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email: fitinternational@ymail.com

We present in this brochure some of the documents which were approved in the Founding Congress of the ILTF.

Here we try to state the inter-relation between the revolution in the colonies and the semi-colonies, and those within the imperialist countries. Greece, Madagascar and Guadalupe were the first working class offensive fights responding to the crisis. Overcoming the treacherous leaderships was on the agenda, as well as the organizing and launching of an international counter-offensive to respond operation "Cast Lead", which was made not only in Gaza, but on a world scale with dismissals, cuts in living standards, and millions of workers and exploited around the world falling into misery and unemployment.

For now, the actions of the treacherous leaderships united around the World Social Forum, have prevented this from happening.

We know that their betrayal will have consequences. The crisis and the encounter between revolution and counter-revolution is removing any basis for reformism—including that of the renegades of Trotskyism— and is preparing the conditions for the return of Bolshevism.

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Email: fitinternational@ymail.com

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The masses political fight in Greece and Guadalupe, the occupations of factories and the general strikes in France, and the great revolution in Madagascar show the way to

BREAK THE BARRIERS SET UP BY THE TREACHEROUS LEADERSHIP AND WIN THE MASSES COUNTER-OFFENSIVE!

**ON THE GREEK QUESTION:
"Spark in Athens,
fire in Paris,
it is the insurrection
coming!"**



Tesalónica, Greece: workers and students mobilized during the general strike in december 10th, 2008



MADAGASCAR: THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

**GUADALUPE AND
MARTINIQUE
THE REVOLUTIONARY
UPRISING OF THE
COLONIES OF THE
FRENCH IMPERIALISM
AND THE SOCIAL CHAUVINISM OF
THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM**



Guadalupe: the masses fought against the repression of the french dominance over its colony

"SPARK IN ATHENS, FIRE IN PARIS, IT IS THE INSURRECTION COMING!" -ON THE GREEK QUESTION-

Statement of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" # 12 - Part I - March, 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

On the international character of the mass combat in Greece

I- The Greek masses have been struggling for several months. It proves the imperialist Europe has started shaking from its western and eastern borders – just when the bourgeois unity of Maastricht is bursting due to the world crisis and the fierce inter-imperialist disputes -. On its Western side we have seen a revolt in Iceland and in the East we have seen the youth and working class' upheaval in Greece -which is a semi-imperialist country. All these events are taking place alongside the mass uprisings in the former worker states where capitalism was restored, like in Latvia, Poland, Ukraine and Byelorussia. Hit by the economic crisis, those countries have entered bankruptcy and their banks have defaulted. The international character of the revolutionary struggle of the Greek masses concentrates this explosive combination.

II The heroic fight of the Greek masses, together with that carried on by the working class and exploited in the countries outlying Europe (which had been preceded by a general strike in Belgium in October 2008; the uprising of the Italian working class and students and the rallies against the massacre in Gaza that shook the whole of Europe at the end of 2008 and early this year) acted as an electric shock causing the first steps of the working class' uprising in the European imperialist powers. So the French working class went on a political strike last January 29th and again on March 19th, an even very much stronger strike.

The Greek masses' slogan: "*Spark in Athens, Fire in Paris, it's the insurrection coming*" reached France definitely, fueled by the general strike and the factory occupations. The last "days of action" of the French proletariat put it at the door of a mass offensive; they had been prepared by the great political uprising of the Greek masses and the revolutionary blows of the working class of the French colonial or formerly colonial countries, like Guadalupe and Madagascar.

In the new general strike and street fights in Paris and other French main cities we have seen the emergence of a great phenomenon of radicalization; the crux of the struggle lies in the factory occupation as anticipated by Sony takeover with hostages. Thus the sparks of Athens, Guadalupe and Madagascar heralded the uprising of the French proletariat, who takes up again its historical methods of struggle as in the '36 French revolution, with barricade combats and factory occupations. The union bureaucracy and the social chauvinist parties, including the fake Trotskyites, are trying to prevent the French working class struggle by using it as a pressure tool to "push the government into a negotiation

course". If they succeed in imposing this policy, it will cause the strangulation of the French proletariat since it is impossible to stop the counterrevolutionary class war launched by big finance capital against the exploited masses – mass layoffs, lock-outs and factory closures, lower salaries and the expulsion of immigrants-, by using the masses as a bargain chip on the negotiation boards convened in the fancy government offices. In such a way this leadership will only try time and again to sell out all the working class gains.

What was proved in the struggles of Greece, Guadeloupe and Madagascar is that if the masses are to respond in the least at the same level of the attack launched by Capital against them, it is necessary to outstrip and defeat the union bureaucracy and the counterrevolutionary worker parties, those agents of big Capital. The great Greek revolt has showed that only by attacking and defeating the governments and regimes of big Capital, the proletarians are able to stop Capitalism from discharging its economic crisis and bankruptcy on their shoulders -factory by factory, sector by sector. That's why today, Greece is the spark that can set the whole Europe on fire.

III- The struggles of the exploited masses in Greece as well as in Madagascar and the uprising in Guadalupe expose the cretinism of the reformists, the economicists and unionists –all of them championing impotent policies when the economy crac is here- and that capitalists only give something when they feel the fright of losing everything: that is, of being dispossessed of their power and their property. These struggles also show that the isolated economic struggle concentrates in it the attack the bankrupt capital is waging on the proletariat. For that reason, in an epoch of crisis as is the present one, the economic struggle quickly turns into a mass political struggle as the masses soon realize that only through defeating the government, regimes, Capital's armed guards, etc., they will be able to get something. It was proved by the great political struggle of the Greek masses and the uprising of Guadalupe workers and exploited masses who in order to get a 200 euros wage increase, have had to go on an indefinite general strike, set up their pickets, local revolts, and place the French colonialism at the edge of a massive defeat. The same was proved in Madagascar revolution: in order to defend the land against the expropriation of the big French or US agro multi national companies, and stop the high unemployment and cost of living, the masses had to stage a spontaneous insurrection, break out in mass revolt, face the police and defeat them in the streets. This process has led the masses to splitting the army and winning the rank and file soldiers, who have defended the workers and peasants arms in hand. Therefore, the army official caste and the different bourgeois factions that tried to fill the power gap and stop the semi



Painted wall in the Language Institute, in Athenas. It says: "Spark in Athens, fire in Paris, it is the insurrection coming!"

colonial state from dislocating due to the heroic spontaneous insurrection were paralyzed and pushed into a very critical position.

These are the conditions in which the class war is developing. As we are going to read later, Greece was not able to go as far as Madagascar, but it has posed an iron contradiction: in order to develop the second mass assault in Greece, the masses will have to complete the first assault's unfinished tasks -such as the revolutionary overthrow of the government, the disarmament of the police, the breaking of the army, setting up the soldiers' councils, the workers' militias and organs for the self-determination of the fighting masses. That is, only by building up the conditions for a revolution and a successful insurrection, the Greek masses can conquer the path towards their triumph.

As Trotsky stated in "Whither France" at the end of March '35 against the economism and reformism of the Stalinists: "In the present period, the French CP resolution unexpectedly states, the economic struggle requires **heavy sacrifices on the part of the workers.**" This used to be said by Stalinism in the '30s, in the preparatory stage of the 1936 French Revolution and it is not different from what it is said to the masses today by all the treacherous and reformist leadership. Then Trotsky continued answering to Stalinism: "It ought to have added further: and it is only in exceptional cases that the sacrifices promise any positive results. However, the struggle for immediate demands has for its task the alleviation of the condition of the workers. By putting this economic struggle at the head of the list and by renouncing revolutionary slogans for its sake, the Stalinists no doubt believe that it is precisely the partial economic struggle which can best arouse large masses. The truth is just the opposite: the masses make hardly any response to appeals for strikes on a purely economic plane. In politics, how can anyone avoid facing the facts? The masses understand or feel that, **under the conditions of the crisis and of unemployment, partial economic conflicts require unheard of sacrifices which will never be justified in any case by the results obtained.** The masses wait for and demand other and more efficacious methods. Messrs. strategists, learn from the masses: they are guided by a sure revolutionary instinct." ("Whither France", our bolds).

Such a revolutionary instinct was that shown by the Greek masses when surpassing Stalinism, who for the sake of Big Capital controlled the unions and made the mass economic struggle become impotent. The driving force behind the Greek masses' struggle and their political general strikes,

local revolts and barricade combats against Karamanlis' regime and government was, therefore, also the rebellion against their leadership.

In the last decades, reformists have put the blame on the masses (i.e. "their crisis of subjectivity") for their partial defeats and the offensive of Capital. They behave as the Stalinists did in the '30s; in that pre-revolutionary period they regretted in amazement the "passivity" of the masses as follows: "It is astonishing that the proletariat endures passively such privations and such terror after a class struggle of more than a century." Answering this CP wail in "Once again Whither France", Trotsky said: "On every occasion we hear this lofty phrase from the mouth of a Socialist or a Communist in his study. Is there insufficient resistance? The blame is put on the backs of the working masses. As if the parties and the unions stood apart from the proletariat and were not its organs of struggle! It is precisely because the proletariat, as the result of its more than a century-old struggles, has created its political and trade-union organizations, that it is difficult and almost impossible for it to carry on the struggle against capitalism without them and against them. What was built as the main spring of action has become a dead weight, a brake. **The whole situation imbues the workers with the idea that revolutionary actions are necessary to change all the conditions of existence...**" (our Bolds). Great! And the Greek masses' revolutionary actions were also great because despite the union bureaucracy and the treacherous worker parties they have shown in the streets that there need to be "revolutionary actions" to make all the conditions of their existence change! Once again, the combats of the Greek exploited masses have dumped in the trash-can of History the pseudo theory of the Trotskyite renegades who never get tired of putting the blame on the masses for their own betrayals, capitulations and adaptations.

Greece anticipates that the catastrophe and bankruptcy of the capitalist system will not be stopped without successful insurrections, without revolutions shaking the regime and the bourgeoisie state, in short, without a revolutionary offensive on the part of the proletarians towards the seizure of power. In addition, the Greek question states the need for a struggle towards the socialist revolution in order to eat, have a job and prevent the worker youth from being murdered after divesting them of their salary, education and decent job. Those were the driving forces behind the Greek masses' uprising at the end of 2008.

IV - European Imperialism is worried first and foremost about how to prevent the mass battles in Greece, Iceland, the French Colonies and the former Eastern Worker States from sparking a determinate uprising of the French and _ or German proletariat against their imperialist governments...and even the Russian masses -that is, the proletariat that still bears on the traditions of the October Revolution- against the Bonapartist government of Medvedev-Putin. The revolutionary uprising of the working class in Russia would put on the order of the day the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat under a revolutionary form, in the sane way that the class clashes in Greece and the war cry "Spark in Athens, fire in Paris, it's insurrection coming" have put on the order of the day the struggle for *The United Socialist Soviet States of Europe*, as the only way for the masses not to pay for the crisis -instead making the actual culprits, the imperialist butchers to pay for it.

V- Alongside the Palestinian, Iraqi and the entire Middle Eastern masses and the open revolution in Madagascar, the revolutionary uprising of Guadalupe and the French colonies, Greece has become the first great battle by the international proletariat in response of the economic crisis of the capitalist-imperialist system, which leads the working class and oppressed people of the world to destitution.

The massacre in Gaza by the operation "Cast Lead" of imperialism was the first act of the counterrevolutionary civil war waged against the workers and the exploited of the world by the international financial capital –which no doubt tries to discharge its crisis on them. Contrariwise, in Greece we see the first assault of the operation "Iron Fist" that the international proletariat needs to launch to advance towards the seizure of power and the struggle for the international socialist revolution, if it does not want to pay for the crisis of the exploiters.

The Greek masses struggling their first revolutionary attack, have put all revolutionary organizations' programs to test: a specially hot point is how to confront the union bureaucracy and the counterrevolutionary worker parties that destroy whatever the masses build during their combats. The limits of the unionist cretinism of anarchism are put again in consideration –as if History hadn't shown those shortcomings time and again. All the renegades of Trotskyism who tail anarchists shamelessly have been unmasked; both anarchists and fake Trotskyists have been impotent to understand and unable to meet the necessary tasks that such a great political struggle, which has shaken Europe and spread ghastly panic among the ruling classes of the world, was asking for.

VI- Because of the crisis of leadership, this first revolutionary combat in Greece nor achieved to defeat the hatred Karamanlis government, neither completed the task to get rid of the CP strikebreakers and Greek social democracy that control today in a limit way, the Greek worker organizations paid by the great capital

It may be possible that while we are writing this thesis on the Greek question, the second upheaval of the Greek revolutionary masses is in development since the French masses are in combat, the Leetonia and Lithuania masses in Eastern Europe are uprising, the imperialist Belgium as well as Iceland is stroke by huge mass actions.

The Stalinist and Social democratic counterrevolutionary leaderships who back Karamanlis' regime and the anti-worker government have a handicap in their favour: because of the impotence of anarchism and its new followers the renegades of Trotskyism, and the huge influence they have on the uprising masses, the latter were unable to set up an organism able to centralize all the struggles, coordinate and prepare the second combat setting up councils of workers, poor peasants, revolutionary students and specially soldiers committees. Only such an organism will be able to lead the masses towards a successful insurrection and specially the only organism able to prepare new mass actions to shake the bourgeois state and open the Greek Revolution.

The worker parties, as the IV International defined in the 30s, have not prepared themselves for the revolution and they do not have any intention to do so, they are part of the labor and worker bureaucracy who have already bet their fate and they privileges on maintaining the rotten imperialist system.

The proletariat needs in Greece and all over the world to

conquer again a revolutionary leadership to facilitate the victory. The ones who do not pass the Greek question could talk about neither the revolution, nor soviets, nor the combat against the popular front. Since the Greek question is the preparatory link of the mass counteroffensive that the world exploited masses need to defeat the imperialist system, which must die for the exploited masses to live.

The reformism and unionism, so helpful for the exploiters in peaceful epochs, will unmask themselves in every step under these conditions of class war.

The Greek question has put the following alternative in blank and white: or the mass offensive is developed and the proletariat stands up with revolutionary maneuvers at world wide level or the imperialist capitalist system survives itself throwing its crisis over the exploited masses and preparing new catastrophes of barbarity such as fascism, wars and a huge destruction of productive forces, those are the conditions the imperialist capitalist system needs to survive.

We could say that Greece is therefore the first sparkle which put at the order of the day once again the need to organize and prepare new revolutionary uprisings as in '68-'74, placing the revolution as the main task in the imperialist countries allowing it to synchronize the heroic mass resistances like that in Iraq, Palestine and Gaza and the revolutionary offensives in the colonial countries like in Guadalupe, Madagascar and Martinique, with the proletarian struggle in the main countries.

The entire revolutionary Marxist forces are involved in developing this perspective as well as those of the currents claiming that without revolution and taking power, arming the proletariat, disputing the rank and file of the army-as the heroic revolution in Madagascar did - and setting up masses' organism of power, there will be no solution for the world working class's miseries. Because in the world current situation where reformism will become unmask at each step before the proletariat as waste to be thrown in the garbage of history, the development of such perspective depends on a single revolutionary movement alive, the Trotskyism.

On the impact of the world crisis in Greece: Crac and class struggle

VII- At a moment when the world economic crisis makes the dispute among the imperialist powers get worse, leading them to launch a policy "save who ever can", the Greek crac bursts out , provoking the dislocation of that country from the world labor division, creating the conditions for a mass political struggle. The US imperialism-even though it controls, as dominant power, the financial world capital (IMF, WB, among others)-has not helped it financially, as it did for its partner in the region: Turkey that was in crac in 2001 bailing out thousands of millions of dollars to save its bourgeois economy. Even though, Greece has its economy link to the imperialist European economy, subsidized by German imperialism stroke by the bankruptcy of the international finance capital- as all the other imperialist power-this neither bailed out Greek crac. In this way, Greek imperialism kept dislocated as a link of the imperialist chain in Europe.

VIII- Decadent Greek capitalism-which has showed in the last months the declined numbers of a categorical economic *deceleration* and a tendency towards reces-

sion- threatened by the possibility of the opening of revolution which meant the masses' combat, through Karamanlis government bailed out the Greek banks, monopolies and transnationals giving them 28 billion of Euros. While Greek capitalism kept throwing the crisis over the working class and the ruined middle class, imposing structural unemployment, putting down up to 30% the salaries of the public workers, just as an example and if this is not enough, 100 thousands of new layoffs during the first months of 2009.

IX- Those objectively revolutionary conditions were the ones that provoked a step ahead as regards the masses' struggle. In Greece, since 2004, from the arrival of Karamanlis to power, the working class has responded with political struggle to every attack on the part of the ruling class. That anti-worker government had to deal with four general strikes, strong struggles of the industrial and public workers, great student rebellions. Karamanlis government with the bosses' political parties and the collaborationist union backed the economic growth that took place in the last years, the "Greek miracle", lowering in the general the masses' standard of living, taking away the masses' conquests. From 2004 on those struggles led by the Greek proletariat had a political character because the proletariat and the exploited masses, boldly, have understood the condition to conquer their demands of salary, work, education among others, would not be by developing partial economic struggles against a particular bourgeois layer, but it was necessary a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie, to defeat Karamanlis and the opprobrium regime.

The masses witnessed everyone's behavior and lived their experience with the entire regime's institutions that supported Karamanlis anti-worker government. Firstly, the government was held by the "opposition" party –PASOK- with a social democrat president PASOK held the right wing prime minister. Secondly, all of them were held by the CP, from the unions that intervened slaughtering and behaving as scab before the masses' attempts to respond Karamanlis' attack. The police, the guard of the regime, was not tired to keep the unemployed youth in order with repression in the worker neighborhoods. Before the masses' eyes the PASOK held Karamanlis and Stalinism held both of them from the bureaucratic unions and by the terrible repression against the Greek youth. For that reason, the masses' revolt was against not only the government and the murderous police but also the institutions that belong to the regime and the union bureaucracy.

The barricades were clearly marked: on one side Karamanlis government, PASOK, CP, the police and the officials of the army and on the other side the masses with their general strike, revolts and barricades combats.

X- In Greece in 2008, the crisis and the crack of the capitalist economy burst out under those conditions: the Greek working class in the last period has "trained its muscles" in political struggle and in this way in more than one opportunity made the reformist leaderships stand up of their seats and go out of their nice offices.

This hit got the conditions of the oppressed masses in Greece worsen and stirred their combat, causing a generalization of the political struggle, provoking the lost of control over exploited masses' struggle on the part of the bourgeoisie and the reformists. In Greece, the entire needed pre-requisites

so that the economic crisis may catapult the masses' political struggle were present. Trotsky defined it: "The political effects of a crisis (not only the extent of its influence but also its direction) are determined by the entire existing political situation and by those events which precede and accompany the crisis, especially the battles, successes or failures of the working class itself prior to the crisis. Under one set of conditions (as it is developing in Greece) the crisis may give a mighty impulse to the revolutionary activity of the working masses; under a different set of circumstances it may completely paralyse the offensive of the proletariat and, should the crisis endure too long and the workers suffer too many losses, it might weaken extremely not only the offensive but also the defensive potential of the working class". (León Trotsky: "Flood-tide, The Economic Conjunction and the World Labour Movement" December 25, 1921, bold ours).

On the maturity and immaturity of the revolutionary struggle carried out by the Greek masses

XI- The millstones of the Greek exploited masses were the political general strikes on October 21st and December 10th and 18th in 2008 combined with –from December 6th, 2008 on- the revolt of the worker unemployed youth and combatant students as a respond to the assassination of the student Alexandros Grigoropoulos on the part of an armor-plated regime ready to respond to the class struggle. These actions were also combined with thousands of conscripts' proclamations, that is, sons of workers and peasants even students who declared to deny shooting against their class brothers and sisters if the state orders them to do so.

Thus, in Greek, a general revolt of the working class and youth combined with three mass general Strikes was developed. Therefore, the class struggle in Greek became a civil war phase, i.e., a phase where the mass struggle goes beyond the frames imposed by the bourgeois legality declaring a public confrontation to the class enemy. As Trotsky states in his work "Problemas de la insurrección y la guerra civil" (Trotsky's speech at the session of the Board of Military Sciences, July, 1924 – Moscow): "...It said that some comrades have raised objections to that respect and made the impression they confused civil war with the class struggle, and the insurrection with the civil war. The truth is that civil war is a decisive stage within the class struggle when it, when breaking the legality frames, aims to be at the level of a public confrontation, and to certain extend physical, of the opposed forces. From this point of view, the civil war spans spontaneous insurrections bring about local causes, the bloody interventions of the counterrevolutionary hordes, the revolutionary general strike, the insurrection for taking power and the liquidation period of the rising counterrevolutionary attempts. All these are within the frames of the civil war concept, all of this is far wider than the insurrection, as infinitely narrower than the class struggle notion that takes place throughout the history of mankind..." For that reason, we affirm that by revolts, barricade combats, and political general strikes, the social peace has been broken and a civil war phase was open in Greece which was temporary interrupted by the crisis of leadership since the civil war unable to advance towards its superior stage, that is, become an insurrection phase to sweep away definitely the regime

and government imposing a setback to the bourgeois state.

XII- After the first mass uprising in Greece, a revolutionary situation was open where those at the “bottom” –the working class and exploited of the nation- were not willing to be governed as before any longer and they looked for an exit via a revolutionary upheaval, meanwhile those at the “top”-the ruling classes- were not able to govern as before any more provoking constantly their division into factions and cliques.

Even though, such revolutionary development was not able to be stabilized and consolidated as a revolutionary mass offensive because it was contained by the limits of the leaderships at its head: the open betrayal of Stalinism and the impotent unionist policy of the anarchist leadership. Thus, the revolutionary situation became latent pre-revolutionary.

XIII-the general strike place masses at the door of power but it does not resolve it. The revolutionary upheaval of the Greek masses with their spontaneity advanced as far as its leadership-anarchism- allowed them.

After three general strikes and heroic combat days which even the peasants were included in and had an enormous impact on the rank and file soldiers- who are workers and peasants with arms- the Greek masses were unable to win an organism to centralize every sector struggling, divide the rank and file of the army and advance towards a victorious insurrection to overthrow in the streets the murderous PASOK and Karamanlis’ regime opening the Greek revolution.

For years, the anarchist leadership had won prestige since it was the only leader that condemned the opprobrium state, regime and government while the renegades of Trotskyism who within and out of PASOK backed CP in the unions like the “opposition to its majesty”. Even though, anarchism using in its favour the authority conquered during the previous period and applying its unionist cretinism led this first revolutionary mass upheaval –for the moment- to a dead end.

They far from using its won authority to set up a self-determination organism of the masses struggling to centralize the pickets and the barricade combat committees in a single powerful worker militia getting arms attacking the police stations and set up the soldiers’ committees, anarchism only proposed ..A NEW GENERAL STRIKE! Since its policy and program is not to conquer organisms for the seizure of power, insurrection and the dictatorship of proletariat. Anarchism led masses the struggle as a means of putting pressure on Stalinism within the unions so that it would call a new general strike making masses get stuck.

That is: anarchist Leadership transformed an offensive struggle -that had as the aim to set up double power organisms and organize and prepare the successful insurrection- into a defensive struggle of pressure on the hatred Stalinist union bureaucracy when there were more than enough forces and the conditions were mature to set up an armed soviet and sweep away the CP strikebreakers in the unions.

The masses led by anarchism occupied Polytechnic University, swept Stalinism away from several unions, fought the leadership in the streets and besides occupied the central trade union Tesalónica and the Athens Opera –as an expression that the masses had already won even the intellectuality of Greece-. But then anarchist leadership transformed those mass revolutionary attempts into...”cultural centers” setting up literature workshops of free cultural expression in

the occupied places claiming that from that moment on “the resistance begins”! A petty bourgeois impotent unionist cretinism applauded and followed by all the so-called Trotskyist currents that tailing the anarchist pacifism and unionist cretinism. Therefore, those pseudo-Trotskyists so enemies of soviets, the breaking of the army and the worker militia like anarchism tried to change the position after decades of supporting PASOK and the Greek Stalinism.

What acted as an objective limit so that the Greek masses were unable to step ahead was the impotence of the anarchist leadership and its followers in Greece and at international level. In this way, as Lenin said, they prevent the revolution from beginning by a determined insurrectional action to defeat the regime, that enemy of the proletariat, and overthrow Karamanlis government in the streets as it happened in the Argentine, Ecuadorian and Bolivian revolutions at the beginning of the XX century and today it has been achieved spontaneously by Madagascar masses where their power comes about the soldiers they have won, that is, the workers and peasants with arms who have kept their arms side by side people when the murderous official caste called on them to repress the insurrect masses.

XIV- Undoubtedly, the maturity of the Greek working class and its vanguard is marked by the spread spontaneity in their combat, the 180° angle opposed to their leadership established objectively and subjectively in each one of their political mass struggle like the revolt, barricade combats and pickets, strikes of factory occupations, general strikes, etc. All those actions were against the union bureaucracy of GSEE led by the Stalinist KKE and social democrat PASOK, which at every moment conspired against the masses’ struggle applying its reformist policy of support of the bourgeois regime trying to atomize, desynchronize, decompress and divert the struggle. In the occupation of the trade union Tesalónica by worker and vanguard youth sectors proved that the masses began to understand that to fight for better conditions there is to defeat the Stalinist “red pacos” as Chilean masses say.

It was proved that the first Greek mass upheaval did not become the opening of revolution because of crisis of Leadership. It is about a second mass upheaval that conquering the organisms of worker democracy and armed masses in struggle defeats the government and regime and divide the army opening the revolution.

The question that every Greek worker and young people ask today is: Why after the general strikes, the huge generalized barricade combats, the occupation of factories, the martyrs who died in the struggle hasn’t been defeated the government, why have we conquer neither work, nor salary nor bread; why hasn’t been stopped the bankruptcy of the poor peasants? Because the leaderships at the head of workers have stopped for now the centralization of those huge combats in a single organism of the exploited masses and their demands, that is, the soviet. That organism gathering within it all the exploited masses in struggle, it does not matter their professions above the narrow frames of the unions, opening the doors to the most exploited layers who have never belonged to an organization is the one able to prepare a new revolutionary struggle capable of defeating Karamanlis government and regime to make truth the demands of the exploited masses.

XV-The need of centralizing the combat in a single organism of direct worker democracy to prepare a

new mass combat also is, since contrary to Madagascar which is a semi-colonial country, Greece as a semi-imperialist country backed by the finance capital has a much more stronger government and regime than the ones of the semi-colonial countries. For that reason, to defeat Karamanlis government, stroke the state and open the revolution, the Greek masses must impose revolutionary upheavals one hundred times superior to the ones that opened the revolution in the semi-colonial world like Argentina, Bolivia, or Ecuador or Madagascar today.

Leon Trotsky in "October lessons" said that for the German communists would be much more difficult to make revolution than for the Russian Bolsheviks, since Germany was an imperialist country with a state and regime much stronger than czarism and besides because in Russia, the February revolution in 1917, had struck considerably the bourgeois regime and its state and they had set up soviets making easier the victory of the 1917 October revolution. He also stated clearly that even though for German proletariat will be more difficult to open the revolution, once they take power it would be easier to take the path to socialism because Germany concentrated the most advance of the productive forces of capitalism as a difference in comparison to the backwards Russia where the working class can take power sooner but reach socialism later. Undoubtedly, this law is met and expressed in the relative facility with which the insurrect masses may overthrow the colonial and semi-colonial regimes and states and the relative difficulty the working class in imperialist countries will encounter to overthrow and let in crisis the powerful imperialist regimes and states.

But without doubt, in the revolution of the imperialist countries is defined and solved the fate of the colonial and semi-colonial revolutions. The intervention of the proletariat of the imperialist countries with revolutionary actions is decisive so that the world proletariat can defeat that attack of the capital. They have the key to expropriate the international finance capital and defeat the imperialist regimes that lead the world from within them.

On the present tasks: to set up the councils of workers, students, poor peasants and soldiers to prepare and organize a new and superior mass upheaval

XVI- what the treacherous and reformist leaderships of the proletariat have prevented till now are that the independent actions of the masses get concentrated and centralized conquering the mass self-organization and their armament, that is, the only organism where the masses may take in their hands the struggle to solve their demands like work, wage, justice for their martyrs, education, freedom for the 68 political prisoners of the youth revolts. That is, to struggle for resolving their problems and starting the preparation of the second revolutionary mass upheaval. For the case of Greece, this organism is a National Congress of the councils of workers, poor peasants, the councils of rank and file soldiers and combatant students.

The contradiction is focused on the fact that the Greek masses place at their head a Leadership with a lot of authority and prestige but as the anarchism have already done in the tragedy of the Spanish civil war in the '30s, today they are leading the masses to an end road.

In the Spanish revolution, Leon Trotsky stated "The ten commandments of the Spanish communist" in 1931:

8. The central slogan of the proletariat is that of workers' soviets. This slogan must be tirelessly and constantly put forward and popularized and at the first opportunity we must move to its realization. Workers' soviets do not mean the immediate struggle for power. That is certainly the aim but it is one which the masses can attain only by the road of their own experience and with the help of the Communists work of enlightenment. Workers' soviets today mean the bringing together of the scattered forces of the proletariat, the struggle for the unity of the working class, for its autonomy. The workers' soviets take up questions of strike funds, of feeding the unemployed, of connections with the soldiers, in order to head off bloody encounters among them, of connections between city and country, in order to insure the alliance of the workers with the poor peasants. The workers' soviets include representatives of the army corps. It is in this way and only in this way that the soviet will become the organ of proletarian insurrection and later the organ of power.

This definition is complemented in the "Spanish revolution and the tasks of communists", 1931 that says that to find the access to the great way, proletariat has a need, from now on, of an organization placed above all the divisions -political, national, provincial and professional- within their files, an organization at the level of the present fight. An organization democratically chosen by the workers of the factories, workshops, mines, commercial establishments, rail and sea transports, by the proletariat of the city and countryside, that is, the Soviet. Stalinism has caused a great damage to the world worker movement putting in their minds the prejudice according to which the Soviets cannot be created but for the need of an armed insurrection and only on the eve of the insurrection. **In fact, the Soviets are created where the revolutionary movement of the worker masses, even if they are far from the stage of an armed insurrection, feels the need of a wide and prestigious organization able to lead the economic and political combats that involve simultaneously several companies and different professions. Only under this condition, that is, if the Soviets achieve to take roots in the working class during the preparatory period of revolution, they will be able to play the role of leadership in the moment of the immediate struggle for power.**

XVII- The conquest of a Congress of the Greek exploited masses with its militia and soldiers' committee becomes the main task of the vanguard and the Greek masses and what best articulates the revolutionary program, in order to get bread and work as well as to organize a new mass counteroffensive to defeat Karamanlis government and destroy the bourgeois murderer Army. The organization of that Congress will establish a dual power's regime. This soviet organism is the one that allows the exploited masses identify the resolution of all their problems not in the bourgeoisie institutions but in their own power. The congress of the exploited masses must be based on the majority of the workers, poor peasants, and the self-organized soldiers' council under working democracy. That organism will be in charge of breaking the state control on

the masses making them independent of the bourgeoisie and its institutions to the point the dual power's regime has to be defined in the irreconcilable combat between two antagonist powers.

This way, in the struggle to solve definitively all the masses' demands the Congress becomes the organism, which prepares, through an armed insurrection, the imposition of the proletariat dictatorship. This congress (soviet) and the double power's regime as it was defined by Leon Trotsky in the Russian Revolution of 1917: "The character of political structure is directly determined by the relation of the oppressed classes to the ruling class. A single, government, the necessary condition of stability in any régime, is preserved so long as the ruling class succeeds in putting over its economic and political forms upon the whole of society the only forms possible. (...) But no historic class lifts itself from a subject position to a position of ruler ship suddenly in one night, even though a night of revolution. (...) It must already on the eve of the revolution have assumed a very independent attitude towards the official ruling class; moreover, it must have focused upon itself the hopes of intermediate classes and layers, dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, but not capable of playing an independent role. The historic preparation of a revolution brings about, in the pre-revolutionary period, a situation in which the class which is called to realize the new social system, although not yet master of the country, has actually concentrated in its hands a significant share of the state power, while the official apparatus of the government is still in the hands of the old lords. That is the initial dual power in every revolution. (...) To overcome the "anarchy" of this twofold sovereignty becomes at every new step the task of the revolution – or the counter-revolution. (...) It is not a constitutional, but a revolutionary fact. It implies that a destruction of the social equilibrium has already split the state superstructure." ("History of the Russian Revolution")

Because the masses did not conquer this organism of dual power- in arms, in order to be a real and full dual power organism- the revolutionary offensive of the Greek masses could not open the Revolution. Moreover, this is the main task that enunciates the entire revolutionary program in Greece. On this condition, the masses could advance avoiding the Greek regime, Government and bourgeois State to survive.

XVIII- That's why the main slogan of the masses in combat in Greece to defeat the govern-



The Greek militant youth fights against police repression

ment and conquer their demands it is: from Thessalonica Union office occupation, from Athens' Opera occupation, from the working organizations in struggle, from the barricades of the combative youth and their organizations to call right now for a National Congress of rank and file delegates of the working class, poor peasants, rebel youth and soldiers committee!, to defeat Stalinist and Social Democrat union bureaucracy and preparing a new masses counter offensive to overthrow Karamanlis government, to organize the working militia and impose definitively the exploits demands!

XIX- The conquest of this Congress on behalf of the exploited masses in struggle would put the Greek proletariat as the vanguard in the fight to defeat the labour aristocracies and bureaucracies of the imperialist countries supported by the financial capital. Defeating definitively those nurses of Capitalism, the working class would not have to pay the crisis.

In a revolutionary Greece, the European proletariat would find the best conditions to defeat the policy of the labour bureaucracy-aristocracy in charge of making the exploited pay with total impunity, the crisis of the capitalists with higher cost of living, inflation massive dismissals, deportations, repression, murders, etc., imposing, thus, a siege around the Greek masses. Down with the labour bureaucracy and aristocracy and with their pacts of social peace supporters of the European imperialist régimes! To follow the way of the working class and the exploited masses of Greece, Iceland, Lithuania, Ukraine and Byelorussia: for the proletariat uprising of all Europe, from the British Islands to the Russian steppes!

About the action of Reformism and the treasonous leaderships

XX- two different agents act against the soviet perspective. On the one hand, the Stalinist union bureaucracy of KKE with a stick in their hands is determined Karamanlis do not be overthrown and with counterrevolutionary shameless has said it is against the riots and combats of the masses; imposing the division among the working movement, trying to take everything to bourgeois traps: parliamentary reforms, social pacts, etc. On the other hand, the petty bourgeois anarchist leadership, even though it agrees overthrowing Karamanlis, turns the working and juvenile vanguard combats into impotent actions due to its unionist policy of pressing the Stalinism calling for a new General Strike. For example, they left Thessalonica GSEE union office occupation and Athens' Opera occupation trapped into its "counter culture" policy. The anarchist leadership, wore out the struggle and, even worst went backwards taking it to a defensive state, as express the last call they made to "coordinate the resistance" focussing on the genuine, but defensive, demand of the political prisoners' freedom... when the masses are at the offensive against the ruling classes and their regime! This way the Anarchism allows the Stalinism to keep splitting the working class, strangling the industrial and services proletariat with their collaborationist policy.

These two different agents, the Stalinists supporting directly the Government and the anarchists with its impotent policy as left wing of the WSF, have in common they both are enemies of the setting up of a national Congress of the

working class and exploited masses.

As a result, the policy against Stalinism, as an agent of the labour aristocracy, must be a frontal fight to defeat it, to pull its leadership out of the working class with civil war methods. Meanwhile the policy against the Anarchism is demand-denounce policy to unmask them as real enemies of self-determination and direct democracy organism of the masses. We have to force them to put all the authority they have in the worker and youth vanguard in Greece, to call for a Congress of the exploited over the ruins of the CP the "red pacos", from Thessalonica and Athens Opera occupations to prepare and organize a new and superior masses revolutionary hit.

In Greece has been applied the same policy used in Chile to betray the combat of the masses. There two different agents acted too. The working and youth vanguard in struggle against the military-civic regime and Bachelet's Government hit against their open supporters, "the red pacos" of the CP. This fact showed the way to join the working class, defeating the collaborationist. Nevertheless, the leaderships that took advantage of the accurate combat against the CP, the left wing of the WSF in Chile, the Rodriguists and Anarchists deviated this process towards Gramsci's policy to "accumulate power through popular protest" district by district. Thus pressing to the bourgeois regime and dissolving the proletariat into the "people" in general, they did no other thing than saving Stalinists and the CUT bureaucracy. They destroyed the revolutionary potential of the working class and the exploits fight, allowing finally the military-civic regime, that is discharging today all the weight of the crisis over the masses, to remain intact.

XXI- Bourgeoisie, treacherous leaderships and renegades of Trotskyism, are enemies of the soviet organism emerging, because through them a small group of internationalist revolutionaries can win the masses leadership quickly. Through them under working democracy, the revolutionary masses can rapidly make their experience with the treacherous leaderships. They can check their program and actions while they are fighting for destroying the bourgeois state and they are able to overthrow them in each step replacing them by true revolutionaries organized in a Bolshevik party that leads the As Trotsky affirmed in the '30 in France, we the Trotskyists do not have yet the weight and the authority gained in combat, to lead the masses to take the power. However, decisive confrontations among classes are already here. How can we solve this contradiction? You have to impel firmly and audaciously the self-determination and direct democracy organisms of the masses in struggle. Thus, they can attack the Capitalism in the best possible way. Under these conditions of Soviets developing, the revolutionaries can upraise and a revolutionary party can emerge and gain the authority as the masses leadership. However, it only can be possible on condition that we face resolutely the reformist, petty bourgeois and unionists leaderships, like the Anarchism, to untie the hands of the masses so that they are able to be at the level of the class struggle reached.

XXII- Before the implacable role of the treacherous leaderships, if the masses do not conquer a Congress of the working class, the exploited and soldiers committees, their revolutionary energy may be worn out and finish in a dead end. Thus, the current situation of masses

counteroffensive can turn into a reflux and give time for the bourgeoisie to give an answer to the crisis, with a new president of the Pasok in the government to guarantee a Bonapartist bourgeois counteroffensive against the masses. There is another danger; that is the vanguard continues being imprisoned by the unionist and impotent policy of the Anarchism and meanwhile, the bourgeoisie choose a popular front policy to re-legitimize the regime, subordinating the masses to class collaboration, preparing by this way a strong bonapartism on behalf of the murderer official caste of the Greek Army to "impose order and law". As we saw in Bolivia a vile popular front policy to numb the masses and prepare counterrevolutionary blows.

This is the role already played by the reformist, populist, and unionist leaderships in the semi colonial world revolutions in the previous period, and today they are beginning to play the same role in the imperialist countries. In the beginning of revolutionary processes, their role is to avoid the economic fight turns it into masses political fight against the Government and the regime questioning the Bourgeois State itself, as we are seeing today in France. While the workers in despair occupy closing factories, the union bureaucracies and reformist of all coats, call to "avoid outbursts" and to "solve the problems" through pacts with the bosses and the Government, taking the workers again to impotent fights. However, when the masses overcome their leaderships as in Greece, the objective of these leaderships is to avoid the centralization and coordination of the dual power organisms. They are enemies the workers develop their militia to split the Army against the bourgeois state repression. If this happened, in spite of and against them, their objective is the subordination to the class collaboration fronts together with the "left" "democratic" bourgeoisie to put out the fire of the revolution and create the conditions for bourgeois counterrevolutionary blows. These leaderships have been already tested in the semi colonial world to strangle and siege Great Revolutions as Bolivian and Palestinian Revolutions.

XXIII- All revolution or revolutionary attempt of the masses raises the validity of the theory and program of the socialist revolution. To proclaim oneself as an internationalist revolutionary, it is necessary to pass the test of the revolution and the combat against the leaderships that set up all kind of obstacles against the masses. What is the use to call to pompous conferences in the name of Trotskyism "to make Soviets everywhere" as Dimitrov and Stalinist bureaucracy of the Third International did, in the '30 in France? If in the real places where it is possible these Soviets can emerge, arm and advance to prepare a victorious insurrection, they refuse to do it? What is the use to call to regroup in an International if it is not around this main question, life or death question for the worldwide proletariat? From its result depends Paris, London, Berlin, Moscow and Prague be on fire! Only declared national Trotskyists sign pompous revolutionary programs but refuse this program comes to life in the international class struggle. Perhaps in their countries, the huge new tasks the Greek proletariat has ahead are missing in their agenda. The obtuse national Trotskyist minds will never understand the destiny of the working class in their own countries is defined in the way the Greek proletariat evolves towards the revolution to set Paris on fire, because the future of the worldwide working class depends on this fact.

Without a doubt, two or three European classic revolutions would hit the heart of the imperialist beast opening a worldwide proletarian uprising and counter-offensive to face the brutal attack against the exploited and oppressed people in the world due to the international financial capital's bankruptcy. Meanwhile the obtuse national-Trotskyists are adapted to the treacherous leaderships of their own countries; these traitors operate with the same centralized policy to strangle proletarian revolution, recruited by the financial capital in crisis and disciplined to stop the masses offensive. Now a days there are still imbeciles, according to Lenin, that believe in the reactionary utopia that taking the power in their countries, they can solve the problem of the crisis of the Fourth International and as they pompously announce they will found "the party of the world socialist revolution". As if it were possible to construct national revolutionary parties without proving cadres educated in the lessons of the worldwide revolution and without fighting against the counterrevolutionaries leadership that around the whole world and in their own countries subordinate the proletariat to its own bourgeoisie. We have to recall these people, as if it were necessary, the era of the national programs and parties is over. Also according to Trotsky in "Lessons of October", the triumph of the Bolsheviks in October, 1917 would have been impossible without the revolutionary lessons of the French revolution in 1848, the Commune of Paris in 1871 and the general essay in 1905 in Russia.

For a revolutionary action program so that the Greek masses re-take the offensive with new and superior revolutionary struggles

XXIV - on Greek question, it has come to light that the renegades of Trotskyism have revised, faked and hidden the lessons learned in more than half a century of world revolutionary proletarian struggle. They have reduced the theory and program of revolution, that is, the soviet strategy and the art of insurrection, at the narrow frames of the economic struggle of putting pressure on the bourgeoisie (in the middle of a world crisis of historical nature!)

All this when as we have seen, for the Greek masses get bread, wage, work, education, cheap credits for the poor peasant, it is necessary to overthrow capitalism, its governments and regimes, those that take away the gains from the masses. To end with the high cost of living, unemployment and salaries of hunger, we must nationalize and expropriate the banks and big monopolies under worker control without compensation. To conquer job and salary, we have to attack the capitalists' properties decisively and impose the sliding scale of wage and working hours. To end with the repression and for the right to live for the youth, we have to disarm the police and arm the worker militia.

To prevent that the red murderous coronels of the counterrevolutionary Greek army come back to defend big capital, we must organize -against the clock - the soldiers who denied themselves to repress people.

And to do all this, we must set up the National Congress of the workers', peasants' and combatant students' councils and the rank and file committee able to unify the masses struggling and to take in their hands the resolution of the crisis. Only by defeating Stalinism in the unions - those break strikers and bureaucracy- and setting up the workers' and soldiers' soviets, the Greek proletariat will be able to overthrow Karamanlis regime and government, destroy the bourgeois state, expropriate the bourgeoisie and get their gains that will be conquer definitely when the spark in Greece sets on fire Paris and the entire Europe, and Greece becomes a victorious "Commune of Paris", that is, a Soviet Republic of workers and exploited.

XXV - The tragedy of the Greek events is highlighted by the renegades of Trotskyism entering Social-chauvinism field all over imperialist Europe. The crisis of leadership deepens; it is a main international task to solve it. When Stalinism and the Social Democracy are totally discredited, the anti-capitalist European parties propelled by big capital appear to play the role the formers left empty. This was proved in France, in the struggle day 19/03 where this great fight day was not to defeat the Stalinist bureaucracy or Social Democracy of the trade unions but to support them by quarrelling alongside them against the workers' "outbursts" that desperately occupy the factories and take bosses as hostages to keep their job post. These actions are "outbursts" according to those shameless people who support the capital in crisis that pillage workers taking away from the only thing they have: their hands to work and their salaries!

Today, those anti-capitalist parties of renegades of Trotskyism play in Europe the same role that their buddies have played in the revolutionary processes in Latin America where they supported the popular fronts, the "progressive" national bourgeoisies like Chavez and strangled revolutions. Nowadays, facing the bankruptcy of the Stalinism and Social Democracy, the renegades of Trotskyism are called in Europe to be them in charge of stopping the spark of Greece from setting on fire Paris and the entire Europe. They support by the left- with their anti-capitalist parties- the unionist cretinism of anarchism in Greece playing the same role that POUM played in the 30s that side by side anarchism betrayed the Spanish revolution.



Signs in the Greek Parthenon calling for an international demonstration

XXVI- The Greek question proves that the fight for a principled regrouping of international revolutionary Marxism is crucial to prepare a program for the Greek, European and world masses to concrete the prerequisites for the victory but under the condition of confronting the leaderships that prevent it all the time.

It is necessary to articulate the program with the struggle so that the masses may conquer their workers' and soldiers' soviets, their National Congress of workers' and soldiers' councils where the unions won from the Stalinist leadership, the students struggling; the bankrupt poor peasants are included. A National Congress able to unify the masses fighting and to prepare a second mass uprising.

We, the Trotskyists, reaffirm this despite the unionists and pacifists that are used to living in "peaceful" times and get horrified when the masses in Middle East and Magreb raise the slogan "weapons for Gaza"; we support this against the reformists and pacifists who do not get horrified when the bourgeoisie arms fascist gangs to kill workers like in Bolivia and now they are horrified when Trotskyists tell the Greek masses they must set up the worker militia and divide the army if not, due to their leaderships, it may occur like in Bolivia.

In Greece, as yesterday in Palestine and Bolivia, and today in France, Guadeloupe and Madagascar there are two barricades in the world proletariat: on one side, reformism and the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy's program; and the revolution program of the internationalist Trotskyism on the other side.

XXVII - *Down with Karamanlis! Down with the two-party system regime of ND-Pasok!*

**Down with the Stalinist-social democrat union bureaucracy! We cannot fight with those traitors who back the murderous Karamanlis!*

**For bread, work, wage, education, justice for our martyrs, freedom to our prisoners and for the demands of the bankrupt peasants it is necessary from the trade union Tesalonica led by anarchism to call for : National Congress with councils of workers and poor peasants, the file and rank soldiers and rebel youth so that under worker democracy may centralize the masses in struggle!*

**A single class, a single struggle, employed and unemployed workers let's hit with one single fist for: the sliding scales of wage and work hours: a minimal wage indexed to the cost of living and reducing labor journey to put all the hands to produce!*

**Expropriation of the bank under worker control! Expropriation of the most important sectors of the Greek economy under worker control! Expropriation of agricultural transnational to give credits to petty bankrupt peasants!*

**Against repression on the part of Karamanlis and its regime: for dismantling the killer police; let's free our prisoners! Let's set up militias of workers and revolutionary youth!*

-For soldiers' committees to break the army back, those murderous genocidal coronels!

The conquest of councils of workers, soldiers and revolutionary youth would place the Greek working class at the vanguard of the world and European revolution! In there we will find the forces to defeat all over Europe the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy and their social chauvinist parties, those servants of the imperialist capital in bankruptcy! We'll find in there the forces and allies for the Iraqi resistance and Palestinian and Middle Eastern masses!

As the slogan of the Greek mass revolt: "Spark in Athens, fire in Paris, it's the insurrection coming", the beginning and victory of the revolution in Greece will be resolve in the European revolution. This means that a new Greek masses' upheaval would create the best conditions for the whole European working class may fight against their respective imperialist bourgeoisies and would be a powerful force to put into action again the working class of Europe and Russia submitted by a brutal currency devaluation, mass layoffs and deeper conditions of semi-colonization of their countries. In this first rebellion in Greece, two proletarian sectors were a key factor. Worker youth- who live with a miserable salary of 300 or 400 Euros and is used by the big capital to push down the wage of the whole working class- has rebelled today in Greece and become the vanguard of the barricade combat. The other sector that acted as a driving force in the Greek masses' upheaval with its determined struggle was that of the Albanese, Rumanian, Pakistani, Afghan, Iraqi immigrants who were taken as slaves to work for 200 euros to make the worst works of the Greek society.

In the councils of workers and soldiers will have a main place the Greek Youth that demanded the slogan of "set fire on Paris" since they had identified as their allies the revolutionary youth of the cités who had already set on fire Paris in 2006/2007.

In the worker councils will have an importance place the interests of the immigrants in representation of the million of exploited workers in the heart of the European working class. They will give a step ahead in the worker organizations imposing their interests that are the same of those of the entire working class against the privileges of the strikebreakers, labor aristocracy. Long live the struggle of the Greek worker youth and immigrants! Down with the strikes for "Britain job" against immigrants on the part of the social-chauvinist leadership of the English unions! Equal rights for every native or immigrant worker, equal work equal payment for the entire European working class in the imperialist powers and the submitted nations of the Glacis and Russia semi-enslaved by German imperialism and their partners Putin y Medvedev!

Greece of the councils of workers and soldiers would be the most advance combat against the 65 weekly hours of work that the European bourgeoisies want to impose! Down with NATO! Get out Maastricht and the European Union of the exploiters! A single combat the revolution in Greece, Paris, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Madagascar, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan! Out of here the colonial regime of the French V Republic! Death to US imperialism! Get out imperialist Germany from Afghanistan and Eastern East! *For the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe from Iceland and the Britain Island to the Russian steppe!*

XXVIII-the crisis of the political struggle developed by the Greek masses that push to open revolution is the crisis of their revolutionary

leadership, that is, overabundance of treacherous and reformist leaderships. History has already proved that without an internationalist revolutionary leadership the proletariat cannot win.

The Greek question has become a new acid test of the world class struggle. Who does not have a revolutionary program for the Greek question means he doesn't have a revolutionary program for the revolution in Europe or a soviet strategy or a program to untie the hands of the revolutionary masses from the reformists who tie masses' hands to prevent exploited masses from destroying the bourgeois power in the middle of the world economic crisis. Thus, the struggle for a Marxist program on the Greek question has a great importance for the fight for setting **up an International**

Conference of the Principled Trotskyism and the world revolutionary workers' organizations to conquer an international center of the world proletariat to struggle to set up the world party of Socialist Revolution based on the program, principles, strategies of the IV International founded in 1938. Based on this international struggle of revolutionaries the main task is **to conquer a revolutionary leadership of the Greek proletariat and youth.** A leadership that declares war on the treacherous leaderships and fighting for organisms of direct democracy of the masses in struggle may fuse together the internationalist revolutionaries and the best of the radicalized vanguard.

International Coordination Secretariat of the ILTF

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The Immigrant Workers. The most exploited sector of the Greek proletariat

For this cave of imperialistic bandits which is the United Nations, Greece is the country where the immigrants are in the worst conditions of the 27 countries of the EU. They are real hunts those that the police take forward against them. If they are not died, they are humiliated, tortured and confined for 18 months in centers of detention before being extradited.

About a million immigrants live in Greece. They represent 10 % of the population of the country. More than 200.000 are not regularized. In addition, the clandestine ones increased in the last months with numerous arrivals proceeding from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The last agreement of the EU known as Regulation of Dublin insists that Europe does not need not qualified immigrants, but each country yes that needs them. They are they those who realize the works called 3D: dirty, dangerous and demanding. *"The immigrants bring flexibility to the labor market and low costs in important sectors as*

tourism, construction and agriculture" said N. Marginas, of the National Bank of Greece, adding that nowadays they constitute 15 % of the labor force and 90 % of the workforce occupied in agriculture.

It is under these conditions that the immigrant workers of Greece take in their own hands the defense of their interests appealing to the method of the working class: the strike, even if it could mean jail, extradition, or even death.

In 1998, about 200 immigrant farm hands, mainly Albanians and Romanians, in the village of Agios Georgios, northern Attica, went on strike. They demanded an eight-hour workday and wage increases. Their demands were met six days later. It was the first ever strike staged by immigrant farm workers in Greece..

In 1999, over 100 Albanian workers in the village of Loutra on the holiday island of Lesvos went on strike, demanding wages equal to Greek workers. Their demands were met..

In June 2002, several thousand

migrant vegetable-pickers in Marathon, eastern Attica, went on a two-day strike demanding overtime and 25-30 euros a day. The mass walkout came as a major blow to the 500 landowners, who were not able to supply markets in Athens. They promised to increase the wages by a few euros.

This year, on April 19th, 2.500 immigrants from different origins, from Bulgaria up to Bangladesh, most of them undocumented, went on a two days strike in the fields of Nea Manolada, in the Peloponnese. The strawberry pickers and packagers live in makeshift shacks built of wood and plastic, few have access to running water or electricity, for that they must pay 100 Euros of rent to the bosses. The strike was demanding improved living conditions and an increase in their daily wages of 30 euros. After a hard fight in which physical clashes were not absent between the workers and the farmers, these finally agreed to give a wage of 28 Euros.

**Same rights for all workers, natives or immigrants!!!
Equal salary for equal job!!!
Long life for the struggle of the immigrant workers in Greece!!!**

Madagascar: The Revolution Begins



Madagascar island, east of the African shores

Statement of the Secretariat of International Coordination and Action (SCAI) of the Fracción Leninista Trotskista –FLT– (Leninist Trotskyist Fraction), originally published in “El Organizador Obrero Internacional” # 12 - Part 1 - March, 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF in July, 2009.

On March 8, 2009 the revolution in Madagascar began. The former French colony, an island of almost 20 million inhabitants bigger than France, is located in the Indian Ocean, a 250 miles off the coast of Mozambique and South Africa. On that day the armed forces refused to obey the orders of the President Ravalomanana- agent of US imperialism and its junior partners of the South Korean bourgeoisie-, to repress the workers and poor peasants who had been in a state of rebellion since mid-January. Hundreds of rank and file mutinied and took control of the Soanierana base, the main arsenal of the Malagasy armed forces, 6 kilometers from Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar. Their press release said: *“We no longer respond to the orders of our officers, we respond to our hearts. We were trained to protect the people and property, not to attack the people. We are the people”.*

Why did the ordinary soldiers side with the exploited?

Since late January, the working class and poor peasants had been fighting in the streets, holding demonstrations, general strikes and clashes with the police and the mercenary presiden-



Reunión island, french colony francesa. March 11th 2009: Barricades fights in the sixth day of the indefinite general strike

tial guard. Over 100 have been killed. During those two months of fighting, the masses broke the control and overthrew the union bureaucracy of the four unions of the CTM (Confederation of Malagasy Workers) that set up a “Council of the Republic for economic and social affairs” uniting government, employers and unions and condemning the struggles of the workers and peasants as “vandalism”. But what is decisive, without doubt, is that the militant workers and peasants lynched some of the police, and left their bodies hanging from trees and lampposts in Antananarivo. These actions proved to the rank and file soldiers that the workers and peasants – their parents, brothers, uncles, cousins etc - were willing to go all the way in their campaign, convincing the soldiers that they had the strength and confidence to mutiny against their officers and with their weapons join the rebels.

As Trotsky said of the revolution of February 1917: “(...) the disarmament of the Pharaohs [police. Ed] becomes a universal slogan. The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question. Beat them up and kill them. It is different with the soldiers (...) The critical hour of contact between the pushing crowd and the soldiers who bar their way has its critical minutes. That is

when the gray barrier has not yet given way, still holds together shoulder to shoulder, but already wavers, and the officer, gathering his last strength of will, gives the command: “Fire!” (...) The guns waver. The crowd pushes. Then the officer points the barrel of his revolver at the most suspicious soldier. From the decisive minute now stands out the decisive second (...) At the critical moment, when the officer is ready to pull the trigger, a shot from the crowd forstalls him (...) This decides not only the fate of the street skirmish, but perhaps the whole day, or the whole insurrection. (...) The street fighting began with the disarming of the hated Pharaohs, their revolvers passing into the hands of the rebels. (...) **The way to the soldier’s rifle lead through the revolver taken from the Pharaoh.** (*History of the Russian Revolution*, Gollanz 1934: 128-142, our emphasis).

In Madagascar, the way to the soldier's rifle was through the policemen's lynched bodies hanging from trees in Antananarivo with their pistols passing into the hands of the rebels, which then gave the soldiers the confidence to disobey their officers when given orders to suppress the people. In this way, the March 8 revolution began. Since late January a growing crisis developed out of a split in the bourgeoisie between the pro-US fraction led by President Ravalomanana

and a pro-French faction behind Andry Rajoelina, mayor of Antananarivo. Ravalomanana appointed himself president of a "Transition Authority" to hold a referendum. At that point, the rank and file soldiers who had remained "neutral", as the guarantors, ultimately, the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, mutinied.

This mutiny on March 8 was the beginning of a workers and peasants armed insurrection that overthrew Ravalomanana and his regime. This could be called a classic "February Revolution" that causes a revolutionary crisis and creates a power vacuum in the regime.

The revolutionary uprising creates a power vacuum in the regime

For nearly a week between 8 and March 16, there was no government in Madagascar. Faced with the insubordination of its base and the opening of the revolution, the leadership of the armed forces had remained on the sidelines, waiting for an agreement between the two bourgeois fractions. It issued an ultimatum saying that if the two fractions had not come to an agreement in 72 hours, the generals would take control of the government. Ridiculous: no one could believe that a handful of generals and colonels whose troops had mutinied and taken over the largest arsenal in the country could mount a coup.

Ravalomanana ignored the ultimatum and remained in one of his palaces surrounded by the mercenary presidential guard and a few thousand followers. The generals saw that Rajoelina was the one with most possibilities to control the armed mass insurrection and decided that the best way to save bourgeois property and the bourgeois regime was to allow Rajoelina to become the President. Thus, the armed forces cupola became Rajoelina supporters.

On Friday March 13, Rajoelina along with the generals and the officials of the Transitional Authority, occupied the presidential palace. To give some semblance of legality to Rajoelina's investiture as president of Madagascar

they gave Ravalomanana four hours to resign. Ravalomanana finally resigned on Monday 16 so that on that day the power vacuum was finally filled by Rajoelina.

The working class and poor peasants who fought with such heroism and spontaneity, attacking the police, dividing the army and toppling Ravalomanana, found that suddenly they faced the question of who would take the power and rule Madagascar. Since there was no revolutionary leadership with a program –this shows the immaturity of Madagascar Revolution– to fight for power, the generals stepped in an appointed Rajoelina leading the pro-French fraction of the bourgeoisie to fill the power vacuum. Thus the "dual power" of the masses mobilised on the streets and backed by the ordinary soldiers was for the present suspended.

The workers, poor peasants and soldiers began a revolution with their "dual power"

But the revolution has already begun: the government of "national salvation" of Rajoelina is super-weak; the regime and all its institutions are destroyed, and most importantly, the state is completely breakdown because his pillar, the armed forces were destroyed and divided by insurgent masses who beat the soldiers to rise up against the caste of officers and moving with their weapons on the side of the exploited.

The masses are still in the street, rebel soldiers sent tanks to the capital to counter any possible attack by the mercenaries of the presidential guard, and in the streets, squares, including the church, it can be seen carrying their shells, and other weaponry captured BAZUKA serving the workers and poor peasants. The soldiers were ordered to clarify things very well for journalists who do not respond or Ravalomanana nor the military nor Rajoelina.

The revolution came and Malagasy could not reach or where the revolution of the heroic workers and peasants of Bolivia 2003-2005, nor the revolutionary struggle of the working class and

students in Greece: **dividing the army and earning the rank and file, the disaster workers and poor peasants to bourgeois state, and established a regime in Madagascar dual full power, ie, the masses of armed soldiers expressed this in the rebels controlling the main military base and its entire arsenal.**

There are two powers now in Madagascar; one of the weak regime of Rajoelina, supported by a fraction of the national bourgeoisie, by a military leadership that neither controls the soldiers the main arsenal; the union bureaucracy, which was overthrown by the insurgent masses, and the leading government officials recognised by the majority of the imperialist powers and governments of various countries of Africa. The other power is that of the workers, peasants and armed soldiers, which is the only power recognised by the broad exploited masses.

This dual power situation can only last a short period of time: sooner or later one must impose itself on the other. Either the working class, peasants and soldiers will centralize its national bodies of power and form a national workers and peasants militia to organize and mount a successful insurrection (in which a government of workers, poor peasants and soldiers rule, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat) or, imperialism and the bourgeoisie, deceiving and dividing the masses through class collaboration and the terror of fascism will smash the revolution with fire and drown it in blood.

But this will not be resolved in a single act, but over a period of time. We are at the beginning of a great revolution in which the masses have won a "brilliant victory" in the words of Trotsky referring to Russia in February 1917, the German revolution of 1918-1919, the Hungarian revolution of 1919 and the Spanish in 1931. Today, the masses feel victorious as arms in hand, they have the power in the streets, cities, villages, the countryside. It's the bourgeoisie that is terrified of losing everything, its status, power and property. But as Trotsky said in 1936, of all those brilliant victories "... it was only in Russia that the proletariat took full power in their hands, expropriated their exploiters and, therefore, knew how to

create and maintain a workers' state. In all other cases, the proletariat, despite his victory, was stopped, by its leadership, midway. The result was that the power in its hands flowed from left to right, ending up as the spoils of fascism. In a number of other countries, the power fell to a military dictatorship." (Wither France?)

Today, as it was yesterday, the proletariat has shown his forces, the Achille's heel of the proletariat and the exploited masses is the revolutionary leadership crisis which is burning.

The struggle for land, bread and for national independence against the brutal imperialist plunder.

The beginning of this revolution in Madagascar is not an isolated storm in a clear sky. It is, first, part of the general revolutionary uprising that shook the French colonies from Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyana in Latin America, the island of Reunion, a few miles from the coast of Madagascar, and Polynesia. Thus, while the Malagasy working class, peasants and soldiers began their revolution, on the island of Reunion the exploited workers had been on a general strike since March 5, for the same demands as their brothers of the Antilles. But unlike in Guadeloupe and Martinique, from Monday 11 March on, the masses threw out their leaders grouped altogether in a front of all the unions that called for negotiations and "peaceful protests", and leaving behind the "peaceful protest" took the streets and in the combat a French gendarme received a gunshot wound.

Moreover, Madagascar has become a shining example in the colonial and semi-colonial world, of Africa in particular, of mass resistance to the global crisis and the fierce inter-imperialist disputes of control of resources, land, markets, cheap labor, etc., which have imposed unprecedented levels of exploitation of these nations.

70% of the population live below the poverty line on less than one euro per day. The workers are super exploited in the chrome and other mineral mines

owned by imperialist corporations, particularly Japanese, also in the maquiladoras located in the so-called "free trade zones", and the services linked to tourism. Much of the population live in the countryside, in small plots without title deeds, achieved thanks to the anti-colonial struggle and the expulsion of the French landowners, but can only plant subsistence crops. Thus, of around 33 million hectares of arable land, only about 3 million are exploited.

Madagascar, since it ceased to be a French colony, has been ruled by France as a semi-colony. In 2002 Ravalomanana became president winning elections against the former president who was a direct agent of French imperialism. Ravalomanana, a wealthy businessman, who owns a chain of supermarkets and large stores (looted and burned throughout the country by the rebels since January 2009) created free trade zones for maquiladora companies, mainly German ones, and signed contracts for the exploitation of mines by non-French imperialist corporations. He also leased 1,300,000 hectares (equal to half of Belgium) for 99 years to the US- South Korean Daewoo Logistic for growing palm oil and corn for biofuel exports to South Korea. In return the consortium has made false promises to "invest 6000 million dollars" and "to create 70,000 jobs" etc.

French imperialism, the former colonial power, was livid with anger that their competitors -US imperialism- were stealing part of their business. So, France backed Rajoelina and his fraction of the bourgeoisie with Development Aid and financed the purchase of two islands Nosy Hara and Mitsa to develop for business and luxury tourism. Thus, the bourgeoisie was divided into two fractions, one around Ravalomanana, client of the US, Germany and Korea, and the other around Rajoelina in the pay of French imperialism. This split in the bourgeoisie saw both fractions competing to exploit the masses, but that around Rajoelina was able to divert the masses justifiable hatred towards imperialism towards the downfall of Ravalomanana.

This anger was fuelled in part by the displacement of peasant families and

the expropriation of 1.3 million hectares leased to Daewoo Logistics. The announcing of the lease and the first attempts to evict the peasants brought about a mass revolt to defend their land rights. The mayor of a village who was ordered by Ravalomanana to evict the peasants off the land for Daewoo, refused to do so, saying that he "would be lynched by the peasants."

This uprising of the rural poor, together with the struggle of the working class and the exploited of the cities against slavery and poverty wages of the transnationals in the maquila zones, was against the starvation caused by imperialist super-exploitation. The riots in January and early February, condemned by the sell-out union leaders, were the justifiable response of starving workers and farmers to feed their children. In the face of their poverty the owner of the supermarkets Ravalomanana, and the imperialist businessmen and rich parasites from France, the US, Germany and Japan were living it up in the luxury tourist resorts.

The pacifists get terrified just hearing the word "arms", what a shame! More than a century ago, Marxists like Paul Lafargue after the lessons of the Commune of Paris wrote: "The working class will rule in the industrial cities, which will all become revolutionary centres and form a federation in order to attract the countryside over to the side of the revolution and overcome the resistance that will be organized in such trading and maritime cities as Havre, Bordeaux, Marseilles and so on. In the industrial cities the socialists will have to seize power in local institutions, arm the workers and organize them militarily: **"who has arms has bread,"** said Blanqui.

Land, bread and national independence are the main demands leading the great revolution of workers, peasants and soldiers in Madagascar.

Once again, against unionist cretinism of all the reformist leaders and the renegades of Trotskyism, the Madagascar's masses show that to face the crack and bankruptcy of the world

economy, the economic struggle recommended by these leaderships as the solution is absolutely impotent. Against them, the Madagascar masses understood they have to overthrow Ravalomanana and the bourgeoisie in order to get land bread and the national independence. Therefore, the political struggle does not deny the economic struggle but content and surpass it, that is, only the political struggle opens the path to resolve the most minimal economic demand of the exploited masses.

Madagascar shows against pacifists that the working class and exploited are near to conquer land, bread and the national independence because they have arms in hands.

No support in the government of Rajoelina agent of French imperialism!

The Malagasy bourgeoisie has as its main objective to make sure that the regime of Rajoelina resolves the dual power situation by disarming and repressing the masses. First it has concentrated all power into the hands of the Presidential office and the generals. It has dissolved parliament and has announced new elections within two years. Second, it deceives the masses with false promises. It promises to halt the lease of land to Daewoo, to regulate the transnationals, lower food prices etc. Meanwhile during this period of Presidential/military rule the Malagasy bourgeoisie –in order to save bourgeois class as a whole- will bargain with all the imperialist powers including France to retain a better share of the wealth produced by the exploited Malagasy.

But events are still up in the air. The power vacuum has been filled but the split in the bourgeoisie has not been mended. Daewoo and the Yankees have not given up. They are condemning Rajoelina's "coup" and promoting a pro-Ravalomanana demonstration on March 24 in Antananarivo "in defense of democracy", that is to say a "democratic front." Imperialist bastards, talking about democracy for which they paid Ravalomanana in Malagasy currency, which came with accessories such as a state of seige, police killings of more than 100 workers, and a real coup against a popular uprising!

Rajoelina seems to be adopting a type of "Bolivarian" popular front in which he wants to break the unity of the workers and peasants and soldiers to strangle the revolution and subordinate it to the French fraction of the national bourgeoisie.. **But before he can do that he must disarm the masses on the streets. And to do that he has to break the soldier rebellion and get them to obey orders to repress the people. He must convince the workers and poor peasants to return their seized weapons to the police and accept the "authority" of these same murdering bastards that they yesterday hung from the trees.**

The masses, armed and victorious, feel strong. The bourgeoisie, are weak and scared, and afraid that the crisis will expose the lies and demagoguery of Rajoelina, leaving the masses strong enough to finish the revolution they have started. But if they do not take the power we will see the popular front set in place to fool the masses and paralyze their will, while behind the scenes the forces of the counterrevolution, the military officers, or fascist bands, or both together, gathering strength to smash the revolution. We must not forget the tragic lesson of Bolivia!

¡For a National Delegates workers, poor peasants and soldiers at the Soanierana Base held by rebels! ¡Set up and centralize the national workers and peasants militia!

Any program that claims to be for revolution in Madagascar today must begin by calling for workers, peasants and soldiers not to give the slightest support to the government Rajoelina, nor fall into the trap of "democratic front" backed by the US, Ravalomanana and other killers of workers and exploited. It must call for the insurgents to continue their offensive and revolutionary struggles and to occupy the lands, mines, factories and banks! If they stop they will not get bread for their children from the supermarkets! The same with the soldiers. Do not surrender or give up your weapon to Rajoelina's generals! Do not stop, complete the military insurrec-

tion to defeat the officers!

If you stop disbanding the police they will rearm and kill you! Let's not stop: create popular courts of the workers, peasants and soldiers to try and punish Ravalomanana, his presidential guard of mercenaries and those who killed the more than 100 worker and peasant martyrs during the fighting. No time to lose! Every minute that the uprising is stopped the bourgeoisie gains strength!

"Who has weapons... has bread, land and jobs with living wages". The armed insurrection brought the workers close to winning bread, land, decent wages and the end of the imperialist rule of Madagascar. Therefore, **that armed power must be expanded and concentrated into a powerful militia.** Every factory, every business, every industry, every village and every quarter, **must choose one delegate for hundred workers, poor peasants and soldiers, to meet at the Soanierana Base and create a National Congress of workers, peasants and soldiers together with a national militia!**

That National Congress of delegates of the exploited masses will take into its own hands the authority to impose solutions to problems facing the masses and unite all the exploited in the oppressed nation, led by the workers, and make the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie pay for their crisis!

Workers, poor peasants and soldiers take up arms to win bread!

Imperialist out! Get out Daewoo Korea-Pacific U.S! Get out French Development Aid!

Expropriate without payment all US, French, Japanese and German transnationals under workers' control!

Nationalise all the mines, factories in the Free Trade Zones, tourism and all other imperialists interests!

Repudiate the external debt, and all political, economic and military treaties with imperialism!

Impose capital controls and a monopoly on foreign trade!

Expropriate the Banks without payment, under workers control making an state bank!

Nationalise the land with cheap loans to poor family farmers who

wish to work their land!

Collective farms on uncultivated lands under workers control to provide food for the people of Madagascar!

Expropriate without compensation under workers control all capitalist supermarkets and food outlets!

Eliminate middlemen of the business chain!

For Popular Committees to control prices and supply local councils of workers, peasants and soldiers!

Jobs for all on decent wages. No more slavery! Maquilas Out!

Sliding scale of wages and hours of work, on a living wage pegged to the cost of family cost of living!

Expropriation without payment under workers' control of any plant that closes or sacks workers!

A National Congress can raise these demands but only a Workers Government backed by a militia can impose them. Because in Madagascar, as in all semi-colonial countries, it will not be the national bourgeoisie who are the junior partners of the imperialist powers, but only the working class that has no interests in defending imperialism or capitalist property that will end the imperialist yoke and win land, bread, work and wages, health and housing for the exploited. Only a government of armed workers, peasants and soldiers, with the revolutionary party at its head, can smash the bourgeois state, break with imperialism and expropriate the expropriators.

The revolution in Madagascar shows the way for the other French colonies and France itself!

The beginning of the Madagascar revolution is a new blow to French imperialism. Already shaken by the revolutionary uprisings of the colonies of Gaudeloupe and Martinique where general strikes and factory occupations raised the spectre of revolution and inspired the metropolitan French proletariat to open up a pre-revolutionary situation. Sarkozy and his 5th Republic imperialist regime has contained the revolution in the Antilles but, the fire is still alive on the island of Reunion, where the masses, looking to the onset of the Malagasy Revolution, threw out

their leaders and continued with and indefinite strike.

The Revolution in Madagascar shows the way for the other French colonies and semi-colonies to win national Independence and land, bread, work and living wages!

Long live the general strike ended and the street fighting of the masses of Reunion!

French imperialism and occupation troops out of Reunion, the Seychelles and Mauritius Islands and Madagascar!

The armed power of the Malagasy workers, poor peasants and soldiers, raises the program for the common struggle of all the French colonies and semi-colonies against French imperialism. At the same time it raises the program for the French proletariat to extend its struggles from the barricades and factories for jobs and wages in France to take up the fight against "their" own bourgeoisie for the victory of the anti-imperialist struggles, the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners, and the immediate removal of imperialist troops from the colonies. If the massive strike actions in France condemned Sarkozy's crony Rajoelina and raised the demand for workers to power in Madagascar it would unite the workers and peasants of the colonies with those of the imperialist heartland and create the conditions for successful socialist revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The Revolution shows the combat to kick the US imperialism out of Madagascar and ALL Africa. Out the US troops of Somalia and Africa! Out the military base in Diego Garcia Island, where the armes and troops are stock to be sent to Irak and Afghanistan!

The international character of the revolution in Madagascar

The revolution in Madagascar reopens for the first time the period of defeats following the strangling of the South African revolution in 1994 by the popular front government of the ANC, the South

African Communist Party and the union bureaucracy of COSATU. This huge betrayal of Stalinism and the Popular Front was an historic defeat for the masses of the oppressed and exploited of the whole continent.

This betrayal of the popular front and the stalinism towards the socialist and worker black revolution was imposed in all Africa where the exploited masses were condemned to a brutal backwardness, barbarism with hunger, wars and virus like HIV, etc.

This defeat led to Africa becoming a reservoir of slave labor of 600 million workers, hundreds of thousands of whom fled in desperate attempt to get to the imperialist powers of Europe. Tens of thousands of black workers and peasants died in the struggle to reach Europe and those who survived became a caste of slave workers super-exploited in the imperialist countries, and then when the crisis hit, deported en masse. In the most recent period of growth, imperialism has increased its investment in Africa to exploit for example the rich oil reserves in Nigeria, diamond mines as in Sierra Leone and the minerals in the Congo. China entered the race to plunder Africa along with other Asian countries to use the land to produce food and crops for biofuels. As the crisis worsens the scramble for Africa intensifies as the various imperialist powers compete to plunder its enormous natural wealth.

Under the current world economic crisis, the breaking of the economic, political and military balance and the crisis of the domain regime make the the bourgeois disputes stronger. Africa is a continent craved by the imperialists, who want the natural resources.

But as Marx and Engels said over



En la brutal represión ordenada por Ravalomanana el 7 de febrero, 24 mártires obreros y campesinos fueron asesinados

150 years ago, the bourgeoisie produces its own “gravediggers”, the proletariat. The flow of capital into Africa in recent years has expanded and strengthened the working class. So, today, as capitalists try to solve their crisis by attacking the workers, Africa is not only a site for fierce inter-imperialist rivalry, but by a mass black working class that has begun to resist these attacks on their jobs, living standards and their lives. The vanguard of this black proletariat in Africa in the North, where the Arab and Muslim masses revolted in the Magreb from Morocco to Egypt in defence of the Palestinians, opening the road to the socialist revolution and a **Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of North Africa. This vanguard has now been joined by the insurgent peasants and workers of Madagascar, widening the struggle towards a united socialist Africa by opening the front or a Federation of Socialist Republics in Central and South Africa.**

As we said above these revolutionary uprisings in the colonies and semi-colonies of France and other imperialist countries must become adopted by the working classes in the imperialist heartlands. In France, Britain and the US, the millions of oppressed migrant workers treated like slaves become the vital link to combat the treachery of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy in fusing the revolutions in the colonies, semi-colonies with that of the imperialist heartlands together with new social revolutions in the former worker states that put at the order of the day the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat under revolutionary ways, causing a new 68-74 process. Such international revolutionary unity can also reverse the counter-revolution that has restored capitalism to the former workers states and re-open the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries. Thus the revolution in Madagascar poses again the question of power, not only in that country, not only in Africa, but of the world revolution.

Once again Trotsky writing in 1932 on the role of Black workers in revolution has been vindicated. "... the Black workers, by virtue of their whole position, do not and cannot strive to degrade anybody, oppress anybody, or

deprive anybody of his rights. They do not seek privileges and cannot rise to the top except on the road of the international revolution. We can and must find a way to the consciousness of Black workers, the Chinese workers, the Indian workers, and all the oppressed in the human ocean of the colored races to whom belongs the decisive Word in the development of mankind". ("Closer to the proletarians of the "colored" races!" Leon Trotsky, 1932, emphasis added).

Revolution in Madagascar demonstrates that the vanguard of the international proletariat must declare war on the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy who are the agents of capital inside the working class. Only by defeating these traitors- that is, via civil war within the class- can the working class solve the crisis of revolutionary leadership, on which, as it says in the Transitional Program of 1938, rests the fate of humanity.

For a new Trotskyist world revolutionary Party founded on the Fourth International program of 1938!

The revolution in Madagascar proves once again that workers, poor peasants and soldiers in Madagascar must solve the leadership crisis of the revolutionary proletariat. Based on its spontaneous insurrection the workers could only go so far: to overthrow Ravalomanana, to weaken the bourgeois state by splitting the army, and to create a situation of dual power. But to succeed in going all the way to a proletarian revolution they need a revolutionary leadership. And just as the revolution in Madagascar is not "national" but has an international character and content, the only leadership that is capable of taking the revolution to victory is an international revolutionary leadership.

Each insurrection and semi-insurrection that has taken place, in Greece, in the West Indies and other French colonies, in France itself where the workers are standing up to fight, poses the question of who shall rule. Standing in the road of the revolutionary proletariat is are the parties of the labor aristocracy

and bureaucracy which are social patriotic and social imperialist. The revolution in Madagascar which now poses the question of power and the urgent need to arm the masses to overthrow the bourgeois state, has become an acid test which separates out the reformists, the centrists – disguised as 'Trotskyists' – from the revolutionary internationalists.

Already the Bolshevik fraction of the international working class is entering the fight to expose and defeat the reformists and centrists traitors. It seeks to intervene in the revolutionary events in Greece, Guadeloupe, the general strikes in France, the uprisings of the Maghreb, the Palestinian struggle, and now the revolution in Madagascar. As the proletariat enters into combat the reformists and centrist strain to contain the new layers of fighters and subordinate them to the Popular Front of many colors. Against these counter-revolutionaries the healthy forces of international Trotskyism are fighting to unite around the banner of the Fourth International and the program of its Founding Congress of 1938.

The reformist Trotskyist international it is necessary for the healthy forces of Trotskyism to regroup in an international conference that does not make verbal boasts about "socialism" and "revolution", but proves in practice that it can defeat the counter-revolutionary leadership in the critical revolutionary struggles, and build a new revolutionary international that the international working class deserves to lead it to victory and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 to fulfill the task that is stated clearly in its program: "Our task: the abolition of capitalist domination. Our goal: socialism. Our method: the proletarian revolution." We must reunite the revolutionary internationalists around the world who are committed to completing the task, method, and goal of the Fourth International set for us by Comrade Trotsky in 1938.

**International Coordination
Secretariat of the ILTF**

GUADALUPE AND MARTINIQUE

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING OF THE COLONIES OF THE FRENCH IMPERIALISM

AND THE SOCIAL CHAUVINISM OF THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM

We present here a letter of the International Secretariat of the ITF to the CWG comrades of New Zealand, originally published in "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" # 12 - Part 1 - March, 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the IITF in July, 2009.

In this letter we polemize against the socialchauvinistic position of the "New Anti-capitalist Party" of Krivine and Besancenot, and its Claire Tendency - "smart" Reformists posing as "Trotskyists" - developing the position and the program of the ITF on the great revolutionary uprisings in the French colonies. Their sparks, together with the sparks from Greece and Madagascar, have already started to set Paris on fire.

18/03/09

Dear comrades:

1) In first place, our apologies for the delay in replying your concerns about Tendency CLAIRE of the NPA in France. We have been, and we continue, working on the theses with all our strength. We expect you have received the draft of chapter 4 on the crisis of revolutionary leadership we have sent you last Friday. We expect to finish writing chapter II and correct the whole theses during this week. We are also preparing an article on Madagascar where with an armed mass insurrection a magnificence revolution has been opened. The working class and poor peasants who have won the streets since February with general strikes and street combats lynching some policemen-whose corpses hung from the trees and streetlights of Antananarivo- divided the rank and file army winning the rank and file soldiers who today control the main military base of the country and all its arsenal, overthrowing the president Ravalomanana (US junior partner), disintegrating the regime and let the bourgeois state in total crisis.

This classic "February Revolution" has provoked a huge emptiness of pow-



Mass mobilization in Por-au-Prince, Guadeloupe, in February 18th 2009

er that it is still open since over a week: while Ravalomanana refuses to resign and entrenched himself with his presidential guard of mercenaries and a handful of some thousands of followers in a palace outside the capital; the "opposition" led by the pro-French Rajoelina (mayor of the capital, Antananarivo) to which the cupola of the army forces -that does not control the rank and file soldiers anymore-has been integrated is trying to impose a very weak "government of national salvation". But they have not achieved it yet and Rajoelina continues without assuming the presidency.

The masses are in the streets; the insurrect base soldiers have sent tanks to the capital to thwart any possible attack of the mercenaries of the presidential guard. And in the streets, squares and even in the religious services on Sunday 15/03, the rank and file soldiers can be seen taking their bazookas and other armaments. The soldiers have clarified the journalists they are under the orders of neither Ravalomanana nor the army cupola nor Rajoelina.

The events are in full development, but it is clear that a regime of double armed power has been established and the question of power is at the order of the day for the proletariat and exploits. Besides, as it couldn't have been any other way, the crisis of revolutionary

Leadership of the proletariat gets red-hot.

The beginning of this huge revolution in Madagascar is part of the rebellion of the French colonies and semi-colonies. We cannot forget that Madagascar is an old French colony, but besides some kilometers from their coasts are located the other French colonies like Seychelles islands or Isla de la Reunión. In the latter, the working class and exploits are on a general strike from March 5 on for the same demands of your brothers of the Antilles. But in comparison with Guadeloupe and Martinique, on Reunión Island from Monday 11/3 on, the exploited masses have overwhelmed their leaderships grouped in a front convened by all the central trade unions and unions that called to negotiate and for the "pacifist protest" leading a day of street combats where a French gendarme was bullet wounded.

The revolution within the colonies and semi-colonies threatens to hit France's heart and impel the mass political struggle of the proletariat in the metropolis. A proletariat who has been facing hard fights against the layoffs and closures factory by factory. In these fights the workers took the managers as hostages like in a branch of Sony some days ago. The French working class has seen how their brothers of the colonies for get a 200 euros rise in wage had to

do one and a half months of general strike, nearly reaching to the taking of power and they raise the demand “200 euros for all”. This is taking place just when March 19 is coming, the day when the unionist bureaucracies convened a month ago a new “national day of protest” that it is likely to be a day of national strike, perhaps more determine than the one in February. We do not have doubts that those of the worker aristocracy and bureaucracy of the CGT, CFDT, FO, PS, PCF, the New Anticapitalist Party (NPA), LO and lambertism are terrified of been overwhelmed by the masses in struggle.

Well, as we have said, we are writing an article on Malagasy revolution, the deep causes that drive masses towards this spontaneous armed insurrection, its relationship with African revolution and the anti-colonial revolution of the Antilles and the Reunión, and with the struggle of the proletariat of the own imperialist French metropolis. We expect to have a draft on Wednesday. As soon as we have it ready, we will send it to you and the other FLT comrades.

2) We totally agree with your letter dated on 6/3 where you state that “the world revolution will be made or broken in the imperialist heartlands” and you highlight the importance of an offensive policy of our fraction on the renegades of Trotskyism of the imperialist countries, their “new parties”, their splits and the groups and currents that emerge from them. In that sense, last week, we sent you a letter containing the documents on the open crisis in the English SWP, the CPGB intervention on it and the discussion of an English militant of JRCL-RMF of Japan with the latter group.

We expect you have already received such a letter, if not, please tell us and we re-send it to you.

3) ON THE TENDENCY CLAIRE (TENDENCIA CLAIRE) OF THE NPA

This Tendency is composed of the CRI (which has self-dissolved officially to enter NPA) that has become a sympathizer section in France of FT-EI, that is the international group of PTS of Argentina. Nothing to be surprised: when we met CRI in France in 2003, we had told them their positions were exactly like the ones of PTS and they should join them. TC is composed by

the Argentine militants that PTS “transplanted” in France some years ago and by the French militants of “Socialismo o Barbarie”, that is, the international group impelled by the reformists of the “new” MAS of Argentina.

We read with a lot of attention the documents in French TC published on the question of the colonies and in particular on the Antilles. We suppose that it has been difficult for you to follow their positions in French for the difficulties with the language and the huge deficiencies of the automatic translations.

For us, we do not find anything progressive – let alone revolutionary- in the positions of this residual group of “intelligent reformists” that have entered NPA to cover its left wing, like – despite the differences with the analogy- Pivert covered the left wing to the SFIO leadership in 1934-35 with the aim of hindering the revolutionary intervention of Bolsheviks- Leninists.

For us The TC’s position on Guadalupe, Martinique and the Colonial revolution against French domain is totally social chauvinist and pacifist. The constant expressions on “the question of power”, the “pickets”, “the worker state”, “the expropriation” etc., are fireworks and “rrrrrrrrrrrrrrred” dialogue –like Lenin said sarcastically about the kautskista center- to cover their obsequiousness to the imperialist French V Republic and their social patriotism very typical of currents that see proletariat and exploits of colonies from their luxurious balconies of the worker aristocracy. Let’s see:

The TC slogan for the Antilles and the other French colonies...“defense of the right to national self-determination!”

The first prove of social chauvinism is that TC – a worker current of the metropolis- **neither organize nor articulate its program in relation to the struggle for the national liberation of Guadalupe, Martinique and the other colonies.**

Its slogan on the national question – even when they cannot hide that “*the legitimacy of the colonial state, openly at the service of the bosses and the “bekés” (ultra-minority of white bosses and descendants of the old owners of slaves, NdeR) – is rejected from a long time ago by an important part of workers and people, like a proof of success for a long time of the UGT , indepen-*

dentist union...”, is.....“the defense of the national self-determination right”!

It is an open and complete break on the part of such “intelligent reformists” with the most basic principles of Leninism in relation to the national question. Since in 1915, Lenin defined clearly about the self-determination of nations,

“In this respect, countries must be divided into three main types:

First, the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States of America. In these countries the bourgeois, progressive, national movements came to an end long ago. Every one of these “great” nations oppresses other nations in the colonies and within its own country. The tasks of the proletariat of these ruling nations are the same as those of the proletariat in England in the nineteenth century in relation to Ireland.

Secondly, Eastern Europe: Austria, the Balkans and particularly Russia. Here it was the twentieth century that particularly developed the bourgeois-democratic national movements and intensified the national struggle. The tasks of the proletariat in these countries—in regard to the consummation of their bourgeois-democratic reformation, as well as in regard to assisting the socialist revolution in other countries—cannot be achieved unless it champions the right of nations to self-determination. In this connection the most difficult but most important task is to merge the class struggle of the workers in the oppressing nations with the class struggle of the workers in the oppressed nations.

Thirdly, the semi-colonial countries, like China, Persia, Turkey, and all the colonies, which have a combined population amounting to a billion. In these countries the bourgeois-democratic movements have either hardly begun, or are far from having been completed. Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation—and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing more nor less than the recognition of the right to self-determination—but must render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist

their rebellion—and if need be, their revolutionary war—against the imperialist powers that oppress them. (Lenin, “El derecho de las naciones a la autodeterminación”, 1916, bold ours).

The first TC genuflection before “its” bourgeoisie is that **they deny demanding the unconditional and immediate Liberation without compensation of Guadalupe, Martinique, Guyana, Isla de la Reunión, Polynesia, Nueva Caledonia and the other direct colonies** that the butcher French imperialism keeps under its domain.

They replace that clear and unmistakable principle of revolutionary Marxism of XX century for general stuff on “defense of the right of self-determination”, like the kaustkians like Martov that according to Lenin “in favour of that indisputable true, namely, from the self-determination of nations is not infer the defense of a nation in an imperialist war. But a Russian social democrat betrays the principle of self determination if he does not demand the freedom of secession of the oppressed nations by the Great Russia, Martov keeps in silent about that...” (Acerca del “programa de la paz”, 1916)

And he opposed the Holland Hörter to Martov who “despite denying wrongly the principle of self determination of nations, he applies firmly such principle when **he demands the political independence of the Holland Indies** and accuses the Holland opportunists who disagree with that of betrayal of socialism” (Acerca del “programa de la paz”, 1916)

To summarize: TC speaks about “right to self determination” but they deny demanding the immediate and unconditional political independence of the French Antilles (and other colonies). Since, first, neither NPA- of course- nor TC put in the center of their program the struggle **for the defeat of the French imperialist troops of occupation and their expulsion from Guadalupe, Martinique and other colonies**. We will develop this question later, but to avoid struggling for this in Guadalupe is like in Iraq or Afghanistan deny demanding “For the military defeat of all the imperialist troops” or in Palestine “For the destruction of the Zionist-fascist state of Israel”

But besides, TC denies denouncing and accusing the French reformists of

NPA- Besancenot and company-Laguiller and Hardy of Lutte Ouvrière; Lambert and company of PT of betrayal of socialism. These people not only “disagree” but also are enemies of demanding and struggling for it. Thus, in their statement on Guadalupe, the only critic – if it may be called a critic-launched to these currents that have a strong influence on the vanguard and sectors of the masses of Guadalupe, is: “*There is no solution so that the general strike may continue and gets re-vigorous if the frame of reformist is not surpassed preventing the trap of division prepared by the government. This is what revolutionaries must explain to workers, with complete independence of the reformist leaderships who want to finish the strike when the demands were not even satisfied. This is what they must say clearly, particularly, the leaderships of Combat Ouvrier, a group linked to LO which plays a role of leader in the CGTG, those in CER-CASOL and GRS (linked to NPA) and Travayé e Pézyan and the Alliance Ouvrière et paysanne (linked to POI-lambertism, NdeR- that occupy main posts in the trade unions like FO and UGTG, among others.*”

This is their “critic”, when Besancenot travelled directly to Guadalupe to say that “the taxpayers of the metropolis”- the imperialist French state- shouldn’t pay the 200 euros of wage increase that workers and peasants have won after one and a half months of general strike and revolutionary struggle but the private bosses; just the same position stated by Sarkozy some days ago on TV!

On 6/03, WIVL comrades of SA sent us a short note attached to the balance made by LO about their intervention in Guadalupe, about their influence their group and J.L Nomertin have there- J.L Nomertin is one of their public leaders who leads CGT and was the second most importance leader after Eli Domota of the UGTG. WIVL comrades ask themselves whether “**LUTTE Ouvrière was so strong in that place, why didn’t the working class take power when they had the opportunity?**” These few words with a lapidary critic-that TC is unable to state- and the revolutionary courage assumed by South African Trotskyists unmask the obsequiousness of TC before the French imperialist V Republic -that is not condemned even in their texts but the only critic is focus on Sarkozy government-

and before the French imperialist troops of occupation in Guadalupe and their pivertism in the heart of that “new” social chauvinist party, healer of capitalism that is NPA.

TC do not pass the 21 conditions of admission of the III International

Tendency CLAIRE, as a worker current in an imperialist country, would have never been admitted even like sympathizer in the revolutionary III International of Lenin and Trotsky since it does not pass the 21 conditions of admission that says:

“7 The parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the obligation of condemned not only social patriotism but also the fake and hypocritical social pacifism (...)

8. A particularly marked and clear attitude on the question of the colonies and oppressed nations is necessary on the part of the communist parties of those countries whose bourgeoisies are in possession of colonies and oppress other nations. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation of exposing the dodges of its 'own' imperialists in the colonies, of supporting every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, of demanding that their imperialist compatriots should be thrown out of the colonies, of cultivating in the hearts of the workers in their own country a truly fraternal relationship to the working population in the colonies and to the oppressed nations, and of carrying out systematic propaganda among their own country’s troops against any oppression of colonial peoples.”

TC keeps in silent about the social chauvinists (because they are that too!), and they give up fighting neither in words nor in deeds, “for the expulsion of the metropolis imperialists” and their troops of occupation from the “colonies”.

TC says nothing about this. They limit themselves in saying generally “right to self determination” ... let’s stop Sarkozy, the new candidate to be Bonaparte of the V Republic, from accusing them of “traitors” of the nation and end in the prisons of the French “democracy”!

This “intelligent reformists”

deserve the words of the III International of "Tesis y adiciones sobre la cuestión colonial": *"The petty bourgeois nationalism limits the internationalism to the recognition of the principle of the equality among nations and (without insisting too much in its purely verbal character) keeps intact the national selfishness.."*

In relation to the internationalist obligations and tasks of French proletariat, TC limits its struggle *"fighting for the extension of the general strike in France"*. What does it mean for them? *"convince our colleagues to participate massively in demonstrations in favour of general strike in Guadalupe and Martinique"*, *"to do all the necessary to develop the present fights"* in France, and finally *"to set up in the companies and workplaces committees for the preparation of the general strike without waiting a new "day of action" without perspectives of the union leaderships"* that is expected on 19/03.

Not any word of denouncing and, let alone, demanding to Besancenot- who has 60% of popularity in France and every night he is invited to participate in TV programs- ,the leader of **"their" party, to launch immediately a call on all the workers and students in struggle, all the combat organizations of the French proletariat and youth to rebel raising the war cry of "Down with the imperialist V Republic, slaver and colonizer of the workers and people of the Antilles, Reunión and Polynesia"** , to support their brothers of Guadalupe and the other colonies demanding the immediate and unconditional independence of them without compensation, the expulsion of all metropolitan imperialists and the defeat of their murderous troops of occupation.

Not even a demand to Besancenot-who leads today a party of 10.000 militants inserted in the unions, factories, schools, cities,etc- so that he uses the media to say workers that the victory of the revolution in the colonies and the "defeat" of "their" bourgeoisie is a victory for the French working class which would let the common enemy in crisis and weak, but the working class would be in better conditions to start the counter-offensive and make capitalists pay the crisis. **Not even one demand to him so that he denounces openly the union bureaucracy that pacts with Sarkozy and the bosses to shift the crisis on work-**

ers, and calls for choosing rank and file delegates of each factory and workplace where hundreds of workers struggling in France, of the assembly of students, of the immigrant worker committees, of the worker youth of the cities to set up a worker and student national congress to defeat the collaborationist leaderships of CGT, CFDT and the others. The congress to organize and prepare the general strike until overthrow Sarkozy and let the imperialist regime of the V Republic weak, hit. This is the only way so that exploits may get bread, work, decent salaries, legality for all the immigrants, etc. The unionist cretinism of TC is not unnoticed like appendage of NPA because of their tailing.

TC denies telling the working class the truth: only if we threaten the capitalist property, their regimes and governments, they would give something in order not to lose everything. It is only possible to get from the exploiters any minimal demand during the struggle itself fighting for all, that is, for taking power. TC does not speak about it or do something of it. Thus, TC saves not only all the union bureaucracies, Besancenot and the other social patriots of the NPA leadership but also the other currents of the renegades of Trotskyism in France (LO and PT) that nothing have of "marginal" and they are as reformist, social-chauvinist and obsequiousness with the imperialist V Republic as NPA.

TC proclaims the "pacific way towards the national self determination"

We do not pretend with this letter to go to every single issue of TC program and policy on Guadalupe. We have only concentrated in those main questions which define a principle position for the revolution and the attitude of the groups and currents of the cities who called themselves "revolutionaries".

From this point of view, TC does not passed the test of taking the power, as the WIVL comrades claimed, the power question was raised clearly in Guadalupe as it is today in Madagascar.

TC said: *"...the situation shows clearly that a general strike is not enough, but it crashes against the main question of the political power. Facing the French colonial power and their valets' girls of UMP and SP who were always serving "Bekés" and all the big bosses in the Antilles, there are not going to be, another solution more than the workers taking the power. In the cur-*

rent sparkling situation, the Antilles workers have not raised consciously this aim, but they throw up since long time the colonial power to the UMP and SP, and they trust the LKP and the Collective February 5th in Martinique. For that reason it is legitimate to demand to the leaders that those fronts that they declare themselves candidates to the power and fight to constitute an alternative provisional government of the discredited government of the French State, its repression forces, its army, its general and regional councils and all its representatives. This would provoke to break with the openly bourgeoisie parties who are part of those fronts, but they are marginal. But most of the people and the workers would support this government, to satisfy their social and democratic demands." (Bold original) Later they claimed, the government should expropriate without payment the big companies and the great fortunes, centralize and plan the production and distribution and above all this government would have to call for a **Constituent Assembly** that guarantees the "right to self determination", etc.

It is impossible a clearer program towards the "pacific way to national self determination". TC tells workers of Guadalupe that the power can be taken ...Without a successful insurrection of the armed masses that destroys the colonial state and defeats its occupation troops!

They want to pretend use the tactic of "peasant and worker government" as Trotsky formulated in the Transitional Program when he said: *"From April to September 1917, the Bolsheviks demanded that the SRs (Socialists-Revolutionaries) and Mensheviks break with the liberal bourgeoisie and take power into their own hands. Under this provision the Bolshevik Party promised the Mensheviks and the SRs, as the petty bourgeois representatives of the worker and peasants, its revolutionary aid against the bourgeoisie categorically refusing, however, either to enter into the government of the Mensheviks and SRs or to carry political responsibility for it. If the Mensheviks and SRs had actually broke with the Cadets (liberals) and with foreign imperialism, then the "workers' and peasants' government" created by them could only have hastened and facilitated the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat"*.

Later Trotsky claimed that, even

though it is “highly improbable.” the “creation of this government by the traditional workers organization” it is not possible to deny that under exceptional circumstances the petty bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie. We have already seen how in the Second Post war, and under exceptional circumstances, this has happened in China, Balkans, East Europe and Cuba.

And he concludes: *“in any case one thing is not to be doubted: even if this highly improbable variant somewhere at some time becomes a reality and the ‘workers’ and farmers’ government” in the above-mentioned sense is established in fact, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat”.*

But TC played hide-and-seek with the “peasant and worker government” tactic claimed in the Transitional Program. Because referring to it, they tried to hide that **this “peasant and worker government” of LKP in Guadalupe or the Collective February 5th in Martinique could achieve power pacifically, without insurrection, without destroying the troops: this is, it would not be a “peasant and worker government” as “short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of proletariat” as Trotsky claimed but a bourgeois government of the reformist parties, worker-bourgeois, which would call for a Constituent to resolve “freely on the country status, its structures, laws, and above all, on the radical redefinition, on an equal base, of their relationship with France”.** (Bold our) As it could be possible, the existence of some “equality” between a backward Guadalupe oppressed and plundered for two centuries and an imperialist France!

Thus, this people liquidate the democratic revolutionary character of the slogan of Constituent, as they use it as a truly slogan of power and not to push and facilitate the armament to the masses, as it is the role played by all the democratic revolutionary slogans in the Transitional Program, on the other hand, these slogans are ultra tactical and episodic always subordinated to the struggle for the soviets, the masses’ armament and taking the power.

Since, how will a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly take place in Guadalupe, without destroying and defeating the military troops of French

occupation? How would be possible a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly in Guadalupe with the bayonets of the French imperialist army occupying the island? How could this Assembly decide the self-determination in Guadalupe, or its independence, if the weapons are in the hands of the colonialist enemy? That is, even the Constituent Assembly slogan that would declare the independence of Guadalupe could not be free and sovereign without the success of the insurrection, without defeating and squashing the occupation troops and without imposing a peasant and worker government based on the double power organisms of the armed masses. And in this case for the bolshevism, the Constituent slogan would not be more than a tool so that the masses end up understanding that a worker republic is a million times more democratic than the democracy of the bourgeois republics, and so that they finish experiencing with all the independentist bourgeois currents.

It is as in Bolivia and the 2001 Argentine revolutions in, in those moments where the power and the bourgeois institutions are in crisis, the PTS/CRI have a recipe: Constituent to take the power. That is, the revolutionary democratic program was used not to be the motor for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, but as a leash of those revolutionary masses.

They are enemies of fighting for the proletariat dictatorship. This is clear since for TC does not exist the struggle for **an independent soviet and socialist Guadalupe, Martinique, Guyana in the path to conquer Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of Central America and Caribbean –for this it is necessary the political revolution to defeat the restorationist bureaucracy in Cuba** - but for TC, that Guadalupe of undefined sex with its “provisory government” and its Constituent “would establish freely the relations they judge useful with the neighbor countries, especially with Cuba and the other islands of Caribbean, Venezuela and the Central American countries”.

Thus, TC tries to hide, under a constant “rrrrrrrrrrred” yapping, the same program the Castrist bureaucracy rises and in the article “the crisis and the social explosions and the socialism” by Ángel Guerra Cabrera published in *Cubadebate* on 5/03/09, where he recommends for Guadalupe

and Martinique the “Bolivarian” way out when he affirms: “In Latin America, it has been shown in the last decade that the popular demands can be articulated in social movements that fight through the political via, they achieve to have access to the government through elections and from there they begin constituent processes of socialist orientation”.

TC obeys, NPA executes and Sarkozy and his partner of the restorationist Cuban bureaucracy order!!! The restorationist Cuban bureaucracy needs as the body needs water, that the struggle to take the power and the national independence of the French Antilles do not succeed. If this happens, it will put in the day of the agenda the defeat of the Castrist bureaucracy policy that with the fake “Bolivarian Revolution” have expropriated the revolution in Latin America, particularly in Bolivia and Central America and the Caribbean where they have already put their partners of the Farabundo Marti in Salvador and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua to be good servants of Obama and the imperialism in the region. While the restorationist Cuban bureaucracy is prepared to change definitely to launch the restoration of capitalism on the island, and it defends the French imperialist butcher in the whole Caribbean region, this bureaucracy has business with them in Cuba in the mix companies, nickel, those that launder money for sharing out ...in Bahamas.

Why not? perhaps the demand of “200 euros for everyone” of the working class in Guadalupe could expand and the Cuban working class may take it and revolt against the restorationist Cuban bureaucracy who has imposed with the 2 currencies and mainly with the strangulation of the Latin America revolution a salary of 18 dollars leaving them in the hands of the capitalist companies who are openly disputing how to enter into the island

CRI/PTS cover themselves with the TC of the Anti Capitalist Party mask, with the mask of social chauvinism of Crivine and the French LCR, who only lead the French and the Antilles proletariat vanguard towards the darkness. They deny combating for the military defeat of the occupation troops in those colonies, question that will leave terrible weak the French Fifth Republic so that the workers, who are getting into combat in Paris, in the metropolis, can hit it. In this way, TC denies saying that

the great allied of workers and peasants in Guadalupe would be the struggle for the Federation of Socialist and Soviet Republics of Centro America and Caribbean. Neither NPA nor Castro nor Chavez allows this to their “left employees” pivertistes, in the NPA, that is, TC. They very well know that cannot go out the limits that the “Bolivarian revolution” marks for them.

The revolutionary struggle in the Antilles states that perspective: the fight for the anti-colonial revolution in the Antilles and Centro America, merging with the beginning of the socialist revolution in the metropolis (as it happened in Portugal in '75 after the defeat of their army in Angola and Guinea Bisau), and the revolution in Cuba.

There are to siege the uprising in Guadalupe, as the resistant Gaza, for the revolutionary Bolivia and the Iraqi resistance. There are to siege them with the Castro bureaucracy and the murderous troops of the foreign legion. This is the role of the social chauvinism of the parties of the aristocracy labor in Europe, and TC is only a left tendency.

TC does not pass the limits that the WSF imposed on them, those organizers of the fake “Bolivarian revolution”, this is the siege to the revolution in the French Antilles, Caribbean and to France itself.

“The take of power by the own workers”...without insurrection, without masses’ weapons and without destroying the French colonial army of occupation of Guadalupe: a terrible pacifism of the TC of NPA

But this is not everything: those “intelligent reformist” and pivertistes of the TC are pacifist. We could see as they claim that the workers can take the power without insurrection, we could see the same as their bosses NPA, and they deny struggling for the defeat and expulsion of the French occupation army of Guadalupe and others French colonies. But reading their statement we found a paragraph on the “self-defense” that it is not a waste and it paints the whole body of those imposters as what they really are: **pacifist**, who are afraid of the masses armament.

“In order to combat mainly for the withdrawal of all the repression forces of the French State (we note that the same as the WSF in relation to Iraq, they said “withdrawal” and not “defeat”, oh! if those French merce-

naries of the foreign legion and other occupation forces come home inside black bags may provoke a revolution inside the metropolis! Our note), whose presence itself is a threat to the whole movement. In order to face them, the workers and the people in struggle can only rely on themselves and then, they must develop their means for self defense: this is the only solution to impose collectively a relation of the dissuasive forces against the repression forces, to prevent the trap of the isolat - ed initiatives and to control the uncontrollable effects of the profusion of gun - running, so much in the Antilles.” (bold in original and underline our)

We read it several times, thinking that we misunderstood French language, but not, it says that: it is about, for the CRI/PTS and other pivertistes of the TC, not to defeat the French imperialist army of occupation, but to discourage, this is, to convince this “jackals” of the French foreign legion, the torturous and murderous of million of workers and peasants in Angelia, convince those paid mercenaries by the French imperialism who travel around the world teaching to any military dictatorship how to torture and kidnap and “make disappear” the fighters, to those troops that hold in Africa to any bloody king... convince them of not repressing, torturing, murdering the colonial slaves of the uprising Guadeloupe and Martinique.

But, above all, it is about to prevent, in all the ways, that the revolted workers and peasants, in their strike and factory committees and in the pickets do not have more than sticks and stones to defend themselves of the repression of the occupation troops. So that the colonial slaves cannot attack the police stations, expropriate the “gunrunners” –that is, a bourgeois layer that lives on this business- and get armed! What a threat for the “French State”! –the pacifist TC cries- if there is such an “armed profusion” of the gunrunning, it means that those weapons can be taken by the revolts slaves” We think that Ghandi did not dare to do something like that! And those pacifist, social chauvinist pretend to be Trotskyites! It is more logical with that position, we are sure they regret and condemn the workers, poor peasants and soldiers of Madagascar who “dared” not to get some weapons of the gunrunning, but to disarm the police and hang them out, to take the most

important military base of Madagascar and keep the armament.

San Martin, O’Higgins, Artigas, Miranda of Venezuela was babies next to these pacifists. In the 19th century and in order to free the nation of the Spanish colony, they organized armies to defeat militarily and expel the Crown forces. Guadalupe is a direct French colony today, in the 21st century. For that reason, anyone who says that he is not even a revolutionary but a consistent fighter for the independence of the colonies, the minimum he has to claim is that **the French imperialist army of occupation has to be defeated raising up a peasant and workers national army for the freedom of Guadalupe: a weapon per workers, poor peasant and exploited!** Antilles Workers and exploits go and take the weapons where they are, as our class brother and sister did it in Madagascar: disarmed the police and take the police station, expropriate the gunrunner’s bourgeoisie!

Anyone who does not have a main axis in its program on Guadalupe, Martinique and also for Iraq and any nation transformed into a direct colony or imperialist protectorate, it would be a vulgar social chauvinist and pacifist, even though he fills his mouth with the “people’s right to self-determination” and talks in a super “rrrrrrrrrrred” speech!

Well, dear comrade Dave, till this point we have tried to develop the main questions, of principles, in relation to the position of Tendencia CLAIRE of the French NPA on the anti-colonial revolution in the Antilles. We hope that these first arguments would be useful for all the FLT, in the ruthless political struggle that we have to give against those monsters of the “new anti-capitalist party” but also against their supposed “left” wings that lead and deceive workers wearing a costume of “Trotskyites” in order to pass this old and terrible pivertist recipe.

03/16/2009

Secretariat of International Coordination and Action (SCAI) of the Fracción Leninista Trotskista –FLT- (Leninist Trotskyist Fraction).

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