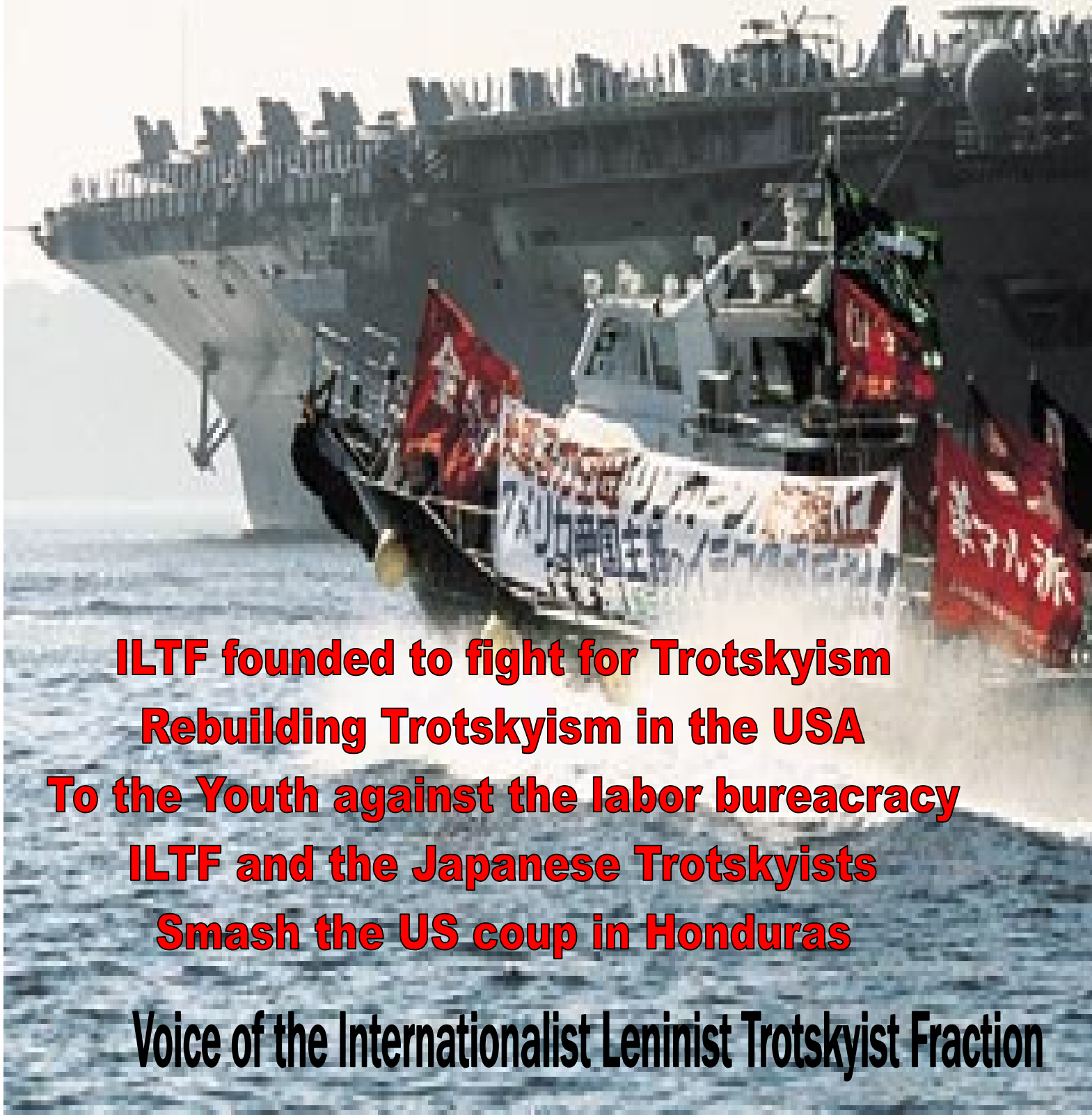


**NO 1 September 2009**

# **International Workers' Organiser**



**ILTF founded to fight for Trotskyism**

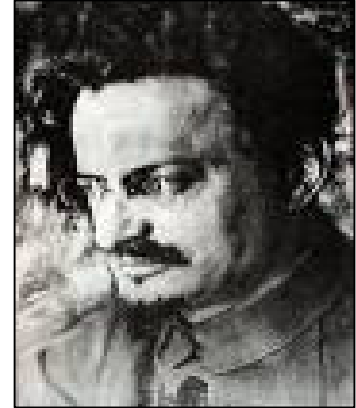
**Rebuilding Trotskyism in the USA**

**To the Youth against the labor bureaucracy**

**ILTF and the Japanese Trotskyists**

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**Voice of the Internationalist Leninist Trotskyist Fraction**



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**Voice of the Internationalist Leninist Trotskyist Fraction**

## Editorial

# IFTL Founded to Fight for Trotskyism

We present to our readers, and the workers around the world, the International Workers' Organiser, the voice of the newly founded International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction. In July, during 10 days of debating and resolutions, a number of groups from different currents of the healthy international Trotskyist movement regrouped their forces in the ILTF (FLTI) Foundation Congress.

In this Congress, the Oakland Trotskyists of the West coast of USA have fused. They come from the place where the struggle of the working class against the Bush counterrevolutionary wars started; where the most important battles launched by the US working class have taken place such as the march of the million workers against the war, the general strike in May Day and the combat of the US working class and the dockworkers together with their brothers and sisters immigrants against the murderous Bush government.

Drawing lessons of those combats and how those great forces deployed in the awakening of the US working class were put at Obama's feet. Fighting for their class brothers and sisters of Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan, the Trotskyists of *Humanists for Revolutionary Socialism* (HRS) did not hesitate to be in the frontline against the treacherous policy of the popular front and the strangulation of the revolutionary processes in Bolivia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and so on.

The FLT, consisting of the Latin-American groups *Liga Obrera Internacionalista* (LOI-CI) of Argentina, *Liga Trotskista Internacionalista* (LTI) of Bolivia, *Partido Obrero Internacionalista* (POI-CI) de Chile, *Liga Trotskista Internacionalista* (LTI) of Peru, and *Fracción Trotskista* (FT) of Brazil, and the internationalist *Communist Workers' Group* (CWG) of New Zealand, we started a process of common combat with the comrades of the *Workers International Vanguard League* (WIVL) of South Africa.

The WIVL comrades have been fighting against the treacherous Stalinist policy of the popular front that

put the working class at the feet of Mandela and the black bourgeoisie providing a cover for the "slave-apartheid"\* regime of the UK-US imperialists that have historically oppressed the working class and the oppressed nations of Southern Africa along with the whole of black Africa. [\* WIVL describes the 'apartheid' regime as 'slave capitalist' as it was essentially a capitalist regime, acting on behalf of imperialism, that imposed exploitative conditions that encapsulated elements of slavery].



WIVL and the groups of the ex-FLT fused by struggling in the frontline against the aggression of the genocidal Zionist State of Israel against the martyrs of Gaza, and then arriving at programmatic agreements on the revolutionary processes of Guadalupe and Martinique, exposing the treacherous role of the European "Anti-Capitalist" parties, who provide a cover for left social-imperialism that

defends the character of "overseas territory" for Guadalupe and the Antilles in the interests of French imperialism. Therefore, the South African International Trotskyists have fused with the groups of the former FLT, and with the HRS, with a program against the popular front, against imperialist war, and for the world socialist revolution.

In 2007, the impact of the global economic crisis was first felt upon the world imperialist capitalist system. This is a rotten system ruled by a bunch of finance capital parasites that live off the future profits yet to be created by the working class. But when the system began downloading the crisis onto the masses with great brutality and suffering the works counter-offensive began to erupt. A wave of militant actions began in Greece and Madagascar, in Guadeloupe against French colonialism, and in the general strikes in Belgium and France and the factory occupations in France.

It was during these events of the last year that the FLT entered into fraternal relations and/or liaison committees with the WIVL, HRS, the NRI *Núcleo Revolucionario Internacionalista* (NRI) of Argentina, and the Brazilian Trotskyist, Miguel Taveres, with

agreements based on the common lessons drawn from, and the program necessary for revolutionaries to intervene in, the global workers counter-offensive.

Facing this new counteroffensive, and the attempts by the treacherous leaderships to defeat the counter-offensive, the groups that came together to found the FLTI recognise ourselves as fighting for the same program and on the same revolutionary barricade.

Our task is to regroup the ranks of the international revolutionary proletariat to fight and defeat reformism and all the treacherous leaderships paid by finance capital, in particular the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, to divert and stop the masses for fighting to defend their interests and win new battles. To do this we have to coordinate and unite the revolutionary struggles of the working class internationally to prepare and organize a mass counteroffensive under a program that will take us all the way to a victorious socialist revolution.

A necessary step in this task of uniting the counter-offensive internationally around a revolutionary program is that of fighting for the continuity of the revolutionary Marxist program in the imperialist epoch. This continuity has been broken by the decades of adaptations and betrayals made by the renegades of Trotskyism who sold out the principles and program of the Fourth International.

Our experience proves this to be true. Our tendencies have fought in deeds, not word, against all these reformist leaderships, parties and currents. All of them have been recruited paid and organised by finance capital in crisis to save it from the counteroffensive attacks of the oppressed and exploited masses.

Thus, through our experience of the practical struggles in which we intervene we were able to prove who was a fighter for the Marxist program and who abused the program only to hold it up at congresses and rallies to lie to and deceive the workers, and so betray the class struggle every day.

In this way we could define which groups were 'healthy' and which were 'booby traps' on the left of the World Social Forum, typically the fake Trotskyists, whose task is to prop up the Popular Front by containing all those left-moving forces who want to regroup with the forces of principled Trotskyism.

For example, in the case of the POM of Brazil, we were able to confront their centrist and opportunist alchemy of calling for an "international conference" that refused to fight against ELAC -organised by the left bureaucracies of Latin America - despite its support for the COB leadership of Bolivia, which collaborated with Morales to subordinate the workers of Bolivia to Totalfina. Thus the POM failed the test of fighting against the WSF left leg in Brazil, the PSTU and LIT, to break workers from the class collaborationist policy of the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies.

In July 2008, it was necessary to oppose the ELAC which was even partly responsible for subordinating the US proletariat, particularly of Oakland, at Obama's feet. But instead of fighting this battle the POM hides its national Trotskyist role behind grandiose programmatic statements. Its slogan of "soviets everywhere" was used indiscriminately but not in Bolivia against the COB leadership. Nor did the POM see the need to arm the workers organs in Greece, Madagascar or Guadeloupe. Even less was it necessary to call on the rank and file of the army to break with the officers to make a revolution. The excuse was that as there is no party, the revolution was not possible. But, how is it possible to set up a revolutionary party without a program for the revolution and without putting it to the test!?

Our Founding Congress was attacked by the social imperialist servants of the French Fifth Republic. Phillipe Couthon of the GB broke into a discussion between the FLT and Socialist Fight (SF) of Britain with a letter to the "Argentine left" launching a Lambertiste-like slander campaign against FLT leaders. Moreover, Couthon acted like a lawyer defending the police who were responsible for the deaths of two youths, the sons of immigrants, who are in a constant state of rebellion against state authority in the Paris Cites. Couthon's attack on the FLT was defended by Gerald Downing of SF halting the discussions between our two groups. Slanderers like Phillipe Couthon and his defenders will not be left unpunished by the proletariat and the masses. We publish in this IWO # 1 the reply of the NRI comrades of Argentina to such slanders, together with the statement of the Youth of LOI-CI of Argentina on the uprising of the youth in the French Cites.

Trotsky said that the slanders of Stalinism were an integrated part of its political program. There is nothing unusual that in the decomposed and degenerated former Trotskyist movement the recipes taken from the Stalinist arsenal were leftovers from its own political decomposition.

Thus we have regrouped only those who have proven themselves defenders of the Marxist program and who agree that facing the decadent, degenerate and decomposing capitalist imperialist social order, the immediate task is to take power and make the victorious socialist revolution. This concentrates our task as that of fighting relentlessly to overthrow the treacherous leadership of the proletariat and to provide it with the leadership it needs and deserves for such a victory.

Who and what is this treacherous leadership? In this epoch of crisis, wars and revolutions, imperialism in crisis is kept itself alive since 1914 buying and corrupting a layer of its class enemy i.e. the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy. In 1914, it was German social democracy. From the defeat of the German revolution in the '20s and the isolation of the USSR,

under the Stalinist bureaucracy, the October Revolution was expropriated and the 3<sup>rd</sup> International destroyed.

With the assassination of Trotsky and dissolution of the international centre of the Fourth International due to the social chauvinism of the US SWP, the European Fourth International sections were left isolated during the war. At the end of the war there were many adaptations and capitulations to Stalinism in the West and East. This led to decades of open betrayals and defeat and breaks in the continuity with the Fourth International and its program. Nevertheless, despite the capitulation and treason of the renegades who talked on behalf of Trotskyism for almost 60 years, that program has passed the test of history.

The hits of the world economy crisis have generated the crisis of the imperialist regime of domination of the planet. It has not been prevented by huge counterrevolutionary victories won after 1989 by the capitalist restoration in the former workers states. This fact has exposed the capitalist system as a ailing, rotten system that deserves to disappear off the historical scene. More than ever the Marxist program of Lenin and Trotsky states that for the **working class to live, capitalist imperialism and its decaying world system must die.**

The new historical events of global crisis will create the conditions for the regroupment of revolutionaries around the Marxist program to converge with the actual spontaneous revolutionary uprisings of the world proletariat. First among these conditions, it is clear that reformism has almost no room to maneuver. The reformists must increasingly be exposed as scabs in any decisive struggle that arises within the world proletariat.

Thus they can only defend openly the interests of the capitalists as AFL-CIO or the scabs of the UK Trade Unions, calling for *"US jobs for the US workers"*, or *"British jobs for British workers"*. Or like the leftwing of the bureaucracy in France-that was forced to be at the head of the workers who occupied the factories. Or like those who fought on the barricades in Greece or took up arms in Madagascar, but only to calm down the revolutionary actions of the masses.

This left the militant workers isolated and disorganized and forced to take real wage cuts, cuts in hours, and cuts in jobs without severance pay, and even

repression and arrests, as if these had been "won" as victories. These organizers of defeats, who now claim to fight also from within the "anti-capitalist" parties, expose with each step what they really are, the servants and saviors of this rotten system.

These open betrayals have started to cause crises and splits in the organisations of the fake Trotskyists around the world. For example, it is not possible for the ISO to be part of a popular front government in Zimbabwe which caused 100.000% of inflation and 90% unemployment, or to be nominated as chair of the WSF in Africa which is promoted and supported by both popular fronts of Zimbabwe and South Africa, and at the same time continue talking in the name of Trotskyism without any repercussions. The ISO is part of the British SWP-led international current.

Again, it is not possible for the NPA and other fake Trotskyists to talk about "anti-capitalism" in France and refuse to fight alongside the revolts of the worker youth in the Paris Cites, or to demand independence from French colonial rule during the heroic uprising of the workers and masses in Martinique, Guadalupe and Reunion Island. Nor is possible to contain and divert the general strikes, the factory occupations and the hostage-taking of workers resisting the attacks of the French finance capital, into elections for the European parliament, and talk in the name of Trotskyism.



It is not possible to keep talking about Trotskyism and revolution and at the same time support the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies, who are the junior partners of the imperialist powers in Latin America, or to support the Cuban restorationist Castroist bureaucracy, without ending up opposing the masses who have to overthrow the Bolivarians and the Castroists to survive the misery of wage cuts, job cuts and poverty. Crises and splits in their ranks must follow.

It is not possible to support either bourgeois faction, that of Ahmadinejad or Mousavi, in the Iranian Ayatollahs regime. They were both the gravediggers of the Iranian revolution in 1979 and supporters of the Maliki puppet government of Iraq that isolated the Shiite resistance in the south and caused thousands of casualties on the streets. All of the currents who speak



in the name of revolution in Iran who do not condemn both factions cannot avoid crises and splits.

For the moment these betrayals have caused crises and splits in many of the currents of reformism who speak in the name of Trotskyism. As a result there are many unhappy opportunist groups left in limbo as the sparks of Greece and Madagascar have cooled and the fires of the first counteroffensives in Europe have failed to spread. But as the crisis provokes a new counteroffensive there will be left moving forces searching for the road to revolution. It is the task of the FLTI to intersect with those left-moving forces.

The reformists are on guard against the intersection of healthy Trotskyism with the spontaneous counter-offensive. What specter that rises up to confront them is not only the masses fighting back but armed with the living legacy and program of Trotskyism. This is the program of the Permanent Revolution, not a litany of phrases, but the lessons of the revolutionary struggle against counterrevolution in the epoch of imperialism.

The reader will see that the foundation IWO N° 1 will have 2 parts. In there all the FLTI resolutions of the Founding Congress of FLTI that spell out the programmatic lessons of the permanent revolution will be published. We begin, with the statements on Greece, Madagascar, Palestine, the fight against the popular front in Bolivia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and the fight against every class collaborationist current who keeps the working class tied to the bourgeoisie (i.e. their executioner). Like the reformists in the USA, they have subordinated the working class to the bomber Obama.

The Congress was based on those shared agreements and fights. We also gave our response to the bloody uprising in Peru where our class went into battles, rebellions and local semi-insurrections. A pre-revolutionary situation was opened in that country.

We also made a Marxist declaration on the coup and the resistance to the coup in Honduras. There, all the left currents called on the workers to join the 'democratic front' of Zelaya and on Obama to overturn the coup. They didn't call on the masses of Latin America, in support of the Honduras masses, to smash the counterrevolutionary coup and throw out the US military base in that country.

The reformist left are recreating in Honduras the same counterrevolutionary pact like that between the popular front and the fascist Media Luna in Bolivia; or the one made in Colombia, stained with the blood of the Colombian resistance, between Chavez and Uribe who having hugged at the UNASUR meeting, have opened the way to 5 new US military bases in Colombia.

We founded the FLTI with the same theory and program of the Permanent Revolution adopted by the Fourth International founded in 1938, to smash the Stalinist popular front and 'democratic' fronts. Now

the fake Trotskyists continue those pseudo-theories of socialism-in-one-country, of intermediate pseudo-democratic stages of the revolution and the other revisions inherited from Stalinism.

Thus to subordinate the working class to the "democratic" or "patriotic" bourgeoisies, as the Stalinists have done for years, means refusing to allow the proletariat to organise independently for socialist revolution as the only way to defeat the coup. The FLTI calls first, for the masses to break with the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisie to allow Central American proletariat to organize revolutionary actions to split the army in Honduras, win over the rank and file, and open the road to the proletarian revolution as the only way to smash the coup and remove the US military base.

The groups who came from different experiences to fuse in the FLTI congress have programmatic, strategic and principled agreements. However, there are some points to reach further agreement. For this reason the Congress resolved to call a Second Congress in six months with a period of six months pre-congress discussion to develop all the positions and clarify the differences. These will be published in the public voice of the FLTI (IWO) in the case of theoretical questions and in the internal bulletin (International Correspondence) in the case of programmatic differences. We will guarantee all democratic rights for every FLTI member and group.

The Second Congress will have to define the Resolution on South Africa (that will be published in IWO Part II), which includes the slogan "*For a black socialist republic of workers and peasants!*" It was approved in general by WIVL plenaries, although there were some differences about that slogan in particular. We will also discuss the differences about the Chinese question, which was left open with a resolution of the minority published in the first part of the IWO. Another question is whether the Zionist state is fascist or not. In the Second Congress we will also discuss the historical balance sheet of the currents that merged together in the FLTI -the former FLT among those currents. We were not able to discuss these in the Founding Congress due to a question of time.

We present in the first part of the IWO the first Resolution on the FLTI Constitution and the base of the program and principles that made it possible; also a resolution of Organization and Construction of this International Centre. Today it has put internationalist revolutionary Marxism in an offensive position -no longer in a defensive position- to regroup the revolutionaries' ranks and to defeat and disperse the reformist forces worldwide.

We also present the first revolutionary statements of the FLTI on Honduras and Peru (in a special Dossier); on Brazil and Argentina -with NRI fundamentals to start a merging process with LOI-CI from Argentina. We present the program and the immediate tasks of the

working class in USA. The aim is to set the basis to refound US Trotskyism based on the principles of Trotsky and Canon in the 1930s and take the SWP back out of the hands of the renegade Jack Barnes the agent of the Castroist bureaucracy in the USA.

In IWO part II, the reader will see resolutions on South Africa, Iran, world conjuncture and situation, and the deepening of the FLTI combat against popular front and the renegades of Trotskyism in Zimbabwe and Bolivia; as well as a document of POI-CI (Chile) explaining the moment of the class struggle there.

As we have said, after decades of isolation, defeats and retreats; it is time to regroup the internationalist revolutionary ranks and launch the offensive to decide who will speak on behalf of the international proletariat: either the impostors and renegades of Trotskyism, or those who fight and struggle relentlessly for the victory of the international socialist revolution.

The foundation of the FLTI represents the beginning of the offensive of the world internationalist Trotskyists. That time has come. The objective conditions have imposed it. This regrouping does not shrink from that but welcomes this historical challenge. The conditions have arrived which makes possible the solution to the historical crisis of the proletarian leadership!



If revolutionaries don't act fast enough the reformists will, destroying the struggles of the world proletariat. But now, for the first time in decades, we have an international organization that, with the historic lessons and revolutionary program, will allow us to rise to the challenge of the international class struggle. We will show who the friends and the enemies of the workers are, and create the conditions to fuse the international Trotskyists movement with the best of the world revolutionary workers organizations.

Before we finished this Congress we were invited by the organisers to attend the 47<sup>th</sup> Antiwar Assembly in Japan. It was organized by the *Japan Revolutionary Communist League - Revolutionary Marxist Faction* (JRCL-RMF), which is a vanguard organization. It has influence in a fraction of the Japanese proletariat and youth. It has fought since the '50s against its own imperialist bourgeoisie; a tortuous road as a result of the isolation it suffered due to capitulations and betrayals of the renegades of Trotskyism.

In 1956 -in the middle of the Hungarian political revolution- the current that is today the JRCL split

from Stalinism. But the JRCL found the European and other Trotskyists refusing to fight for the withdrawal the Red Army from Hungary. Like the Pabloists in Czechoslovakia in 1968; or like the other renegades of Trotskyism, they were looking for left wings in Titoism, Maoism, and Castroism, instead of fighting for the political revolution. Today they continue to be slandered by the Communist Party of Great Britain and all the Stalinist currents around the world, and almost ignored by the renegades of Trotskyism.

The FLTI sent a delegate who was able to address the delegates for two hours as can be seen in the report of the delegate in this IWO. Hundreds of delegates representing tens of thousands of youth and workers from the Japanese vanguard gave an ovation to the 4 proposals made by the FLTI to the assembly of combative revolutionary workers and youth.

Among other motions we called the JRCL-RMF to use its

powerful forces to raise the demand of "equal wages for equal work" to the millions of wage-slaves in the Chinese maquila; to fight to regroup the internationalist forces of Marxism; to break the barrier of the limit of the 38 degree parallel and expel imperialism, and its Stalinist allies, from the Korean peninsula. We called on the heroic revolutionary youth of the Zengakuren to march on the US base

on Okinawa - the biggest base in the world - to denounce and fight against the coup organized by the US in Honduras.

We called on those big forces to work for a new regrouping of the world proletariat: first of all to the Oakland dock workers to set up the One Million workers March against the war and for immigrants rights, to break with Obama and make the bankers of Wall Street pay for the crisis. We called for a world workers conference together with delegates from tens of thousands of railway, metal, service, science, mail workers and teachers, joined with the revolutionary delegates of the Zengakuren student movement. We called for a world workers' conference to set up a pole of revolutionary workers organizations that declares class war to all the traitors of the union bureaucracy and labor aristocracy all over the world.

On behalf of that fraction of the Japanese proletariat, a delegate from Tokyo closed the event saying "as the FLTI proposed" she was going to go back with all her comrades to propose to the Japanese working class that the way to end their suffering and defeat the

Japanese police regime and transnationals was to unify their struggle with that of the world working class, as an immediate task to fulfil.

The FLTI invited the revolutionary internationalist wing of the Japanese proletariat to participate in the FLTI Second Congress in six months.

Comrades, we present this International Workers Organizer, N°1 which is the voice of the FLTI. When we publish it on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 69 years will have passed since the assassination of Leon Trotsky at the hands of Stalinism. He was a leader of October Revolution, Red Army Commander and founder of the Third and Fourth Internationals. On September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 71 years will have passed from the Fourth International Founding Congress.

The assassination of Trotsky and many other revolutionaries-by Fascism and Stalinism has been a huge defeat for the international revolutionary movement. But the theoretical and programmatic basis they left has proved to be correct by the tests of history. The international proletariat doesn't have a revolutionary international leadership in the struggles that are coming because the leadership of the Fourth International dissolved the International Centre during the war. This isolated the European revolutionaries in the middle of the war. Then this leadership capitulated to Stalinism during the political revolutions in Eastern Europe and in the revolutions in the semi-colonial countries where Trotskyism had mass influence -like Bolivia, Sri Lanka and Vietnam.

In 68-74, after an unprincipled reunification in 1963, the Trotskyist movement had the last chance to return to the revolutionary path. But the historic opportunism of the leadership during and after the war, including adapting to Stalinism and social democracy, meant that there was no International Center to build revolutionary Trotskyist sections in the USSR, China and Eastern Europe. They all ended up blaming Trotsky and Trotskyism for the defeats in 1989. But it was the renegades who were responsible for the fact that the IV International and Bolshevik banners weren't in Russia in 1989.

A Jacobin fraction of the revolutionary Marxist movement was missing in the post war to prevent this chain of adaptations, capitulations and betrayals; and to fight against those leaderships who spoke on behalf of Trotskyism and destroyed the Fourth International from within.

In years of hard retreats, with leaps backwards and forwards, and through political and programmatic elaboration in hard factional struggles, and always in conditions of national isolation, the tendencies that today form the FLTI fought to keep alive Marxism and its continuity against revisionism.

The FLTI pays tribute to Trotsky and Fourth International founders by setting up a true Revolutionary International Centre to regroup the revolutionary forces to defeat and disperse the forces of reformism, and fight to provide the proletariat and the masses the leadership they need and deserve to win.

The conditions for a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald facing war, crisis, the capitalist offensive, mass suffering, and thousands of attempts by the proletariat to break through the barriers of the system that oppresses and crushes them, are created and re-created over and over again. Reformists will not be able to live in peace. The laws of History are stronger than any apparatus that want to scoff at them. They cannot keep talking on behalf of revolutionary socialism and still propping up capitalism every day. They cannot keep talking on behalf of Trotskyism and give copies of the *Transitional Program* to the oil Bolivarian bourgeois President Chavez, like *The Militant* has done, without exposing themselves as the servants of a Bonapart, and the Sandinistas (El Salvador) and Farabundo Marti (Nicaragua), the famous Comandantes who became Wall Street yuppies.

They cannot talk on behalf of Trotskyism and support the openly restorationist Castroist bureaucracy, the same bureaucracy that condemns the working class to live with 18 dollars per month and imposes the same retrenchment policies as the bourgeois exploiters all over the world.

Those who are at the feet of the bourgeoisie cannot speak on behalf of Trotskyism any more and keep subordinating the proletariat to popular fronts.

In honour of Leon Sedov, Rudolph Klement, Ta Tu Tao, Leon Trotsky and the other founders of the IV International, the FLTI will make it our responsibility to see that they don't talk on behalf of Trotskyism any more. We will not allow that the Founders program and fight to be sold out to the bourgeoisie by the treacherous leaderships, the enemies of workers' democracy and international socialist revolution. That is our commitment; to raise the Bolshevik flag to defeat the Mensheviks who have betrayed the international proletarian struggles like Stalinism did yesterday and like the renegades of Trotskyism do today.

**Long live the Fourth International, its founders and its program!**

**Stop the liquidationism and revisionism within Trotskyism!**

**Forward with FLTI!**

**For an International Conference of the revolutionary workers organizations and the healthy forces of the international Trotskyist movement!**

**For a new world party of the Socialist Revolution!**

**INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF COORDINATION OF THE FLTI**



# Founding Congress of the ILTF

## 1) Principled agreements that allowed the formation of the Founding Congress of the ILTF

a) After a careful analysis of the points of agreement exposed in the sub-points "a" to "j" of the 1<sup>st</sup> point of the "Proposal of Agenda", the congress stated that effectively there are more than enough programmatic, strategic and principled agreements to constitute a common congress among internationalist revolutionaries.

b) These key agreements are expressed in the written considerations elaborated by the conveners before the Congress:

1) The agreement on the character of the world economic crisis and the offensive of the imperialist and national bourgeoisies of the colonies and semi-colonies against the workers and the masses; the tasks posed for the internationalist revolutionaries to prepare the counteroffensive, fighting against the reformists, based on the **23 points of the LTF**.

2) The agreements mentioned before have moved forward with the **Act of constitution of the Parity Committee of the ILTF between the WIVL and the FLT**, to which adhered the NRI of Argentina and the revolutionaries of Sao Pablo, Brazil; this is a programmatic advance for a common intervention facing the first counterrevolutionary attacks, and the first counteroffensive responses of the masses expressed in Greece, Madagascar, Guadalupe and France, that created the strategic conditions for the development of soviets and the question of insurrection and the struggle for power; together with situation in South Africa, Bolivia and Zimbabwe, where the struggle against the popular front and the treacherous leaderships is posed, as well as against the national semi-colonial bourgeoisie, both Bolivarian and Islamic.

3) A few weeks before the realization of the Congress we received the declaration from the comrades of the HRS that it wanted to attend the fusion Congress, proving that the North American Trotskyists, in the heart of the dominant imperialist power, had reached fundamental principled agreement with the 23 points.

4) This Congress is constituted by those who have recognized each other as internationalist revolutionaries united in the struggle against social democracy, Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism, the labor aristocracy and union bureaucracy ( all grouped in the WSF supporting the Bolivarian bourgeoisies and "democratic imperialism", and all of them supporting Obama) and searching for the road to the rebuilding of an International Revolutionary Party based on the *Theory of the Permanent Revolution* and the *Transitional Program* that have passed the test of history.

5) The congress is constituted by those who fight against the "booby traps" that organize conferences to distract and disperse the forces of revolutionaries. Thus, the Congress adopts the interventions of the SCAL of the FLT against *Socialist Fight* who called to vote for the British Labor Party in the elections for the European Parliament and has the position of a bi-state socialist Palestine; also the intervention of the NRI against Philippe Couthon of the GB, who defends the institutions of 5<sup>th</sup> French Imperialist Republic in the uprisings of the youth of the French cities and of the masses in the French colonies. The congress adopts as its own the struggle against the pseudo-conferences of national groups who need "international prestige", as the one organized by the Brazilian POM.

6) Therefore, this Congress considers that there are conditions to move forward in the struggle for building up an **International Revolutionary Centre**, without creating a centrist alchemy, because the groups converging in this Congress were on the same barricade fighting for revolution against the counterrevolution.

7) It is established that this Congress is not convened to make the FLT bigger, but to move to a higher stage than realized by the FLT so far, to create an international centre capable of taking the Trotskyist program to the masses after decades of capitulations and betrayals by those who speak in its



name.

8) We consider that Trotskyism and Bolshevism were separated from the masses by the counterrevolutionary violence of fascism, by the class collaboration of Stalinism and Social Democracy; and by the capitulations of Pabloism at the end of the Second World War in adapting to the "democratic" imperialist front. That is why we affirm that the IVth International cannot go back to the masses with the leadership and the program for the international revolution, without fighting the treacherous leaderships that are at the head of the organizations of the workers and the masses, and who have already started their maneuvers to fight against the revolutionaries.

10) It was resolved to elect to the Honorary Chair of the Congress all the worker fighters of our current and of the class around the world who have given their lives for the revolution: **Comrade Luz**, of the LOI-CI of Argentina and **Comrade Roger Fox**, of the CWG of New Zealand, who were victims of the labor and life conditions imposed by the super exploitation of the bosses; **Comrade Mzwandile Matjikiza** of South Africa, burnt alive in the 80's by the Stalinist SACP, the 'ally' of the African National Congress; The miners of **Huanuni**, vanguard of the Bolivian proletariat in the struggle against the repressive murderous government of Evo Morales; The **Greek working class and masses**, who set alight the

spark of the revolution in Imperialist Europe; The **French working class and working youth**, who in the Cities and the occupied factories search for a fighting program to confront their own imperialist bourgeoisie; The **massacred peasants and working masses of Bagua**, Peru, who captured and executed 26 attack dogs of the bourgeoisie.

11) The effective chair of this Congress is constituted.

c) After having confirmed the agreements, and consistent with the revolutionary method we vindicate, in ten days of discussion the different groups discussed fraternally and without diplomacy all the differences, being prepared to convince and to be convinced. This allow us to advance in the level of political agreement and to move the discussion forward adjust the program that allows us to intervene with a revolutionary policy in the international class struggle.

The main differences discussed were:

1) On the China question, a minority of the Congress, constituted by the HRS and the CWG, states that China is a country with a dual character, with elements of a semi-colonial country and elements of an imperialist country; the majority states that in the imperialist epoch and under the current conditions new imperialist countries cannot emerge without divisive wars, and more than that, that there are too many imperialist powers.

2) On the question of the slogan of a Workers and Peasants' Black Republic in Southern Africa and the whole African continent in particular, and the national question in general - which is an expression of the class struggle at a worldwide level - and in relation to the Palestinian, Honduran and Iranian questions, as a key aspect for the use of the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution.

3) On the question of revolutionary use of democratic demands. We have achieved a wide agreement about the duty of the revolutionaries to incorporate in their program the minimal and democratic demands -which are transitional, that is to say, that they are used because they allow the struggle of the masses to move forward, as part of the program that must be a bridge from the immediate needs of the masses and the need to prepare the insurrection to seize the power, as it is expressed in the resolution "On the principled questions of the democratic demands used by revolutionaries" in particular, and also in the resolutions on Honduras, Iran, etc.

## 2) On the democratic Leninist character of the Congress

a) The delegates verify that all the documents elaborated by the different organizations that fused in the Founding Congress of the ITFI, as well as the central articles of the IWO N° 12 (part I and II), the International Correspondence # 1 and its Appendix, as well as the documents written while the congress was in session, have all been published in English and in Spanish.

b) All the delegates of the congress will be in permanent contact with their organizations by phone and by the Internet, to adjust the interventions collectively.

c) Following from the previous points, it is verified that the leaderships and the rank and file of all the organizations participating in the Congress have had the widest democratic guarantees to know and discuss all the positions developed before and during the Congress.

Therefore, it is considered that the Organizing Committee of the Founding Congress of the ILTF, comprising the SCAL of the

FLT, the NRI and the CC of the LOI-CI (host organization of the Congress), with a big militant effort by the comrades involved in the tasks of organization and translation, have guaranteed the democratic realisation of this Congress. This allowed us to move forward in building an International Revolutionary Centre that cannot be just the result of agreements between leaderships, but requires the political agreement of the rank and file and the cadres of the groups, after frank and full debate.

## 3-On the Agenda. Development of the debates. Conclusions

After confirming the character of the Congress, the deliberations began.

a) On the world situation and the new moment in the international conjuncture: the Congress discussion was based on the written materials published in the International Workers Organizer # 12, Part I and II, and on the document of the HRS on the economic crisis and China.

b) When undertaking this question, a difference on China has been stated. The HRS and the CWG -with shades between them- characterize China as a country with a dual character: with elements of a semi colony and elements of an imperialist power.

c) On this question, we summarize the main axes resulting from the discussion during two days of debate of the Congress as follows:

1) The minority composed by HRS y el CWG consider China as a country with a dual character, with semi colonial features and imperialist features. (See Minority Resolution)

2) On the contrary, for the majority of the Congress, in the imperialist epoch of capitalism in decay, when imperialism is reactionary all along the line, China cannot become an imperialist power, since even its relatively independent character is in question.

The majority considers as a result of the counterrevolution, which was expressed in the Tiananmen Square and the restoration of capitalism, China has been transformed into a giant maquila by the imperialist powers. The key of the imperialist epoch is the parasitism of finance capital of the imperialist powers and the buying of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, which are material forces for the split of socialism, expressed in the split between the Menshevik Party and the Bolshevik Party in 1902 in Russia.

3) The majority of the Congress, composed by the WIVL, the former SCAL of the FLT, the NRI, the LOI-CI, the POI-CI, the FT, the LTI (Bolivia), the LTI (Peru) and MT from Brazil, affirms the current crisis of the world capitalist economy shows that there is an overabundance of imperialist powers and that China a long way from developing an economy that allows it to accumulate capital going beyond its national frontiers, as finance capital; and more than that, that China is incapable of solving the land question.

Following the Marxist method of Lenin, the majority affirms that an imperialist power cannot be defined by foreign investments of just \$50 billion (when the investments abroad of New Zealand are close to \$10 billion, and Brazil \$25 billion), but that we must define imperialism from the point of view of Lenin according to the merging of the bank capital with the industrial capital becoming financial capital, which goes beyond the frontiers and constitutes itself as monopolies, concentrating the domination of entire branches of the economy at a worldwide level through cartels and trusts.

The majority affirms that, on the contrary, on one hand, in China the surplus of its commercial trade is concentrated in US Treasury bonds and that these finance the deficit of the dominant imperialist power; and with its reserves in dollars China becomes an insurance of exchange for the imperialist powers, USA in particular, becoming more and more dependant. Thus, the foreign investments of China are not a source of super profits for the Chinese bourgeoisie but they are necessary to guarantee the provision of infrastructure and raw material, and obtained in those places where imperialism is unable to reach them, as in Iranian Kurdistan or the African countries bled to death by fratricidal wars, in order to guarantee the super-profits of the multinationals (such as the Japanese assembly plants in China which produce for the Asian market). Therefore, China becomes a republiceta whose national bourgeoisie is in competition with Malaysia, Mexico, Pakistan, etc., for a slice of surplus value taken from its own working class. And the new world conjuncture poses a new world division of labor in which imperialism is seeking to transforming the entire planet into its own domestic market and where China will play the role of importer of US goods for its upper middle class of 300 million, at the same time producing goods for the third world, on the account of US imperialism, through joint ventures and buying patents.

4) The majority of the Congress considers that the comrades of the HRS and the CWG yield to the pressure of the imperialist powers that want to influence the world working class and above all US workers with the false idea

of the "Chinese threat" to confuse the proletariat and, along side the collaboration of the social imperialists, the Stalinists and the renegades of Trotskyism, persuade it to support new military adventures in the inter-imperialist disputes over the giant maquila which is China today, but this time "democratic", i.e. dressed up as Obama.

5) From the documents posed by the HRS, the majority affirm that the capitalist restoration in the former workers states has not been peaceful, and that the alternative forecast of the Fourth International that stated that without the victory of the political revolution that put the workers state in the service of the world socialist revolution, the bureaucracy would become a direct agent of restoration, has been confirmed. As Trotsky said, the restoration would come either by the hand of the imperialist tanks -that is to say a direct military intervention against the USSR- or by the Ford tractor -that is to say flooding with cheap goods- creating the conditions for the destruction of the bases of the workers' state and for the re-emerging of a bourgeoisie and a petty bourgeoisie hostile to the proletariat.

The majority affirm that the comrades of the HRS confuse the fact that the capitalist restoration in 1989 did not come from a direct imperialist military invasion -carried out by German imperialism in the Second World War, which was defeated by the heroic soviet masses that smashed the

fascist invasion costing 27 millions dead, with a "peaceful" restoration.

The majority affirm that capitalist restoration was prepared in the 80s and came by means of the "Ford tractor". That is to say, it came through the cheap goods from the West; in this case goods in the shape of money, used by the IMF to deeply indebt the former bureaucratized workers' states, giving rise to an openly restorationist bureaucracy who wanted to become bourgeois, and a social basis closely linked with imperialist finance capital, forcing those states into deep decomposition.

But the capitalist restoration wasn't peaceful at all. It was imposed in 1989 on the basis of the smashing of the political revolutions of 1953 in Eastern Germany, 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, Georgia and Ukraine, in 1981-82 in Poland. The restoration succeeded because with the betrayal of Stalinism and Social Democracy the world revolutionary upheaval of 68-74 was defeated. It was imposed with the

massacre in the Tiananmen Square in China; fratricide wars such as the one between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and with 3 wars in the Balkans (Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo), and the military attack of NATO against Serbia in 1999. The restoration was finished and consolidated in 1991-93, by the 21 country coalition lead by US and UK that invaded Iraq.

On the Basis of these wars, massacres and counterrevolutionary attacks, the Bonapartist bourgeoisie regime of first, Yeltsin and then

Putin in Russia, and of the "red mandarins" in China, were imposed.

That is to say, that, against the Kautskyist conception of a "peaceful path towards socialism" and its opposite twin, the conception of the peaceful road to capitalist restoration (what Trotsky called the "the movie of reformism in reverse" in his polemic against Craipeau) that infected the leadership of the Fourth International at the end of the war, the majority of the ILTF affirm that the foresight and the program of the Fourth International has passed the test of history, but not the Trotskyists who spoke in their name and capitulated before Stalinism, refusing to build sections in the former workers' states after the Second World War. For that reason, the Fourth International was absent when the political revolution started in Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovak, Armenia, China, USSR, etc.

6) Based on the essential foundations summarized here, according to the point of view of the majority, the position of the comrades of the HRS and the CWG could put in question the character of the imperialist epoch since it could allow the development of an imperialist power within the narrow limits of a single country.





a) The minority of the Congress is stating a theoretical difference, not a programmatic one before the workers' revolutionary vanguard.

b) The HRS clarify that in the case of a military confrontation between EEUU and China, they would be for the military defeat of the EEUU, despite the fact that in its written materials posed before the Congress this matter has not been programmatically posed.

c) The CWG considers that it was a hasty action to publish the anti-defensist position towards China and Russia in the article on Iran in the last issue of "Class Struggle"

d) The Congress resolves to promote a public discussion on the theoretical differences about the definition of the imperialist epoch and the China question before the workers' revolutionary vanguard.

e) The Congress resolves to intervene programmatically in a centralized way for the defense of China facing any political, economic, or military attack from the imperialist powers that disputes their influence over China.

f) The Congress resolves to organize a section of theoretical public debates in the press of the IFLT; as well as an internal bulletin to discuss the programmatic differences. At the same time, despite the differences on the program for the intervention before the acute events of the class struggle at worldwide level, all the groups that compose the ILTF will intervene in a centralized way with the position of the majority.

g) The Congress resolves to convene a Congress in around 6 months to allow that all the discussions and conclusions of these days of elaboration and agreements can be discussed and voted by the rank and file of the organizations that compose the ILTF.

#### 4) On the World situation

a) After three days of debate, the Congress resolves to adopt as founding documents of the ILTF the editorial articles of the International Workers Organizer # 12, part I and II: "*On the world situation: facing historical convulsions*"; "*The regime of world domination imposed by imperialism since 1989 is in crisis*"; "*The crisis of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat is becoming more acute*"; and the elaborations on the question of China, Cuba, the historical balance of the Fourth International and the programmatic

and political consequences for the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat.

b) Following a deep discussion on the remaining differences; after very rich debates with the contribution from the delegates of the different groups that allowed us to resolve our differences and get common positions, the congress resolved to adopt as founding documents of the ILTF; the statements that drew the lessons of the acid tests of the class struggle which produced the previous agreements, and those agreed to during the congress: *Greece, France, Madagascar, Guadalupe, Palestine* (documents that were points of agreement to call for this Congress), and the documents largely written, discussed and voted on during the Founding Congress such as *Peru, Iran, and Honduras*, voted in the current congress.

c) The Congress resolves to reaffirm the need of redouble the **struggle against the treacherous leaderships**, that is to say, against social democrats, Stalinists, anarchists and the renegades of Trotskyism, that today are also disguised as anti-capitalists, all of them grouped in the World Social Forum and who, through the ELAC, for example, try to put the world working class at the feet of the "democratic" Obama, of the national Bolivarian or Islamic bourgeoisies and of the Castroist restorationist bureaucracy.

d) The Congress resolves to adopt as foundation documents the published materials on the **struggle against the popular front in Bolivia, South Africa and Zimbabwe**; as well as those on the **struggle against Bolivarian governments and the Bonapartist regimes like the Colombian one**.

e) The congress of the IFLT adopt as its own the anti-imperialist position published by the HRS, "*Stop Obama's Wars*"; and the document: "*Alan Benjamin is a Class Traitor*", in fight against the renegades of Trotskyism who, in the USA, defend the interests of the workers' bureaucracy and aristocracy.

f) The congress of the IFLT adopts as a foundation document the article published in Democracia Obrera # 32, (November 2008) "*The Murderous Imperialists Disguised as Obama*".

g) In the debates on Palestine, Iran, Honduras and Madagascar, the Congress discussed in depth the **question of the use of the revolutionary democratic demands and the national question**, making important advances in our level of agreement as is expressed in the resolutions on Peru, Iran and Honduras voted by this Congress.

## Theoretical debate

# Minority Resolution on China

1. The comrades of the CWG and the HRS agree that when they defend their position that China has a "dual character". For the HRS China is both an emerging imperialist nation and a semi-colonial country with its proletariat super-exploited by both foreign finance capital and that of its own emerging bourgeoisie. For the CWG China is an Independent nation emerging as an imperialist power. The HRS and CWG center their argument on the incremental advance in accumulation of capital into the bosom of the new Chinese capitalist class who have no choice but to seek profit sources beyond their own borders. They contend that the most significant factor in

Lenin's characterization of an imperialist nation is the export of finance capital.

2. We do not claim that China as an imperialist country means that capitalism is still progressive and it is still capable of developing the productive forces. We are not revising the basic position of Trotsky and Lenin on capitalism in the imperialist epoch. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky ever said that no new imperialist country could emerge in the imperialist epoch. But clearly it could do so by repartition the global economy at the expense of existing imperialist powers. Nor did Lenin or Trotsky say that that a new

imperialist country if it emerged from a state of being a relatively independent semi-colony must develop the productive forces and therefore make capitalism "progressive".

3. The fact that in the imperialist epoch capitalism cannot develop the productive forces does not mean that capitalism cannot develop technology. Technology in the imperialist epoch is characterized by intense drive for profit as the rate of profit continue to decline, hence the workers the great majority of human beings and well being of the planet are expendable. Therefore, we see mass death from injury and health problems (cancer for example was not a big health threat in the 19th century) as technology "advanced". Technological advancement in the period of imperialist decay leads not only to environmental disasters but unless there is a socialist revolution, capitalism/imperialism despite the advancement in technology is likely to destroy the entire planet, since it develops technology for one reason: profit, and the destruction of civilization via the advanced military means of the imperialist countries.

4. Any development of a new imperialist country will only contribute to the destruction not the advancement of the productive forces and the well being of the working class and humanity. China is not an exception. Since we live in an era of dramatic increase of imperialist decay on the international scale, any new imperialist country can only function as the rest of the imperialist countries: increase the rate of exploitation and oppression wherever it sets its foot prints. In the current imperialist epoch China cannot become an imperialist country by progressing the standard of living of the Chinese workers and masses in China and the rest of the world, quite the opposite by driving the masses into living in hellish conditions. This is so, because in the current state of imperialist decay, this is the only way that a country can become an imperialist country and try to compete with the rest of the imperialist gangs. It is easier for a person to jump to the moon, than it is for a new imperialist country to build its "empire" by elevating well being of the masses in the current unstoppable decay of the international imperialist epoch.

5. For us the dual character of China (for HRS it is a still a semi-colony, and for CWG an Independent country, but is becoming imperialist), which means that Chinese workers suffer from one of the worst conditions for workers in the planet, regardless if they work for Western or Chinese companies. Many of them live in places that can only be characterized as cages not homes. Millions have been cast out of their jobs back into the country to stagnate. What progressive about this? Of course, this only manifests life under imperialism in its last stage of decay.

6. Chinese export of capital overseas along with the attempts to develop Chinese sphere of influence manifests the "destructiveness" of Chinese imperialism, not its "progressiveness". In Chad China delivers mass weapons (including soldiers and workers) to inflame the genocidal war so that China can control the area and plunder the oil there. What is progressive about this? In Congo they build mines for their electronics factories in China and like the rest of the imperialists they muddle in the country affairs. The results: The intensification of the civil wars over the mines that kill millions and created huge areas with refugees. And in Iran the Chinese, who of course are interested in the oil there, have a special connection and influence on the regime who as we know just killed hundreds and is torturing (many time to death) the protests' prisoners.

7. Are we revising the theory of the permanent revolution which says that only the working class can lead the completion of the national tasks by making a socialist revolution? Since the 1980's there has been some big changes in the functions of imperialism that do not change the essence of the permanent revolution but it forces us to deal with new living contradictions. And it is these changes that eventually made it possible for China to become an imperialist country 30 years later. In the super-exploitation of the semi-colonies since 1980 the rise of the proportion of the proletariat has given more weight to the working class in taking the lead in completing the national revolutionary tasks in a socialist revolution.

8. The new Chinese bourgeoisie has not resolved any national tasks. It has pushed these tasks backwards by privatizing worker's property and by re-enforcing the regimes brutality towards national minorities in China. It retained some political independence from the period as a degenerate worker's state. It was this independence based on both a strong state apparatus and a strong state owned sector of the economy that allowed the new bourgeoisie to become an imperialist ruling class. The consequences for the permanent revolution are these: the Chinese revolution won national independence and the bureaucratized planned economy allowed the forces of production to develop but insufficiently to compete with the most backward imperialism. Its degenerated form meant that it did not complete the national tasks. The restoration of capitalism has put this independence in question and it and the other national tasks such as the rights of national minorities can only be resolved by a socialist revolution led by the working class.

9. With the outgoing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) exceeding incoming FDI for the first time in 2008 and the acceleration of this trend in 2009 a quantitative threshold has been crossed and China is emerging onto the world stage as an imperialist gangster in its own right, despite its finding itself at the bottom of the pecking order of imperialist powers down with other lesser imperialist countries (particularly in Scandinavia) with export FDI/import FDI amounts and ratios similar to Chinas.

10. The HRS and CWG further contend that China is not in an economic or military position yet to contest in a conventional war for control of markets and sources of raw materials. At this stage in its development it will bluster loudly but scramble to avoid direct military conflict with the major imperialist powers as it knows it is not prepared to confront the military might of the USA and any head on war could quickly degenerate to a nuclear exchange. This does not exclude the possibility of China intervening militarily on its own behalf to advance or protect its interests in other semi-colonies unless it can get the comprador bourgeoisie to protect its interests as Alan Garcia did in his murderous attacks last month on the indigenous people trying to reclaim their lands.

11. At this stage the main danger of war involving China comes from the USA or Japan (not to exclude the unlikely possibility of other powers) seeking to contain China, break open its markets, access its raw materials and labor force. The intention of such a war would be to drive China from its emerging dual character back to its prior condition of having the sole character of a semi colony and open its doors for further imperialist plunder and subjugation. The HRS and CWG contend that such a war would be characterized as an imperialist war of subjugation not an inter-imperialist war. In the event of such a war both the HRS and the CWG would call



for the military defense of China and the military defeat of the USA, Japan or proxy power which may be used by the major power in their stead.

12. The HRS and CWG are aware that Obama mania is continuing the anti-China chauvinism and xenophobia which has been building in the imperialist centers for years to mobilize workers against the perception of a rising power in China. To a large extent the anti-communist hysteria which has been used against China since 1949 in the west never let up as the transition to capitalism brought an unending stream of products, produced in China by the trans-nationals, to the West where some workers are opposed to buying the products they no longer produce for chauvinist reasons, others are angered by the knowledge that an enslaved population has been forced by threat of starvation to produce these products only westerners can afford to buy but can no longer afford to produce.

13. This is the material foundation for the anti-Chinese hysteria western capitalists (in particular the media in the USA) try to whip up, all the time hiding the fact that it is the US trans-nationals who have deserted the American worker to

drive down the cost of production and maximize profit leading to the immiseration of both the Chinese and American worker.

4. The HRS and the CWG in their economic theses and propaganda show the working class their real enemy is the barons of Wall Street who perpetuate this process and are driving the world toward, wars and counterrevolution an who must be militarily defeated in any confrontation and who must be overthrown by force of proletarian revolution to prevent the coming catastrophe.

15. It is with this understanding that the CWG the HRS and the FLTI enter into an open debate before the public in our press and before the workers of the world clearly stating that we stand shoulder to shoulder against military threat against China by the other imperialist powers or their proxies Peruvian workers and peasants are shouting in the streets, on the barricades and on the picket lines: "The spilled blood will never be forgotten!"

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## Resolution on the USA

# Heart of the Beast

1. In response to the structural crisis of capitalism of the 1970s, the US deepened its world wide policy of imperialist dominance to make the world economy its own domestic market. The free trade agreements consolidated this division of labor, opening a world of maquiladoras to the trans-nationals of the first world. Production flew to the source of cheap labor like birds on their winter migration south. Offering nothing to link the struggle of the super exploited of underdeveloped world to the soon-to-be-unemployed workers of the advanced industrial countries the chauvinist trade unionists of North America refused to fight for the demand: "Same work, same contract on both sides of the border." The mis-leaders of the worker's movement: renegade Trotskyists, Stalinists and so-called progressive/socialists of the World Social Forum gave left cover to imperialist politicians like Clinton and Obama by refusing to fight for independent working class political action. A serious fight for the program of class independence would have challenged long term relationships with their class collaborationist friends in the trade union bureaucracy. In turn the renegades have lots of hands to shake but the working class is disarmed in the face of massive attacks by capital.

2. Concurrent with the deindustrialization of the north we witness the rise of the unregulated, non-unionized, maquiladora sector spreading around the globe. The trans-nationals search for places where they can ignore environmental consequences and smash the workers with the utmost brutality whenever they tried to organize. The consequence was a glut of consumer goods, produced by the latest technology and a super-exploited labor force, on the shelves of Wal-Mart. The newly emerging consumer society was based on a working class destined to labor at low paying service sector jobs filling the lowest two economic quintiles and an over-consumptive top three quintiles of the population made up of the labor aristocracy, a professional managerial "middle class" layer and the top 5%. This layer gathered to itself the riches of the world's new order as their frenzied

"coupon clipping" followed one economic bubble after another, as they sucked fictitious capital out of the market into their personal savings.

3. As wages were driven down, the workers found themselves working longer hours, sending more members of the family into the workforce, with youth living at home or returning home rather than setting out on their own, and the elderly being driven into the homes of their adult children. Savings diminished from an all time high of 20% to a negative 5% as usury in the form of credit cards, check cashing services, and adjustable rate mortgages offered workers a way to float their families' economies. The consequences of globalization and the bubbles of fictitious capital began to explode in the dot-com collapse, but for big capital the collapse was only a temporary setback, as the war economy and the housing bubble which followed were their next source of surplus value appropriation.

4. The military drive into Iraq, Afghanistan and now Pakistan, and the proxy war between Georgia and Russia were the consolidation of the acquisition of control over vast oil and gas resources. The US military action had the intention and result of driving out other imperialist and independent powers which had contracts for Iraqi oil, as well as consolidating US military bases throughout the Asian subcontinent to further encircle and contain China and Russia and open these vast sources of cheap labor to Wall Street's minions.

5. In a heroic resistance to the forces of imperialism, thousands of Iraqis died in the battle to save Fallujah, showing the US that the masses of Iraq would not stand by idly and allow their country to be overrun. Heroic fighters from around Africa and Asia flocked to the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan to stop imperialism in its tracks. Tens of thousands were killed and captured; many rot in Guantanamo Bay and in other secret CIA prisons around the world. We say: Free all prisoners of the anti-imperialist war drive! Close Guantanamo and all the secret prisons! The only criminals in

this war are those who sat and sit in the White House, the Pentagon, at Langley and on the boards of directors of the war profiteers in the armaments, mercenary and oil industries! Convene an international workers' tribunal to try these war criminals before the world! No faith in The Hague or the World Court—only an international workers' tribunal can honestly expose the crimes of these imperialist butchers!

6. But the US working class was slow at getting the message and never launched an anti-war movement equivalent in depth and breadth to the anti-war movement of the Viet Nam period. The Maoists from the earliest days raised the slogan: "Drive out the Bush Regime;" the soft left had their equally treacherous demand, "Anyone but Bush." combined with the mis-leadership of the fake Trotskyists who contained the anti-war movement with their pacifist slogan of "Support our troops, bring them home." The movement never sustained its early massive outpouring of millions around the world in February of 2003. Rather, the movement was quickly deflated into the Kerry campaign of 2004, the congressional campaign in 2006 and the Obama campaign of 2007-2008. The pacifist masses closed up the anti-war offices and hit the phone banks for the Democrats. The consequence of limiting the principled "Out Now" slogan to its pacifist content and not turning it into a defeatist demand by demanding the defeat of US military forces on the battlefields of Asia prevented the American working class from launching a conscious anti-imperialist struggle which could link the workers of the world against the imperial war drive.

7. The anti-war actions at the Oakland docks, where the police fired upon youth and trade unionists with non-lethal weaponry, showed the brutality of the state against workers at home. This attack on anti-war workers advanced the militancy of the workers' movement, and the ILWU responded by holding a one day strike on the docks to stop the war drive. The militancy of the ILWU Local 10 is an inspiration to anti-imperialist workers around the world. As the anti-war movement lagged, choked by the illusion that Democrats elected to a majority in Congress (in 2006) would end the war, the grieving mother, Cindy Sheehan, stood up for all the victims of the war by camping outside Bush's Crawford Texas Ranch. Her campaign re-invigorated and consolidated the majority sentiment against the war. But this sentiment was quickly defused as the "Anyone but Bush" mentality overtook a populace sickened by war and the energy of the anti-war movement was corralled into the Obama mania. The pacifists and anti-war movement again closed up shop and hit the phone banks and waged a door-to-door massive campaign for Obama. None of them would dare answer the question, "Who will Obama Bomb-ah?" And now we know he is bombing civilians in Pakistan and Afghanistan, while his CIA and State Department allow with a nod and a wink the smashing of the working class in Honduras with death squads (trained at the School of the Assassins in Fort Benning, Georgia).



8. Taking its cue from the capitalist restorationists in the Cuban Communist Party, the North American left has defused the American working class struggle against the war on Iraq/Afghanistan/Pakistan and the struggles for immigrant and black workers rights. With all the fake Trotskyists subordinated to the counter-revolutionary international policy of the restorationist Castroite bureaucracy and "Bolivarian revolution," which both embrace class collaboration, they have expropriated and strangled the revolutionary anti-imperialist of the exploited Latin American masses; whose only hope of victory is to synchronize with the struggles of the workers in the heart of the imperialist beast. Simultaneously, in the US, the authority of the Cuban workers' state in the most exploited layers of the working class was put at the service of strengthening the subordination of the working class to the Democratic Party and Obama. The living example of this international policy is the Latin American and Caribbean Workers Gathering (ELAC) where—from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego—the renegades of Trotskyism have tied the hands of the vanguard, impeding the heroic fight of the Oakland dock workers against the US imperialist butchers. From ELAC to the San Francisco Labour Council, under the influence of class traitors like the Lambertist Alan Benjamin, the working class is being disarmed both politically and organizationally in the face of the attacks on the international working class and the impending capitalist restoration in Cuba.

Despite the heroic resistance in the fights of the working class

early this year in the Antilles, Greece, Paris and today in Peru and Honduras, the fake Trotskyists and Castroists, of all shades, have cleared the way to accelerate and the advanced process of capitalist restoration in Cuba, which the forces of the counter-revolution intend to accomplish under the "democratic" mask of Obama.

9. Wall Street's drive to lower the cost of labor in the United States to a point where profitability is again possible for production at "home" is again changing the world division of labor. The drive to turn the US into an exporting nation and to open markets abroad cannot be accomplished without driving down wages, benefits, social programs, and the other benefits the US workers have become accustomed to since the end of WWII. This is resulting in attacks on the American workers. Official figures show 9.5% have been unemployed, 45 million are without health care or retirement pensions, two million fill the prisons, and 1.6 million are homeless or in shelters or tent encampments. The sacking of millions of workers in the last two years and the cutting of labor hours and wages has resulted in a reverse sliding scale. "Shorter work hours for less pay" is the method being forced on workers in the private and public sectors alike.

10. But the workers are starting to fight back. It is no coincidence that the Republic Window and Door workers of Chicago occupied their factory in December at the same time that the Guadeloupe and Martinique workers commenced their

general strikes. It is no surprise that the most exploited sector of the working class, the Latino immigrants, held two one-day strikes for immigrant rights on May Day in 2007 and 2008. Across the nation, small battles are erupting in factories big and small to stop the drive against workers' living and working conditions. State workers in California finally said "Enough is enough!" when the governor imposed a third furlough day. The bureaucratic SEIU leadership has been pressured by rank and file sentiment to take a strike vote this week among its 95,000 members. Schools are laying off teachers by the thousands. The education system is collapsing, classrooms are becoming over crowded and higher education is becoming less accessible. Public transport workers, park rangers, home care workers who care for the elderly, poison control workers and those who care for underinsured youth are being given pink slips (being sacked).

11. Workers are just starting to wake up after a long sleep. After being separated from the militant history of the Teamster's rebellion in 1934 in Minneapolis, the general strikes in San Francisco in 1936 and in Oakland in 1946 and the factory occupations that led to the building of the CIO in the thirties are all experiences that today's workers need to draw upon and will have to experience in their own actions if they are to turn the crisis back on the bosses and emerge victorious.

12. The American workers have the key to solving the burden of exploitation of the masses of the world. They have been blocked from their historic task by the division of the American workers from the workers of the world by the Stalinist deal with imperialism at Yalta and Potsdam. Again in the late 1980s the restoration of capitalism in the former workers' states drove a wedge between the American working class and the struggle for socialist revolution. The ruling class must be made to pay for the crisis. The American workers must take upon themselves the task of the expropriation of all financial capital, the banks and major industry. In every struggle of the masses the fight for socialist revolution must be put on the agenda. Standing in the way of these essential tasks of the workers' movement are all shades of trade union bureaucrats, renegades of Trotskyism, entrenched Stalinists and social democrats, Castroites, World Social Forum adherents, as well as a labor aristocracy materially tied to imperialism and which perpetuates illusions in Obama. To break these chains, workers need to form factory committees extending and generalized across the country, and then to link these with committees of the unemployed. Workers must not wait for the bureaucracy to begin the task of organizing the unorganized. This task is intrinsically linked with the demand for an end to unemployment. Workers need to initiate million man marches across the nation, demanding a sliding scale of hours to share the available work through the implementation of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay and a sliding scale of wages tied to the rate of inflation.

13. In the fight for socialism, the FLTI and revolutionary workers in the United States call for massive coordinated labor actions up to and including extended general strikes of public and private workers to stop wage cuts, for full employment, universal and free health care, universal and free education, an end to homelessness, hunger and fear of destitution. Only a workers' government can deliver these demands. To build the solidarity needed to unite the workers in their struggle for a workers' government we call for: Free

Mumia Abu Jamal, Leonard Peltier, all the ICE prisoners, the prisoners at Guantanamo and the secret prisons. Free all political prisoners. Class justice for the murder of Oscar Grant and all other victims of state brutality! Destroy the prison and war economy! For the military defeat of all US military forces abroad and the closing of all US military bases around the world. For a workers' revolution to dismantle the US nuclear arsenal and destroy all US military satellites! Expose the two faces of the Republicrat Bush-Obama regime wielding diplomacy and reactionary coups, fascism and Bonapartism as its tools of world subjugation. Stop all funding to the butcher Zionist state which sustains itself on the blood of the Palestinian people! Finish the Civil War restitution for 250 years of slavery! Honor Native American people's land and rights. Support self-determination for the colonies of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam and all occupied territories to the native peoples. To accomplish the objectively necessary socialist revolution in the United States today, workers need a revolutionary party built on the method and program Trotsky developed for the SWP and the world party of Socialist Revolution as developed in the Transitional Program of 1938.

14. The historical events that are coming as a result of the economic conditions will provoke exceptional crises in the reformist apparatus around the world, mostly in the US. When it becomes apparent to all that the process of capitalist restoration in Cuba has been accomplished, new splits in the American reformist left are to be expected. For decades these reformists have used the authority of the Cuban state to betray the class struggle over and over again. Particularly, new splits among the renegades of Trotskyism are to be expected since for decades they have presented Castro—and all the Castroite bureaucracy—as "anti-imperialist" "unconscious Trotskyist" icons of the world revolution. The restoration of capitalism in Cuba will devastate the fake communist left in a way not seen since the 1989 restorations.

This is why the ILTF Trotskyists raise the program for a political revolution in Cuba, for a victorious Latin American revolution against the "Bolivarian Revolution" and its counter-revolutionary pacts. The ILTF stands for the US working class uprising to defend the last gains of the revolution and defeat capitalist restoration. This program is also the one that prepares us to decisively intervene in the upcoming splits of the exposed Castroites and the coterie of-US fake Trotskyists. Those traitors won't be able to explain why "the great revolutionary" Castro, gave away the workers' state to imperialism and, became a bourgeois.

The program raised by the revolutionaries must be that of the political revolution in Cuba which defeats the restorationist bureaucracy and imposes true workers' democracy, that of the armed workers', peasants' and red soldiers' councils—the only government able to transform Cuba into a bastion of the fight for the world revolution.

This program must be the flesh and blood of the heart of the American proletarian vanguard—of the Oakland dock workers, of the immigrant working class and the black proletariat—by aiding their class brothers from Cuba, fighting against their own imperialist bourgeoisie led by the butcher Obama, with the war cry:

**"Down with the Obama-Castro pact that restores capitalism in Cuba!"**

## Solidarity Declaration of IFLT

# We are all Mumia!

### Brother and Sister workers,

It is with great concern that the working class militants of the world have watched the case of former Black Panther and MOVE activist Mumia Abu Jamal. We recognize his life long dedication to the struggle of the oppressed, the poor and the exploited. Across the world in the working class communities, barrios and ghettos his name is known. It is with great sadness that we see the movement for his freedom stagnating as it has depended for years on the non existent justice from the bosses' court system. We recognize that the ruling class will never free our brother in chains. Only heroic actions such as the strike of the Oakland Dock workers who carried on a one day general strike can free our brother.

### Why do the capitalists' courts keep Mumia in jail despite his innocence?

The policy of depending on lawyers in the courts to free Mumia was defective from the start. In fact for many years it acted to keep the working class off the streets and placed our struggle in the hands of the bosses' courts.

The domination of the parasites on Wall street is maintained through violence against the working class in the world; in the rest of the world it is maintained through the over 120 military bases, while in the United states it is maintained by the police. When one of the police is killed, Wall Street draws the line and unites around its agent. But when a young brother like Oscar Grant is shot in the back while restrained it is only the outcry and uprising in the streets by indignant youth that forces prosecution of the racist cops. Protection of the bosses system of super-exploitation, is the centre of all their actions. Just as the great wealth of the United States was built on the labour of the enslaved African people today it is supplemented supplement by the exploitation of immigrant labor.

In this period of world domination of the banks on Wall Street, their democratic mask falls. Thus their greed for coltan in the DRC has been behind the war there where over 4 million people have died; their control of over 80% of the arable land in the world is what is behind the high food prices that starve billions of people (the capitalists know that we can do without most things but we must eat); when they dismiss millions of immigrants and put over 4000 in jail, it is part of their social control, so that their profits can rise, and yes, these same capitalists dismiss millions of workers in the USA and around the world, steal the pension funds of the GM workers, with the active support of the Obama regime. They claim democracy but keep hundreds without trial in Guantanamo Bay; they claim democracy but have their bloody hands supporting the Micheletti regime in the coup in Honduras. The fight to free Mumia is the same fight of all the working class in the world against their capitalist system.

- We call on workers in the United States to down tools in coordinated strike action to Free Mumia Now!
- We call on the ILWU Local 10 and the Immigrant marches in 2007 and 2008 to forge joint action to: Free the 4000 immigrants in the US jails!
- Free the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay!



- Free the political prisoners in the Zionist jails in occupied Palestine!
- Free the political prisoners in the sellout Palestine Authority's jails!
- Free the political prisoners in all the secret prisons of the CIA around the globe!
- Down with the coup in Honduras! Forward to a government of workers and poor peasants in Honduras!
- Stop the mass dismissals across the United States!
- Occupy GM and other workplaces threatened with closures and demand their nationalisation without compensation under workers control!
- Down with the bureaucracies of the ALF-CIO and Change to Win who refuse to use proletarian methods of struggle to free our imprisoned brother and sisters and who channel workers energy into the bosses twin party's of exploitation, the Republicrats.
- Only mass workers strike action can save this son of Africa and hero of the world working class
- We call for rolling mass working class action to free Mumia and all political prisoners of capitalism!
- Forward to an international day/s of mass action.

Gathered in Buenos Aires in July 2009, revolutionary workers from Bolivia's Mines, Chile's mills, Argentina's factories, Peruvian working class, South Africa transportation sector, Brazils factories, from as far away as New Zealand and Oakland in the USA affirm our commitment to advocate for and build strike action to free our brother. We condemn the NAACP for hosting US Attorney General Eric Holder at their meeting in NYC and call on all militant workers around the world to demand "Free Mumia now, no faith in the bosses' courts! Forward to the reconstitution of the revolutionary party of Trotsky and the young Cannon in the United States as part of the fight for rebuilding the world party of the socialist revolution over the base of the program and legacy of the 1938 Foundation Congress of the Fourth International!



# Alan Benjamin is a Class Traitor!

It is time to reassess and be clear on the character of the Workers Emergency Recovery Campaign (WERC). At the teach-in in San Francisco on May 9, 2009 that was co-sponsored by WERC and the San Francisco Labor Council, it became clear to me that WERC is not simply a cross-class coalition among left groups, Greens, "progressive" Democrats and the union bureaucracy.

Misguided as such a coalition would be, the reality is even worse. WERC shows every sign of having been set up from the beginning by the union bureaucracy in San Francisco as a front to tie the workers and the activists to the Democratic Party, and put a stop to any incipient struggles and strikes that could develop in California and get out of control. WERC is the union bureaucracy's response to the crisis, not that of the left.

Another key point that emerged clearly at the teach-in is that Alan Benjamin is no longer even a right-wing centrist. He is a reformist and right-wing union bureaucrat, who uses left-socialist rhetoric in his emails and his paper, *Socialist Organizer*, only to cover his ass. Over the last ten years, he has become a central figure in the union bureaucracy, which has entrusted to him the task of muzzling and misleading the working class.

To accomplish this, he is now on the Executive Committee of the San Francisco Labor Council. He is a traitor to the revolutionary movement and socialism. He is not any different from all the Stalinists and Social Democrats who betray the working class and the cause of socialism. I ask all our friends and international comrades to denounce him as a traitor to Trotskyism. And as it appears that he remains affiliated with the Lambertists, they must be contacted and asked if they support this class collaboration, because their organization is in a position of influence in the San Francisco Labor Council, and is betraying the working class and stopping it from marching forward.

In an interview given shortly after Obama's inauguration that was published in Issue 321 of the Lambertists' online newspaper, the ILC International Newsletter ([http://www.owcinfo.org/ILC/NEWS/ILC\\_321.html](http://www.owcinfo.org/ILC/NEWS/ILC_321.html)), Benjamin stated that "Trade unionists fighting for a real workers' economic recovery should be concerned ... when Wall Street financiers, particularly those in the new administration, talk about 'joint sacrifice' between the workers and the bosses .... The implications of this call for 'joint sacrifices' and 'cohesion' go way beyond the economy. They touch on the very question of the independence of the trade union movement in relation to the bosses and to the State."

He also noted that "To succeed in their effort to impose their reactionary plans, especially in the aftermath of the historic election that brought Obama to the presidency, the bosses need to co-opt the trade unions into joining them in implementing these attacks through the kind of 'labor-management cooperation schemes' that were so destructive in Detroit." After denouncing the "collaborationist strategy" of Andy Stern, Benjamin opined that "For the trade unions to wage a concerted struggle in support of an economic recovery plan that puts the interests of working people first, it is essential that they remain independent instruments of struggle to advance the specific interests of their members --

that is, independent of the bosses and the politicians who do their bidding. This is their mandate."

This left-sounding analysis is what Benjamin wants his Lambertist allies to think he believes. But he showed his true colors at the teach-in. Benjamin's own speech there could easily have been given by Sweeney or any other top labor bureaucrat, and he showed no sign of having any intention to ensure that WERC would remain an "independent instrument of struggle" that was "independent of the bosses and the politicians who do their bidding."

On the contrary, I witnessed an incident at the teach-in that demonstrated where Benjamin's real loyalty lies. At one point, the moderator of the teach-in mentioned that Eric Mar, who is the supervisor representing San Francisco district 1 and a former member of the San Francisco County Democratic Central Committee, was in the audience. Benjamin promptly walked down the aisle and shook Mar's hand. Mar, an elected Democratic Party politician, was the **only** person in the audience to whom Benjamin extended this public recognition.

Benjamin gives every appearance of being a rising star within the California union aristocracy. Benjamin is replacing the aging Walter Johnson, and he is to Johnson's right. The last significant strike in San Francisco that gathered support from the entire working class and union movement took place 14 years ago, when all the unions of the major newspapers walked out. We were involved in this strike, and I still remember Johnson standing on a truck on a street corner in front of the masses, calling for a general strike in support of the strikers. Of course, this was demagoguery, and he did not mean what he said, but at least Johnson was willing to play out the normal role of a "left" bureaucrat. Benjamin is also to the right of Tony Mazzocchi, who formed Labor Party Advocates (LPA) in the 1990s. We (as Workers' Voice) had many criticisms of Mazzocchi, but at least he formed a nationwide organization with the "long term" purpose of forming a reformist labor party.

Today, when the need for massive strikes and workplace occupations is much more urgent than in the 1990s (the days of LPA), the union bureaucracy wants at all costs to avert militant actions and all talk of a labor party. They have chosen Benjamin to carry out this dirty work. His first action was to write a letter to Obama asking him to "bail out the workers instead of the banks." His second action was to insure that the WERC platform does not call for a break with the Democrats or for a labor or workers' party. His third action was to make sure that WERC does not call for any strikes, workplace occupations, or other militant working class actions.

This was all reflected at the so-called teach-in. None of the speakers from the podium called for a militant proletariat response to the economic crisis, such as sit-ins or massive strike actions. The analysis of capitalism as a class society that exploits and oppresses the masses, and is responsible for the destruction of the planet, was not dealt with from the podium, even unseriously. It goes without saying that the socialist alternative was not talked about from the podium either, even though many of the teach-in's organizers call themselves socialists.



Despite some sentimental words from the podium celebrating the anniversary of the 1934 San Francisco General Strike, not one of the official speakers even alluded to the possibility that a repetition of such militancy might be on the agenda in 2009. The few good speeches that were made came only from the floor, where a few attendees denounced the Democratic Party and called on the labor movement to break with it, and one or two supported the need for massive strikes.

Contributing to my conclusion that the WERC is a creature of the union bureaucracy is the fact that its left supporters play only the role of little helpers. Adam R., who together with Mark V. split from Socialist Appeal to become a semi-reformist circle around the paper Workers Compass, was in charge of the WERC goon squad at the teach-in. His role was to make sure that the people permitted to speak from the floor stayed within their two-minute time limit, and to prevent the circulation in the hall of any literature that disagreed with Unions' WERC aims. Our group was one of the targets.

The teach-in was organized very professionally by Benjamin and the union bureaucracy so as to muzzle and curtail any left opposition. Even though the bureaucrat who moderated the event (San Francisco Labor Council Vice President Conny Ford) promised that every person would have a chance to speak, and several of our comrades raised their hands, only one of us (a temporarily disabled person on crutches) was

allowed to do so. After it became clear that WERC's cronies would be given the lion's share of time at the mike, some of our allies and friends left the meeting hall in disgust. Our main speaker decided to speak anyway after they turned off the mike and people started to leave.

Those who attended the teach-in were told that we can only come to the planning meetings for future actions if we become endorsers of WERC. Humanists for Revolutionary Socialism does not intend to betray our principles and the working class by adding our names to WERC's list of endorsers alongside those of the Progressive Democrats, the Green Party, and Wellstone Democratic Renewal Club. And for what? For the union bureaucracy's minimum social democratic program; for its refusal to call for the labor party; for its continued support for the Democratic Party; and for actions like sending a "please help us" letter asking Obama "to submit to the Congress an economic recovery program that bails out working people." (Teach-in Program Booklet, page 8.) No, we have no intention of joining in the union bureaucracy's project of muzzling the working class and tying it to the Democratic Party and capitalism.

It is our duty as socialists is to expose the bureaucracy, and in particular Alan Benjamin, who supports the transitional program on paper, but in reality acts as a traitor to the class struggle and the cause of socialism.

Dave Winter  
Humanists for Revolutionary Socialism

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## Stop Obama's Wars

### **Oil Industry Tool Obama Fosters Mass Murder of Pashtuns and Creates Nearly Two Million Refugees in Swat Valley! Workers can stop him – and we must!**

US imperialism is demanding that the Pakistani government take control of the Swat Valley using whatever military means are necessary, even if that means slaughtering the civilian population in the area. Bringing a halt to the progress of the anti-intervention front, which has advanced to some 60 miles from the capital of Pakistan, is critical to the interests of the US and its allies. They must maintain control over Pakistan in order to permit construction of a planned oil pipeline that will cross Pakistani territory on its way to a new port being built on the Indian Ocean. The crumbling governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan are in desperate need of support from Washington, so they are complying with US demands. The resulting intensification of imperialist intervention in Pakistan also brings to the front long-unresolved issues of agrarian reform, national liberation for the Pashtun, and basic democratic demands of the masses. The resulting conflict has exploded over the Swat Valley.

The arbitrary border between Afghanistan and Pakistan means nothing to the Pashtun, whose tribal lands were long ago bisected by British mandate. In recent days, that border has collapsed, as the former Taliban has morphed from an exclusively Afghan reactionary movement, based on archaic theological concepts, into an anti-interventionist front. The emergent neo-Taliban is the only source the Pashtun people can look to to provide armed resistance to the American-backed governments that have long since abandoned their

needs, concerns, and safety. The neo-Taliban has not shed its reactionary character, but in a land without justice or protection, it provides a pole of attraction for the oppressed Pashtun in their efforts to resist the seemingly unending deluge of military intervention from the West. The recent murderous bombardment by the Americans, via their proxy Pakistani army, has only resulted in strengthening the neo-Taliban's influence among the civilian population.

Only the most cynical and reactionary western observers still believe NATO intervention in this area is truly a battle against "terrorism," or a fight to bring democracy to those who have been living under the rule of the Taliban. Deeper geopolitical interests are in play. One driving force behind this conflict is the intention of Western oil interests - Unocal, Chevron, and Halliburton - to build a north-to-south Trans-Afghanistan oil pipeline across eastern Afghanistan and through Pakistan to the Indian Ocean. Another is Washington's need to encircle the emerging capitalist giant China, which if left unchecked will challenge Washington's dominance as the predominant world imperialist power over the next two decades.

Last week, the respective "Presidents" of Pakistan and Afghanistan, Zardari and Karzai, took orders from Obama to suppress and/or eliminate opponents of the Trans-Afghanistan pipeline. To suit Obama's view of the "National Security Interests of the US," those Afghans and Pakistanis who do not want a Western-controlled pipeline running through their homelands must be pacified, removed, or offered a deal by imperialism. Construction of this pipeline is contractually stipulated to begin next year. Hence the sudden step-up of the slaughter.

Tens of thousands of new Pashtun homeless have been forced onto the roads of Waziristan this week. They are heading for bulging refugee camps that already "house" as many as a million and a half refugees. Meanwhile, police troops roam the roads and camps shooting suspected Islamists, because Zardari is anxious to please the imperialists so as to consolidate their tentative support for his regime. The "spin" would have us believe that the slaughter is



limited to the Swat Valley. Not so. While the Pakistani army wreaks havoc in the Swat Valley, the American army continues to slaughter the peasants of Afghanistan. The number of civilians killed by American airstrikes in Farah Province last week comes to 149, according to the peasants' own handwritten list of relatives killed in the bombardments.

All this shows without a doubt that the Obama regime's intervention in Afghanistan and Pakistan is escalating, accompanied by massive brutality. US imperialism can only maintain its domination through military force. Obama is thus exposed for what he is: just another imperialist politician, who is just as willing as Bush was to escalate the carnage inflicted upon the masses in Afghanistan and Pakistan, if that is what it takes for US imperialism to hold onto its power in the region.

Meanwhile all of Waziristan is subject to air attack by the Pakistani Air Force, which claims to have killed 800 militants as of May 13th. We don't really know whom they've killed, but we do know these bombings are indiscriminate, are killing civilians, and are driving angered residents into the ranks of the neo-Taliban. The overall killing is the combined work of the Pakistani Army and the imperialist army. Here's why: Predator drones, those robot airplanes with small video-guided missiles, have killed over 700 people this year in the course of eliminating a mere 14 (fourteen!) "Al Qaeda

leaders" in Pakistan. The pundits and liberal supporters of the "good war" are stumped to explain the numbers. The casualties are already stressing the Pakistani medical system to the breaking point.

Socialists have no desire to see the reactionary Taliban take power and submit the population to a repressive theocracy. But the defeat of the imperialist forces and their Pakistani proxies will aid the struggles of the workers and the oppressed all over the world. It is our first duty to call for the defeat of our own mighty imperialist forces. We call for a revolutionary struggle to drive imperialism and its local capitalist allies out of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and pave the road to self-determination, peace, and dignity for the Pashtun people. Ultimately, only the socialist revolution, and a socialist federation among Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and the other countries and peoples in this region of the world who are fighting for self-determination, can really resolve the democratic aspirations of the people in the area. For this to happen, the Pakistani working class, in alliance with the peasantry in Pakistan and Afghanistan, must lead the struggle to oust imperialism from the area.

Meanwhile, within the imperialist countries and especially the US, labor must take the lead in the antiwar struggle. Defeat of imperialist warfare is too important to the working class to be entrusted to the traditional liberal/pacifist "peace" movement, which fell silent as soon as the prospect of a Democratic Party presidential victory appeared likely, and has not been heard from to any meaningful degree since Obama took office. Protests led by students and pacifists were not enough to stop the Viet Nam war. To stop this slaughter before many more lives are lost, we need LABOR ACTION NOW, in the streets, on the docks, and at the front lines! Those with the real power to end it through **militant direct action** include workers in transportation, and the rank and file in uniform.

- **Transportation and logistics workers:** Organize in your union to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) munitions and other supplies destined for use in the slaughter of the Pashtun peoples of Afghanistan and Pakistan!
- **Soldiers in the U.S. and on overseas bases:** **Refuse deployment** to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan - and all other areas that US imperialism seeks to control!
- **Soldiers already deployed:** Hold mass meetings to discuss how to refuse criminal orders! Build a "let's go home" movement that can lead strikes against a criminal war that is killing people who are fighting to defend their countries against imperialist intervention, as well as innocent civilians!
- **Workers everywhere:** Support these efforts by organizing and leading mass protests demanding immediate, unconditional and total military withdrawal from Afghanistan and Pakistan! Demand the withdrawal of mercenary trainers and covert special operations forces from both Afghanistan and Pakistan! Expose Obama's "Big Green Lie" and demand abandonment of Big Oil's pipeline project across Afghanistan and Pakistan! Demand massive aid for the refugees!

## Japan

**Letter to the 47<sup>th</sup> Antiwar Assembly**

July 31th, 2009

**To the 47th International Assembly against the war****To the comrades of the Independent Federation of Student Associations of Japan (Zengakuren)****To the comrades of the Youth Committee against the war****To the comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League of Japan, Revolutionary Marxist Fraction**

Comrades!

We present our most fervent revolutionary internationalist greeting to the Assembly. The message that we bring here was voted as a resolution of the Founding Congress of our organization -International Leninist Trotskyists Fraction (FLTI: Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional)-; and signed by all its members below.

Our congress voted to answer your call and participate in the Assembly organised behind the rallying cry of: **Unite across borders and rise up in struggles against war and poverty on the basis of proletarian internationalism!**

Today we are approaching the commemoration of the anniversary of 6th August 1945, when US imperialism dropped two nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killing over 300,000 workers, elderly, women and children. This genocidal attack has three objectives; first to ensure that the US was the outright victor of the Second Imperialist World War and the dominant imperialist power; second, to make the Stalinist bureaucracy of Moscow subordinate itself to Roosevelt, Truman and Churchill; and third, to smash the insurgent Japanese proletariat that was threatening to overthrow the Emperor and the Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie defeated in the war and open the road to the victorious proletarian revolution.

That is how US "democratic" imperialism -as Stalinism called it to tie the hands of the workers in a popular front with this faction of imperialism - won the war and claimed the resources and zones of influence of Germany and Japan. This lesson proved that "democratic" or "fascist" imperialism are not essentially different. Imperialist powers use both fascism and democracy as the need arises to further their interest in competing for zones of influence and to defeat the resistance of the workers and oppressed people. Thus, the "democratic" US imperialism bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki using nuclear weapons while the German "fascists" massacred more than 20 millions of Soviet workers and peasants; which was the price that the USSR paid to stop the German occupation of its territory.

64 years after the butchery of the WW2 we now see that the enemy imperialist powers of that time have formed now blocs according to their interests today. The bombing of

Hiroshima and Nagasaki turned the Japanese imperialists - who killed millions in Asia and South East Asia fighting the US for its Pacific territories - into allies of the US, supporting and funding its military adventures today. This proves that capital has no borders since "business is business". So imperialist Japan, with the second largest GDP in the world, is now the partner of US imperialism in controlling the Pacific with 135 US military bases and 54.000 soldiers based in Japan including Okinawa. Thus there is no disarmament for

Japanese imperialism because it is under the nuclear protection of its US imperialist partnership. It shares in the superprofits of the Pacific and provides troops for the imperialist occupations and wars for oil.

From 1989 on, US imperialism, with its imperialist allies, finally achieved its objective in WW2. What Hitler could not do with his tanks, US imperialism backed by Japan, Germany and France, IMF loans and access to the world market, could do, transforming the Stalinist bureaucracy into its direct agent as a new restorationist bourgeois class in the workers states. The new Stalinist ruling class, in partnership with Citibank, Bank of Japan and

Bundesbank, shared out Russia, China, and the East European former workers states transforming them into a giant site for imperialist maquiladoras. Russian gas and oil is controlled by the German BASF including the pipelines from Turkey and the Black Sea so that Europe is guaranteed a supply of gas and oil. China under the "red mandarins" has put millions of Chinese workers in concentration camps, in factories, the jails of the transnationals and the new counterrevolutionary Chinese bourgeoisie.

The former deformed Eastern workers states have been turned into the backyard of Europe, and Germany is in a fierce dispute with the US over the oil and gas resources of Russia and of the former Soviet Muslim republics of the USSR





and Caucasus. These disputes have led to wars such as the bombings of NATO in the Balkans, the Russian genocides in Chechnya and the counterrevolutionary defeat of the Chinese workers and youth vanguard in Tiananmen Square. The latter allowed the parasitic "communist businessmen" of China, alongside the Japanese and US finance capital to super-exploit the proletariat to an extent that Hitler could not even have dreamed of in the zones occupied by the Nazi army.

**Unite with the super-exploited Chinese workers and poor peasants!**

We propose to together make a tribute in solidarity with the heroic Chinese working class martyrs. Today, under the shape of revolts in the cities and countryside, the Chinese working class faces factory closures, theft of land, massive layoffs, and the murderous repression by the new "red businessmen" of the CPC, enemy of the working class. Let's unite with the Chinese working class which along with the black slaves in the 19<sup>th</sup> century built the modern capitalist structure in USA, Europe and the rest of the imperialist world with its own blood and bones. Today, in the stage of capitalism's rotten decadence, undergoing its death agony, they are no less exploited, repressed and killed.

- **Get out of China all the transnationals and the finance capital of Japan, USA, Germany, France and Europe!**
- **Down with the murderous government of Hi Jintao and the new mandarins of red companies of Beijing!**
- **Down with the army and the officer caste of the new Kuomintang, killer of Chinese workers and peasants!**
- **Workers and Peasants of China betrayed by Stalinism to world capitalism, stand up again!**
- **For committees of Workers and Poor and landless Peasants to expropriate the factories and land from the transnationals of international finance capital and the Chinese bourgeoisie!**
- **Stop the massacre of the army of the murderous red Mandarins!**
- **For the destruction of the caste of military officers!**
- **For Soldiers committees that put their weapons in the service of the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and return to the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the revolutionary party!**

After the Second World War, the US victor was faced with a revolutionary war in Korea. It defeated the Korean workers dividing Korea at the 38° parallel only through the betrayals of the Stalinist, Maoist and Ki-Mihn-Jung bureaucracy. South Korea, supported by Japanese imperialism allied to US imperialism, is a military base, like that of Hong Kong, protecting the interests of imperialism in the Asian Pacific region. They are the bases that will be used to invade and occupy China to divide it again as the imperialist powers did in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Japanese proletariat has an historical responsibility towards its class brothers and sisters of China, Korea, Asia and the Pacific. You comrades are members of the working class in Imperialist Japan which participated in the great historical defeats of the Asian proletariat in Korea and China along with the US defeat in Vietnam. You were also witnesses to the history of the greatest betrayals of Stalinism of the world proletarian revolution. They sold out Vietnam, China

and now North Korea to the capitalist restoration. They stopped the mass offensive at the 38° parallel in Korea. They sold the living flesh of the majority of the working class in China and Asia for imperialist super-exploitation.

Today, the Japanese proletariat must look for itself in the mirror of its class brothers and sisters of China and Korea. If they are defeated the Japanese proletariat will be defeated also. Let's stand together in Tokyo and all Japan and demand:

- **Out with the Yankee bases from Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea!**
- **For the military defeat of US and Japanese imperialist troops in Asia, Iraq, Afghanistan and in the entire Middle East!**
- **Down with the governments of the new bourgeoisies born out of Stalinism in China and North Korea!**
- **The third Chinese revolution must stand up again for bread and land!**
- **For the expulsion of all the imperialists beyond the 38° parallel and the whole Korean peninsula!**
- **For united workers and socialist Korea!**
- **For a new Vietnam! Kick out the transnationals from Vietnam and Asia!**

But this time the Japanese proletariat -breaking with its own imperialist bourgeoisie- must lead this combat in Tokyo.

- **For a Japan where its working class links its fate to that of the Pacific working class!**
- **One class, one struggle from Korea to Japan, from China to Vietnam!**
- **As Marx would say, no people that oppress another people can be free. The Japanese working class must stand up with one single demand:**
- **For equal work and equal wage in China and Japan!**
- **Kick out the Japanese maquilas that starve the Chinese working class!**
- **No recognition of Japanese debts and investments in China!**

That is how the Japanese proletariat will win great allies -the millions of Chinese workers and peasants- to triumph in its own country! These are the forces needed to re-open the road to a revolutionary workers soviet in Japan, for which the workers at the end of the Second World War died, a struggle that was then defeated by the betrayal of Stalinism!

Comrades; imperialism is the epoch of capitalist decay. It becomes more and more parasitic, destroying the productive forces, developing destructive forces, and buying a sector of the working class, i.e. union bureaucracy and labor aristocracy; their parties and trade unions, as the jail keepers of the entire workers movement.

Two years ago the world economic crisis began. This new crisis and bankruptcy of the world capitalist system proves that capitalism was not able to find way out of the 68-74 crisis by reclaiming (after 1989) the new markets of the former workers states as fresh blood. By 2001 the effects of this blood transfusion were exhausted, and capitalism managed to survive for a few more years until the overproduction crisis of 2007 only by means of counterrevolutionary wars of occupation, in Iraq and Afghanistan and developing its destructive forces.

We in the ILTF state that this rotten system -which in crisis after crisis survives by becoming more parasitic - has already eaten the value of human labor that has yet to be produced. The US, European and Japanese banks have destroyed more than 14 trillion dollars. Today they are trying to make the exploited masses of the world -mainly the world working class - pay for the costs of the crisis.

The states have bought the "toxic assets", i.e. the losses of international finance capital. Over 4 trillion dollars were paid to US banks and companies by the US state to cover their deficit. Similar amounts have been paid to save the German, French and Japanese banks. States have kept the debts and "toxic assets", to subsidise these losses so the exploited of the world pay for them -particularly the working class- while they save the profits of the capitalists.

Over 12 trillion dollars have been paid to cover the losses of finance capital in the US, which because of its global dominance forces the rest of imperialist powers and exploited masses pay for its crisis.

The US put 1.7 trillions dollars into Eastern Europe to cover the defaults and since it now controls Poland, the US is threatening Germany in its own backyard. While Germany is the No 1 exporter of the world, it is already in recession - together with the entire Europe-, threatened by an open depression. States have assets with no value and the masses will pay for them with inflation and a devalued currency, opening the perspective of a stagflation process. This will definitely create new defaults -as it has happened in the Eastern Europe countries- in all oppressed nations of the semi-colonial world.

Japanese imperialism is on the brink of ruin, after the lost decade of the '90s. During those years Japan was dislocated from the world division of labor set up at Yalta as an exporter and main supplier of microchips and technology or the US industrial military apparatus. If Japanese imperialism was able to emerge from 10 years of crisis it was due to its investments in China. Japan was one of the main supplier of machines, tools and credit (relatively cheap) for the transnational factories built in China, plundering that country, exploiting the low wages. Japan restored its growth rate with the superprofits made in China. That is what allowed it to raise its head in the first five years of the 21st century. But the current world capitalist crisis had again brought Japan to the brink of bankruptcy. The Japanese working class is paying for that crisis with mass dismissals, wage cuts, like all the workers of the world.

In this crisis there is a renewed competition among the imperialist powers to divide China and Russia like the Balkans in '89 and '90, or when China was occupied by Japan and England in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. If the proletariat -subordinated by treacherous leaderships- doesn't solve the crisis in its interests, then imperialism and bourgeoisie will solve it in their interests. They will solve their crisis by driving the rate of super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries and of their own workers in the scramble for control of branches of production and zones of influence and access to raw materials. This will not be peaceful. As Lenin and Third International said: the most important economic factor is the war; it is only by war that ultimately finance capital can restore its profit rate.

Comrades, the price of capitalism's bankruptcy is paid for by the masses. According to the FAO, -and it is not an invention of any crazy ultra -leftist but the UN itself - 1 billion people

have stopped eating every day in the world and another billion have lost their jobs.

Immigrant workers that have been used to do the worst jobs and hold down labor costs are today being deported in their millions from the imperialist countries. Hundreds of thousands of black workers are being deported from Europe and many of them die in the Mediterranean Sea. Hundreds of thousands of Latin American immigrants in USA are also being expelled or jailed. Not only that, US, German, Japanese etc workers who have had legal protections or welfare provisions are now facing the same kind of conditions found in the semi-colonial countries. More than 40 million US workers live on the charity of the state without health insurance or pensions. The same happens in Japan, Germany, France and in the entire imperialist Europe. This is just the beginning.

In this assembly against the war, the FLTI Trotskyists want to affirm that the working class and the oppressed people of the world have put up a fight against the capitalist counterrevolutionary offensives. They did in 2001 with the Latin American proletariat in revolutionary uprisings in Argentina, Bolivia or Ecuador. The imperialist oil wars and the Israeli attacks Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq met real mass resistance like that in Fallujah, Mazar i Shariff, the Palestinians and Hezbollah in Southern Lebanon defeated the Zionist army of Israel. These resistance movements in turn sparked the beginning of a working class antiwar movement in the USA forcing the US ruling class to for the first time replace the rich white Texan Bush with a young, black faced President to restore the legitimacy of the Bi-partisan Republicat regime.

In 2007, when this crisis started, the working class said we are here. We start to fight in Greece and our cry was "*in Athens we make the spark and the fire burns Paris*". In Madagascar, Martinique, Guadalupe and the Antilles we went into combat for our wages against French colonialism and imperialism. In Paris, the youth of the immigrant workers in 2005 shouted "*every night we make a Bagdad in Paris*", and we set up the pickets against the war in Oakland on the US west coast banning the shipment of murderous US war machinery; in Paris we start occupying the factories with the bosses as hostages declaring that the ones who had to pay for the crisis as those who made it and not the workers.

Comrades, we call on the Assembly to salute together the fighters of the Greek barricades, the ones who fought and died in Fallujah and Mazar i Shariff, the heroic fighters of the Palestine resistance, the militant youth of Paris, the workers occupying the factories in France, the dock workers of the US, the strikers that confronted French imperialism in Martinique and Guadalupe, and those who started the revolution in Madagascar, they are the vanguard of the masses counteroffensive that we have to win to make the exploiters and expropriators of the world pay for their crisis.

There is no lack of courage or willingness on the part of the exploited masses to enter the fight. But there are too many treacherous leaders who betray step by step the exploited masses' struggles.

Facing the masses resistance to the world crisis, facing the prospect of a Vietnam scenario, as the black bags of dead US soldiers coming from Iraq and Afghanistan and the growing opposition of the US masses to the war, and facing the rise of a militant immigrant workers' struggle, the imperialist killers have put on their Obama disguise. They think that the face of Obama can hide the rule of the monopolies and finance capital that threw Afghanistan back to the dark ages in the



war of civilization against barbarism, and killed over a million Iraqis in 3 invasions since 1991. They try now, dressed as a the good guy, "offering the hand" of peace and democracy to maintain US hegemony. In particular, they want to divert the upsurge of the US masses against the war and the hated Bush's government. The US ally, Japan, tries to do the same with the election of the Democrat Party supported by the Communist Party to divert the hatred of the Japanese workers and masses to 50 years of the rule of the Liberal-Democratic Party.

In order to resolve the crisis in its interests the capitalist system needs to use its paid agents to contain the workers' resistance. For this purpose it has recruited all the treacherous leaders emerging out of the labor aristocracy around the world to obey one command: "The working class must pay for the crisis. Defend and bosses' governments in crisis from the hate of the exploited. Impose, new agreements and pacts to strangle the workers' resistance to defeat them in counter-revolutionary class wars."

Thus, with counter-revolutionary pacts between the popular front and fascism the heroic Bolivian revolution has been strangled. These pacts are reinforced by semi-fascistic governments, like Uribe in Colombia, and military coups like that in Honduras. Signed with the blood of the Palestinian resistance, they want new pacts to seal the fate of the masses in the concentration camps and in Ghettos and guarantee the genocidal state of Israel. T

In Iraq, where the heroic Shiite masses in the South make the Iraqi protectorate army run away, the Ayatollahs of Iran and Basora contain them and disarm them to protect Maliki's government. Meanwhile, the Turkish army invades the north of the country. So, while the Bolivarian bourgeoisie - supported by the Stalinists, social democrats and renegades of Trotskyism- have expropriated the Latin American revolution and put the left of the US working class at Obama's feet, the "Islamic" and "bazaar" bourgeoisie in the Middle East have used the heroic revolutionary fight of the masses to haggle over their share of the profits as the junior partners of the imperialism.

Comrades, let's condemn the bourgeoisie of Al Fatah -and now Hamas- who with the blood of the martyred Palestinian masses, sign agreements for the existence of two states, and thus recognise the right to exist of the genocidal state of Israel! Let's oppose the pacts of the bourgeois leadership of Hezbollah with the pro-imperialist government of Siniora, which after the masses defeated the Zionist state in southern Lebanon allowed the entry of the UN imperialist troops. The masses gave their blood and now the bourgeoisie makes profits out of rebuilding Southern Lebanon, leaving the Palestinian masses isolated in the ghettos of Gaza and the West Bank, surrounded by the hated wall.

We can't allow this! Down with the collaborationist bourgeoisie that in the negotiation it gives away the fight of the heroic Palestinian masses! For a Palestinian national assembly of Gaza, West Bank, Lebanon and Jordan that unifies, under the leadership of the workers and peasants, the fight for destroying the Zionist- fascist state of Israel and conquer a national leadership, so the free secular democratic Palestine, under a peasants and workers government will be the advanced point for the revolution in the whole Middle East!

In Egypt and Iran, since 2007, a great struggle of the working class has started. The Ayatollahs and the Islamic bourgeoisies -terrified by the Iranian working class uprising- have launched

the fiercest repression against the workers of their countries who only demand bread and work in the face of rampant unemployment and starvation.

Ayatollahs' regime represses its working class in Iran and guarantees the subordination of the Shiite masses in southern Iraq to stabilize the puppet government. The notorious regime of the Ayatollahs smashed the true revolution of the workers, soldiers and revolutionary students committees that defeated the Shah Reza Pah Levi in 1979.

- Defeat the US and Japanese invaders in Iraq and in Afghanistan!
- For the return of the Iranian revolution of 1979!
- For the return of the Shoras, the workers and soldiers committees!
- Masses in Gaza break down the hated wall of and unite with your class brothers and sisters in Egypt!
- US and Japanese out of Iraq and Afghanistan!
- French and German imperialism out of Iran, Egypt and the Middle East!

The fight for national liberation and against colonial oppression will only succeed with the expropriation of all the imperialist companies and those of their servants the national bourgeoisies, and opening the road to a Federation of Soviet Workers and Peasants Republics in all the Middle East.

But, for preventing the opening of these revolutionary perspectives of the exploited, for preventing the spark in Athens from setting Paris or Tokyo on fire and for the fires of Madagascar not to reach Zimbabwe, Congo or South Africa; from all the transnationals and the finance capital of all the imperialist powers came the command: "The working class must accept the suspensions, dismissals and loss of their pensions, health insurance, cuts in working hours and wages."

**In all the countries of the world, this command is obeyed by all the union bureaucracies and the reformist parties of the Labor aristocracy, including the AFL-CIO, the reformist European unions, the Bolivarian and the so-called "Islamic" bourgeoisies, the social-democrats and the recycled Stalinists and the renegades of Trotskyism: the working class must give away its gains, and even its jobs and wages in order to keep alive this horrible system over the ruin of the exploited. We can't allow this!**

Comrades, we've traveled 30,000 kilometres to be at the Assembly. We came here to bring four proposals, because we've come here to fight together. We are aware of the differences we have, but we also know that we recognize each other as fighters of the world working class.

**We have four proposals:**

All the treacherous leaders have been recruited to act as scabs of the struggles of the international working class to make us give away our jobs and our historic gains to save a bunch of parasites that has taken mankind at the edge of the barbarism and disaster. We can't allow this!

They want us to give up our heroic struggles against the war and the exploiters; calling on us to support the 'democratic' executioners like Obama and the Bolivarian Bourgeoisies, the popular fronts, and the Islamic bourgeoisies that sell out our liberation wars and our national struggles. We can't allow this either!

*That is why we propose:*

1) Against that real "sliding scale of suspensions and dismissals" that the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy of the whole world want to impose on us, we must counter-pose our war cry:

- Capitalists pay for the crisis!
- For the sliding scale of wages and hours of labor!
- All the available hands to work!

Factories and machines have been stopped and destroyed because they are unprofitable.

- It is time for those to go to the hands of the producers, the working class!
- Expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of all factories that close or dismiss!
- No more money to the banks and capitalists!
- Expropriation without compensation of the super-banks and financial oligarchy!
- We must expropriate Wall Street, Bundesbank, Credit Lyonnaise; Fuji, Toyota and Sony -follow the example of the Paris workers who occupied their factories-!
- No more loans of billions of dollars for the capitalist parasites!
- Expropriation of General Motors in the whole world!
- Down with the increase of the cost of living! There is 1 billion of starving people in the planet. The wages no longer allow the replenishment of daily labor power.
- Immediate increase of wages for everybody!
- Equal work, equal wage, for women, youth and immigrants in the whole working class of the world!

2) We take as ours the war cry of the founders of revolutionary Marxism in the imperialist epoch. Let's cry with Karl Liebknecht -the greatest fighter against imperialist wars-:

- Water and fire cannot be mixed! There is nothing that the exploited masses can do together with their executioners to free themselves!
- Down with the collaborationist bourgeoisies of Middle East!
- Down with the pacts of the Iranian Ayatollahs that repress the heroic Iranian working class and support Al Maliki and the US protectorate government in Iraq!
- Down with the pacts of the collaborationist bourgeoisies of the Middle East that support the Zionist fascist state of Israel; like Al Fatah or Hezbollah that gave away the masses of Southern Lebanon with the counterrevolutionary pacts with the pro-imperialist government of Siniora!
- Down with the popular fronts that submit the Bolivian proletariat to its bourgeoisie and US-French imperialism! That pact made between Morales and the Media Luna -which smashed the workers and peasants in that country- blessed by the OAS!
- Down with the Popular Front on the African National Congress, where Stalinism and the black bourgeoisie rule over the South African proletariat and poor peasants!

- Down with the popular front of class collaboration in Zimbabwe which has inflation of 1000%, 90% of unemployment and widespread famine in that country!
- Down with the pacts that want to restore capitalism in Cuba led by the Castro brothers and Bomber Obama of the US Democratic Party!
- Down with the pact between Stalinism and the democratic party of Japan that will be used to make an offensive against the Japanese proletariat, and together with USA- make offensives in Korea, China and in all Asia!

3) There has been a military coup in Honduras -US backyard - to make that country with its powerful US military base, to join with Colombia as the front line of US imperialism in its class wars to recover control of its backyard from its rivals, France, Germany and Japan.

The US Republicrats regime dresses up as Obama on one hand and on the other hand uses the iron fist of its military in Afghanistan, Pakistan and now in the Honduras coup. They anticipated the workers and peasants uprising that was coming and replaced the Bolivarian bourgeois fraction of Zelaya that was bargaining for a greater share of the banana business.

- OAS, Latin American bourgeoisies, Obama and Republicrats hands off Honduras!
- US military bases out of Honduras and Colombia and all of Latin America where they organise all the counterrevolutionary forces on the continent!
- Down with the pact of Zelaya and the coupists, who sacrifice the blood of the workers to keep their profits and turn Honduras, Central America and Mexico turned into a great US maquila!
- For workers and peasants militias to smash the coup, abolish the murderous officer caste and expropriate all the properties of the oligarchy, imperialism and the coupists!
- In Central America: One fight, one revolution!
- OAS gurdhas troops out of Haiti!
- French Imperialism and its mercenary troops out of Guadalupe and the Antilles!
- US out of Guantanamo!
- Down with the Castroite restorationist bureaucracy and its capitalist restoration pact with Obama!
- For a true workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers government that puts Cuba at the service of the Latin American revolution and world revolution!
- For the socialist United States of Central and South America!
- We call from the American continent to you, revolutionary youth and workers of Japan, to organize a demonstration in Okinawa against the US military base and to demand and fight for: US military bases out of Honduras, Colombia and Guantanamo! Smash the military coup in Honduras financed by the US and the Obama Republicrat regime!

4) Comrades as the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki approaches let us make a commitment with our revolutionary workers honor and tell the world working class that the betrayal of, first, social democracy and then Stalinism (in the mid of 20th century)

opened the road to the two imperialist wars. Stalinism did it by betraying the German, Spanish and French revolutions in the '30s after it had betrayed the heroic Soviet Revolution in Russia of 1917.

Comrades, there is no doubt that if the proletarian revolution doesn't stop it capitalism will survive not with peace but with new wars and even new holocausts and barbarism. The imperialist powers who risk losing their spheres of influence will not give up without a fight. They will try to defend them by going to war as they did already in two world wars in the imperialist epoch.

The Third world war will start like the second finished: with bombs like Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It will be preceded by what we have already seen in Africa, proxy wars between imperialist powers using different ethnic warlords and national bourgeois fractions. They use them to plunder minerals (as Coltan) or diamonds and precious stones. Those commodities are not hotly disputed by the US, French and Japanese imperialist gangs.

The revolutionary youth and workers of Japan, that today are gathering together in this assembly, must stand up with class hate against those massacres and genocides of our class brothers and sisters in Congo and Zimbabwe, which is the equal to 10 Hiroshimas and Nagasakis.

Comrades: to stop the holocaust and the use of nuclear weapons by imperialist powers, the road cannot be 'peace in general' as Stalinism used to proclaim during the Yalta and Posdam. period. The only Stalinist peace is in the cemeteries of dead workers caused by the Stalinist betrayals of many revolutions.

The proletariat has a missile more powerful than all imperialist nuclear arsenals. That missile is the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries. Stated clearly, revolutionary workers and students of Japan: there is only one way to stop the French, US or Russians (acting on behalf of Germany) and the Zionist state of Israel using nuclear weapons, and to prevent the arming of Japanese imperialism to defend its share of imperialist profits now under threat. That is to unify the workers ranks, prepare an international counteroffensive of the world proletariat to put on the agenda of the day, to make the exploiters and parasites of world financial capitals pay for their crisis by fighting for the socialist revolution in USA, France, Germany and Japan.

Yes comrades, the revolution and the fight of the working class in the imperialist countries will require building workers militias and splitting the army. to create soldiers militias. Workers manufacture the weapons, use them and transport them. The only thing that separates the workers from the armed insurrection are the reformist leaderships the agents of capitalism. None of the US, French, German bourgeoisie could use a nuclear bomb against a working class 'missile' of the armed workers in their own country.

We must tell the truth: the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries is the only road to nuclear disarmament. The fight for the restoration of the proletarian dictatorship in the former USSR and China and the defeat of the red mandarins is also necessary for nuclear disarmament. To conquer peace and bread the only way is to expropriate the expropriators, and the proletarian revolution is the nuclear weapon of the exploited which will be armed when we overthrow the treacherous leadership.

The time has come for the world working class raise the demands of the world revolution.

- Down with imperialism!
- Down with pacifism!
- For the socialist revolution in the USA!
- For the socialist united states of North America! Down with the Fifth Republic of the French imperialist butchers, with the Spanish and British monarchies, and with the Bundesbank government in Germany!
- Victory for the proletarian dictatorship! For the socialist united states in Europe!
- For a workers soviet and revolutionary Japan on the road to the federation of socialist republics of Asia!

For that reason, we came here to make a final proposal to this assembly; a proposal which was already acted on by the revolutionary workers and youth in the Athens barricades, the workers and peasants in Madagascar, Martinique and Guadalupe and the ones that occupied the factories in France: *"the spark in Athens, burns Paris"*.

Let's affirm together:

- Burn London and New York!
- We want a Vietnam in the Middle East!
- For the defeat of the imperialist invasion troops in the Middle East!
- Break with Obama to rise up again the US working class!
- Break with the leadership of the WSF, with the renegades of Trotskyism who put the North American masses at the feet of the US imperialist bombers of the Democratic Party, the ones that supported Bush and today continue their offensives all over the planet!

To pay a tribute to the struggle raised by the Greek masses, let's make together a call to all the organizations that claim to speak on behalf of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie. Let's call for the mobilisation again of the Million Workers March against the war in USA. The world working class needs the Oakland workers stopping military supplies reaching the imperialist colonialist and oppression wars. To fight against the imperialist coups like that of Honduras and against the new counterrevolutionary offensives that the US, French and German imperialist bombers are preparing for bloodstained Africa.

You revolutionary comrades, workers and youth of Japan have the responsibility and the duty to make this call. The entire US left, including the Castroists, the renegades of Trotskyism, the friends of the Bolivarians, and Social Democrats, have conspired to prevent the great united workers front organised on May 1st every year in the US by the immigrant brothers and sisters against the oppressed imperialist war from becoming a general strike. In Japan the militant railway workers and metal workers, and the revolutionary students, have the authority to coordinate with their brothers and sisters from the US West Coast, to launch together the struggle to break with the bourgeoisie, the siren songs of the popular front and the class collaborationist policy which ties the hands of the workers, so that the iron fist of the fascist counterrevolution is prepared.

We propose that you make this call to the Oakland workers and the organizations of the Million Workers March against the war in USA to organise a great congress of the combative, revolutionary and anti-imperialist fighting workers' organizations around the world. Make the capitalist pay for

the crisis; expropriate the expropriators. Prepare the world masses counteroffensive to put on the agenda the International Socialist Revolution. It is time to regroup the fighting workers' ranks!

It is an honour to fight with you. It is an honour to be here. Let's act together. The international working class needs a new leadership to succeed, a general staff to fight against the exploiters and to open the road to victories and not that of defeats.

- Victory for the International Socialist Revolution!
- For the working class and the exploited to live, imperialism must die!
- The liberation of the workers will be achieved by the workers themselves!
- Down with the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy, the World Social Forum, Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism and all those who sell out the world proletarian combat!

- For an International Conference of Principled Trotskyists and revolutionary workers organizations!

We have to break with imperialism disguised as Obama and break with all the national bourgeoisies and the treacherous leaderships who are their agents. The railway workers and the Japanese youth have the authority to make this call.

This is our war cry. These are our proposals.

International Coordination Secretariat of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, on behalf of:

Liga Obrera Internacionalista - Cuarta Internacional, of Argentina

Partido Obrero Internacionalista - Cuarta Internacional, of Chile

Liga Trotskista Internacionalista, of Bolivia

Fracción Trotskista, of Brazil

Liga Trotskista Internacionalista, of Peru

Communist Workers Group, of New Zealand

## IFTL Delegates Report

# From the 47<sup>th</sup> Antiwar Assembly

Sunday, 2nd August

Comrades,

The Assembly sessions were held in a convention centre in downtown Tokyo.

The comrades came for me two hours beforehand, as to skip the police control it was necessary to get to the Assembly well in advance. The police (both in uniform and in plainclothes) were stationed just in the front of the building, and also at the corners of the corresponding and the surrounding blocks. They were using photo and video recording cameras.

We entered [...] All around the convention center the Zengakuren were providing the security for the Assembly [...]

The comrades are organized in three levels: [...] Each branch of political work votes for the delegation it sends to this assembly and those branches vote also for the speakers at the Assembly. Attending were teamsters, rail workers, metalworkers, teachers and professors, chemical factory workers, postal workers, workers of the factories of machine-tools, other industrial workers, longshoremen, Zengakuren from the university and secondary schools, etc. The composition was decidedly rank and file, over three generations.

Japan is an "old" society; the birth rate is very low and that question has a strong weight in the political campaigns of all the bourgeois parties. A sector of the Assembly was composed of workers 60 years old or older; another sector, and rather important was around 50, those that began to act in politics around the world upheaval of the '60s. Third, a minority was around my age, between 30 and 40. But it was also important, although it is summer and holiday time, the presence of a significant sector of young people, even teenagers, in a proportion exactly the reverse of the statistics. The presence of the working women was almost in a majority, at least 60% of the Assembly.

When I arrived they took me to an office to have lunch and prepare my speech. There I was informed that as our letter had reached them at six a.m. they had had time to translate the part with the motions into Japanese, but they had not have time enough to print it in the Assembly bulletin. But that translation to the Japanese, from the phrase that says "We have travelled 30000 km..." to the final greetings, was completed and was sent to all the regional assemblies having their sessions simultaneously in the rest of the country.

Comrade Kato, responsible for the translation was terribly tired, he had not slept all night long, but was able to complete the job, really not an easy one, in only three hours, and some copies of that translation were also circulating in the Assembly in Tokyo. They told me that the complete translation to Japanese was to be ready in less than two weeks, in time to be published in their weekly *Kahoi* and it was going to be published in English in the next bimonthly *The Communist*. They asked me more than once to tell my leaders to forgive them for not having everything ready, but it had been impossible for them because of the short time available.

The bulletin they presented had everything in Japanese, the main points and speeches, as well as the international greetings in English, only our greeting was not there. The comrades gave me excuses many times, they explained me that our letter was very long, that it had arrived within a very short time before the Assembly, asked me to understand that they were proud that the FLT always printing their positions in our press, and assured me that all our materials were going to be wholly published in theirs.

Well, in the bulletin there appear the greetings from Cde Robinson of UK, from the Minneapolis Workers International League (US), from the Union pacifiste de la France; from News and Letters Committees of Marxist Humanism of Chicago (the party of Trotsky's renegade secretary Runa Dunayevskaya); from Russian Stalinists and the sister group of Savas Matzas in Leningrad; from another group in Ukraine;

from the Bongani Mkhungo group in Durban, South Africa; from the Afghan Socialist Association in Kabul; the Castroist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Before beginning the Assembly, we prepared the translation of my speech, arranging for me to read directly in English all the proposals while each paragraph in English was instantly translated by Kato into Japanese who was on the platform by my side. We had arranged also that when I was introducing myself to the delegates, Kato would translate and also use the remarks of the letter I had highlighted for him. They asked me to also repeat some paragraphs in Spanish, so that my voice and the revolutionary spirit of the Argentinean comrades could -literally- enter the hearts of the Japanese comrades.

At 12:10 we had everything ready so they took me to the entrance hall of the convention room, where they had arranged a display stand with photos of the organizations attending and endorsing the Assembly as well as of the struggles in which they had been involved. There was also a display some 10 meters long with the photos telling the entire story of the Zengakuren's struggles. There was our own display some 2 meters long with photos of the rally for the Las Heras prisoners, of the WIVL, of mobilizations in New Zealand, of the Peruvian roadblocks and of the pickets of the Bolivian miners. I made a mistake by not asking them if they needed photos to arrange the stand of materials, so we lost the opportunity of sending our photos and being part of the arrangement of the stand. But essentially our publications in English and Spanish were there, the entire polemics with the Japanese comrades printed in the IWO -complete with our letters, their responses and letters and our replies- hanging from the walls.

Besides these stands, in the first floor there was the table with the materials of the JCRL with all their books and magazines, and the tables of the different work branches with their publications and leaflets.

Well, 12.10 (noon) we arranged the IFLT table and distributed the publications and the Zengakuren comrades and the cadres from the international cell began to help me explain what material was found in them, and we organized the collection of money. When the comrades wanting the publications asked for the price, the cadres of the international cell directly explained what I had said in the first meetings: how we use to fund our work, how the degenerate Trotskyists in Latin America were paid by the states with the welfare plans, the union posts, the money for the relatives of the "missing" people; how we say that the money given by an unemployed workers amounts to thousands of million dollars and how we discussed and distributed our materials in the factories. Those who knew English came and asked me directly, and everyone was surrounding the table and listening, and Kate translated to Japanese for the rest. We were thus for fifty minutes up to the moment a bell rang marking the beginning of the Assembly. In this first part we could sell some sixth of the materials and the money was put in a box, which was left in the hands of the security corps of the Zengakuren; also a banner was left on the table explaining that the materials were paid to finance the air fees of the Argentinean comrades and asking please to take care of them.

After I had given my speech, in a 15 minutes' break of the Assembly, the table became chaotic, with almost 400 people around the place, wanting to greet me, shaking my hand one by one, and exclaiming a phrase in English... all the rest in

Japanese (well, I will tell you about this in detail later on and more carefully because everything was so intense and I felt sensations akin to those I felt in the Black South African worker Assemblies). All in all materials were sold for a total of 200000 yen (around 2000 dollars according to what the comrades explained to me.

Second day, Monday 3rd August

Comrades, I am continuing to inform you on the Assembly.

On the stage there was only a box for the speaker at the centre of the platform; the announcer was standing beside it. Behind the screen there was the sound equipment and the security comrades. Also there were some table and chairs for the comrades to sit and wait or their turn to speak, studying their papers or reading the speeches of those that had them printed and circulated beforehand. I was given a place in the third row in front of the stage, with Kato beside me to translate for me what was said and also with Cde Kuwabara.

The announcer or presenter began informing the delegates that this Assembly was taking place in a moment that an alliance was being organized between the DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan) with the Social Democrats and the New Peoples Party, supported by the whole union bureaucracy and the Communist Party of Japan, and denounced that all these parties are talking about the sure victory (of the alliance) in the next elections being a victory for the workers! He affirmed that it was a lie because it will be a government against the working class. Then he began to read the list of the speakers. He explained that there was among the attendants the comrade from the FLTI, which was received with an ovation. He explained that we had made a big effort in going there, announced that there was a fundraising for financing our stay and spoke about the materials we had carried along with us to pay for the plane fares. He also insisted that it was a huge example of international commitment and struggle, and of the unity of the revolutionary worker organizations. He spoke about all the years we had been discussing by mail, and with that Kato asked me to stand up and the entire Assembly applauded heartily and emphatically. I bowed down to the four corners of the theatre, greeting all the comrades and then all of the delegates stood up and we were applauding together for some five minutes.

When the presentation was over, the speeches began. The first speaker was a comrade from the JCRL, in the name of the Organizing Committee of the Assembly. This comrade had been won over by the Zengakuren movement. In his speech he did not repeat the call of the Assembly, instead he focused his intervention in denouncing the alliance that will be the change of horse in the bourgeois government. He said that the DPJ has nationalist elements that want to get relatively independent in relation to USA, an example of that being their proposal of closing the US military bases in Japan, annulling the permanent treaties and passing a bill to stress the temporary character of these treaties.

He went on denouncing that the Zenroren bureaucracy (it is one of the national unions which has a nationalist-fascist character) is heading the campaign for the victory of the DPJ and in fact the DPJ is no more than fascism in a smiling mask. He recalled how comrade Kuroda had educated the comrades in the struggle against the union bureaucracy. About the JCP he explained that the official position of Stalinism was to support the progressive measures of the new government and to be its "positive opposition", while in every corner of the



labor movement Stalinism was at the head of those sowing illusions in the new government of the DPJ.

He explained that the collapse of the government of (Taro) Aso was the same as the collapse of the Bush government, and that the collapse of the LDP as a party was due to it being the servant of the US imperialists. But the conclusion of all this is that the working class always pays for all the Government collapses, as it has been destroyed by poverty. There are millions now among the Japanese workers who live below the poverty line. He said that the Japanese working class is at a crossroads, that Stalinism is taking it to bankruptcy and that the workers have illusions in the government of the DPJ and that option would take them to bankruptcy.

Then he began to explain the world situation, that we were near the 64th anniversary of THE BOMB and that Japan has nuclear armament together with the US. Obama is a mask to cover the atomic power of the US in the world, and he went on denouncing the development of nuclear weapons. Again he turned on the fact that Japan is under the nuclear umbrella of the US and together they are involved in an offensive against all the Asian peoples. He also stated that under the DPJ government that course is only to be deepened.

I listened to him and took notes up to here, because I had to go together with Kato to prepare my speech ten minutes in advance. But all the time while the comrade was speaking the audience made approving gestures that consisted in shouting a word that means "IT'S TRUE". And they have also another habit, to use an onomatopoeic phrase that sounds like "SHHHHHIII" to show their approbation and another that is "OOUUUUU" each time the speaker raises a correct point or something deep that touches them. Another thing that called my attention, and contrary to the presumption I previously had, is that everybody spoke in a medium or low tone, and while agitating they do not shout or wave their arms or anything that could imply the use of body movements. And also, in the same way that happened in South Africa, they continually tell jokes to the audience.

While waiting for my turn to speak, I asked Kato if it could be a problem for the comrades to see how we used to speak, as we had another way of giving our speeches. But Kato said no; he told me to feel free of expressing as I was used to, with all the expressions as dictated by our traditions and habits, because in that way it was better to reach to our audience's spirit. He told me that the low tone was due to the tradition to have a voice that comes to the level of the heart of the listener so it enters it easily, but that at the same time it was in reality a mixture to cover the hundred years' traditions of servitude of the Japanese people to the feudal masters in Japan, then to the Emperor and finally to the capitalists. I adopted the following posture: in some parts of my speech I used a grave tone and in other ones I agitated (spoke loudly and emotionally).

Well, when it was my turn and I stood behind the speakers' box, everybody was standing and applauding. We had organized the translation previously with Kato. In the part corresponding to the free speech he took notice of each phrase and when I finished, he translated; in the morning I had given him the main ideas and some phrases and concepts in English. Then, when I read the four motions (proposals) -as the leadership had asked me to do that morning- he translated the entire paragraph when finishing each proposal.

I began with the first part consisting of the foundation of the FLTI and the greetings voted together with the decision of coming to the Assembly to answer their call. Then I went on with the points discussed with C Mr and Joa before coming here, i-e-, after 8 years it had been possible for the Japanese and Argentinean revolutionary internationalists to be together in the same Assembly. We have a story together. This story began when during the Argentinean revolution as a part of the Latin American revolution we were attacked due to having raised a revolutionary program for the working class to take power with armed soviets. We were attacked for having confronted the corruption of the degenerate Trotskysts: we were attacked, chased, and handed over to the police. I told the audience that in that moment the first voices that rose in the world with class principles for supporting us was those of comrade Kuroda and the Japanese revolutionaries. That thanks to their and the Argentinean workers' support we could resist those hard moments and be able today to be together here in the Assembly.

Without that story of common class principles perhaps the unity today to struggle together could not have been possible. It took us eight years to be together today and we would have liked to thank personally comrade Kuroda all his support and the strength he gave us, and in his honor and his memory we gave our thanks to the Assembly. (Here the first five rows with the older comrades were fully in tears and emotion. While I was saying this, Kato got very emotional and could not continue translating at the same speed as before, but a part of the audience that could understand English began with individual applauds and the syllabic exclamations until Kato could translate everything I said. This continued thus during all the speech. But when this part of my speech ended everybody was applauding).

I went on saying that in that common story, we revolutionaries recognized each other in the oil wars, struggling together in Afghanistan, suffering with the torture and death of our class brothers and sisters in Massar-i-Sharif and Abu Grahib, in Guantanamo; that we fought and resisted together in Fallujah against the invader; that we fought and were happy together when the Palestinian masses defeated and made the Zionist-fascist Army of the State of Israel run like desert rats in south of Lebanon and that together we resisted alongside the Palestinian masses in the refugee camps and the ghettos.

Then I stated that we have another story that unites us: that of our world party, the Fourth International, the party of Leon Trotsky, continuator of the party of Lenin, the 3<sup>rd</sup> International, the party of the seizing power in Russian October, of the Red Army, of the armed soviet, of the insurrection as an art: that this story is also our common story, the story of the most persecuted and murdered movement in History, that was put into the concentration camps by Stalinism, and equally hated by the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and the reformists.

And now, finally, after 8 long years we were together. And that the workers of several countries and different continents were waiting very anxiously and very hopefully to hear about our meeting to join our struggle together across the frontiers.

We are meeting in the midst of a world crisis, where Capitalism frightened by the prospects of revolution displays all its forces and puts them in motion in order to survive, recruiting and centralizing at a world level all the treacherous leaderships of the working class: the Stalinists,

the social Democrats, the labor bureaucracies and aristocracy, the Trotskyist renegades, all them together in the world Social Forum, to make us the workers and exploited masses of the world pay for the crisis. The capitalists have put in motion their servants the Bolivarian bourgeoisies, like Chavez, Morales, and also the bourgeoisies that cover themselves under the mantle of Islam. The consequences are one billion starving people in the world, one billion of unemployed, millions of dead in the wars in Africa. The murdered in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine. There have been hundreds of Hiroshimas and Nagasakis that the capitalists have bombed in the last two years in their offensive against the world working class.

We are here together, we want to unify our forces and we have brought four proposals that I am going to read to struggle together, because we need the socialist revolution to save the working class. Perhaps many of the comrades in this Assembly believe we are all too small forces for such big tasks, that we have not enough arms for achieving victory. But the forces for revolution have shouted "present!" and began their motion. These forces are waiting for us in Madagascar, in Greece, in Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Antilles, in the French factories occupied by their workers and the "cites" burning all over France, in the entire Middle East. Greece has shown us how to stop the counterrevolutionary war unleashed on our class. There the program and how to make it reality has been found: "Spark in Athens, Paris on fire, it's insurrection that's starting!" This is the way, the fire in Paris, New York, Tokyo: socialist revolution in the imperialist countries.

Then I said that we are meeting in the 64<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the bombs and summarized the first page as the concept of imperialism using both fascism and democracy to solve their disputes and decide how better to defeat the working class and the exploited masses of the world, as today Obama does. I continued with the first paragraph of the second page about the Japanese imperialism that I read thoroughly and finally the paragraph of the post '89 world I synthesized by denouncing every imperialism behind the US that survived after '89 by plundering the former worker states, the Chinese giant maquila, Stalinism surrendering the USSR, BASF-Gazprom and the oil, etc.

At this point in an dialogue with the comrade that had preceded me, I told the audience that the Japanese revolutionary workers had in their hands a big responsibility, a huge power, that of leading the struggle of the millions of exploited in Asia, all of them overexploited by Japanese imperialism, and that that was the way to defeat Stalinism in Japan that had surrendered the former workers states to the German, US, Japanese, UK, French imperialists, and to lead the working class to revolution. I used the paragraphs about the working class having to look itself in the mirror of its class brothers and sisters in Asia, and continued with the agitation slogans that follow, including that of only one class, only one struggle up to the paragraphs that speak about opening again the revolutionary fight for a revolutionary workers soviet Japan. And I ended stating all the slogans of the program for China.

From there I began directly with the reading of the proposals, up to the end, all the same as in the letter, changing only in the part that we refer to them. Looking at the audience face to face, one by one I went pointing at them, saying: You, you have that power in your hands, Japanese railroad, municipal, metal, etc. workers, Zengakuren, etc., and I went on naming all the industrial

branches, to say YOU have all the authority to convene this struggle and I ended reading the letter.

The last slogans I began directly to agitate in Spanish with my fist held high and everybody stood up in ovation and there were ten minutes of applause. We went to the backstage, and the rank and file went on applauding, so I was called again to the front to face the audience and I went and applauded them. Then the Zengakuren climbed on the stage with the flags of homage to the IFLT and shouted in Spanish: "long live proletarian internationalism!" When I was shaking hands with the youngest comrades I noticed that the rank and file were laughing and applauding ever more loudly: later on I was told that in Japan nobody shakes hands, but they think that that is also a result of the previously mentioned submission and also of alienation, because in the street nobody touches each other's hands, they don't embrace or talk to each other, they are always walking quickly and silently.

It could seem unimportant to comment on, but when in the interval they went to greet me it was exactly to the contrary: everybody wanted to shake hands with me and give me a hug. Well while they gave me the flags, they took snapshots of me with the flags in my hands, all surrounded by the people still applauding.

When we went again to the backstage I took a glance to the first clock I could see and noticed that we had taken a lot more than the 40 minutes Kato and I had been assigned to deliver my speech (20 to speak, 20 to translate). We had been speaking for an hour and 10 minutes in all! I began to apologize for having disorganized the schedule of the Assembly, but all the delegates of the branches that were to speak after me told me: don't mind, comrade, you entered our hearts, it's all right, and everybody greeted me full of joy and were smiling very happily. Other comrades (the next day I knew they were from the editorial board of the Kaihoh paper) came to greet me and when I apologized to the presenter in front of them they said, it's all right there was only a 10 minutes' delay in our speech, the rest of the delay had been caused by the applauses and ovations. And the presenter also embraced me.

Kato told me to go to the smoking room (here smoking in public places is banned by law, and punished with a fee or detention, smoking is only possible in specially habilitated places or when you are walking in the street -if there is a placard signaling a smoking place in the sidewalks, with public ashtrays for the use of smokers, who are crowded around them; those signals are placed each four or five blocks), he told me I deserved to smoke a cigarette, and in the hall the security of the Zengakuren and the JCRL applauded us.

When we got to the smoking room the photographer of the Kaihoh came to congratulate me; he said that I had moved them, and I said that we were the ones who felt moved as we had found a powerful revolutionary working class current in the heart of imperialism, that that didn't exist either in Europe or in US but I could not continue the dialogue because we realized that the people that entered the room to smoke during the break in the act instead of lighting their cigarettes came to tell me in English "Let's struggle together!" and to shake hands with me. Then was when Kato told me rather worried: "Armando, we have forgotten the table with the materials!"

So we went out and walked to the place and could see how half of the attendants to the act were crowding around the

table, with the workers passing each other the materials and the cadres of international work and the Zengakuren explaining to them in Japanese, and the workers passing to each other the box to put the money for the materials in. I tried to reach the table to help but was intercepted by five women workers who told me in English: "We are workers in a Fuji factory, you have touched our spirit, we have to struggle together right now!"

I replied: "It an honor, comrades, the women workers of Fuji and Toyota's in Latin America are waiting for your call to be able to get free in Latin America from the Japanese imperialism that has its maquilas in Manaus, Brazil, in Argentina and in Peru". And thus it happened as I have said: during all the break I got surrounded and with my back on a wall next to the smoking room's door: one by one they came to shake my hand, they told me in English "let's struggle together!" They told me what industrial branch they were from, they wanted to talk me in English and cried with their eyes full of tears, the Zengakuren students embraced me, etc.

During all this time I tried to agitate and repeat "You have the power, comrades, if you call for an international congress we can change the world!" To the Zengakuren I said: "You are the future troops of the proletarian revolution army; imagine you join ranks with the Chinese workers in the biggest Red Army in the world, nobody could stop us!" and all the time I repeated our thanking to them and the comrades that were extremely moved.

The oldest of the women comrades asked how old I was and concluded "You are the future of revolution". Even it happened that a municipal worker came and embraced me crying and with his face soaked in tears shouted "Death to Stalinism, death to the degenerates of Trotskyism, you made me recall Hungary '56, long live the proletarian dictatorship!" There are handfuls of anecdotes, dialogues that I cannot remember now; I only try to reflect the essence of everything that happened there. What I remember of those 40 minutes is that Kato was not there to translate but there was always someone who stood beside me to translate to English and from English to Japanese, all the comrades were rotating to help us dialogue.

Then the bell rang again and everybody went again to sit in their places for the continuation of the Assembly. There were now only Kato and me, Kuwabara, three of the members of the security and a photographer; in that moment three high school students came and very shyly asked Kuwabara to intercede with me so that I allowed them to take the materials, two sets of each document, in order to study them with their classmates and be able to tell all the students in their school about the international revolution; they were sorry they only had some coins. I got terribly moved, so I was unable even to speak. I was almost in tears myself and the only words that I could mutter in English were "As the transitional Program of the Fourth International tells, give way to the youth, give way to the working women, theirs are the forces of the future of revolution". Meanwhile I gave them what they were asking for. Kuwabara was also almost in

tears (let's recall that in Japan men do not cry even if they have lost a child).

When the Assembly was finished, and we were in the taxi cab, Kato told me: "Armando, how much do you think we have collected?" I answered that I had no idea. Kato and Kuwabara laughed together and the former told me "I think we have enough for you to return very soon here". When we opened the bag in the hotel that night, all the money was tidily arranged in piles and there were 201,800 yen, with a note signed by the security responsible stating that amount. Today I went to the exchange shop and at today's rate of exchange it is US\$ 2,037.

Well, following is the summary of the speeches that followed mine.

The first was a comrade that spoke for the leadership of the JRCL, [...] He denounced in his speech that the Zengoren was collecting money for the electoral campaign of the DPJ. And while it was doing that, Japan was submerged in record unemployment, about 4 million workers have already lost their jobs, comrades of the JRCL among them (in downtown Tokyo, the city of the multinationals, order and tidiness, where the hotel is placed, one can see during the day a few unemployed scavenging the bins placed at the corners to recycle paper, or sleeping uncovered on the sidewalks in the streets). Zengoren not only does not call to strike but also says that it is better to lose the jobs than to lose the

corporations and the country, so unemployment is their idea of saving both.

Kato explained to me that the comrades of the JRCL tried to organize against the first lay offs, but received no response, there is no reaction, yet. The leader of the JRCL denounced that the campaign of the Zengoren called the (future) government of the DPJ to include the unions in its ranks. To stop this, as the comrades of the IFLT have said, we will have to organize struggles to burn

the streets and the campus in Tokyo. And after that he directly stated that they will take into account our call, therefore they were going to discuss how to put into actions the proposals of the IFLT, because it was imperative to create an international organization against war, on the basis of the Marxist principles. He said: "We are in front of a new struggle and of a new type of combat". Then he continued denouncing Stalinism and class collaboration. After he had finished, the presenter thanked all the workers for the contributions they had made to the effort of covering the stay of the comrade of the IFLT.

A postal worker woman climbed to the stage, dressed in very simple white cotton trousers and coat, she wore a short haircut, and was apparently 50. She began stating that it was very important the effort, which was made to win over the workingwomen for the JRCL. Then she told us that her main struggle was centered in confronting the bureaucracy that was convincing the workers to give money and votes for the campaign of the DPJ; through that struggle she was trying to



organize an opposition slate in the union to defeat and kick off the bureaucracy.

She also told the audience that in the campaign to organize the workingwomen she denounced the Zengoren as a warmonger, as it is in favor of and calls for "recovering" the Kuril Islands (now in Russians hands since the 2WW, which implies war, NT) and takes advantage of that to make anti-communist propaganda. In the frontline with her branch she was an organizer of the anti-war militants in Okinawa (where the JRCL heads the anti-war anti imperialist movement) and with all those policies she hoped to go on attracting new groups to the organization. Then she added: "After listening to the IFLT comrade, I will go back to my union and tell the workers that we must expand our fight beyond the Japanese borders"

Then it was the turn of the Zengakuren. Just for you to have an approximate idea, the JRCL leads a fraction this movement (Zengakuren means "self-organized student movement", NT) in several universities throughout Japan, among then the Waseda-Tokyo University, the birthplace of the original Zengakuren after the 2WW. Zengakuren is a mass organization of millions of students, and while the JRCL has an influence on them they are by no means under the control of the JRCL. The hard helmets they wear are not only for the street fighting, as it is a symbol of the unity between the students and the workers (the white hard hats being the same as the "official" ones used by factory and construction workers).

Well, the comrade gave a report on the last national congress of the Zengakuren, some weeks before the summer holidays. In that congress a plan of struggle in the streets and in the campuses against the Aso government was voted. Meetings, protest rallies, leafleting, everything you like. The JCP voted against that but was defeated. JCP's policy among the youth is the promotion of a letter that they have sent to Obama, supporting him and sending him hopeful greetings. Many students have illusions in Obama; it is difficult to make them break with him.

As a part of the anti-Obama campaign, the Zengakuren went to distribute leaflets in the central railroad and underground stations. The comrade told the audience that by accident they met a JPC parliamentarian and then they began to ask him in front of the masses: why do you send letters to Obama who is massacring the people in Afghanistan, and who is the mask to cover the nuclear race. Everybody laughed when he explained how the JCP parliamentarian had to run in fear, unable to reply even one single word to the questions raised by the Zengakuren confronting him.

Secondly he made a report about an anti-Zengakuren campaign that has started in Japan. In Hokkaido University, in North Japan, the authorities approved a rule to ban the self-organization of the students, trying to force student organizations to be approved and under the surveillance of the deans and rectors. They aim at expelling whoever tries to build or defend a student self-organization. The Zengakuren organized a march calling for the immediate expulsion of the authorities involved from the universities and to sack them from their faculty posts, as that law was against the fundamentals of a University (the Hokkaido university founding rules make mandatory for the students to be free, critical and creative). The authorities removed the new rule.

In other state universities the privatization of the student dormitories has begun, some of them have closed their doors. The Zengakuren left the dormitories and occupied the university buildings (classrooms, libraries, labs, etc.) and went there to sleep and live with their personal possessions. The authorities left them alone and repealed the project of privatization.

In Okinawa, the university authorities called a students' meeting on a Sunday to make them vote for the banning of the Zengakuren organizations, and co-opted a sector of the students by means of bribes and the promise of having their "own" student centre. The Zengakuren distributed a leaflet the Saturday before that Sunday warning that there had been some cases of flu spreading in the campus. Nobody went to the Sunday meeting. That gave them time, one more week to discuss the threat of the ban and convince the students. Facing their impotence, the authorities called all the students who where part of the Zengakuren leadership and interviewed them individually, threatening them to denounce them to the police, as the authorities said they knew everybody was a member of the JRCL, so they were risking going to jail. The comrade ended his speech calling for a confrontation with the fascist offensive of the government, both of Aso and of DPJ, by means of the unity between worker and students.

Once this speech was over, all the speakers were called to the stage to stand together in front of the audience, and the Zengakuren comrade began his agitation, which consisted of war cries with the slogans delivered for the convening of the Antiwar Assembly, keeping his fist at the level of his head, and when each phrase was completed, he advanced his fist up and front, and after him all the rank and file replied with their fists up and shouting the two or three last words. Then we began to sing "The International", everybody was embracing each other and forming a chain, swinging from one side to the other. I had the Zengakuren comrade on one side and the postal workingwoman on the other side.

When we had finished singing, everybody applauded ten times in a rhythmic way and other three times in a quicker pace, and we finished hitting the palms as a double applause. The big curtain dropped and the Zengakuren leader and the leadership of the JRCL embraced me and we said good-bye to each other.

The police were encircling the building with cameras and plainclothes, civilian and official cars.[...] finally we arrived at the tourist zone in downtown Tokyo. There we went to have some dinner, the two Ks and me, and during 30 minutes, they told me the story of the organization, the trip to Moscow with the "Trotskyist" groups, their positions on the exchanges with the FLT and how they had been moved by those letters; we exchanged some ideas about the Assembly, and they told me that they were preparing for tomorrow my meeting with the leadership. We went back to my hotel and the comrades left very quickly to take a balance sheet of everything together with their leadership. The following day I would realize that many of the leaders had been sitting in the convention room as simple members of the rank and file.

Armando Cruces



## August 4<sup>th</sup>: ILFT to the Secretariat of the JRCL

### Comrades of the National Secretariat of the JRCL,

Our comrade Armando Cruces is on the way to Hiroshima. He kept us to date with all his activities in Japan, and he has sent us a report telling us about the success of your Assembly against the War and about the right struggles you are giving.

Comrade Armando took detailed notes about the very rich reflection of the day of discussion with your leadership, and he has conveyed to us the central questions. It seems incredible that the most acute questions central to international Marxism of our times were examined in a few hours.

From the report of our comrade, we could know you much better; know much more about your experience, about your hard work to form revolutionary workers in the heart of the Japanese imperialism itself. An experience from which, without any doubt, all the revolutionary currents of the world have to learn.

We have confirmed that you and we -the different groups that constitute the FLTI- are currents that do not want to win this or that discussion, but to win the best program for our class.

So many years of isolation of the revolutionary movement seems to be coming to an end. As the internationalists of Kienthal and Zimmerwald and the founders of the Fourth International said, the epoch of the national programs and of the isolated national organizations that tried to view the world revolution as the same as the revolution in their own country, has ended a long time ago.

Paraphrasing comrade Trotsky, we could say that the only "national task" is to organize the seizure of power in each of our countries; task which is only the first link of the international and world revolution, because no national revolution can succeed and survive otherwise. We know that our young fraction and our groups have a lot to learn from the experience of the Japanese Trotskyists.

We have already sent our proposals to the Assembly against the War and we are convinced that your leadership will adopt most of them as their own, because this is the feeling of thousands of youth and workers in the world. Youth and workers that wait for a strong call to reorganize their forces to enter into combat against the popular front, to break with Obama and the imperialist butchers disguised with democratic masks to keep going on repressing, starving and killing around the world.

Having seen the richness of the debates that took place in one day, and since we want to go deeper with them and to learn more from you, beside the proposals we have already sent to the Assembly against the War, we want to pose the following concerns and proposals:

There are rich debates to be deepened about the differences over the crisis of revolutionary leadership; on the Trotskyist movement and its experience of the past 70 years; on the theoretical and programmatic continuity of the Marxist movement, lessons that we will have to learn to forge the program to show the proletariat the conditions for its victory in the present struggles. Decisive questions such as nuclear armament, the danger of barbarism and holocaust that are hanging above human civilization; and the new questions

posed by the proletarian revolution, such as the Chinese question, the Russian question, etc. These questions deserve a deep debate and exchange of experiences and theoretical and programmatic discussion between Marxists.

It is in this sense that we want to propose to you, on behalf of the International Coordination Secretariat of the ILTF, that you can have at your disposal at least four pages in our monthly international publication "International Workers Organizer", so you can publish all your positions and criticisms to ours, so we will be able to develop a fraternal discussion before the youth and workers vanguard; as well as the publication of those positions in all the papers of the groups that constitutes the ILTF in Africa, New Zealand, Bolivia, USA, Brazil, Peru, Chile and Argentina. We know that you do and will do the same with all our positions.

The ILTF is going towards its Second Congress next December 2009. In the next 15 days we are going to send you all the resolutions of our Foundation Congress that took place last July. Many of those resolutions are already sent to your organization in the Brochures brought by Comrade Armando Cruces to the Assembly against the War. We will send you the ones that were not published then, so your leadership can study them deeply.

Also, we want to inform you that the ILFT publishes an internal discussion bulletin for all the cadres and militants, called "International Correspondence". This internal publication is a monthly publication of the ILTF. It is the material we use to prepare the Congress. We are publishing all the correspondence and the reports about all his stay in Japan from comrade Armando Cruces.

Our second proposal, then, is that the leadership of the JRCL can intervene, through our Internal Discussion Bulletin, in all the internal discussions, of our current facing the Congress in December.

We believe that the questions that were under debate in the meeting with your main leadership, such as the question of the Trotskyist movement and its evolution since the post-war, the policy before the Islamic question, the experience of building Trotskyism in the West and the East and your experience in the post-war in particular, the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the struggle for building up the revolutionary and Trotskyist movement in China and the Pacific, the struggle against the popular front and against class collaboration in the semi-colonial world but also in the USA and Japan, these are all decisive issues from which we have a lot to learn from you, and also to contribute in order to dialectically overcome the present evolution of our respective currents.

Also, in our public materials, we could launch the campaigns that you decide to promote at an international level, which we have proposed in our letter to the 47<sup>th</sup> Assembly against the War, as well as other proposals from you.

We also believe that the Zengakuren movement in Japan is an example for the struggle of the revolutionary youth in the world, and that they are part of the struggles fought by the youth in the revolutionary process in Greece and the rising up of the workers and student -sons and daughters of immigrants- youth in the suburbs of France.

This is why we propose you that all the statements of the struggle of the Zengakuren movement of Japan be published in all our papers to help to unite the revolutionary working youth that is entering the fight alongside the world proletariat.

We propose the leadership of the Zengakuren movement has access to all our papers (weekly, quarterly, or monthly) of the groups that are members of the ILTF in different countries, in order to publish all their statements and the most important experiences of their struggle.

Through you, we want to put before the Zengakuren movement, the proposal to promote in Japan, in the USA, in Latin America, in Africa, and at an international level, a campaign denouncing the Stalinist-Castroist bureaucracy, hand in hand with Obama and supported by all the Bolivarian bourgeoisies, that is trying to complete capitalist restoration in Cuba and to bring a new and terrible defeat to the American and world proletariat. We propose that you promote this campaign in common, fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of this restorationist bureaucracy by the councils of Cuban workers, peasants and soldiers, in order to make that Island a bastion of the Central American, American and world revolution.

Comrades, as you can see, we are making proposals to create the channels that allow us to deepen the agreements that we already have and to open debates on the existing differences, in front of the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat.

We believe that these organizational proposals and those for a public debate, so that our discussions are public and known to all the workers of the world, are an indispensable part of an elementary conduct of workers democracy of those who fight for the proletarian internationalism, something that has been adulterated and destroyed by the renegades of Trotskyism.

Then, of course, the JRCL is invited to participate with an official delegation in the Second Congress of the ILTF that will take place in December. We propose that your delegation can be ready in the midst of November, in order to visit South Africa, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina, where you will be able to discuss with the leadership and all the militant rank and file of the ILTF, so you can actively intervene in the discussions and deliberations of our Congress.

You gave us an example of workers' democracy in action. We could see your leadership discussing in front of our delegate, with open discussions between you and with our comrade making him fully part of the discussion for more than 8 hours. This filled us with enthusiasm and touched us deeply because it is something that we have not seen in the Marxist movement for decades.

All the members of the ILTF felt as at home, because the process of foundation of our current and our fraction was made in the same democratic way. In the Foundation Congress of the ILTF we were meeting for more than ten days between comrades that had not met face to face before, discussing openly and passionately our differences because we knew that we were doing that looking for the best program for the proletariat to seize power. And we could do that, because we had recognized each other fighting in the same barricades in Greece, Guadalupe, Madagascar, Oakland, Bolivia, the bloodstained black Africa and the occupied Palestine and Iraq; confronting the same

counterrevolutionary leaderships and renegades of Trotskyism, who sold out the program of Marxism to the bourgeoisie and the imperialist butchers dressed like Obama, and as Japanese imperialism is preparing with the popular front between the DPJ, SDPJ and Stalinism.

For us, it is time to regroup the forces of the revolutionaries and to destroy the forces of the reformists. We understand and we will fight untiringly for that, it is necessary to break the national isolation of every group, small or big, with influence on the vanguard or the masses, and of highly developed cadres who fight alone in a world were, without any doubt, as the Transitional Program of the Fourth International said, the Marxists are in a minority.

The workers' and youth passion that was expressed in the Assembly against the War is of the same quality and the same conviction as the passion of those who founded the ILTF.

Because if it is time for the end of the national programs, comrades, it is time for the internationalists to understand that without a world party for the socialist revolution we cannot even dream of seizing power in one country in the world, let alone maintain it.

Precisely, the tragedy for the world proletariat is that imperialism -capitalism in its parasitic and decadent phase- creates the workers' aristocracy and bureaucracy as its agents in the working class. In this way, it could destroy the Second International in 1914 when the German Social Democrat Party on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, voted for the war credits. Then, with the defeat of the German revolution and the isolation of the heroic Revolution of the Soviets in Russia, it ended corrupting the Stalinist bureaucracy that betrayed all the revolutions in the West and ended selling the Third International to the imperialist butchers, Roosevelt and Churchill, in the Pact of Tehran in 1943.

The Fourth International that was ready -as at Kienthal and Zimmerwald- to become a mass organization at the end of the war, saw, after the assassination of Trotsky, its international centre abandoning Coyoacan, and the leadership of the SWP going in seclusion in the United States. This isolated all the national sections, particularly the European ones during the war, opening a process of centrist degeneration in the Fourth International, of betrayal and capitulation, and subordination to reformism.

A mass Fourth International was posed in 1952 in Bolivia, where Trotskyism led the Bolivian proletariat in the revolution when the mining vanguard of the COB adopted the Transitional Program for the seizure of power (the Theses of Pulacayo). But the Pabloist leadership advised the Bolivian Trotskyists to put pressure on the "provisional" bourgeois government of the MNR, supporting its progressive measures and criticizing the "regressive" ones, and so, destroying the dual power of the workers' militias of the COB.

During World War 2 and at its end, the Trotskyists were assassinated not only by fascism, but also by Stalinism, as happened in Vietnam, where in the 40s the Stalinist Ho Chi Minh and his forces that controlled the North of the country, smashed the Trotskyists who had a huge weight in Saigon and who had led the general strike and the combat against the Japanese occupation in the South. The Trotskyist leader Ta Tu Thao was assassinated.

At the end of the war, with the excuse that a "Third World War" between imperialism and the USSR was imminent and that there was no time to build revolutionary parties, Pablo and Pabloism pushed forward the so-called "sui generis

entrism" in the Communist Parties, dissolving the Trotskyists in those parties and provoking the split of the Fourth International. Once more, the SWP stayed isolated in the USA with its national-Trotskyist and exclusivist policy. This allowed the Pabloists a free hand to betray the Trotskyist movement in Bolivia, in Sri Lanka, where they had mass influence, and in China, where the Trotskyists were isolated while Pabloism supported Mao and built campaigns of humanitarian help for Tito's Yugoslavia.

Thus, the Fourth International had mass influence, but its leadership adapted itself before the popular front, before Stalinism. Then, in the general uprising of 1968-1974, it had a new opportunity, when the first Trotskyist Parties of 10.000 or 15.000 militants rose up in Europe. But once more, they adapted themselves, this time before Stalinism and Social democracy in the East and the West, rejecting the struggle for the expulsion of the red army to defend the uprising in Czechoslovakia in 1968, as they already did before the strike of the metal workers in Eastern Germany in 1953, and before the political revolution in Hungary in 1956.

Because they were servants of Stalinism in the West, the opportunists and centrists, usurpers of Trotskyism, left the Russian section of the Fourth International isolated, condemning the last living combatants to death at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the mining strikes of Ukraine in 1968/69.

You and we are born from those betrayals, capitulations and adaptations; not from those who have sustained the program and the theory of the Fourth International, but from those who have abandoned and betrayed it.

It took many years for us, to understand that the theory and the program of the Marxists had passed the test, but that the centrists who spoke on their name and who have betrayed them putting them at the feet of Stalinism, Social democracy, Castroism, Guevarism, Maoism, Titoism, the popular front and the bourgeoisie, and at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, had become a new generation of Mensheviks, as happened with Stalinism after 1933.

Comrades, we tell you all this, because we want to say that we cannot stay isolated one more minute. The internationalist revolutionary proletariat needs your experience, your decisive contributions. Our ILTF is only -and not less than- a fulcrum where on which to support the strong lever of the world proletariat in uniting its ranks, to prepare the counteroffensive and to move forward on the road to victory.

We call on you to set up this fulcrum together with us. This was the objective of the proposals that we publicly sent to the Assembly against the War, and the ones that we propose here to build up in common, in a coordinated way, the ILTF and the JRCL-RMF.

Our young revolutionaries and our combative workers are waiting for your answer. They know that a call from the combative Japanese trade unions, with the movement of the Zengakuren, raising up the banner of Athens and Paris, calling to build the movement for a million workers against the war and for the general strike in the USA again, breaking with the Democrat Party and with Obama, would allow us, all the revolutionaries in the world, to propose to all the workers' organizations to break with the bourgeoisie, to overthrow the leaderships that control them and that prevent them from regrouping their forces at an international level, and to unite in the struggle against the crisis and against the rotten capitalist system.

We are not waiting for a call on a cold piece of paper that could go with the wind. We are waiting for a motion for action, to be presented by thousands of worker fighters before the organizations of struggle of the world working class to begin to prepare and to organize a mass counteroffensive to shake the citadel of the imperialist world power, its regimes and its governments, and to take the working class onto the offensive and put the exploiters on their knees.

Comrades, history has put you and us together, maybe despite us both. It took a long time to find each other. This time is paid by the masses. Let's not waste one more minute.

Let's get to work!

Armando Cruces, delegate of the FLTI before the 47<sup>o</sup> Assembly against the War

Carlos Munzer  
On behalf of the International Coordination Secretariat of the ILTF, integrated by:

Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) - South Africa  
Partido Obrero Internacionalista (POI) - Chile  
Liga Trotskista Internacionalista (LTI) - Peru  
Liga Obrera Internacionalista - Democracia Obrera (LOI) - Argentina  
Núcleo Revolucionario Internacionalista (NRI) - Argentina  
Fracción Trotskista (FT) - Brasil  
Communist Workers Group (CWG) - New Zealand  
Liga Trotskista Internacionalista (LTI) - Bolivia  
Humanist for Revolutionary Socialism (HRS) - USA

## Argentina

# LOI-CI Resolution to the IFLT Congress

The foundation of the FLTI is a leap forward for the principled Trotskyists. The regrouping at a higher world wide level is a victory which means that all the FLTI groups have new tasks and duties.

Considering this responsibility, in the next period, the LOI-CI has as a minimum task the building of a Revolutionary Internationalist Party of the Argentinean working class, as part of the combat of the FLTI to set up an international current with thousands of Trotskyites cadres around the

world that reaches into the heart of the working class in the imperialist powers. That is to say, we re-affirm the war cry of our current to put 100% of our forces into building the International Centre.

This FLTI Congress is a qualitative leap forward in regrouping the world revolutionaries. This leap has to be expressed in the form of a new general staff with the best men and women of each group of the FLTI. In this way the FLTI will be strengthened for the huge task that we are facing and this

includes the minimum task that the LOI-CI undertakes at this congress.

The LOI-CI has formed 200 internationalist cadres fighting against the revisionism of fake Trotskyism world wide. They were also shaped by the internationalist struggle to build the International Centre, putting 100% of its forces to that task. The cadres were also shaped in the direct intervention of the class struggle in Latin America, tying the fate of our current to the fate of the Bolivian Revolution and fighting together with the Brazilian proletariat where the WSF was born.

The LOI-CI put cadres to fight against the left wing of the renegades of Trotskyism in the battlefield of the Bolivian Revolution. And it was done without quitting the national terrain in the struggle against our own bourgeoisie and the treacherous leadership in the combats of our class, forwards and backwards. We were the last one to leave the battlefield when the leadership stabbed our class in the back and we have not abandoned our class when it was defeated by the reformist left. Showing that our current is alive, we were shaped in tough internal political struggle, drawing the revolutionary lessons of our own adaptations and capitulations. And this was a key element to shape the cadres that today are part of LOI-CI.

The position of LOI-CI cadres was conquered launching the international program for the Argentinean working class and its international task and duties for the world working class, such as the Palestine Revolution, the Iraqi resistance with the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses in the whole Middle East, the Bolivian Revolution and so on. This fight also meant a position in the workers vanguard movement and combative youth showing to the proletariat and the exploited masses who was their ally and who was their enemy. And, for the sectors of the proletarian vanguard, this has clarified who talks in the name of International Trotskyism and who takes its program to the masses in this country.

The conquest of 200 cadres raises the necessity and the responsibility of the FLTI Congress to impose a greater control on the LOI-CI because it is time that the Internationalist Trotskyist of LOI-CI bangs the table and becomes an objective factor in the reality. It is time Trotskyism reaches the deepest and core of the masses.

The organization of the LOI-CI cadres and their aim to be in the core of the working class and youth is to build up an International Trotskyist Revolutionary Fraction of the Argentinean proletariat, a militant part of the FLTI. This resolution is to found the international party in Argentina, leaving behind the propaganda league, at the next FLTI Congress. Only by reinforcing an international fraction, can revolutionary parties emerge that are able to unite the masses in the different countries at a time when the conditions of mass centrist phenomena arise that will make the renegades of Trotskyism split.

That is why the LOI-CI will launch a bold policy to conquer 100 Trotskyist cells in the key sectors of the production, institutions, and the great centres of concentration of the political struggle of the reformist and renegades of Trotskyism in the next period. Those 100 Trotskyist cells will be where the cream of the cream of the revolutionary workers and combative youth will be organized in this country.

The objective conditions world wide caused by the international economic crisis and the imperialist crisis of

hegemony are still posing the task of the Socialist revolution, the task to seize power by the proletariat.

In Argentina, a reactionary conjuncture appears on the surface. The Bourgeois regime has a victory as a consequence of the electoral trap, where the masses were taken by the union bureaucracy and the fake Trotskyists that have imposed the Obama and AFL-CIO plan on the world proletariat, that is, the "sliding scale of suspensions, dismissals and wage cuts."

But deep in the masses movement, the hate of the masses is slowly heating up. This is expressed in different places by resistance struggles threatening to explode into revolts. This is what everyone wants to hide. This is why the bourgeoisie prepares an extra-parliamentary pact to try to impose its super-structural victory in the class struggle, strengthening even more a Bonapartist regime to reinforce its attack on the masses and impose 50% dismissals of the working class. The bourgeoisie is preparing a political and economical attack against the masses that will bring, inevitably, decisive class clashes. The last word has not been said yet. The proletariat has still a lot to say.

The resolution to build an Internationalist Revolutionary Party is to lead the revolts and the revolutionary actions that our class will surely lead so that together with the revolutionary vanguard, we prepare and organize the future combats so that the working class and the exploited masses defeat the reformist who tied their hands, particularly the renegades of Trotskyism and the piquetera and union bureaucracy. The masses will advance with their revolutionary fight to face this terrible hated oppressive regime.

The hate of our class is against sufferings, inflation, high cost of living, misery, hunger, slavery imposed on the proletariat and exploited masses. They are boiling over with hate to get into battle against the lackey bourgeoisie that sells out the nation to the imperialism. The proletariat also hates, consciously, the union bureaucracy in a general way. Segments of our class, who have lived the experience, hate the reformists who stabbed them in the back and took them to defeats in every fight. Those workers hate the reformists because the Trotskyists were speaking the truth about those fights.

That is why the LOI-CI delegates propose as a resolution to the FLTI Congress to **march to found the Internationalist Workers Party of the Argentinean working class**. We propose to turn this statement of Argentina into a call on the working class to build up a revolutionary party and together with all the rank and file cells, the advanced workers and youth who discuss with us, to get organized with us and together with our sympathizers, and to found this party in the next FLTI Congress.

In order to do this the task of organization, agitation, propaganda and patient explanation is essential. We propose a regular paper every 15 days, in the path to conquer a weekly paper and edit thousands of leaflets by branch and by structure to establish a greater link with the deepest of our class, so that we organize those cells and prepare the coming combats of the working class.

LOI-CI Delegates  
18/07/09



## NRI Statement

# On the Parity Committee of the FLT and WIVL for the ILTF

On Saturday 30th of May, 2009, from the initiative of the International Coordination and Action Secretariat of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (SCAI of the FLT) and through it, of the comrades of the Workers International Vanguard League of South Africa, a meeting between the comrades CM and SN of the SCAI of the FLT, comrade MH of the Liga Obrera Internacionalista-Democracia Obrera (LOI-DO) and comrades RR and RA of the Núcleo Revolucionario Internacionalista (NRI) took place.

In this meeting, the FLT proposed the NRI to integrate the Paritary Committee for the Leninist Trotskyist Internationalist Fraction (CP-FLTI), to attend the Congress in July and to integrate the Organization Committee for this Congress. The NRI resolved to accept the proposal of the comrades of the FLT and to put all its forces to the service of the Paritary Committee and the Organization Committee of the Congress, from the following considerations:

### A) GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

#### Emerging from the discussion in the meeting of May 30th

1) The cadres who are integrating the NRI at the present, after having being in different Morenoist organizations, joint the LOI-CI /FLT, from which we split afterwards in different periods because of different political positions, but not without having go through a common struggle against the revisionism of those currents coming from the explosion of the Fourth International for several years.

2) The NRI considers that there have been the theoretical, strategic and programmatically conquests achieved in common with the LOI-CI / FLT, those that allowed our small nucleus to stay in a revolutionary way and in the struggle for building up the General Staff of the world proletariat to lead it towards communism, that, for us, it has to be a combat, Leninist-Trotskyist and internationalist party.

We have adopted as our own war-cry the statement of Leon Trotsky in the school of revolutionary strategy that was the Third International, until its complete degeneration: **“Comrades, we do not want only an heroic struggle, but, before anything, the victory”**.

3) The debate with the comrades allowed us to go forward in a discussion on centrism that, in fact, was still opened in our own group. From that, we characterized the FLT as centrist turning to the left, in terms of a *honest group looking for a revolutionary way*.

Today we affirm that the FLT is a revolutionary organization that has stayed firmly in the way of revolutionary internationalism in an implacable struggle against the renegades of Trotskyism and against all the other counterrevolutionary leaderships in the bosom of the workers' movement.

At the same time, we recognize in the WIVL an organization that has developed an analogous struggle from the African Continent, even if they did not know each other.

4) We have also reached the conclusion that the critic from the FLT to our position on Palestine is correct, since, in the revolutionary program for the Palestinian proletariat, we did not pose any democratic demand (for a non secular, democratic and non racist Palestine, Palestinian National Assembly, etc...), as a motive for the socialist revolution, to fight for the destruction of the state of Israel considering its character -exposed below-; leaving the banner of the

national liberation in the hands of the bourgeois leaderships of Al Fatah, Hizbollah and Hamas. If we did not correct this position, that constitutes a breaking with the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution and with the orientation of the Transitional Program for the oppressed countries, our nucleus was on the verge of entering a dangerous way through a socialdemocrat deviation with serious consequences in the strategy, orientation and conception of party.

Although, we are still convinced of our definition and characterization of the state of Israel as a Zionist-fascist **occupation** state, that is to say, synthetically, that every Jews in Palestine is an active member of an occupation army of five million armed men, independently if they are conscious or not, and, consequently, they are a licit target for the resistance of the Palestinian people in struggle for liberation.

5) On the Greek question, we still considering that a revolution begun in Greece, and that it is not defined if it has been deviated, aborted and of course it was not defeated yet, even if what we consider its first wave did not provoke the crisis of the institutions of the regime. This is the reason why we consider that **the internationalist revolutionaries have to put all our strength to promote the building up and the development of the armed sovietic organs of the workers, peasants and soldiers, of the self-defense pickets in the struggle for conquering the armament of the masses, in the way of building up the workers' militia.** Here is the axis for the articulation of the revolutionary program for the seizure of power.

As Trotsky said: *“the first wave may have subsided. Outwardly life may seem to be returning to its old channels. But this changes nothing.”* ... *“The profound organic and genuinely revolutionary character of the strike wave is best of all characterized by the fact that the mass movement, though improvised, has acquired such vast scope and has exercised so great a political influence. This is the guarantee of the endurance of the movement, its stubbornness and the inevitability of a series of ever-rising waves.”* (Leon Trotsky, 1936, The French revolution has begun!)

On our part: *“The objective conditions that originated the Greek revolution are still present, the capitalist crisis is still opened, the masses strike in the imperialistic centers and in its colonial domains. The chain of domain threatens to break in its weaker links; reformism and centrism hide before the revolutionary and combatant forefront of the international proletariat the lessons of almost two centuries of class struggle. It is from these lessons that we feed to direct our attention towards the advanced detachments of our class, to establish with clarity who are their allies and who are their enemies”*, we wrote from the NRI in *Perspectiva Revolucionaria # 4*.

Even after reading the documents of the FLT on this question, and after the meeting of May 30th, we are still

convinced about the correctness of our characterization on the Greek situation. Although, even if our characterization and definition about the role of anarchism in the Greek revolution is essentially correct, the comrades of the FLT are right when they pose before us that we do not go up to the end in denouncing the counterrevolutionary role of anarchism, politically arming the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat for the struggle against anarchism, not only in Greece, but in an international level; that is to say, in the task of *"to direct our attention towards the advanced detachments of our class, to establish with clarity who are their allies and who are their enemies."* (Perspectiva Revolucionaria # 4)

#### B) CONSIDERATIONS ON THE 23 POINTS

1- We express our agreement with point 1, *"Only the triumphant proletarian revolution can stop the catastrophic barbarity of rotting capitalism. "Socialism or Barbarism" is not a matter for the future. It is now a slogan for an urgent program of immediate action!"*, that we have posed in Perspectiva Revolucionaria # 2 as *"Communism or Fascism"*. On this question, we make clear that when the 23 points were published in April 2008, we considered that the war-cry *"Socialist revolution now!"* was an ultra-leftist statement. Today, life itself has solved the difference.

2- We express our agreement with points: 2, *"Against the World Social Forum and the fake Trotskyists who act as their "left wing" subordinating the proletariat to the "democratic" imperialists and the national bourgeoisies!"*; 3, on the economic crisis, the action of the counterrevolutionary leaderships desynchronizing the struggle of the masses and the necessity of preparing the counter offensive of the world proletariat; 4, *"The North American working class must stand up again to 'turn its guns around' against its own imperialist ruling class!"*; and 5, *"For the fighting unity of the European working class!"*.

3- On point 6, *"The entire Middle East must become the graveyard of the imperialist powers and their Zionist gendarme Israel!"*, we have already exposed our differences with the formulation of the 23 points and the Act, in point A 4 of this statement.

4- We agree with points: 7, *"To mount the counter-offensive in Latin America we must break with the bourgeoisie!"*; 8, *"Immediate and unconditional freedom for the many thousands of militant workers and people who are the prisoners of bourgeois states worldwide, hostages of the working class and exploited in the hands of imperialism and the national bourgeoisies!"*; 9, *"For the defence of Cuba ..."*; 10, *"The burning Chinese question"*; and 11, *"Long live the uprising of the working class and exploited people of Haiti for food and against the mercenary occupation troops led by the UN to maintain "order" in the Yankee protectorate! For the military defeat of the UN troops from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile, mercenaries of US imperialism!"*

5- In relation with points 9 and 11, we consider that it is necessary to go further in the definition about that if the sipoy troops of the MINUSTAH, beside the task of massacring the Haitian masses that rose up starving and desperate, demanding ¡Bread!, are not, at the same time, a military outpost of imperialism before the eventual necessity of a military intervention in Cuba to confront the resistance of the Cuban working class and the masses against the capitalist restoration.

In this sense, we believe that it has to be considered, on one hand, that Haiti is less than 100 Km. away from Cuba, that is to say that the troops could be deploying in Cuba in a few minutes; on the other hand, that even if there is not doubt about the military capacity of the US to do the same from its own territory, before the world proletariat, and with the help of the "democratic imperialisms" and the traitor leaderships, a direct intervention of the US troops than an intervention of Uruguayan, Argentine, Brazilian, Chilean, etc..., soldiers would not be "exactly" the same before the eyes of the world working class. This threat demonstrates -as if it was necessary- the counterrevolutionary character of the native bourgeoisies that, as minor partners of imperialism, are but the last wagon of its continental policy.

It is necessary to pose the military defeat of those sipoy troops of the MINUSTAH, their expulsion as occupation troops, with the denounce against those governments, Bolivarian or not, that with their assassin troops suffocate in a blood-shed the legitimate demand of the starving masses.

6- On point 12, *"In defense of the resistance of the Colombian masses against Uribe and Bush and against the "peace" plan of French imperialism, the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies and the restorationist Castro bureaucracy!"* we consider that we need more studying before defining our position on this question. In principle, we consider the FARC as a bourgeois organization, so, a fraction (armed) of the native Colombian bourgeoisie, and it is not clear for us that the Colombian army is an occupation army; then, we do not think that the FARC can be considered as "resistance". We insist: we need more time to study more deeply the elements of the reality brought by the comrades of the FLT in the meeting of May 30<sup>th</sup>.

7- We agree with point 13: *"Let us stand up together with SIDOR heroic workers, for the true nationalisation of SIDOR without compensation and under workers' control!"*

8- We agree with point 14, *"In the trench of the Bolivian Revolution ..."*. But we do not characterize the government of Evo Morales as a popular front, but as a bourgeois government of the type of 21st century Bonapartism.

We consider the popular front as a government of the counterrevolutionary workers' organizations with the bourgeoisie and to the service of imperialism. And this is not the case of Bolivia. In Bolivia, the workers' organizations, because of their reformist policy, then counterrevolutionary, sustain the government with the open or hidden (according to the case) support of the renegades of Trotskyism.

9- We agree with point 15, *"¡For the Socialist United States of South and Central America!"*

10- We agree with point 16, *"For independence of the unions from the capitalist state! Down with the bureaucracy and the workers aristocracy! For a revolutionary leadership in the unions!"*, but we consider that it omits the question or the task of defeating the workers' aristocracy and bureaucracy with methods of civil war in the working class. (We will consider this question in detail in section D, in relation with the International Moral Tribunal).

11- We agree with points: 17, *"For workers democracy and the self-organisation and selfdetermination of the masses in struggle! For the formation of workers councils as a strategics to make the proletarian revolution!"*; 18, *"For the rebirth of proletarian internationalism destroyed by social democracy, Stalinism and the deserters from Trotskyism!"*;

and 19, "Down with the fake "Latin American and Caribbean Congress of Workers" convened by the COB bureaucracy, betrayers of the socialist revolution in Bolivia, and the fake Trotskyists of PSTU and CONLUTAS in Brazil!"

12- We will come on the considerations of point 20, "In defense of the class morality and principles of the proletariat!", in section D.

13- We agree with points: 21, "In defense of the democratic centralism!"; 22, "70 years since the Founding Congress of the IV International! Take back the legacy and program of 1938 from the impostor Celia Hart Santamaria and the betrayers of Trotskyism!"; and 23, "For a Revolutionary Internationalist Bloc to convene an International Conference of Principled Trotskyists and Revolutionary Workers' Organizations"

### C) SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE CP-FLTI CONSTITUTION ACT

On the CP-FLTI constitution act, between the WIVL of South Africa and the FLT-CI, we express our recognition to both organizations that, even without knowing each other and in spite of the isolation, they stayed during more than a decade in an consistent position in the struggle for building up an international revolutionary centre as part of the struggle for building the World Party for the Socialist Revolution.

We consider that it was that consistency, that can only be based on the revolutionary principles of true internationalists, what has allowed them not to change the way even in the most difficult periods -under the pressure of the big apparatuses that grow under the protection of the bourgeois states, the terror of fascism or the siren chants of the popular front-, and that today, under the heat of the first battles of the workers' counteroffensive, allowed them to recognize each other and to go forward towards the regrouping and unity of both organizations, becoming a pole to which cadres and small groups answer; small groups like ours, that with a hard effort could stay firm with the principles of proletarian internationalism, but which inevitably are behind the events, when it is urgently posed to be before them to fight for the leadership of the workers' and mass' organizations that open the way towards revolution with their struggle, fighting and defeating the treacherous leaderships in the bosom of the independent organisms of the class.

In December 2008, from the NRI, we wrote: "It becomes indispensable the international regrouping of the revolutionary forces in a democratically centralized organization. Regrouping that cannot be based only on the theory, the strategy and the program for the revolution."... "The revolutionary regrouping of the forces of Trotskyism, in an international center, real general staff for the revolution will not be able to be done without the theoretical, strategic and programmatic agreement. But that is not enough, it is also necessary to have a **common comprehension of the tasks**, because a real democratic centralism will not be able to exist without it." (Perspectiva Revolucionaria # 2); this is why we agree that the program before the "acid tests" of the class struggle constitutes our only passport to delimitate the class line that separates reformists, centrists and revolutionaries, and which has to be the bases for regroupement.

Even if there are still differences of shades and characterizations -that must be discussed- between the FLT, the WIVL and the NRI, it is this strategic conception, the

common comprehension of the tasks, what allows the constitution of the international Paritary Committee, that in an open process of a non-diplomatic political struggle allows to go forward in the resolution of the historical crisis of humanity, because this differences, since the principles and the strategy are not involved in them, can be discussed and resolved within a common institution.

It is only from the every day struggle for building up an international leadership that an effective counterweight against pressures and deviations under which the isolated groups, independently of our numeric strength, are submitted, can be done. It is in this sense that from the NRI we consider that the call from the FLT and the WIVL of South Africa to build up a Paritary Committee for the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, call that we adopt and push forward, constitutes a step ahead for concentrating the revolutionary forces with the firm objective of dispersing the forces of reformism, when the imperialists bourgeoisies have begun a new recruitment of the workers' aristocracies and bureaucracies, of their parties, as the comrades of the FLT correctly point out, in a typical process of the imperialist epoch marked by the "split in socialism", to drown in a blood-shed the right anger of the masses before the penuries imposed by this decadent and decomposing social order on the world proletariat and masses.

### D) ON POINT 20 AND THE CALL OF THE FLT FOR SETTING UP AN INTERNATIONAL MORAL TRIBUNAL

*"If we should tell the toiler-Kaffir how the workers arose in a part of our planet and caught their exploiters unawares, he would be very pleased. On the other hand, he would be chagrined to discover that the oppressors had succeeded in deceiving the oppressed. A Kaffir who has not been demoralized by missionaries to the marrow of his bones will never apply one and the same abstract moral norms to the oppressors and the oppressed. Yet he will easily comprehend an explanation that it is the function of these abstract norms to prevent the oppressed from arising against their oppressors."* (Leon Trotsky, "Their Morals and ours")

The NRI does not assume the same position before the use of violence by the oppressors against the oppressed than before the use of violence by the oppressed against the oppressors. It does not assume the same position before the use of violence by the reformists -political police of the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the working class- against the revolutionaries, than before that of the revolutionaries against the reformists, either. The NRI repudiates, condemns and calls to confront, politically and physically any violent action of the scabs against the strikers; but calls the strikers to use any persuasive method, even violence, against the scabs. The NRI considers the attack of the PSTU (LIT-CI) - Quilombo Urbano, as the typical action of a reformist organization, that in its widely performed role of political police of the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the working class, is carrying on a civil war inside the workers' movement. To the reactionary violence of the exploiters and their agents, the revolutionaries must answer with the violence of the exploited.

For the NRI, Marxism is revolutionary or it is not Marxism: "What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous

*campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it. Today, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure, or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the social-chauvinists are now "Marxists" (don't laugh!). [...] "Their attitude to the state is one of the most striking manifestations of the fact that our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not socialists at all (a point that we Bolsheviks have always maintained), but petty-bourgeois democrats using near-socialist phraseology."* (V. I. Lenin, "The state and revolution") [our bold]. "The only Marxist line in the world labor movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilize the experience of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-liberal labor politics." (V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the split in Socialism"). The NRI considers that revolutionaries and those who tergiversate and vilify Marxism are not part of the same movement. Tactics, program and strategy separates us, then, we do not have a common moral.

We wrote in *Perspectiva Revolucionaria* # 5: "The offensive of the employers is just beginning. The working class must prepare itself not only to resist, but to go on to the offensive. The economic world crisis forces to the bourgeoisie to go for everything. The working class, leading to the whole exploited masses, will not be able to resist if it is not it that goes on to the offensive. And this can only be achieved by politically and physically defeating the trade union bureaucracy, direct agent of the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the organizations of the working class and its social basis, the labor aristocracy - that lives from the breadcrumbs that fall down from the table of the bourgeoisie-, to impose the measures to satisfy the most elementary needs of the class, fighting for the power, demolishing to the bourgeois state and all its institutions, and building up a revolutionary workers' and popular government that establishes a dictatorship of the proletariat to initiate the transition toward socialism in a process of permanent revolution."

On his part, Leon Trotsky wrote: "Civil war is the supreme expression of the class struggle. To try to submit it under abstract "norms", in fact means to disarm workers before an enemy armed up to the teeth. The petty-bourgeois moralist is the younger brother of the bourgeois pacifist, who wants to "humanize" the war by prohibiting the use of gases, the bombing of open cities, etc.. Politically, those programs only serve for deviating the popular thinking away from revolution and from considering it as the only way to end with the war." (Leon Trotsky, "Their morals and ours")

From the NRI we vindicate the use of the methods of the civil war inside the workers' movement to defeat the workers' aristocracy and bureaucracy, both, if they express themselves through bourgeois or reformist (anarchist, socialdemocrat, Stalinist and also the renegades of Trotskyism) parties. It because of these reasons that we

rectify the declaration of the NRI of November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008, in the following terms:

"Before the physic aggression of Quilombo Urbano (PSTU-LIT) against the militants of the "Committee for the null vote" INTENSIFY OUR OFFENSIVE! for building up the international revolutionary leadership the proletariat deserves Before the moral accusations, without any proof, from Quilombo Urbano (PSTU-LIT) against fellow Baltazar of the FT (FLT) FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MORAL TRIBUNAL To clear the name and de honor of Baltazar before the working class and the students vanguard of Brazil and the world." La Plata, June 5th, 2009. -From the October 2008 edition of "El Organizador Obrero Internacional", publication of the Fracción Trotskysta Internacional, we knew that:

1) On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, in San Luis de Maranhao, Brazil, a group of fellows of the "Committee for the null vote" of the UMFA (integrated by Germe, Movimiento Conciencia y Lucha and independent students, and the Fracción Trotskysta, part of the Fracción Leninista Trotskysta) were verbally and physically attacked by Quilombo Urbano and militants of the PSTU (LIT-CI).

2) On October 5<sup>th</sup>, in the place of the PSTU (LIT-CI) in the Liberdade neighborhood, one of the members of the "Committee for the null vote" was attacked and menaced by one of the members of Quilombo Urbano - PSTU (LIT-CI).

3) On October 7<sup>th</sup>, the members of the "Committee for the null vote" launched a public denounce of that fierce attack, exposing that it's objective was to stop the political discussion and to hush up those who dissent with the policy of the PSTU.

4) On October 8<sup>th</sup>, the leadership of Quilombo Urbano (PSTU-LIT) publishes a letter in which they recognizes and vindicates the attack against the militants of the "Committee for the null vote" in the following terms: "there were aggressions from both sides, which was lamentable but inevitable" and that "Quilombo Urbano ... has, as a principle, besides the dialogue, the law of the streets as form of self-defense".

5) In the same letter, the leadership of Quilombo Urbano (PSTU-LIT) accuses Baltazar, member of the FT (part of the FLT), as "calumniator of revolutionary organizations" and "infiltrated... to destroy revolutionary organizations from the inside".

Before these facts, the *Nucleo Revolucionario Internacionalista*, resolves:

1) Before the physical aggression against the militants of the "Committee for the null vote" by Quilombo Urbano - PSTU (LIT-CI):

a) We express our solidarity with the attacked fellows and with the organizations they belong to.

b) We repudiate the use of physical aggression by the agents of the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the workers' organizations to resolve political, theoretical and ideological differences in the bosom of the international proletariat..

c) We denounce the recognition and the vindication by Quilombo Urbano (collateral in the youth of the PSTU - LIT-CI) of the "law of the streets as form of self-defense", when the revolutionaries sustain that the only way for self-defense are the workers' armed pickets, against the bourgeoisie and



their agents of any kind, in the way of building the workers' militia.

d) We consider that the LIT-CI (of which, the PSTU and its collateral in the youth, Quilombo Urbano, are part) is one more of those many revisionist and opportunist currents born from the split of the Fourth International, that has abandoned the revolutionary strategy. And that those methods, characteristic of the reformist organizations within the workers' movement, in the hands of the reformists, are a tool for imposing their policy, servile to the bourgeoisie, in the proletarian organizations.

The LIT-CI has in its history: in 1989, before the attack against the regiment of the genocidal Argentine army in La Tablada, the sending of condolences to the fallen members of the army and the police (through Luis Zamora, the public figure of the MAS, "the largest trotskyst party in the world), what motivated the repudiation from the human rights organizations (that had denounced tortures on the militants of the MTP); that same year, to present the imperialist unification of Germany as an "historic achievement" for the international proletariat; the aggression from the security team of the MAS in Argentina (the most important party of the LIT in those times) that arranged an ambush, beating a group of workers and their families and students of the PTS, dozens of whom ended in hospital; the attack of the MAS against the militants of the PTS of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UBA (Buenos Aires) that had a worker in coma as its result; in 2000, in Brazil, the PSTU attacked a stand of Causa Operaria, beating the militants of the PCO (brother party of the Argentine Partido Obrero). These perishable methods are in consonance with the revisionist and reformist course of the class collaboration policy of the LIT, that in 2002 called to vote for Lula-Alencar, that supports the bourgeois government of Evo Morales and the bureaucracy of the COB in Bolivia, and that supported the government of Kirchner during the inter-bourgeois dispute with the agrarian bourgeoisie, etc...

e) In 1932, Leon Trotsky wrote: *"The physical attack of the Stalinists against the Bolshevik Leninists in the Salle Bullier in Paris, provokes not only a deep indignation, but a feeling of shame for the present leadership of the Comintern. (...)*

*"When more the Stalinists loose their heads, more will the Leninists persevere in their activity. The bureaucracy revolves and twists before our critic, before the impact of our reasons. Consequently, our rectitude and effectiveness are more evident. Intensify, twice, three, ten times our offensive!"* (Leon Trotsky, "Intensify our offensive", August 6th, 1932).

Once more, today, before the perishable methods with which the renegades from Trotskyism try to impose their class collaboration policy, we call the groups that fight for building up the international revolutionary leadership that the working class deserves to face the economic crisis that the bourgeoisie is trying to launch on the shoulders of the working class and the masses, to intensify our offensive.

**2) Before the accusations without proofs** against fellow Baltazar:

a) In the letter of October the 8<sup>th</sup>, Quilombo Urbano accuses fellow Baltazar of being "calumniator of revolutionary organizations" and "infiltrated... to destroy revolutionary organizations from the inside".

b) We consider that this is an extremely serious accusation, because it questions the proletarian moral of fellow Baltazar without any proof, presenting allies as enemies, causing the

demoralization in the lines of the workers, and leaving the door open so that the fellow can be attacked or expelled from the workers' organizations by anyone that could believe that accusations, since that is what it has to be done with the "infiltrated" in the workers' organizations.

c) It was Stalinism who has prostituted the proletarian moral with sinister methods which were assimilated by the rest of the bureaucratic and reformist apparatuses. In first place, it has brought up the amalgam into a systematic practice, which consisted in mixing moral accusations with political differences.

d) This accusation involves one of the main principles of the working movement: the proletarian moral. A personal accusation on conduct, militant honor, must not be mixed with, nor be used politically. The accuser must present proofs and the accused must have the right to defend himself. If the accusations are proved, he must be expelled, not from this or that workers' organization, but from all the organizations of the working class, because he is a traitor before the proletarian moral. If the accusation is spurious, then the whole weight of the repudiation will be turned upon the calumniators.

e) When Trotsky and his son, Sedov, were accused by Stalin as saboteur of the Sovietic State, paid by imperialism, Trotsky demanded a tribunal. The Dewey commission proved that the attack was calumnious. Stalin could not cover with mud Trotsky or his son; Moral Tribunals were also established when Lambert accused Varga of being an agent of the CIA, when Joe Hansen was calumniously attacked by Healy, when Napuri was accused by Lambert, Villarán and Cuentas of "appropriate the funds of the organization", "traitor and deserter" and of "capitulate under the pressure from the government and the bourgeoisie".

f) The way to resolve the moral accusation made by Quilombo Urbano, collateral of the PSTU - LIT-CI in the youth, against fellow Baltazar, is to establish an International Moral Tribunal, formed by fighters with a recognized and irreproachable moral quality in the workers' movement, to be a guarantee of impartiality.

*«La crisis histórica de la humanidad se reduce a la crisis de su dirección revolucionaria»*

León Trotsky, 1938, Programa Fundacional de la Cuarta Internacional

## E) RESOLUTIONS

After having proved that even if there are still differences, they can be developed and resolved in the frame of a common struggle against the counterrevolutionary leaderships of the workers' movement (social democrats, stalinists, anarchists and renegades from Trotskyism), from the common comprehension of the tasks, in the way of building up the Revolutionary General Staff of the World Proletariat to lead its struggles towards the size of power.

So, and convinced that the struggle has to be carried on "in the frame of the practical conclusions that comes out from the revolutionary conditions, as Leon Trotsky said, the NRI, from its own convictions, resolves to integrate the Paritary Committee for the Leninist Trotskyist Internationalist Fraction, for carrying on this fight.

The WIVL and the FLT-CI have beaten on the table. The NRI attends to your call with the 100% of its forces.

June 5th, 2009.-

NÚCLEO REVOLUCIONARIO INTERNACIONALISTA

## To Youth Workers of the World

# LOI-CI youth statement

**Long live the uprising of the youth in the French Cites!**

**Every night we have to make Paris, Tokyo, Berlin, Washington, London, Athens, Madrid, Rome a new Baghdad!**

Again, the worker youth of the French cites rose up on Sunday, August 10<sup>th</sup>. Again, the police have killed a young man, Yakuo Sanogo, in a suburb called Bagnolet, east of Paris, in Seine-Saint department. He was 18 years old. He was working with his motorbike delivering pizzas when three police cars started chasing him, crashed him making him crash into a metal barrier.

When the youth of his neighbourhood heard about this real murder that the government tried to mask as an accident, they went out to the streets, set up the barricades and fought against the police with Molotov cocktails and stones, burning everything that they could get their hands on.

The response of Sarkozy imperialist government was quick, and together with the Ministry of the Interior and Bagnolet council, Marc Everbecq, a member of the Communist Party, it increased the militarization of the neighbourhood sending in more state forces, gendarmerie and riot police, to stop the revolt of the worker youth from becoming a spark that could set fire again to the workers prairies, that is, spread to factory occupations with bosses taken as hostages.

This fear of the French bourgeoisie is shared by the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy and all the reformist parties that represent its interests and defend their privileges at the expense of the sufferings of the vast majority of the working class and specially of the more exploited layers such as the youth in the cites, the sons of the immigrants treated as pariahs and persecuted by the regime of the Fifth French Republic.

For that reason, from the LOI-CI Trotskyist youth, we have been fighting together with the worker youth of the Cites since 2005 when they rose up shouting "Every night we'll make Paris a new Bagdad". We make the cry ours and we agree completely with all the positions of the NRI comrades in their letters to Groupe Bolchevik (GB). Positions that face and unmask Philippe Couthon and company as what they

really are: the spokespersons of the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy of the imperialist countries. They are supporters of the European imperialist regimes, who live at the expense of the crumbs of the super exploitation taken from the workers in the colonies and semi colonies that their own bourgeoisies oppress.



On the contrary, the worker youth of the Cites felt in their flesh the anti-imperialist feeling. In the street, they fought against their own bourgeoisie taking in their hands their class brothers' struggle of Iraq and the entire Middle East that resist the imperialist invader, and the fight of the workers and exploited masses of the semi colonies and colonies like Guadeloupe and Martinique.

For that reason, Philippe Couthon and these traitors of the French and EU labour aristocracy and bureaucracy are trembling. Because in this new uprising of the French worker youth the combat of the Greek youth uprising is alive: "Sparks in Athens, fire in Paris. It is the insurrection coming".

It is clear on which side of the trench are Philippe Couthon and his friends. We, LOI-CI youth and all the FLTI, are fighting on the same barricade as the French worker youth and their struggle is our struggle. All our forces are concentrated to make the entire international proletariat follow their example and transform each world capital, especially the ones in the imperialist countries, into new Bagdads. Therefore, we shout out with them:

**Every night we have to make Paris, Tokyo, Berlin, Washington, London, Athens, Madrid and Rome a new Bagdad!**

Youth of LOI-CI

# A desperate slap of Lambertism

The NRI has received (as other political organizations of Argentina did) an email from Professor Philippe Couthon, leader of the Groupe Bolchevik of France in which - with the intention of criticizing the FLT - he expose his servile policy to the interests of the French workers' aristocracy and the imperialistic 5<sup>th</sup> French Republic.

How can it be said that the young men Zied and Bouna, who died electrocuted when they were persecuted, were "*(indirectly)*" murdered by the police! Do you want us to believe that in September, 2008, more than a hundred peasants who died drowned in the Bolivian Media Luna, when escaping away from the bullets of the fascist bands were "*(indirectly)*" murdered; or that the arrested-disappeared that were thrown alive from planes into the waters of the Río de la Plata, were murdered "*(indirectly)*" by the military dictatorship in Argentina? Definitely not!!! Both in the semicolonial countries and in the imperialistic centres, the army and the police have a social specific function: to repress and to kill! To guarantee the oppression and the exploitation of a class by another one. If it is not so, why is there the monopoly of arms? And when these institutions are not enough to confront the offensive of the workers and the masses, the fascist bands, organized from within the bourgeois ministries, with the union bureaucracy, the petty bourgeoisie and not few elements from the workers' aristocracy, enter in the scene.

Are you sorry, Philippe Couthon, because these young men have burned up cars, schools, gymnasiums, and buses? What could you say to the communards, that after having burned up Paris they did not do the same thing with Versailles, allowing that the bourgeoisie to reorganize its forces to squash the revolution with dozens of thousands of dead men and women? What would you said to the young students (of your generation) that in 1968 were the vanguard of the "French May"?

On the other hand, Mr. Philippe Couthon, why do you divide the French working youth in "ethnic" groups? These young men are the descendants of the slaves of "La France" in Africa, Asia, America, etc, whose grandparents and parents had to emigrate escaping from the famines, the repression and the massacres provoked by the white French Europeans troops or from the bloody civil wars provoked by the imperialistic French diplomacy to preserve its sources of super-profits.

It is true, Monsieur Philippe Couthon, that these were not the white workers, Frenchmen of pure stump, that erupted in every city in France; on the contrary, it was the most exploited sector of the French working class, those who are kept as reserve army for the hardest, more unhealthy and worse paid jobs by the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic; those who are not accepted in the trade unions and who do not get unemployment assurance as those who, as you do, peck the breadcrumbs that fall down from the table of the imperialist French bourgeoisie, that extracts super-profits from its colonies as Martinique, Guadalupe and Reunion, and from its semicolonies as Madagascar.

Those who are "youth of all ethnic" groups for you, are the heart of the working class, the most exploited sector of the working class of the metropolis, then, the sector wherefrom

the most sympathetic detachments towards revolution will arise.

## "Every night we make Paris a Baghdad"

Frankly I do not know the real origin of this rallying cry, though now that you put on the table, I have to say that I consider it to be a forceful tool in the hands of the revolutionaries and that I will fight in order that the NRI adopt it as its own cry, in the first place for Haiti, where there are Argentine, Bolivian, Uruguayan, Chilean, Brazilian occupation troops, in the service of the imperialist powers, who bomb and shoot to squash the revolts for bread; and where what is raised, in order that Haiti becomes a Baghdad every night, is to build up a resistance that fights for the national liberation and the socialist revolution, in order that each of the sepy soldiers is sent back in plastic bags. Yes, Monsieur let's make Haiti a Baghdad! ... and the same for Martinique, Guadalupe, and Reunion, and for each one of the countries where France has settled her troops! For each one of these imperialistic butchers to be sent back home in plastic bags!

Because in Baghdad, besides the occupation army and the 'interracial' and 'interreligious' terrorism that you mention, there also exists a heroic resistance (that you do not mention), that exactly at the end of 2005 was causing the major number of casualties for the imperialist occupation troops.

And without any doubt, no one European worker will want to be under the occupation of a foreign army ... but why would the impoverished youth of the suburbs of Paris need that, Monsieur Philippe Couthon? The imperialist army that guarantees the super-exploitation of the working class and the masses of the colonies, of the semicolonies and of the most exploited sectors in the metropolis is the very army of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic. The same 5<sup>th</sup> Republic that was occupying Algeria yesterday, bombing, massacring, torturing ...! "*The enemy is at home!*". Why don't you mention this too, Monsieur Philippe Couthon? This was the way followed by the North American youth and proletariat in the late 60s and the beginning of the 70s, and that opened the way in order that the heroic Vietnamese resistance to inflict an historical defeat on the North American army (the army of their country, their enemy!!!) in Vietnam.

In the imperialist countries, the revolutionaries cannot have the luxury of setting aside that the enemy is at home! This is a luxury for the workers' bureaucracy and aristocracy and their political organizations, the unions and the reformist parties ... and, together with them, the political transvestites who speak in name of the revolution.

León Trotsky said in the International Conference of the Youth: "*The distressing situation of the working youth, the increasing proportion of the unemployed and the declassed among the youth, are expressed in the spontaneous, confused and violent characteristics of the political currents born in the youth. This reinforces the need for an unbreakable loyalty to the Bolshevik program, for a Marxist deep education.*"

"*But, at the same time, the current situation dictates to each one of our organizations an extremely audacious*

*organizational attitude to join in its bosom all these combative but confused elements. It is possible, in these conditions, that our youth organizations adopt positions divergent from those of the IVth International. But they should not be looked at with bureaucratic measures; on the contrary, the more impetuous and enthusiast, full of initiatives, even if mistaken, is the youth the more it will have the possibility of being educated, under the condition that our leaderships and the leaderships of our parties prove to be extremely firm in the political area, using every initiative to educate the youth in the Marxist Leninist program, to forge its class conscience and to weld the fight of the working class youth to the fight of the whole proletariat."*

In 2005, it was precisely the youth of the most exploited sector of the French working class who has spontaneously erupted against the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic and all its institutions.

What a great opportunity was presented by the youth of the suburbs of Paris for the revolutionaries (even if small groups of revolutionaries) to firmly intervene with a program to fight, under the fire of the street combats, for transforming this spontaneous eruption into a consciously revolutionary movement!

For armed self-defense committees to defeat and to dissolve the killer police! Down with the imperialistic French 5<sup>th</sup> Republic, with all its institutions! Down with the trade union bureaucracy and the French workers' aristocracy! For the military defeat of the imperialistic French troops in Martinique, Guadalupe, Reunion ...! The enemy is at home!

But "NO!!!", says the Menshevik Couthon, and with him, the whole Groupe Bolchevik. You must not burn cars, schools, gymnasiums or buses... It is necessary to build a revolutionary party...

In its declaration of November 13, 2005, the Groupe Bolchevik denounces the Socialist Party, the French Communist Party and the trade union leaderships because they did not do anything to organize the revolt of the youth of the poor neighborhoods of Clichy; it also denounces Lutte Ouvriere and the Communist Revolutionary League who demanded the reinforcement of the antidisturbances devices ...; and it denounces ...; and it denounces.

But Profesor Philippe Couthon, the Groupe Bolchevik (Bolchevik?) did not do anything else but to align itself with them. "Do not fight! Do not set on fire!" said the GB to the

French youth. "You must wait until we construct a revolutionary party!"...

The Groupe Bolchevik was speaking (and today it continues speaking) about the revolutionary party in the same way that the priests speak about paradise.

The revolutionary program is the one that gives a lead to the most exploited sectors of the working class and the masses. But Philippe Couthon defends with nails and teeth the reformist policy of the GB, with the arguments of the French workers' aristocracy: but if the young men "indirectly" murdered by the police, were not even workers ... and those who went out to set on fire the French cities belonged to "ethnies", they were teenagers, males, students ...

*"The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was thus it will be.*

*"Opportunist organizations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the women workers. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage earner and as a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class; consequently, among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness and readiness to sacrifice." (Transitional Programme)*

Professor Philippe Couthon knows this perfectly well. In the comfort of his office he has had enough time to study it. And if today as three years ago he leaves it aside, it is not because of ignorance, but because a conscious decision. Philippe Couthon has chosen to defend the privileges granted for him by the imperialistic French 5<sup>th</sup> Republic with its academic posts and in this way he drags his Group towards the bankruptcy of the Menshevism.

On behalf of the Revolutionary Internationalist Nucleus

René Armas

Former member of the Central Cell of the Groupe Bolchevik  
22/6/2009

## Cde Downing uses 'good manners' to avoid a political fight

Socialist Fight has a forum of discussion on the Internet (similar to Indymedia's forums in Argentina or in the rest of Latin America). Anyone, with any name, in name of nobody knows whom, without any responsibility to the masses, spread into the cyberspace anything he wants, without proving anything and when he wants.

In there, Mr. Gerald Downing from Socialist Fight and Mr. Richard Brennan from Workers' Power, come out to defend Monsieur Philippe Couthon and the Groupe Bolshevik who had supported the institutions of the fifth French republic from the left.

For it, Mr. Downing puts it clear that is going to leave aside what are "political details" for him, and that he is going to

speak on "method". This respectable British man is going to teach us good manners, he is to tell us what has to be and what has not to be done in a political discussion in order that it becomes respectable. But Mr. Downing is not talking about the respect between those who fight for the victory of the revolution, of those who go up to the end in the discussion of each one of the political differences, fraternally but without diplomacy. No, for Mr. Downing it is necessary to leave aside the "political details", and to adopt the good manners of the dominant classes. Mr. Downing has not invented anything new, in his work "Where's Britain going?" Trotsky defines accurately the English leaders who, in order to control the international proletariat, repeated, in a comical way, the manners and the forms of the dominant classes of England, in which they too were living as parasites. One of the



fundamental questions over which Trotsky was attacking Mister Mc Donald and his good manners, was the revolutionary violence, which scared Mr. Mac Donald very much.

This it is the hypocritical respectability of the dominant classes that do not raise up their voice in the luxurious metropolitan salons, but who are not disturbed by the cannons' thunder sent to smash to the superexploited masses of their colonies and semicolonies or of the poor slums in their own country.

The same hypocrisy of the dominant classes that Mr. Downing is now copying to write that the one who signs the letter from the NRI is the same who signed a previous letter from the SCAL of the FLT; the same hypocrisy that he has used to say that it is a question of "dementia"; and the same one that Philippe Couthon had used to speak about "Gangsters". Richard Brennan lines up with them, speaking about "fools".

Respectable gentlemen, you should know that the time will come for the revolutionaries where those that are leaving aside the political details, earn their money by accusing us of being forgers, mad or gangsters. But on the contrary of what you want to achieve, we will not leave the political fight against the renegades of Trotskyism and all the reformists that with the hypocritical venerability copied from the manners of their own bourgeoisie and with their calumnies, want to poison the conscience of the working class. They will see our offensive redoubled once, two times, ten times, together with that of the youth and the workers who every night will make a Baghdad in Paris, in London, in New York, in Berlin, in Rome...

But these gentlemen who leave aside the political details to speak about good manners and to accuse me of being "mad" because of having political differences, deserve an answer.

How is it that, that the death of the French youths was not "indirect" as Philippe Couthon says, if this was not demonstrated by the most respectable "*The New York Times*" with details of minutes and seconds?, Mr. Gerald Downing says.

We ask then: is it not that the same "The New York Times" that was swearing that there were chemical weapons in Iraq to justify the anglo-yanqui imperialist invasion? Of course it is the same. It is precisely the most prestigious speaker of the hypocritical respectability of the imperialist bourgeoisies. And is this the flag that Mr. Gerald Downing raises in the name of Trotskyism to justify the capitulation of his partner Philippe Couthon! "Before burning anything, you must read the respectable The New York Times. This way you will realize how wrong you are!" This is what Mr. Downing has to say to the French youth. These are the "political details" that Mr. Downing wants to set aside.

Do not stop! Go on building up committees of self-defense and Soviet organisms to coordinate all the sectors in struggle! We, revolutionaries, will say "we are present" to fight against the respectable reformists and to put in your hands the program for victory! Let's not stop until the defeat of the police in the streets and until not leaving any stone unturned of each and everyone of the institutions of the French imperialist republic! Let's not stop until establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat that will settle the account of centuries of oppression and super-exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial peoples of Africa, Asia, America and the Pacific Ocean and of their descendants in the metropolitan

France! This is the call that we do upon the working youth and all the French workers.

Then, "Gangsters", "forgers", "mad"! shout Couthon and Downing. They have not invented anything new. They do not do anything else but to follow master Stalin, who accused as criminals or insane persons the political opponents to enclose them in jails, mental hospitals or concentration camps. If Couthon and Downing were at the head of a workers' state, that they would not hesitate an instant to enclose in their Lubianka, or in their Vorkuta accusing of "gangsters", "mad", "forgers" to everyone who has political differences with them, which they do not want to discuss.

But this is nothing but "their" way of doing politics: let's speak about manners and let's spread calumnies to hide that their politics is that of supporting the imperialist bourgeoisie in their own countries. Here they did not invent anything new either.

There have been bolder people than don Gerald Downing, Richard Brennan and Philippe Couthon, who had seized cudgels and have broken the head of the people "in order to accommodate the ideas of these madmen"; as the PO of Altamira and the PSTU in Brazil did with the comrades of this "band of madmen and gangsters". They went even farther: they gave them up to the police and to the bourgeois justice ... and Mister Gerald Downing and his gang have not stated a position about it yet, even if they defend "the good manners".

In the 70s there was an Italian movie directed by Vittorio de Sica, named "Bicycle Thieves". In a scene of the movie, the actual thief of the bicycle shouted "thief! ..." indicating someone who was walking in the next street, while he stole the bicycle. Today Mister Gerald Downing and his allies repeat this scene, but in the Marxist movement. "Good manners! ..." to accuse those who have political differences of "gangsters" and "insane people", using the good manners of Josef Stalin.

Every honest revolutionary young or worker should know that this is a smoke screen of those that speaking in the name of Trotskyism, want to pass the old rotten program of the social democracy and the Stalinism.

In the Transitional Program, comrade Trotsky alerted that we will gain the just hate of all the currents that are hung to the skirts of the popular front, of the bourgeoisie and its interests. Do not doubt about it, English, French and European workers, these groups defend 'good manners' in order that the French, European, English working class, does not settle accounts with the workers' aristocracies and bureaucracies that with very villain manners betray the fight of the semi colonial world, support their hangmen and betray their own working class. In fact, there was nowhere in history a petty bourgeoisie and a workers' aristocracy that defend as much as the English one the good manners of its own imperialist bourgeoisie and that attacked in a vile manner the oppressed peoples who were rebelling, in the colonial and semicolonial countries and in Britain itself, against the oppressor nation.

Of course, the revolutionaries will not fit in the narrow arena of the Internet forums, where people without any responsibility to anybody, posing as attorneys have the nonchalance of defining an action of the masses, as the spontaneous revolts of the sons of the immigrants, dragged for years to work as slaves from the colonies to the metropolis, were.

Now these new Mc Donald's are not in the convent of the Jacobins, where, even from the point of view of the bourgeois revolution, from the reason, the violence of the revolts of the sans coulottes and the ragged people of Paris was justified. They are the Girondists of the proletarian revolution, who have the arrogance and the good manners to want to send the Trotskyist Leninist Jacobins of the proletarian revolution to the Lubianka or to psychiatric hospitals to discipline and to modify our ideas.

These people, with such good manners, comes out in defence of the most brutal attack against the revolt of the exploited people of Paris of 2006 and 2007, who question my 'vile' manners and the 'vile' manners of the rebellious that set fire to cars, schools and buses, they forget and are silent in a shameless way - as servants of the bourgeoisie as they are - about the violence and humiliations, bloody repressions, infamous attacks that the exploited people and workers suffer at the hands of the state, every day, every hour and every second of their life. Because those who dare to speak down about the mistakes of the violence of the exploited people, of the excesses of their violence when they rise up, they are not any more but paid defendants of the violence exercised by the bourgeois state, which is nothing but a gang of armed men, that every day at gunpoint defend the domain of a possessing class.

Don Gerald Downing and don Philippe Couthon, stay with the good manner of the French workers' aristocracy, that left isolated and betrayed the workers who occupied the factories and took hostages and the youth that rebelled in Greece, raising the same program than the youth in Paris, with the slogan "the spark of Greece inflames Paris" that is still on the walls of Athens -and that, Gerald Downing or Philippe Couthon will not be able to deny-.

Honouring the rebellious of Greece and Paris, honouring the Iranian, Afghan and Palestinian resistance, a war cry of the world proletariat "Long life for the revolutionary violence of the oppressed", "down with the violence of the oppressors". Paraphrasing the balance of 1905 we might say, with Lenin, that the problem of these revolts, riots and the revolution that took place all over Russia was "that they did not burn enough, they killed too few landowners and enemies of the proletariat"; while the Mensheviks, the tired Monattes, the scared Mc Donalds english men, the Gerald Downings, the Philippe Couthons of today shout and scream "what violent these young men were, how rebellious, how many cars they burnt!".

With his class of good manners, Mr. Gerald Downing covers Philippe Couthon who covers the French NPA, that in turn covers the butchers of Fifth French Republic that has superexploited, oppressed and massacred workers and peasants in more than two centuries of existence of this capitalist world system. The Mensheviks follows today the same dynamics of what we might call the "Monatte Law". Everywhere, they play the role of covering the "left flank" of the counter-revolutionary leaderships of any colour: "It is undoubted that the radicalization that the alarmists were proclaiming two years ago is coming closer. The economic crisis has come into France, though with certain delay. (...) But it is undoubted that the state of stable passiveness in which the French working class stayed in the years of the supposed "radicalization" will open way to an increasing activity and to a spirit of militancy in a short time. The revolutionaries must point to this new period.

"On the verge of a new period, Monatte brings together those who are tired, disillusioned, exhausted and makes them pass to Jouhaux's side. Worse for Monatte and better for the revolution!" (Leon Trotsky, 1930, "Monatte crosses the Rubicon"; quoted in "The events of 1989. The update of the program of the revolutionaries and the combats of the working class at the end of the 20th century", Editorial Rudolph Klement, 2000).

The only impotence -even if Mr. Gerald Downing does not want to discuss politics- of the French working class in the face of the revolt of its youth, was the cowardice and the perfidy of the leaderships of the trade unions, which refused to raise this spontaneous revolt up to a general strike in the whole France. For don Gerald Downing, don Philippe Couthon, those gentlemen -the bureaucrats- are serious and respectable. Stay with them. Go on condemning the violence of the exploited people. But do not do it in the name of Trotskyism any more. You will never understand, as blinded as you are, that the class struggle -and the spontaneous revolts as part of it is where, according to Lenin, resides the embryo of consciousness- is an uninterrupted chain of violence covered or concealed in which the state -that do not exist for Mr. Couthon, nor for Mr. Gerald Downing nor for the NYT, not for their new partner Richard Brennan- is the wildest, beastly and inhuman organ of the violence that is exerted against the exploited classes every day..

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The one who accuses me of being an insane person comes up to the point of denying my own existence, or, of my having multiple personalities, signing letters of more than one revolutionary organization. You do not have anything else to do but to ask your partner Philippe Couthon, who knows me personally, and also knows Carlos Munzer, and hundreds of combatants for the proletarian revolution. It is not a question of a sleepwalker sitting in an armchair in front of the Internet, but of hundreds and hundreds of Trotskyist cadres, a real current implanted in the working class, that you will not be able to confine in mental hospitals this time nor make it disappear from the planet as the renegades of Trotskyism did for years with the Fourth International.

Have you seen that impudence? Fictional groups, of 2 or 3 people chatting in front of a screen being disrespectful with the combatants of the Fourth International, with the rebellious youth of France and with the masses in struggle of the world!!

If you extract blood from these peoples that connect in the world of the cyberspace, and you send it to the laboratory of (Marxist) pathology, the result would be: carcinogenic tumour of renegades of Trotskyism. The term "renegade" might be disrespectful for you, but Lenin did very well calling Kautsky a "renegade" when he betrayed the proletariat.

If to fight against those who in the name of Trotskyism called to vote for the imperialistic British government of the Labour party for this kitchen of thieves of the European parliament is to be a madman, long life for madness!

If to fight for the destruction of the Zionist - fascist state of Israel and for not giving national rights to any oppressor nation of the world is to be a madman, long life for madness!

If to vindicate the revolt and the violence of the sons of the immigrants in Paris, and to think that its limit was in the small violence exercised against the exploiters because of the responsibility of the leaderships of the trade unions and

of the parties of the French workers' aristocracy is to be a madman, long life for madness!.

If to think of as a vile servant of the exploiters, the one who condemns the violence of the exploited and not that of the state of the oppressors, is to be a madman, long life for madness!.

There will be neither smoke screen nor personal attacks that prevent the revolutionaries from unmasking the enemies of the proletariat.

You talk about a "mad" person. You try to make the revolutionary forefront of the proletariat believe that it is a question of a madman making gestures. But every perspicacious youth or worker, watching with attention will see and will know that it is a question of the revolutionaries who are sharpening the knife with a stone.

From the heart of the Chilean, Peruvian, South African, Argentine, Bolivian, North American, Brazilian, New Zealand proletariat ..., this sharp tool will come into the hands of the most exploited sectors of the French working class and then there will be not only cars, schools and buses that burn in Paris. Nothing but the ashes of each one and every one of the institutions of the bourgeois state will stay on foot. The burning of the Bastilla will look like a child's play ... and pity the one that stands in their way ... which is our way.

René Armas

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## Smash the Coup in Honduras. Continued from back page.

To subject the working class of the United States, Central America and the Latin American sub-continent, to the front of the Obamas, the Clintons, the Zelayas, the Bolivarian bourgeoisies, is to contain the workers struggle to smash the coup in Honduras and, worst than that, to subject the proletariat of the entire continent, if not the entire world, to their worst executioners.

3) Just to use an analogy, we could say that the United States wants to recover the whole of its backyard, using the policy of "New Deal", that is to say, of "Good Neighbor", putting aside the annoying and shameful face of Bush and his policy of "shock and awe", now looking for new pacts and agreements with the native bourgeoisies and even with the French, Spanish, etc... imperialisms (with whom those bourgeoisies, particularly the Bolivarians, have a close relationship).

At the same time, it must appeal to "fascism", to counterrevolutionary coups, to new military bases in the continent, because this is what the regime of the Republicrats in the United States itself

is about, this unitary party with two heads, of republicans and democrats, that controls the North American politics in the United States and at a world level, using one or the other, according to the necessities, to constrain, stop or smash the masses, especially when the Bolivarian or other Bonaparts are increasingly showing their inability to do so.

4) Honduras is one of the acid tests that concentrates the offensive policy of North American imperialism under the government of Obama and the regime of the Republicrats: that is one of the democratic front of imperialism disguised as Obama on one hand, which is the best way to disorganize the masses and to demobilize them, while on the other hand imperialism imposes its direct counterrevolutionary policy of wars as in Afghanistan, massacres as Gaza - through its

gendarme, the Zionist state of Israel - and with coups-d'etat, as in Honduras.

Obama has already been in Africa. He visited Ghana, generating a wave of swindling the black exploited masses. What did Obama go to Ghana for? To cover the installation of the military command base of North American imperialism with which they will control the entire super-exploited black masses in Africa. This is what Obama-mania is about in the last resort: to cover and sustain the military dominance of the world by imperialism, to wash the face of the imperialist butchers of Wall Street that, as the real parasites, squandered 14 trillion dollars, that must be paid by the exploited of the world, with hunger, misery and astounding sufferings, and when the masses revolt as in Madagascar, to prepare a military onslaught to crush their resistance. Signalling this policy, before Obama left Ghana, the Nigerian army massacred 150 of the thousands of workers who were fighting for a wage increase and against the plundering of the



oil of this nation by imperialism.

5) In Latin America we are seeing the results of the French-US provisional agreement forced on French imperialism by US imperialism to regain control of the sub-continent as its "backyard". A first act of this new offensive was signalled by the Summit of the Americas early this year in Trinidad-Tobago, where Obama, supported by all the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies laid out very clearly his policy to complete capitalist restoration in Cuba. The Honduras coup is a new act in this offensive where the US using its two handed policy -either through the continuity of Micheletti and his coup makers, or by means of an agreement between Zelaya and these same coup makers- wants to turn Honduras into a beachhead for further counterrevolutionary actions in Latin

America, i.e. an intervention in Cuba, or Guadeloupe or any country where the masses rise up against their exploitation and oppression.

6) Honduras is a country tied to US imperialism by three chains because of the CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement). Also, is a country transformed since the '70s into a virtual US protectorate, thus Honduras was the site of the barracks and camps where the "contras" -the paramilitary gangs planned financed by US imperialism against the Nicaraguan revolution- were armed and trained. Honduras was the place where the counterrevolutionary agreements of Esquipulas and Contadora -which strangled the Central American revolution in the '80s- were guaranteed, while the Honduran armed forces, actually an "occupation army" commanded from the US military base in this country, massacred the masses of poor peasants that were fighting for their land and against the United Fruit. Today, the US military base remains one of the most important ones in the region.

The coup in Honduras shows how the global economic crisis is being downloaded onto the Latin American masses. Like the massacre in Bagua, Peru, last month, the Honduras' coup is the result of the inevitable violence that goes together with the parasitism of the North American imperialism. The global economic crisis with its epicenter in the US has hit Latin America nations very hard, especially those tied to US imperialism by FTAs. Peru and now Honduras are at the moment the hot spots in this offensive.

Honduras has experienced 3 years of rapid GDP growth at 17% per year, the result of the massive expansion of maquilas (sweatshops) producing for export to US. Of course this short period of growth did not improve the living conditions of the Honduran masses. On the contrary it increased their superexploitation and worsened the already miserable conditions they were suffering.

In 2008-2009 the crisis hit Honduras heavily. 80% of Honduran exports mainly corn, bananas, coffee, sugarcane, gold and silver, go to the US. The crisis in the US and in the world economy radically cut the demand for Honduran exports. At the same time the crisis brought the expulsion of thousands of Central American workers, including Hondurans, from the US. Thus thousands of workers have been deported to Honduras where they add to the numbers of unemployed already about 28% (official figures). The remittances from these deported workers running at around \$2.5 billion a year has of course stopped. To this growing pool of unemployed are added those suffering massive layoffs from the imperialist owned maquilas, plantations and mines in Honduras, now closing down because of the crisis.

So, at the same time that the dollar reserves in the Honduran National Treasury fall, a huge trade imbalance has arisen. Honduras exports to the US are now \$6 billion annually while imports are \$10 billion creating a deficit of \$4 billion.

Honduran workers and poor peasants, like in the rest of Central America, are being forced to pay for the crisis with increasing poverty, starvation and mass layoffs. The burden of inflation, around 12% annually, is rising every day. The international price of the staple food corn, as well as sugarcane, remains relatively high because both are used also as raw material for biofuels.

The situation of the exploited masses is desperate. In a country that produces food -corn, sugarcane, coffee, bananas, etc.- most of the population made up of workers,

poor peasants and their families, are starving because they cannot afford even a handful of corn to eat.

The switching of production from the food staples of corn and beans in favour of exotic fruit which the transnationals such as Chiquita Brand, Dole, Standard Fruit, etc. can sell at premium prices in the US, has forced Honduras to start importing food from the US at the very high prices dictated by the big food and agro-transnationals.

Moreover, Honduras imports 100% of its oil which adds to its trade deficit. And if that were not enough for the masses to suffer, Honduras was hit in 2008 by Hurricane Mitch, which left 34 dead, many injured, 70,000 workers and poor peasants homeless, and caused \$154 million in damage to the economy. This tragedy prevented the sowing of beans and much of the corn. The prices of food and fuel has skyrocketed caused massive starvation. 70% of Hondurans live below the poverty line and 40% are starving. Even Zelaya himself had to acknowledge publicly that 2 million Hondurans eat only once every three days.

7) Since 2007-2008 the Honduran masses have begun to rise against exploitation and oppression. In 2008 Zelaya has faced three general strikes against his government, demanding an end to the rising cost of living, for higher wages, against the FTA, etc. Zelaya responded to these massive mobilizations with repression, killing at least four leaders of the workers and poor peasants. Following the strikes, Zelaya then tried to win over a layer of the civil servants to support him by increasing their very low salaries marginally to the still very low US\$230 per month which barely pays for the basic family food basket. But to the rest of the workers, such as the striking workers of the maquilas and the plantations, Zelaya only offered more layoffs and repression.

In 2008, Zelaya, a wealthy landowner and businessman, coming from the center of the pro-US Liberal Party, "moved" to the ranks of the "Bolivarians" and signed-up Honduras to the ALBA (Alternativa Bolivariana para las Americas) the supposed 'Chavista' alternative to the US imperialist ALCA, (Free Trade Agreement initiative for the Americas).

This turn was the expression of the emergence of a sector of the Honduran national bourgeoisie that began to demand the renegotiation of deals with US and US monopolies to gain a larger slice of the super-profits expropriated from the masses for the pockets of the national bourgeoisie.

As a result of this turn, Zelaya and this pro-Chavez bourgeois sector got a loan from Venezuela in "petro-dollars" to finance the Honduran state deficit and cheap and subsidized Venezuelan oil.

Thus the Zelaya administration took on strong Bonapartist sui generis (with special) features. As a national bourgeoisie in a semicolonial country it is extremely weak in relation to the imperialist master. So the only way it can bargain the imperialism is by backing on the workers and the poor peasants, using the threat of a revolution to blackmail imperialism. Of course and at the same time, the weak national bourgeoisie must control those masses with an iron grip to prevent a revolution and the seizure of not only imperialist property but the property of the national bourgeoisie. It exercises this iron grip through the statization of the unions to contain any uprisings and by openly and violently attacking the most militant vanguard.

8) These are the conditions that brought about the split of the Honduran bourgeoisie. The Zelayaist fraction of the



Honduran bourgeoisie attempted to contain the anger and frustration of the masses with "Bolivarian" demagoguery and miserable crumbles from the state treasury. The other fraction of the Honduran bourgeoisie prefers delivering the masses real bullets instead of Bolivarian "carrots". Zelaya was unable to put an end to this huge crisis, and the Honduran bourgeoisie split, not only to gain a bigger share of the shrinking profits hit by the crisis, but because of the disagreement about how best to deal with a mass upsurge and forestall a revolution.

9) Obama and the Republicrats regime took advantage of this split in the Honduran bourgeoisie to promote the civil-military coup on June 28 that dethroned Zelaya and dumped him in underwear in the main Costa Rican airport.

In front of the crisis and once the "general staff" of US imperialism had been reconstituted with Obama's taking post as president, and defining the new political strategy, US imperialism could not go on allowing for a country as Honduras -site of a US military base and signatory of one of its FTAs- to continue haggling with the paymaster and flirting with the Bolivarian alternative of Zelaya and his fraction of the national bourgeoisie. So the Republicrats regime, from the US military base and together with the top of the Honduran armed forces, both the Catholic and Evangelist clergy, the parliament and the Supreme Court, organized the coup against Zelaya.

But the crux of the strategy of the US imperialist butchers is maintaining camouflage for Obama. Washington needed to disguise the coup as a "constitutional dismissal". It was necessary that Zelaya renounced so the parliament could install Micheletti "constitutionally". But they could not because the top Honduran generals, long used to stage coups absolutely unpunished, overacted; instead of staging an "elegant" pas de deux as it was planned, kicked their way into Zelaya's home at dawn and left him half naked in Costa Rican air strip.

However, leaving aside this "untidiness", it is now clear that unless a revolutionary irruption of the masses takes place, imperialism will succeed: either through Micheletti and the leaders of the coup keeping the power up to the elections, or by means of a counterrevolutionary deal between Zelaya and the coup leaders under the blessing of the OAS, Obama and the whole Bolivarian team.

10) The World Social Forum and its "left" wing of Stalinists, populists and fake Trotskyists have come to the fore screaming that it was the US "right" which made the coup, not only against Zelaya but also against "Obama-the-democratic-champion".

This crude lie is used to deceive the workers of the whole Americas and the rest of the world. The White House today has two players to protect its interests and the property of Chiquita Brand, Dole and the US maquilas in Honduras: on the one hand the coupist government of Micheletti, the armed forces, the parliament and the Supreme Court, backed by the

US military base; and on the other, a real "democratic front" that starts with Obama, includes the UN, OAS, EU, the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies, the Castroite bureaucracy, the World Social Forum (WSF) and the fake Trotskyists in the US, Latin America and worldwide who all together call on the masses "to pressure" Obama asking him to be "consistent" by calling home his ambassador in Honduras and applying "all the necessary measures to reinstate the legitimate government" of bourgeois murderer and exploiter Zelaya.

In either case it will be a win-win for the US imperialism: if the coup emerges victorious, the government that stays would be directly managed by imperialism in Honduras; if Zelaya returns with limited powers up to the next elections (to be held in 4 months) he has already guaranteed Obama that no Constituent Assembly is to be convened, the officers that conducted the coup will be amnestied and no one of them will be removed. In short, both ways guarantee US imperialism to keep Honduras submitted to the US military base, as a beachhead for counterrevolution in the continent. For the Pentagon this is essential, especially in a moment when the conditions in Honduras are generalized throughout the rest of Central America. There is a great risk for imperialism that Nicaraguan, Salvadoran and Guatemalan masses begin again an upsurge, overwhelming the control of their governments which are presently preventive popular fronts imposed by the former "commanders" of the Sandinista and the FMLN movements, now turned direct agents of the US imperialists and managers of the FTAs and of the worst attacks against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses.

11) Three weeks since the coup has witnessed the huge mobilizations of the Honduran masses, general strikes, pickets, roadblocks, etc., which have been subordinated by their leaderships to the infamous politics of the democratic front. Each day this goes on, while Zelaya calls for "popular insurrection" from his safe haven in Guatemala, the workers

and the poor peasants give their blood and who have their bones shattered in the Honduran jails.

Meanwhile the two bourgeois fractions confronting each other and US imperialism gauge precisely the situation, so as to know when to best seal the deal or how to close the gap open in the Honduran ruling class. All bourgeois fractions coincide in the task to prevent by any and all

means the combat of the masses from turning into an independent irruption that defeats the coup in the streets giving rise to revolutionary processes.

12) We, revolutionary internationalists, have to say crystal-clearly the truth to the masses: the working class and the exploited cannot be neutral in this confrontation between the two bourgeois camps. We have to say that even though bourgeois democracy and fascism (in this case, a military coup) are both imperialist-national bourgeois policies, they are not exactly the same for the working class and the exploited masses.





Bourgeois democracy leans on the control of the working class organizations, in corrupting them, in bribing and buying their leadership; while fascism -and in this case the military coup- attacks with the intention of smashing physically the working class and the exploited and has ultimately the aim of destroying the worker organizations. Activists and fighters of Honduras denounce that those on the side of the coup kidnap and make disappear the leaders of the popular and workers organizations with black out at night entering the houses of the popular and workers' houses with squads to kidnap them. We know without a doubt the death squads which come in the black of the night breaking into the workers' and popular leader's homes to kidnap them are trained, through the "School of Assassins in Ft. Benning, Georgia, USA.

Therefore, while this gap between the two bourgeois camps continues, we call the working class to defend democracy against fascism, but only in the way that Trotsky and the Fourth International held for Spain in 1936: i.e., the working class must not defend democracy with the methods of bourgeois democracy but only with the methods of proletarian revolution.

Furthermore we call the Honduran workers and peasants to smash in the streets the civic-military coup. Build a revolutionary general strike! Build worker, rural worker and peasant armed committees to confront and defeat the coup in the streets! Armed workers and peasants: March to the garrisons and call upon the rank and file soldiers, children of the workers and peasants in uniform, to disavow their officers who staged the coup, and call them to set up rank and file soldier committees to join with their weapons the committees of the fighting workers and peasants and to workers and peasants militia to smash the coup!

Armed workers and poor peasants: march on and dissolve the parliament and the Supreme Court responsible for the coup! March on the US military base to defeat and drive out the US marines, murderers of the Latin American peoples, murderers of the Iraqi, Afghani and Pakistani people!

It is necessary to direct all fire at the imperialism which prepared and is funding the coup; it is urgent to hit Wall Street where it hurts the most. Therefore we call for expropriation without compensation and under workers control of Dole, Chiquita Brand, all the transnationals of the maquilas and the mines! Down with the infamous FTA's that crushes under a heavy imperialist yoke the Honduran nation!

Both Zelaya and Micheletti are plotting together against the masses and will end up embracing each other while the blood of the Honduran workers and peasants is still fresh in the ground, as it was still fresh the Colombian resistance's blood when Chavez and Uribe embraced each other a year ago!

From the trenches of the combat for smashing the coup in the streets, we have to confront recklessly the perfidious politics of the democratic front. Hands off Honduras Obama and the murderous regime of the Republicrats, the UN, the OAS and the rest of the institutions of the imperialist butchers! No deal with those responsible of the coup! Down with the deal between Zelaya and Micheletti that is being hatched in Costa Rica!

If Zelaya returns as a product of a reconciliation deal with Micheletti and the coup leaders, with the blessings of Obama, Insulza and the OAS, the outcome will result neither more democracy nor any national independence for the Honduran people, or even less, more food, jobs, land or anything favourable for the exploited masses. Contrariwise,

what will result is either Zelaya or another puppet in its place supported in the same caste of pro-coup armed forces officers, supported in the same weapons of the US military base to deepen the FTA, tie Honduras to imperialism with new chains, make the Honduran masses pay for the crisis and secure the country again as in the '80s as a beachhead and a key garrison for counterrevolution in the continent for the sake of the US imperialist interests.

Smashing the coup, defeating the class collaborationist policy of the democratic front, would open the way for the only real solution for the Honduran workers and peasants to conquer the national independence, land, food, jobs, health and education, so they can live in their own country without having to migrate and be enslaved as outcasts in the US. That solution is the building of a workers and poor peasants' government based on their self-organization and armament, the only one that can free the nation from imperialism and expropriate the expropriators of the workers and the exploited masses.

13) Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Panama and the rest of the Central American nations are invented countries; their frontiers have been delineated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the United Fruit, the transnationals and the rest of the US monopolies to control and exploit the masses in the whole region.

The Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses have paid with their blood, with starvation, with 25 years of sufferings and submission of the nation because of the betrayals to their revolutions by their leaderships, i.e. the imposition of the counterrevolutionary deals of Esquipulas and Contadora which meant the strangling and the surrender of the Central American revolution in the '80s. In those years, Fidel Castro and the Stalinist Cuban bureaucracy sought to put off the Central American revolution telling the proletariat and the popular masses that neither Nicaragua nor Salvador should be "new Cubas".

Today we revolutionaries say clearly: for a new Cuba in Honduras, for a new Cuba in Nicaragua, for a Cuba in Haiti, in Guadeloupe and Martinique, in the whole of Central America and the Caribbean! Not Stalinists new Cuba but under a genuine revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat ruled by the Soviets of the workers and the peasants! For a political revolution in Cuba in order that Cuba goes really revolutionary, without Castroite bureaucrats that are getting ready to consummate the capitalist restoration in the isle hand in hand with Obama!

For the Socialist United States of Central America and the Caribbean where the working class and the exploited speak Spanish, Creole and French as in Haiti-Dominican Republic, the Antilles, etc., English as in Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Grenada, etc., Dutch as in Aruba and Curacao, but free from the French, British, US, Dutch imperialists and also having their mainland and island nations (Cuba included) cleared of imperialist military bases and murderous armies! Hands off Central America and Caribbean US imperialists! Hands off Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyana, etc., French imperialists! Hands off Guyana, Belize, Trinidad Tobago, etc., UK imperialists! Hands off Aruba, Curacao, Surinam Dutch imperialists! For the military defeat of all the occupation troops under the command of the UNO in Haiti; both, the imperialist troops and those sepoy troops sent by the Bolivarian bourgeois Lula of Brazil, Kirchner of Argentina, Morales of Bolivia and Bachelet of Chile!

In order to open the road to the Socialist United States of Central America and the Caribbean, the first step today is smashing the coup in Honduras. General Strike in Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and the rest of Central America and the entire American continent! For a Day of Struggle of the world proletariat in support to our class brothers and sisters in Honduras!

In response to the military coup in Honduras and while the workers and the exploited masses are being repressed, murdered, jailed, the various reformists, as syndicalists, anarchist and fake Trotskyists grasp at the coattails of the democratic front and raise a criminal and perfidious pacifist policy, which leaves the masses confronting with sticks and stones their enemies - the murderous Honduran army- armed with tanks, airplanes and machineguns provided by the US military base. No one of this reformists demands: Arms for the workers and the exploited in Honduras so they can smash the coup in the streets!

To the contrary, we revolutionaries call for all the worker organizations in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Venezuela, Salvador, Cuba, the entire continent to mobilize and to convene immediately for the recruitment of international worker brigades to go to Honduras and fight for smashing the coup.

In the '80, Reagan had no problem arming the Contras from Honduras in order to smash the revolution in Nicaragua and Salvador. We claim the same right for the working class! The Nicaraguan and Salvadoran workers that had their parents, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts massacred by the Contras, have all the right and legitimacy to make an appeal to the whole Latin American working class and build up from Nicaragua and Salvador international worker brigades to go and smash the coup in Honduras!

14) The coup in Honduras poses immediate international tasks before the North American working class, because, as it has happened with Afghanistan and Iraq, each counterrevolutionary triumph of Yankee imperialist bourgeoisie against the exploited peoples of the world, has reinforced its power and has led to further attacks against the gains and the standard of living of the North American working class itself, extremely deepened under the bankruptcy of the world imperialist economy, and the North American economy in the first place.

It is necessary to clearly denounce, before the eyes of the North American workers and its combative vanguard, that the regime of the "Republicrats" and the government of Obama have propelled the coup in Honduras and that they are also responsible for the democratic front to restrain the Honduran workers and exploited masses from smashing the coup in the streets with the revolutionary general strike, the armament of the masses and the workers and soldiers committees. It is a central task for the internationalist Trotskyists to denounce the two policies of the Yankee imperialism -New Deal and fascism- before the North American workers. Internationalists must confront the reformist left of the United States, and particularly the renegades of Trotskyism that subordinated before the democratic front and limit the worker's movement to a policy pressure on Obama.

The North American working class must stand up once more, supporting its brother workers and poor peasants of Honduras! The North American working class must rise up breaking with the subordination to the government of Obama

and the Democratic Party, and fight to smash the pro-imperialist coup in the streets by the Honduran masses! We call on the Million Workers March to unite with the dock workers of Oakland, and other fighting workers organizations against the war to build strikes and demonstrations against the pro-imperialist coup.

Down with the coup in Honduras driven by the regime of the "Republicrats" and the Yankee military base of the SouthCom! Obama hands off Honduras! Down with the pact prepared by Obama, the UN and the OAS, between Zelaya and Micheletti! Go into the streets of the United States supporting the Honduran workers and exploited masses! Call for strikes, boycotts and mobilizations to stop all delivery of arms, supplies or troops for the Yankee military base in Honduras and those directed to the coup regime! Arms for the Honduran masses to smash the coup! The Dockers workers of Oakland and other combative organizations of the working class in the United States can call for setting up international brigades to go into Honduras and smash the pro-Yankee coup! If the Yankees can go forward with the coup in Honduras, they will be closer to imposing, jointly with the Castroist bureaucracy, the capitalist restoration in Cuba: The North American workers cannot allow that

The struggle for the defeat of the coup in Honduras with the methods of the working class is inseparable from the struggle for the military defeat of the Yankee imperialist troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and for the victory of the mass resistance in those nations; from the struggle for the defence of millions of immigrant workers -mostly Latin American- under slavery in the United States, who are massively expelled or confined in the dungeons of the "Republicrats" regime. For the military defeat of the Yankee troops in Afghanistan and Iraq! Free the anti-imperialist prisoners of Guantanamo Bay! Immediate and unconditional liberation of Mumia Abu Jamal and the thousands of immigrant workers imprisoned by the regime of the "Republicrats"! Punishment for BAR police, assassin of the young black worker and father Oscar Grant in Oakland!

Down with the chauvinist trade union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO, servant of its own imperialist bourgeoisie! Down with its reactionary cry of "American jobs for the Americans"! Immediate North American citizenship, full economic, political and social rights and equal wage for equal job for all the immigrants in the US! Down with the NAFTA, CAFTA, and FTA's that submit the Latin American nations to the Yankee imperialism and enslave the Mexican, Honduran, etc. workers in maquilas! In the plants and maquilas that the multinationals of the United States have in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean: equal wages in dollars and equal working conditions as in the plants of these same multinationals in the US!

Only by breaking with the subordination to the Democratic Party and Obama, defeating the bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and rising all the demands of their class brothers and sisters of the semi colonies oppressed by the Yankee imperialist bourgeoisie and of the nations occupied by its troops, as well as the demands of the superexploited immigrant workers in the United States, can the North American working class join its ranks to effectively confront the attacks against its gains and wages and open the way for a counteroffensive in order to make the capitalists, the parasites of the superbanks and of Wall Street, pay for the costs of the crisis.

## Resolution on Honduras

# Smash the US Coup in Honduras!

1) A grotesque military coup has taken place in Honduras, organized by the "banana" oligarchic regime of Chiquita Brand, Dole and other Yankee imperialist maquilas. This saw the "Bolivarian" president Zelaya, flown across the border to Costa Rica in his underwear. The reformist "left" of the entire then joined forces with the "democratic front" of Zelaya, the OAS, the UN, etc. to "defeat the coupists and to restore the democratic president in his post". Meanwhile the unarmed workers and poor peasants, who face repression and assassination by the coupists, are called on to mobilize peacefully.

The ILTF declares that it is not possible to defeat the coup organized by the "Honduran" oligarchy and the military command of Yankee imperialist at its military base in Honduras, by calling on Honduran, Latinamerican and world proletariat, to beg Obama, the "Bolivarians" and other representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as the exploiters club the OAS, the UNO, and the UNASUR, to intervene. All of them are enemies who oppose the mobilisation of the only forces that can smash and defeat the coup: the revolutionary general strike, the struggle to split the army, the building of workers' and peasants' militias and the committees of soldiers, and the struggle for the expropriation of the properties of all the coupists, which means the expropriation of 90% of the assets of the Honduran exploiters. In short the proletarian revolution.

Zelaya is aware of this threat of mass mobilisation, because he knows that if the masses take the revolutionary path, it will be a risk to him and his own bourgeois clique as their class role will be put in question. His only hope is to bet on a new counterrevolutionary pact, like the one between Morales and fascism in the Media Luna in Bolivia, or that between Chávez and Uribe, paid with the blood of the Colombian resistance.

2) To submit the working class struggle against the coup to the political leadership of Obama, the Clintons, Chávez and the Bolivarian bourgeoisie, the Castroist bureaucracy and the Sandinistas - that is to say, to the gravediggers of the revolution in Central America and the entire American continent - is to refuse to smash the coupists and all the counterrevolutionary forces united in Honduras, the most immediate and urgent task facing the proletariat. The ILTF denounces the yankee imperialist butchers, their

international financial capital that organizes massacres and genocides in Iraq, Afghanistan and, through the Zionist state of Israel, of the Palestinian nation; yankee imperialism continues these massacres under the disguise of Obama, as the liberal pacifist leader. The Obama disguise is an attempt to cover the ongoing repression and killings of the US military that controls the five continents.



The ILTF affirms that the more the imperialist butchers disguise as Obama, the more they need their military base in Honduras to organize this military coup to establish a new counterrevolutionary gendarme in the Central American region. US imperialism has been shaken by the uprisings in Guadalupe and the Antilles against French colonialism, by the rise of the starving masses of Haiti, occupied by the

Latin-American gurka troops of the UNO, and now (drawing the lessons from these uprisings) they need to, above all, strengthen their counterrevolutionary forces to control and guarantee, with its Colombian gendarme -the genocidal government of Uribe- the process of pacts and counterrevolution and the process of restoration of capitalism prepared in Cuba.

The ILTF affirms that the more the capitalists disguise themselves as Obama to prevent the uprisings of the masses or to deflect their hatred against their governments and regimes (as in the United States with the antiwar struggle of the workers) they more they use false promises to pacify, contain and even flatter the masses, the more at the same time they must prepare a caste of officers, the fundamental pillar of the bourgeois state, for the military counter-revolution, a truth proved by Marxism in this imperialist epoch.

US imperialism is now, with Obama, more and more showing a face of the "good neighbour", supposedly different from that of Bush, in order to re-assert its ownership of its backyard in Latin America to recover the business it had lost in disputes with the French, German, Spanish or Japanese imperialisms; and to do this it will have to rely more and more on counterrevolutionary coups do deal with any threat of revolution on the American continent.

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