to help capitalism out of the unhealthy situations in which it finds itself.

Such is the pressure of the workers that a section of the union leaders is forced to waver on the wage freeze. But a serious anti-capitalist offensive will certainly not be launched by the TUC leadership: it can and must be launched by the workers themselves. The struggles against redundancy, for wage increases and the 40-hour week, would become a thousand times more effective if they were carried out in a centrally co-ordinated way. At the moment the means to co-ordinate them do not exist, and it would be foolish to expect the trade union bureaucracy to provide them. The basis must be laid for the co-ordination of all strike actions by the formation of workers' committees composed of delegates receiving no extra pay and subject to instant recall. Operating in all factories, mines, building sites and transport depots, these delegates would be able to conduct an irreversible and invincible anti-capitalist struggle.

FORM WORKERS' COMMITTEES

There is a crying need for the setting up of this national committee now. The employers are attempting to seize the initiative in more and more industries. A national struggle based on unified workers' committees should unite on the following programme:

- 1) For a 40-hour week, leading to a 35-hour week with no loss of pay.
- 2) For three weeks' holiday with pay, leading to a four-week paid holiday.
- 3) Nationalization of all basic in-

When the Leaders speak of peace
The common folk know
that war is coming.

—Bertold Brecht

TEST BAN TREATY Cover for Imperialism

The phoney words of the peacemongers may go down with all the bone-headed reformists, Khrushchovite functionaries and petty-bourgeois capitulators, but the Chinese comrades have rightly castigated the Test Ban Treaty as a sell-out of the world's masses to imperialism. Imperialism means war. War is the only defence which capitalism possesses and war will obviously be launched when the Khrushchovite revisionists are of no further use to imperialism—that is, when the world revolution can no longer be restrained by them in any way.

For reasons of space it is impossible to give the complete version of the thorough analysis made by the International Executive Committee of the IVth International of the Test Ban Treaty. We give extracts which convey the general line.

The counter-revolutionary world strategy of US imperialism is based on the military, scientific, economic and social preparation of nuclear war. It is based on the accumulation of nuclear arms of every type in naval, military and air bases surrounding the workers' states, to be used in every type of air, land and naval action, and in the preparation of groups and organizations throughout the world ready to launch nuclear war.

CAPITALISM WILL FIGHT

Nuclear war differs from traditional war, war in which nuclear weapons were not involved, in that the destructive power of these weapons does not require an elaborate high command, a massive organization, carefully arranged beforehand extending over months, weeks or even days to launch the war at any moment. In a matter of seconds American imperialism can launch the world war by surprise against the workers' states and the masses of the world.

From the historical point of view, the capitalist states are finished. They have lost any ability to influence the masses or exercise authority over them. Losing hopelessly and constantly, capitalism returns to its natural means to sustain and defend it-

self; this time with nuclear weapons. Imperialism mobilizes as an apparatus, an organism, reacting independently of sectors of opinion, particular leaders. There is nothing which can paralyze the system *in toto*. A particular current of (capitalist) opinion may be capitulationist, pessimistic, as is happening in Germany and France; but individuals and groups do not describe the system.

The agreement for the suspension of nuclear tests tends to present world imperialism before the masses of the world as being favourable to a course beneficial to humanity. It makes it appear that imperialism is preoccupied with preventing the destructive effects on humanity from nuclear war as though, reflecting humanitarian sentiment, imperialism was preoccupied with the destiny of humanity. If imperialism signs these agreements, it does not mean that it has abandoned the perspective of war, but simply that it intends to gain time. This means gaining time to eliminate some military expenses, to try to establish socially better relations with the masses, particularly in the United States, and with the governments of the semi-colonial countries, to be better prepared, in consequence, for the war. The war preparations of imperialism consist not only in increasing nuclear armament, but in convincing and stimulating the various capitalist governments to maintain optimism in respect of the possibilities of the war, and for the triumph of capitalism in the war. This agreement is a direct aid to American imperialism, is exclusively for its benefit and is against the interest of the world masses. It is directed against the Chinese workers' state, against the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party, against the arming of the Chinese workers' state with nuclear weapons, because of the encouragement which this would mean for the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese masses, of the Asian masses, of the world colonial revolution, directed both against imperialism and the bureaucratic degeneration of the workers' states.

The International Executive Committee, the International Secretariat and the Latin-American Bureau appeal to the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of the world to denounce this treaty, and propose to the CCP that it appeal to the masses of

industries, without compensation to former owners.

4) Workers' control of all industries, those awaiting nationalization to be run by workers' committees.

5) For an all-round rise in wages, related to the rise in the cost of living.

6) Pensions and sick pay equal to the average wage.

7) Lowering of retirement age to 60.

8) Solidarity with the struggle, industrial and directly political, of the working class and its allies in all countries. Together against imperialism! For the defence of the workers' states and the colonial revolution!

All these demands, based on the unification of workers' struggles, will prepare the class for the general strike, which will open the way to the seizure of power and the formation of a workers' government.

(Continued on page 3)

The Sino-Soviet Conflict As A Mirror Of The World-Revolutionary Process

The essential feature of this stage of the Sino-Soviet conflict is that the process is not consciously directed by either the Soviet or Chinese bureaucracies, though it poses conscious objectives. The Soviet bureaucracy is, of the two, the more conscious of its interests. Its conservative historical experience has given it a hypersensitivity and an extraordinary capacity to react. On the other hand, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party does not act in a conscious or coherent fashion, because it has no programmatic consciousness of the revolution.

The differences between the Chinese and the Soviets are very great and very precise, in spite of the imprecision with which the Chinese express themselves. The Soviet bureaucracy arose as the usurper of the revolution. It did not make the revolution: it only appropriated its benefits. At a definite stage, which Trotsky placed in 1926-1927, the bureaucracy took over the revolution, swallowed it and made use of it. This is Thermidor.

The Chinese bureaucracy, on the other hand, organized, led and developed the revolution. It has constructed the essential basis for the development of socialism in China. It is bureaucratic not by virtue of its conservative interest, but by its bureaucratic manner of governing the country. The Chinese bureaucracy expelled capitalism, but it did not do this with the object of allowing the masses to intervene, to control, to plan, to play a full revolutionary democratic role. From the start the bureaucracy formed the leadership, provided the programme and organized workers' power in China. The masses did not intervene in the formulation of Chinese policy or in the economic plans. They decided neither the policy nor the plan which determined the economic development of China. They participated to a certain extent through the communes, but it is not they who form, decide and control the plan. In this sense we have a bureaucratic leadership which, with bureaucratic-administrative methods, leads the revolution. But this leadership does not have the entrenched bases of a bureaucratic body with conservative interests, even if there are elements of these.

The Chinese, by their policy in Korea, made an enormous step in the history of the class war. The Chinese participated directly in Korea; and this has influenced the Chinese themselves. This point will be developed in other articles and in other discussions, but it is clear that the year 1950 played a role of enormous importance in China. This was marked, for example, by a more resolute attitude than towards Vietnam. China was led into a generally revolutionary foreign policy, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the expansion of the revolution in Asia.

The communes originated in 1936, as attested in the famous report of Mao Tse-Tung on agrarian relations in Yen-an. Already in 1936 the communes existed in strength. The communes were not therefore destined, in 1958, only to raise agricultural production. They were the expression of the objective needs of the revolutionary society, of the economic plan and of the need for the Chinese to overcome their economic backwardness, leaping decades, so to speak. Such measures inevitably influenced the consciousness of the leadership when it was neither fully bureaucratic nor conservative; when it did not have more or less consciously conservative interests.

The impossibility of access to the outside world—unlike the Soviet Union—non-participation in UNO, the impossibility for imperialism to co-exist with the Chinese, have all obliged and forced the Chinese to adopt the revolutionary way out of the cul-de-sac of peaceful co-existence and competition with imperialism.

The Chinese leadership holds the door open for its own evolution. The lack of inner-political life fetters this evolution, prevents it from receiving

all the force, all the pressure of the objective developments of the Chinese revolution and of the world colonial revolution.

The fight between the Chinese and the Soviets took different forms over the years. The conflicts have existed since the formation of the CCP. They are not new. The Communist International was already seeking to dominate and domesticate the CCP. There were big incidents, discussions and polemics in the CI. The first big crisis took place in 1927 with the policy of submission to Chiang Kai-Shek. This was the first defeat of the Chinese revolution. There were later crises: at the time of the "Third Period" in the Communist International, then during the period of the policy of submission to the "National Front" (colonial variant of the "Popular Front" in Europe).

Another major crisis was that of 1946, when Stalin wanted to make the CCP re-submit to Chiang Kai-Shek. The resistance of the Chinese showed that the leadership was not bureaucratic and that, from the bureaucratic point of view, the necessary conditions for such a policy were lacking. Further resistance developed over Korea, and this was when the open collision began: It did not show itself in the Vietnam crisis, as there was not the necessary struggle; but over Korea the two lines—ill-defined and scarcely conscious as they were—came into conflict: the line of the Chinese, who stressed the colonial revolution even at cost to themselves because they could actually provoke the intervention of Yankee imperialism, and that of the Soviet bureaucracy, which in defending its own conservative interests prevented the complete victory of the Koreans by failing to send them aircraft.

CLASS STRUGGLE AFFIRMED

All the Chinese documents, from those of Mao Tse-Tung and Liu Shao-Chi downwards, are confused and contain opportunist positions. Indeed these are often atrociously opportunist: they say, for example, "we must educate the bourgeoisie." In 1959 they decide—in a country where power has already been taken—to "educate the bourgeoisie," to win over certain of its sectors and to give them a voice in the government. They combined this policy with the formation of a front for national liberation in the country, subordinating all the interests of the Party to those of the "nation"; but, in contrast to the Soviet CP, they asserted the class struggle on a national scale.

For a whole period the European workers' states have been subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union. The pillage carried out in Germany and Czechoslovakia comes immediately to mind. In China it was not the same, due to the existence of a powerful Communist Party having a real base and support among the population which other Parties, who relied on the support of the Red Army, did not have. In China the Communist Party

itself took power, and this was the foundation which enabled it to have sufficient confidence to defend Chinese economic interests in the face of Soviet bureaucracy. This in turn resulted in the development of a national revolutionary consciousness. But the weakness of this development explains its slow and tortuous course, and the reasons why the Marxist understanding of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is so confused and full of contradictions.

EVENTS FAVOUR CHINESE

The development of the colonial revolution, of the workers' states, the struggle of the masses in Europe, are real stages in the process of the proletarian revolution. The establishment of new workers' states—Korea, Vietnam and, very shortly, Laos and Burma—the influence of the Chinese Communist Party in Asia, the establishment of the Cuban workers' state: all these events have created a world-historical base much more favourable to the Chinese Party than to the Soviet bureaucracy. They have given the Chinese Communist Party greater security and confidence. It is remarkable to see how, as the colonial revolution develops, the Chinese workers' state gathers strength economically. The Communist Party leadership, although in a bureaucratic way, is starting to inquire seriously into, and to write about, theoretical problems.

It is only since 1960 that the Chinese have decided to raise fully all the fundamental questions of this epoch. Their formulations are contradictory. Thus, from their pronouncements, it is possible to avoid war, but it is not possible to prevent the taking of power in whatever country is ripe for it. They admit the possibility of peaceful co-existence between states, but not between classes. But if co-existence between states, between different regimes is possible, then co-existence between classes is possible, because the workers' states represent the world interests of the working class, of the new social regime. If world capitalism can co-exist peacefully until the historical solution expressed through economic competition, why cannot this be achieved on the internal, domestic scene?

REVOLUTIONARY CONCLUSION

The Chinese criticism of Togliatti and Thorez is the following: "We are in agreement with peaceful co-existence; we champion it. We were the first to introduce it. We are in agreement that it is possible to prevent the war; we are the champions of this policy. But co-existence to hinder war is one thing; quite another is co-existence between classes. While we champion the cause of tying the hands of imperialism to prevent the unleashing of war, we say the colonial people should take power. If imperialism replies by unleashing war against the seizure of power by the masses, we say that the duty of the workers' states is to support the colonial revolution against imperialism. The war will be the end of imperialism, not the end of humanity." This is a revolutionary conclusion stemming from opportunist and reformist arguments.

The conciliationism of the Soviet bureaucracy, on the other hand, stems from the intensely conservative interests of this bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy upholds the view that it is possible to avoid the war. And to avoid the war it is necessary to have a policy which will not provoke war. Consequently power cannot be taken in any country by violent means: it must be taken peacefully.

Also, it is necessary to establish a programme for 100, 200 or 300 years—the bureaucracy hopes to live this long—of peacefulness. To work daily, to demonstrate that socialism is economically right, that it is overtaking capitalism, means that the masses will see that socialism is better, that capitalism is incapable, and they will go towards socialism.

The Chinese say to Togliatti: "You argue that a reform of structures is necessary in Italy to develop the Italian economy and world commerce so that the Italian masses benefit from this. But obviously that interests Italian imperialism, because the development of commerce and the economy in Italy will not be in favour of the workers, but of imperialism. The masses will only endure greater exploitation and the preparations for war of Italian capitalism. In consequence Comrade Togliatti speaks in the name and in the interests of Italian capitalism."

WE INFLUENCE CHINESE

This sharpening in the attitude of the Chinese does not reflect political life within China, because in that country there is no political life. There are discussions with leaders of states, kings, princes. But there is no sign of specific meetings for workers in the factories to discuss politics; there is no sign of political assembly or discussion in which the masses can intervene. All the resolutions come from the apparatus. Why, then, this attitude of the Chinese? What has brought them to the correct understanding, to a correct conclusion? Without question the advance of the colonial revolution has provided the objective base for their conclusions. But the source of their political comprehension is directly the Fourth International. It is we who have in great measure influenced the Chinese, who have provided the ammunition.

The Chinese say that Lenin argued: "To pursue peace is our fundamental policy." Where did Lenin say that? Lenin was a revolutionist, who thought in concrete, dialectical terms. Lenin certainly said "Peace is our policy" when there was no other policy than to make peace; but he added: "We cannot make war now because we lack the strength. The workers' state is exhausted, the world revolution has been arrested. They are stronger than we. Peace is preferable. Let us make peace." And Lenin as a good revolutionist said: "Messrs. imperialists, we desire peace" in the same way as when, in a strike, the workers, when they see that there is no point in continuing, but in order to preserve their positions, say to the capitalists: "Let us negotiate." Lenin was neither opportunist nor conciliator. He was a revolutionist who realized it was necessary now to extend the revolution, to reinforce the workers' state. Lenin posed the view: "We make peace while we prepare for the revolution, because our peace is an armed peace: it is the appeal to the revolution and to the development of the world revolution, because at this moment we cannot attack world capitalism."

WAR AND REVOLUTION

Thus the Chinese, like Stalin, like Khrushchov, deceive their audience and the world working class when they suggest that Lenin said "Our policy is peace, and the essential policy of the Soviet Union is co-existence with the capitalist states." Lenin and Trotsky said: "Peace here and now is convenient to us." Under these conditions they looked for the best way of profiting from the contradictions of world capitalism, a revolutionary diplomacy

By JUAN R. POSADAS

oriented totally from the point of view of reinforcing the workers' state and developing the world revolution.

The differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are irreversible. The struggle of the Chinese against the Soviet bureaucracy is of the profoundest significance and historically irreversible. Discussions can no longer paper the cracks. The documents show the abyss which divides them. The Chinese have drawn the basic revolutionary conclusions—revolution is essential, it is necessary to construct the revolutionary Party, the state cannot be reformed but must be smashed and replaced altogether by proletarian power, the Party must prepare the class to take power and not put forward phoney schemes for partial reform of capitalism. Hence they conclude, if to take power means war, war will come; it will not be the end of humanity but the end of capitalism. And they cite a phrase integral to our documents: "The decisive factor in history at our stage is not arms but the masses." The Cubans say to us: "How you insist on the masses!" The Chinese, like ourselves, insist on the role of the masses and see them as the determining factor in history. Thus, they point out, have said Marx, Engels and Lenin—we also claim Trotsky—It is not arms which determines the course of history but the revolutionary will of the masses; this is the most powerful arm in the creative process of history.

WAR WILL END CAPITALISM

The masses cannot be destroyed. Nuclear war will be a terrible devastation of humanity, but it will not destroy humanity. Capitalism will be crushed because the war is the revolution immediately. All these ideas are our ideas, our conclusions, our analysis. When the Chinese deal with the Italian CP leadership they criticize it according to our methods and in our sense. Our articles on Italy and France described the policy of Togliatti. They exposed his opportunist policy of reforming the state, demonstrated the fact that there is no policy of economic development in Italy capable of containing the masses, that Italian imperialism cannot in any way accept the intervention or inclusion of the Communist Party in the government, seeing that what determines the policy of the Italian bourgeoisie is not the Italian economy but the preparation, allied to that of world imperialism, for the final settlement of accounts.

On proletarian internationalism, the Chinese are advancing towards our line. They show beyond all doubt imperialism's preparation for war: "It is possible to prevent the unleashing of war." But when a colonial country struggles for power "we must support it with all our forces, and it is the first task of the socialist states to support it by every means: arms, money, the lot . . ." If this intervention by fraternal solidarity unleashes war from the side of imperialism, imperialism will perish. These are our conclusions, which the Chinese also draw.

A NEW INTERNATIONAL

It is the need of the Chinese revolution to develop which is now determining the policy and will determine, with the pace, progress and heightening of the world revolution, the struggle for power: the essence of the revolutionary struggle at this stage.

The Fourth International will develop itself in this struggle. This it is doing in relation to Peronism in Argentina, as it is doing it in relation to the revolutionary crisis in the communist movement, aiding the development of a revolutionary tendency among the Chinese, towards the construction of a new, mass Communist International. Such is the future of the International. And already the International reveals all its strength, all its influence, in the

position adopted by the Chinese.

The Soviet bureaucracy tries to defend itself. It brought Fidel Castro to the Soviet Union and kept him there more than a month to extract from him a declaration in favour of the Soviet bureaucracy and against the Chinese. To be sure, Castro's final agreement contained concessions to the Soviets, but these concessions were along the line of his own concept already expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana and with his previous positions in general.

STRUGGLE TO DECIDE

The Soviets in fact lost out, because he extorted from them a very important concession: that each country will determine its own line of political development, which runs contrary to the essential political line of the Soviets: co-existence. And if the Cuban revolution has such influence and such force, that is not because its economy is revealed as superior to that of the Soviet Union, nor because its economic strength is a bastion, but because its social importance has a great influence on the whole communist world. Like all bureaucrats who think that the apparatus decides everything, Khrushchov thought that the voyage of Fidel Castro would decide everything. Really, Khrushchov has gained little from it. But the mere fact of his having to canvass Castro's support shows Khrushchov's weakness: otherwise, he would not depend on Castro. But the masses of the world, of the Soviet Union itself and of the Communist Parties, see his weakness.

It is necessary to see the discussion in July as a stage opening subsequent struggles more violent and more serious, which will decide the ultimate course, on a global scale, of the political revolution.

(The above has been extracted from the text of the report by Comrade Posadas to an extended Central Committee meeting of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) of Argentina on June 9, 1963.)

HOMAGE TO ROBERTO PINTO

Comrade Roberto Pinto, of the Brazilian Section of the IVth International, was murdered on August 8 at Tambe, a province of Pernambuco, leading a struggle of 500 peasants.

We pay homage to this comrade acting in defence of the programme of the IVth International. He was very young (just over 20), a printing worker, well integrated in the peasant movement. His special responsibility was in the North-West Region and he had become president of one of the peasant leagues. Imperialism and its minions inflict terrible blows on those who seek to establish socialism. But our comrade does not die in vain. His struggle is renewed by the millions now moving forward all over the world who will totally obliterate imperialism.

With the International Secretariat, and the Brazilian Section in particular, we lament the death of Roberto Pinto, who made the ultimate sacrifice in defence of the revolution. We shall pursue our struggle to its triumphant conclusion.

TEST BAN TREATY

(continued from page 1)

the world with a programme of struggle and world-revolutionary strategy to overthrow capitalism throughout the world, an essential condition for the elaboration of a programme for production and utilization of nuclear energy for the benefit of humanity.

They call for the absolute denunciation of the disarmament of the colonial and semi-colonial states, the absolute denunciation of the disarmament of the workers' states, and for the maintenance of the military efficiency of the workers' states. This is the strategy to follow.

Unconditional support to the colonial revolution, unconditional support to

the new workers' states and to those in process of development! Consolidate the World United Front of the Workers' States, the Colonial Revolution and the Proletarian Revolution! Meet the nuclear war, which imperialism is preparing, with world revolution!

The IEC, IS and the Latin-American Bureau of the IVth International demand the expulsion of all imperialist military missions, the expulsion of imperialism. SMASH THE INTERVENTION OF IMPERIALISM! UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR CHINA AGAINST NEHRU! Down with the military treaties of the semi-colonial countries and of India with the United States! They call upon the Soviet Union to give unconditional support to the Chinese workers' state and supply it with arms against imperialism, which prepares aggression. We appeal to Soviet trade unionists to refuse to send arms to Nehru, just as they did in Odessa and other parts of the Soviet Union when coal was being sent to France.

We appeal to the masses of the world to mobilize in support of the Cuban workers' state in its struggle for the expulsion of imperialism from the naval base of Guantanamo.

The IEC, IS and Latin-American Bureau of the IVth International support, and call upon the masses of the world to support, nuclear armament of the Chinese workers' state on the basis of the world-revolutionary strategy of a call for world revolution, for the general strike to overthrow capitalism throughout the world, for the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments, new workers' states, for the building of socialism.

—THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE IVTH INTERNATIONAL.

Imperialism continues its war preparations. The imposition of Malaysia upon the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak, currently being attempted by British imperialism with US backing, is but a part of this process. McNamara's speech before the Senate Defence Committee emphasized the steady accumulation of missiles by the US and the strengthening of the war apparatus.

THE CRISIS IN BRITISH GUIANA

Booker Brothers and the United Fruit Company dominate the economy of British Guiana. The profits of these two companies amount to millions. This is one reason for the reluctance of successive British governments to accede to demands for independence. Another is the useful base which British Guiana provides for British operations in Latin America against their more powerful rival, United States imperialism.

Despite antagonisms between them caused by competition in the capitalist world market, however, the British and United States governments have a common over-riding interest in the south-western hemisphere: the containment of the colonial revolution. This common imperialist strategic interest has been underlined and given an overwhelming urgency by the victory of the Cuban revolution and the Cuban workers' state.

One of the criticisms which Trotskyists direct against Fidel is his failure to treat seriously the task of extending the revolution throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Without this extension it is not possible to construct socialism in Cuba or to free it from its dependence on the traitor Khrushchov. Yet, despite these deficiencies, workers' Cuba presents a powerful and permanent challenge to Anglo-American imperialism, and is a source of immense encouragement to workers and peasants throughout Latin America.

ALONG THE CUBAN ROAD

Hence Jagan's win at the polls in 1961 was treated, by the masses and the State Department alike, as a step along the Cuban path. By contrast the British imperialists, while recognizing the threat to themselves represented by Jagan's mass base, had already taken the measure of Cheddi himself and were content to bide their time.

In 1953 the British Government sent gunboats to Georgetown to suppress an uprising that never was (because Jagan failed to lead it). The People's Progressive Party was sent into the wilderness for eight years, during which time the imperialists worked successfully to split the ranks of their opponents. Seizing his opportunity, Forbes Burnham sidled forward to split the working class on racial and ideological grounds.

The recent general strike was against a bill which under clause 3 (c) would have imposed Jagan-offered unions on the workers. It was led, however, by the Burnhamite Ishmael, whose reactionary Man Power Citizens' Association is heavily subsidized by both the AFL-CIO and the British TUC. These Right-wing racials were largely successful in diverting the wrath of the workers along reactionary anti-Indian lines. Nevertheless, British imperialism was prepared to support Jagan with arms not because it distrusted Burnham (Duncan Sandys flew out in the footsteps of Robert Willis, in a joint effort to cook up an unprincipled coalition) but because it looked over Burnham's shoulder and saw an angry working class, which will not keep its illusions in Burnham and Ishmael.

What is needed immediately is a real struggle against imperialism, for solidarity with the workers and peasants in Latin America, for the expropriation of foreign capital and the taking over of the big estates, for workers' and farmers' control of Guianese industry and the land—in short, for a "Cuban road" in Guiana. It is necessary also to begin at once the construction of the revolutionary Leninist organization in Guiana, the future Guianese Section of the Trotskyist IVth International.

Only pacifist imbeciles and Khrushchovite counter-revolutionists spread the nonsense that this is a "step towards peace." Kennedy was prepared to go to war over Cuba. His policy now is simply to take advantage of Khrushchov's attempted betrayal of the world revolution to build up further the American war machine.

Imperialism, however, cannot be wished away. The very strength of the world masses, the very power and confidence of the workers, is precisely what goads the imperialists towards a desperate course. Khrushchov openly embraces reformism at a time when manifestly it has no future.

The masses of the world answer in four short words all the signatories of the Test Ban Treaty: "We shall bury you!"

OUT WITH THE LANDLORDS

Recent exposures of the Rachman organization, with its vicious exploitation of tenants, have thrust into public notice the evils that were greatly facilitated by the Tory Rent Act of 1957.

This wicked situation is yet another example of capitalism's inability to solve its inherent contradictions. The material means are available, but the ruling class fritters them away in preparations for the coming war. The Rent Act imposed the greatest hardship on the poorest section of the working class, the badly-paid worker with a big family needing large accommodation, with the wife having to work to scrimp together enough to meet the rent. But the Rent Act is only the worst of a series of Town and Country Planning Acts which have sent land prices soaring. Moreover the Government, by fixing interest rates on loans to local authorities from the Public Loans Board at astronomic heights (now 7% as compared with 3% in 1951) has restricted council house building.

Instead of the "London pull" being solved, industries have moved slightly out, commerce and general office construction taking their place in Central London. While overspill and new towns eat into the Green Belt, they have not solved the problems of slums, overcrowding or extortionate rents, only adding to the conglomeration of houses, offices, factories and traffic in South-East England. While the interests of the land speculators and the constructors of luxury flats and office blocks have been carefully watched, racketeering landlords, property developers and estate agents have been given the green light. The total assets of building societies in the UK in 1945 were £750 million; in 1950, £1,100 million; and in 1960, approximately £3,300 million.

With seven million houses built before 1919; slums created at a rate of more than 64,000 housing units a year; 28% of the houses without hot water or bath; and overcrowding (for instance to the extent of 21% in Paddington), it is criminal evasion for the Tories to suggest that there are nearly sufficient houses (under-occupied areas outside the urban conglomerations lack surrounding industries).

The Tories cannot solve the problem. And with the banks, the landed and the housebuilding interests so thickly inter-related, a Labour Government, with its hollow, non-socialist programme cannot solve the problem either. Only when the state machine is battered down and the workers take power can the chaos be resolved by nationalization, with land and the building industry owned and controlled by the workers and a withdrawal from our present war alliance.

Courageous tenants, like those in St. Stephen's Gardens, Paddington, and those organized in other tenants' associations scattered throughout the country, are beginning to fight back. The recent increased militancy is an expression in response to the ruthlessness of the exploiters and parliamentary legislation.

Such tenants' associations are often small, with only a handful of hard-working people organizing resistance to evictions and explaining to tenants how best to utilize a legal system designed to protect the landlords.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist) urges all tenants to participate, and to win workers in local industries to strike in sympathy with them. With massive solidarity of this sort, a transitional programme can be put forward and enforced.

Strong defence committees should be set up; local authorities must be forced to take over unoccupied, under-occupied and luxury properties; a national rent strike, on the lines of the great Glasgow rent strike of 1915 should be prepared; and we must drive to a position where, transitionally and before the final abolition of the rents system, tenants' committees can decide the reasonable rent for each tenant to pay.

Only on the basis of such a programme, and not by going cap in hand to Tory Ministers of Housing with wet-porridge "people's charters" and loyal petitions to Her Majesty, can tenants of councils and private landlords be united and organized for action this day.

ASTURIAN MINERS STRIKE

(We reproduce below a leaflet issued by the P.O.R. (T.), Spanish Section of the IVth International.—Editor.)

To the Asturian miners! To all the Spanish proletariat! Form strike committees and pickets to extend and generalize the Asturian strike!

The strike which has just broken out in Asturias is the high point of the strike movement in Spain, and takes place after a whole series of strikes which have been bursting out in various districts. The proletariat is going ahead, forging its revolutionary spearhead in the course of the fight. It is gaining confidence in itself and in its own strength. All the objective conditions exist for the strike of the Asturian miners to expand and become nation-wide, leading to a great new general strike. It is from this point of view that we must direct all the efforts and determination to extend the strike throughout the Asturian mining district. By their tradition of revolutionary struggle, by their willingness to fight, by their resolution, the Asturian workers have repeatedly formed the nucleus which has given direction to the struggle throughout the country. The general strike of April-May was a perfect example. But the fighting nucleus has been constantly betrayed by the reformist Parties and unions.

This is why the organization of the revolutionary forces remains the basis of the strike. The nucleus drawn from the Asturian proletariat must change into an organization driving to expand the movement and strengthen it. The total abstention of all pits in the latest union elections shows that the revolutionary movement is maturing, that it is the skilled revolutionary vanguard which provides the core and the perspectives, and that the Asturian proletariat remains in the forefront of the struggle, promoting the strike and directly attacking the capitalist regime. It takes along with it, as in April and May, huge sections of the exploited masses—peasants, farm workers, general labourers and students.

To this revolutionary vanguard falls the task of organizing and centralizing the movement. It must transform all factory committees into strike committees, and form these in factories where none exists; organize strike pickets to help the workers in their determination to strike; constitute inter-factory committees to unify the struggle; create ward committees in industrial towns charged with organizing solidarity with the strikers in the form of material help (money and food) and with the organization of public demonstrations; urge the removal of all sanctions against the miners on strike.

The struggle for the 40-hour week, a sliding scale of wages, genuinely independent unions and workers' control of production is intimately tied up with the fight for all the following political rights: freedom of expression, of assembly, of the press, of the freedom of political parties. It must be accomplished within the revolutionary prospect of the overthrow of capitalism.

Asturias is, at the moment, the focus of revolution for the whole country, for all the exploited masses of Spain. The POR(T) Spanish Section of the Fourth International calls on the rest of the Asturian working class to unite in solidarity with the strikers.

Giving all its revolutionary support, the POR(T) calls on all sections of the exploited masses to show their solidarity with the strikers. It calls on the Catalan and Basque proletariat to carry forward the fight diligently, with revolutionary solidarity.

Long live the miners' strike! Unify the struggle! Towards a general strike!

Algeria: Ben Bella Betrays

The upsurge of rank and file militancy in Algeria has eliminated the possibility of the stabilisation of the state on a capitalist basis, as the Evian agreements envisaged. The peasants have seized the abandoned properties in the countryside and forced the nationalisation of the occupied ones. The workers have taken over the empty factories and are now demanding the nationalisation of all industries. It is this which prevents the stabilisation of capitalism and shakes the structure to its foundations.

The government tries to demonstrate that a socialist sector can co-exist with a capitalist sector. There is a nationalised sector in Algeria; but while the capitalist sector predominates and the French army is there, one cannot talk of a socialist sector. The resources of the country are being exploited by capitalism. The government has renounced the ability to use the resources of the country for Algerian development by leaving the major part in imperialist hands.

While French imperialism can through loans and agreements interfere in Algerian affairs, the government has done nothing to freeze foreign capital, and there is no overall economic plan.

FRENCH CAPITAL FAVOURED

For the harvest no marketing arrangements apart from the internal market were made and there is no plan for purchasing the products of the nationalised farms. Because of this some crops were not gathered in. This is not just lack of organisation, but an attempt by capitalism to counteract the expropriations and workers' committees.

A way out of this situation must be found by obtaining markets in the workers' states, since trade with France is sabotaged by the acceptance of French imperialism with its threats and pressures. To remedy this situation Ben Bella has proposed the National Solidarity Fund—a measure which trades on the sentiments of the masses by demanding sacrifices from them while leaving capitalism untouched.

Recently the bank workers, on the issue of discrimination in recruitment, demanded the nationalization of all banking establishments. It is characteristic of the reactionary policy of the Ben Bella régime that, whenever possible, it surrenders to a capitalist policy, particularly in relation to industry and finance. This is particularly clear in the proposed "Investments Code."

UNIFY THE STRUGGLE

There it is proposed that three important benefits be granted for concerns created through foreign capital investments. These are (1) State protection against foreign competition within the framework of the Government's policy on import dues; (2) Assistance of State financial bodies for the purpose of obtaining loans for the equipment of such concerns; (3) Government orders for supplies for public works and supplies for the State. The code also intends to guarantee to foreign investors the possibility of transferring abroad annually 50% of their net benefits. Thus Ben Bella's régime shows the orientation which it would like to follow—the Minister of Labour actually calls for a cessation of strikes.

Ben Bella may make demagogic attacks on the extreme, naked Right—but his attitude to the masses is paternalistic. He prohibits all parties save the FLN.

The lack of a mass revolutionary party renders all the more important work within the UGTA (the Algerian TUC), although its leadership is more or less a government rump. A heavy responsibility lies on the most militant cadres to mobilise within existing mass

committees for the discussion of the Investment Code; for the nationalization of industry, beginning with petroleum and the banks; for the monopoly of foreign trade; for the control and organization of the internal market under the control of the workers' management committees; for the establishment of the Algerian Workers' State, under a workers' and peasants' government based on workers' and peasants' councils with full right of tendency. *We greet most warmly the efforts of the Algerian Section of the IVth International to work with the masses on a programme of revolutionary socialism, despite difficulties of organisation and the attempts of the government to intimidate all Left-wing opposition.*

INSIDE FRENCH C.P.

Maurice Thorez spoke on June 23, at Moyeuve-Grande, of the persistent rebellion in the Union of Communist Students and of the new centres of revolt developing in the industrial districts.

The experience of the strike has matured the workers' sections of the Communist Party. Relying on the fighting spirit and on the level attained by the working class, sections of the Communist Party rebel against this conciliatory policy and turn away from the leadership.

The Chinese criticism is that the French Communist Party tactic of peaceful co-existence signifies co-existence not only between states but also between workers and bosses in one country. This criticism is justified. The policy of the French Communist Party of class conciliation in their peaceful road to socialism and alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie can be seen, for instance, in the fact that the Common Market plan depends largely on the "social peace" guaranteed by the French Communist Party in alignment with the Soviet bureaucracy. This policy is, as the Chinese point out, a real capitulation before reformism and before bourgeois ideology.

Thorez also said that the Chinese comrades were acting out of anger and were conducting, with the aid of expelled and renegade elements, a policy of undermining and propaganda work which was splitting the Communist Party.

It is, however, the policy of the French Communist Party leadership which demoralises and repels the militant workers, who see in this policy a renunciation of the revolution and their interests. If the Chinese find more and more support in the Communist Party, it is not because of undermining activity but because of a maturing of the workers in France, who are following the revolutionary road abandoned by this Party.

The actions of the Thorez-revisionist scum can be seen from the treatment of one of our comrades selling *Lutte Communiste* at a large meeting on de Gaulle's anti-strike policy. The paper contained articles on the Sino-Soviet dispute and on the slogan of the general strike in France—highly embarrassing to Thorez and company—and they tried to tear up the papers and called in the police to ban their sale at the meeting.

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