

Nahuel Moreno
(and collaborators)

International Manifesto



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Centro de Estudios
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Nahuel Moreno (y colaboradores)

International Manifesto

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Foreword

In March 1985, the first world congress of the IWL-FI was held in Buenos Aires, the last one in Moreno's life. There, this *Manifesto* —written by Moreno and collaborators— and the statutes were approved. Both were published in *Correo Internacional* No 10, July 1985.

Its presentation read:

“The *Manifesto* synthesises the revolutionary Marxist analysis of the crisis of the world imperialist system, its crushing consequences on the standard of living and employment of the world's exploited, and the revolutionary insurrections with which the masses all over the planet respond. It denounces the perfidious manoeuvring of imperialism and the world bourgeoisie to appease the revolutionary struggle through false promises of ‘peace’ and ‘democracy’, made concrete in pacts and agreements such as that of Contadora. It unmasks the capitulation of the leaderships of the mass movement. And it points out as the task of the hour the unity of the revolutionaries to build the national and international leadership the workers need to defeat capitalist imperialism and impose the victory of the world socialist revolution: the Fourth International.”

After Moreno's death in January 1987, the leadership of the IWL-FI gradually fell into deviations and errors and entered into crisis, which gave rise to different divisions of the Morenoist current in the early 1990s. The sector that kept the name of IWL-FI is represented by the PST-U of Brazil.

Those of us who promote the publishing of Moreno's works at www.nahuelmoreno.org reorganised ourselves in April 1995 in Barcelona, founding the *International Workers Unity – Fourth International (IWU-FI)*, which publishes the magazine *International Correspondence* in four languages. This *International Manifesto* remains a very important component of our programmatic continuity as a revolutionary Marxist Morenoist current.

On www.nahuelmoreno.org the reader can find Moreno's international oral report, other speeches and his closing of this congress. Refer to *Speeches in the First Congress*.

The Editors

September 2020

International Manifesto

To the workers and exploited of the world!
To women and youth!
To the oppressed peoples and nations!
To the revolutionary fighters!

The First World Congress of the International Workers League sends a fraternal and combat salute to all those who face, in all corners of the planet, hunger, misery, prisons and genocides of this world capitalist-imperialist system in the agony of death.

We salute the workers of the world, at whose head are the heroic English miners, the Bolivian proletariat, the Argentine working class and the courageous black workers of South Africa and that outstanding example of organisation and resistance who are our Polish brothers of Solidarity! We salute the nations that have broken the chains of the imperialist yoke: Nicaragua, Angola and Mozambique! We salute the peoples who follow this revolutionary path and harass imperialism and its henchmen: the Salvadoran guerrillas and workers; the guerrillas and the people of the Philippines; the peasants, workers and oppressed nationalities of India; the Colombian workers, people, and guerrillas; the Lebanese People's Militias; the workers and populations of Chile! To these heroic revolutionary masses, the vanguard of the world struggle against imperialism and capitalism and to the hundreds of millions of exploited people in the world who are already following in their footsteps, we salute all of you, raising high the banner of the international socialist revolution!

I. A mass insurrection shakes the world

While a tiny minority of billionaires and privileged people are getting richer and living in outrageous luxury, the vast majority of the world's population suffers the horrors of a tremendous crisis, spanning the entire planet. Hunger, misery, and unemployment drop like a deadly plague on working humanity. We suffer the convulsions of the agony of an economic and social system, imperialist capitalism, which is rotting. The propagandists in the millionaires' pay lie when they claim the world has overcome the crisis! Only a few countries have recovered their economies; the vast majority have gone bankrupt. And already seen on the horizon is the storm of a new crisis, a thousand times worse than the ones we have been through because it threatens to explode at any time the most powerful economy on earth, that of Yankee imperialism. This new crisis will plunge workers, peasants, poor peoples, backward countries from all over the world, into much deeper abysses of misery and degradation.

Resisting with all its might this intolerable present and the dreadful future the world imperialist-capitalist system promises us, a mass insurrection shakes the world.

The insurrection

From the English mines to the Polish and Spanish shipyards, in the cities and the countryside of Latin America, in the Philippines and India, in South Africa, the Middle East and New Caledonia, millions and millions of workers, peasants, unemployed, marginalised inhabitants of miserable slums, poor women and the youth, oppressed peoples, nations, religions and enslaved races, come out to fight. Large street demonstrations, social outbreaks, insurrections, strikes and general stoppages, land occupations in the countryside and of plots and houses in the cities, mass guerrillas erupt at anytime and anywhere on the planet.

We are witnessing a tremendous exacerbation of the class, political and social struggle. This massive uprising of the masses, ready to kill or die in the fight, amid an economic and social crisis with no way out in sight, has detonated a world revolutionary situation. Those from below are not willing to continue living as they have until now, victims of the crisis and growing misery. And they have begun to corner those at the top, who can no longer continue to dominate as before.

Latin America ablaze

An entire continent is ablaze, making its revolution: Latin America. In El Salvador, the guerrilla of the Farabundo Marti Front (FMLN), which controls large areas of the country, has become a powerful organisation of the armed masses and is destroying the puppet army and, together with the union movement, has the Duarte government in check. In Nicaragua, the people who evicted Somoza at gunpoint today are defending themselves arms in hand from imperialist oppression, the provocation of the puppet governments of the region and the counter-revolutionary guerrilla paid by the CIA. Honduras, Guatemala, Panama and Costa Rica accompany with different rhythm the revolutionary upheavals of the isthmus.

The Caribbean rises. In Haiti, the population of Gonaives rebelled against the sinister Duvalier. The people of the Dominican Republic, with its general strikes and insurgency, are at the forefront of the fight against the International Monetary Fund.

In Colombia, all kinds of struggles come together hitting Betancur's bipartisan regime in crisis. Large teacher strikes, work stoppages, actions by peasants and indigenous people, neighbourhood protests, civic strikes and various active guerrillas of thousands of combatants—one of the most powerful in the world—open an exceptional revolutionary situation, uniting the Central American fire with the revolutionary rise of the Southern Cone of the continent.

The social crisis in Peru sparked dozens of strikes and demonstrations by the salaried and poor masses, while the peasant departments took up arms. Ecuador is shaken, again and again, by the general strike of the proletariat and the popular sectors.

In Bolivia, there is a chronic revolutionary crisis. Workers and peasants have just been involved in a real revolution: the heroic general strike that for over two weeks put power within the reach of the Bolivian Workers' Central. Only the betrayal of the leaderships allowed the people-starving and pro-imperialist government of Siles Suazo to survive.

Barely a year had passed since Alfonsín took office in Argentina and two general strikes against the hunger caused by the Radicals have already broken out, preceded and followed by a colossal wave of strikes by all the salaried sectors. The provinces question the central power. The military sink into disrepute and collective hatred when the rotting pot of genocide and looting they carried out was uncovered. Peronism and the union bureaucracy are drowning in their final crisis, amid the division, the loss of prestige and the loss of iron control over the workers' movement that they had for 40 years.

Massive mobilisations, two of them with over a million people, demanded direct elections in Brazil and broke the military dictatorship. While Tancredo Neves, the best replacement figure that the bourgeoisie had, agonised, the proletariat launched over 50 strikes led by the powerful metallurgical union of the ABC¹ of São Paulo.

As soon as Sanguinetti took office in Uruguay, the workers are already harassing him with stoppages and protests.

The heroic Chilean people have destabilised Pinochet with several days of protest. No matter how much he represses and assassinates, the jackal cannot stop the workers, popular and neighbourhood offensive extending throughout the country.

Only Mexico maintains relative stability, although the masses resist with ceaseless strikes the starving policy of La Madrid. Even the Paraguayan people, crushed by Stroessner's tyranny, begin to move. But these countries are precarious islands of calm amid a single colossal Latin American revolution that is already underway.

The revolution in the East and Africa

The Arab people and their vanguard, the Palestinians, are dealing a brutal defeat to the Nazi-Zionist state of Israel. Yankee imperialism has already had to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. Now, the Zionist army is crumbling, in retreat, before the masses in arms in southern Lebanon, as the Jewish and Arab proletariat carry out heroic strikes within Israel itself against the austerity plans.

In recent years, the contingent of those who fight has swelled by the entry into the action of the Asian masses. In India, workers' converge with major national confrontations and rural guerrillas. In the Philippines, the population rebels in mass mobilisations against the dictator Marcos regime, while the mass peasant guerrilla controls much of the country.

South Africa is on the brink of revolution. Organised into extremely powerful unions, the courageous black proletariat fights imperialist companies with strikes and sparks several general mass strikes, accompanied by armed insurrectional uprisings, against exploitation and the racist apartheid regime.

In New Caledonia, the struggle of the Kanak people for independence against the French empire breaks out in armed combat.

The European revolution

The European working class, the protagonist of a unique revolution which does not recognise national borders or the fact the imperialist bourgeoisie rules in the West and the bureaucracy rules in the East, goes to fight. At its forefront are English workers and Polish workers.

Tens of thousands of British miners, organised into pickets that pushed the police back, with their women in the front row of the struggle, harassed Thatcher for a year on strike. The workers and sectors of the British middle class sympathised with them. Railway workers and dockers supported them combatively. Only the treason of the TUC (Trade Union Congress) bureaucracy and the Labour Party prevented Thatcher from falling, but the traitors were badly beaten. The mining strike was the hardest class attack that any imperialist government has suffered since the Portuguese revolution of 1974. Thatcher did not fall but she has been mortally wounded.

The Polish workers of Solidarity, who revolted in 1980 against the bureaucracy, were not crushed by Jaruzelski's military coup. They continue to resist the Kremlin-backed dictatorship. After the coup, accompanied by a broad solidarity movement in Europe and the world, they have wrenched a curtailed amnesty from the Polish Pinochet and have exposed the police regime.

1 The ABC is an industrial region in Greater São Paulo, Brazil. The name refers to three smaller cities south of São Paulo, capital of the Brazilian state of the same name. Originally, these three cities were Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, and São Caetano do Sul.

Behind the struggles in England and Poland are the strikes and mobilisations of the naval workers in Spain, of the German metalworkers for the 35-hour week, of the Danish people, of the Italian workers in defence of the sliding scale of wages.

The United States, the USSR and China.

The United States is the most powerful country in the world. The USSR is the second. China is the most populous. None of the three has entered yet the revolutionary maelstrom. But in all three there are premonitory facts and struggles. The colossi begin to move.

In the United States, General Motors workers went on strike. A broad movement begins in which student, union, political and pacifist organisations converge, opposing Reagan's policy in Central America and fighting the racist South African regime. Meanwhile, the government and the imperialist parties desperately try to prevent the Latin American revolution from going within their own borders, on the shoulders of the millions of poor Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Haitians and Central Americans who live in the territory of the imperialist monster.

The working class of the USSR has started an underground struggle, with massive go-slow work, challenging the terror apparatus of the bureaucracy and the KGB.

In China, the policy of "liberalising" the economy has turned on inflation. This has already sparked the first protest movements among the student body and the working class.

The front of the revolution grows in the world

All those who fight total hundreds of millions and are the vanguard of the exploited, oppressed, and poor of the world preparing to enter combat. All of them are a great world army, with their forward detachments, their rearguard and their reserves, which fight in the trenches of the revolution. Together they make up in fact, in the common struggle, a revolutionary front. They are not yet aware of it because there is not yet a general staff, a recognised revolutionary international leadership that unifies and concentrates their struggles in a last offensive to defeat capitalist imperialism. But they already make up that army, that world revolutionary front.

The International Workers League stands wholly, completely, unconditionally and decisively in the front of the revolutionary masses in the struggle!

II.- The counter-revolutionary front

In this world war between exploiters and exploited, the front of the imperialist and bureaucratic counter-revolution rises in front of the revolution. The bourgeois, the wealthy middle class, the bureaucrats..., all those who have something to lose if the masses succeed, join that front. At its head is Yankee imperialism, the main enemy of the peoples of the world. Surrounding it in solid unity are the imperialisms of Western Europe and Japan, weaker than but as fierce as the Yankee is. Watching their backs, the churches, the capitalists and governments of the backward countries and the bureaucrats of the so-called "socialist" countries line up. All of them unite fiercely to try to stop the advance of the revolution, especially since the defeat of the Yankees in Vietnam once again put in danger the world imperialist system.

Vietnam corralled imperialism

When the United States suffered in Vietnam the first military defeat in its history, a succession of revolutions broke out in the world. Some of them achieved spectacular initial victories. In Iran, Nicaragua and Portugal, the old and blood-thirsty pro-imperialist dictatorships of the Shah, Somoza and Salazar Caetano fell. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau defeated the Portuguese imperialist

army and conquered independence. In Poland, the revolution left the bureaucratic dictatorship on the verge of collapse.

Imperialism was badly hit, in retreat, confused and without direction. Carter's early years, marked by "democratic" and "human rights" verbiage were of total paralysis. The possibility had opened that the revolution would continue to strike until it destroyed the capitalist system.

The imperialist counteroffensive

But it was not so because their leaders betrayed the masses. Social Democrats and pro-Soviet communists prevented the workers from taking power in Portugal. Khomeini, Walesa and the Sandinista leaders advised by Castro, did the same in Iran, Poland and Nicaragua. The pro-Soviet communists did it in the former Portuguese colonies. Ho Chi Minh's heirs established a bureaucratic dictatorship in Vietnam.

Thus imperialism gained time, rearranged its ranks, unified its strategy and launched the counter-offensive. Polish workers were defeated by Jaruzelski's coup, supported by the Kremlin and imperialism. Israel invaded Lebanon, trying to annihilate the PLO with genocidal massacres like those of Sabra and Shatila. The Salvadoran dictatorship crushed the workers' movement. The Guatemalan dictatorship almost exterminated the guerrillas. The United States and France supported British imperialism to defeat Argentina in the Malvinas (Falklands). France sent its paratroopers to Chad. The Yankees installed their nuclear missiles in Europe, targeting the Soviet Union and escalating their intervention in Central America, invading Granada and effectively occupying Honduras militarily.

The masses respond with added strength

At first, imperialism dealt severe blows to the struggling masses although none of them was crushing, historical. But almost immediately the front of the revolution reacted with extraordinary strength. The Israeli army was defeated in Lebanon. The guerrilla became of masses in El Salvador. The Latin American revolution was unified with the outbreak of the Southern Cone, mainly from Bolivia and Argentina and the colossal rise of Colombia. The black proletariat has the South African regime in check. The revolution is underway in the Philippines and India.

Imperialism failed in its attempt to contain the world revolution. It maintains its counteroffensive but it has produced the opposite effect to what it expected. The revolutionary situation does not go back; it becomes more violent, explosive and spreads. Social and political tensions rise to levels never seen before. The "crazy firefighter law", in which he tries to put out the fire with gasoline, is fulfilled. Each revolutionary fire that imperialism tried to quell produced the outbreak of a much more intense one by the thrust of the mobilised masses.

The front for "social peace" and "democracy"

This failure of the open political and military confrontation as a method to stop the revolution gave a wide channel for another counter-revolutionary policy: to try the same through deceit and treason; try to convince the masses that they should stop fighting. With extraordinary speed, alongside the great imperialist leaders Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Nakasone and Kohl, a parallel General Staff was formed within the front of the exploiters and privileged. Overwhelming propaganda in favour of "social peace", "democracy" and against "violence" flooded the world. At the same time criticising Reagan's "hardness" and the "violence" of the struggling masses, an apparently "intermediate", "neutral" policy was proposed: that the fighting cease, the arms be laid down and peace and elections reigned.

Behind this policy, realigned in a "Front for social peace and democracy" large sectors of imperialism (the Yankee Democratic Party, a fringe of the Republican Party itself and some European imperialist governments), its minor partners, the bourgeoisies of the backward countries; the bureaucratic governments of the workers' states (from the Kremlin to Castro, through Deng

Xiaoping), the communist parties, the entire Social Democratic Second International, the union bureaucracies, the churches headed by the Pope and the Vatican, almost all the so-called “left” and many guerrilla commanders, mainly the Sandinistas and those of the Salvadoran FMLN.

This “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” has become the most perfidious enemy of the workers and poor of the world because it wants to use against them their legitimate yearnings for peace and freedom. There is no worker or poor person in the world who does not hate Reagan and is not fully aware he is the enemy. But there is also no worker or poor person in the world who does not want to live in peace and democracy. Building on these just aspirations, the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” is succeeding in raising hopes in its proposal.

This front proposes truces where the exploited go to civil war against the exploiters; concertation where the working class resists with strikes against unemployment and hunger wages; “democratic openings” where the peoples are about to overthrow a dictator; forgiveness and forgetfulness for those who tortured and murdered in the service of capital, where the masses have already liquidated the dictatorships and want to take justice into their hands; disarming the guerrillas to organise into “civilized” parties that do not threaten the power of the capitalists. The “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” proposes agreements and pacts of all kinds but according to a single contract: that the exploiters continue to exploit and that the exploited suffer “in peace”.

The Contadora trap

The ultimate expression of this infamous trap is the Contadora Group.² No one has ever achieved so much support and endorsement from the most dissimilar sectors, all united in one fundamental point: stopping the Central American revolution. Shielded by the lie that Contadora is what prevents the imperialist invasion, Castro, the leaders of Sandinismo and the FMLN, and all the Communist Parties in Latin America unconditionally support its efforts.

Also supporting Contadora and its 21 “peace” points are almost all Latin American governments, the European Parliament, the American Parliament, the Synod of Central American Bishops, the Kremlin, the Chinese government, various Nobel Prizes, the reformist left and, of course, the Pope.

Contadora is not “neutral” between imperialism and the Central American peoples! It is made up of the ultra-reactionary governments of Colombia, Panama, Mexico and Venezuela, servants of the IMF and which squeeze and repress their peoples to increase imperialist profits. Contadora did not condemn the mining of Nicaraguan ports by the Yankees. It did not call for any global action against the economic embargo imposed by the United States. It did not demand that America withdraw from Granada. Contadora does not face imperialist violence; it only attacks the legitimate violence of Central American peoples desperate because of hunger.

The Sandinista government, complying with Contadora’s policy, promises not to help the Salvadoran guerrillas and not to support the Honduran people in any way. The Salvadoran FMLN leadership, complying with Contadora’s policy, refuses to start the final onslaught to bring down Duarte by annihilating his army. Instead, it agrees to discuss a shared government with this blood-thirsty government.

Fulfilling Contadora’s policy, Fidel Castro guarantees that Cuba will not lift a finger if the Yankees invade Central America and all of them agree to pay the foreign debt to imperialism at the cost of starvation of their peoples. Meanwhile, the United States takes advantage to reinforce its military occupation of Honduras, finances and trains the puppet army in El Salvador, pays the “contra” in Nicaragua and encircles its people with the economic embargo. A real bargain for imperialism! If Contadora succeeds, making the Central American peoples submit “in peace” to imperialist exploitation, there is no need to invade. And if Contadora fails, because the masses refuse to leave the fight, imperialism will have won time in preparation of its military deployment and

² Contadora Group: formed by the governments of Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela, and supported by Fidel Castro, to stifle the development of the Central American revolution, especially in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. It took the name from Contadora Island, in Panama, where the first meeting was held on 7 January 1983. [Editor]

demoralisation and confusion of the masses, excited by their leadership with an impossible “peace and democracy”, to launch an invasion with more chances of success.

Contadora is the best model of what the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” offers worldwide. Contadora is the truce signed between the government of Belisario Betancur and most of the Colombian guerrillas with the support of the pro-Soviet Communist Party and much of the left.

Something similar is the agreements signed between the governments of Angola and Mozambique with the racist South African regime to isolate and defeat the black guerrilla whose primary objective is truly democratic: that it be the black majority and not the white minority that rule in South Africa. And they are plotting something similar to contain the revolution in Lebanon and the Middle East.

Death to the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy”!

The International Workers League calls on the workers and poor of the world, the fighters and revolutionists not to be fooled by the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy”. The fact that figures like Castro, the Sandinistas and the FMLN leadership integrate it does not make it better but thousand times more perfidious and dangerous.

The Yankee Democrats and Republicans who speak of “peace and democracy” are the same people who, under Carter’s presidency, approved the installation of nuclear missiles in Europe, supported the failed invasion of Iran, and approved the credits for Duarte to massacre the workers in El Salvador. Felipe González, one of the first defenders of Contadora, is the same one who suspended all Spanish sales to Nicaragua after the Yankee embargo was decreed. He is the same one who, after Reagan’s visit in April, openly criticised the Sandinista government, placing himself on the side of the US government.

Let us refuse to accept Betancur’s “truce and democratic opening” policy! His chattering about peace has served to impose a state of siege, keep the countryside militarised, and make more working-class, popular, peasant and guerrilla fighters disappear than his immediate predecessor!

Let’s reject Alfonsín’s “agreement”, which gives Argentina to the oil octopuses, refuses to try all the military guilty of the genocide, squeezes the workers in the service of the imperialist usurers and signs with Pinochet a treaty favourable to English imperialism in the South Atlantic!

Let’s repudiate the “democracy” of Siles Suazo, who starves the Bolivian people to satisfy the IMF and releases the same ultra-right-wingers who kidnapped him!

Not one minute of “peace” for the Brazilian government, which agreed with the dictatorship to take away from the people their right to elect the president directly and has given all the guarantees so the military is not held accountable for 20 years of tyranny!

We do not accept the “Agreement” of the Naval Club, signed between the Uruguayan military dictatorship, President-elect Sanguinetti and the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), led by the Communist Party, to continue to rule with the doctrine of “national security”!

The Pope defends the exploiters

Let’s reject the Pope’s lying and hypocritical “peace” proposals! Let us recall that John Paul II never protested as vigorously when the Argentine military killed 30,000 people as he did when Argentina regained its Malvinas Islands! Let us not forget that Wojtyła summarily dismissed the independent Nicaraguan priest ministers from their duties but never raised a finger against the torturer priests and bishops of the Videla dictatorship!

Virtually all papal trips have been to points on Earth where the hate and the struggle of the exploited endanger imperialist rule: Central America, the Philippines, Poland, Haiti, Black Africa, Argentina —during the war in the South Atlantic—, Peru —with a stopover in the area of the

insurgent peasantry. And everywhere the Supreme Pontiff condemned the struggle of the masses and unfailingly sided with the violence of the exploiters.

The International Workers League calls on all the poor and hungry of the world, regardless of their religious beliefs, to give the Pope the same response he received from the Indians of the Peruvian Andes, who took advantage of his visit to “return his bible, for in five centuries it has not given us love, peace, or justice”.

The revolution does not give truce or abide by pacts

The criminal objective of the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” fails to prevail, despite that most of the parties and leaders recognised by the masses are its best propagandists and executors. Contadora fails. The revolution continues to rise. Reagan could not subdue the Nicaraguan people. The guerrillas hit hard in El Salvador.

Betancur begins to bite the dust of defeat in Colombia. The momentary success of the truce he signed with the strongest guerrilla leaderships is fading, as there are now more guerrillas and guerrilla fighters than before and many members of the organisations that signed the truce return to combat.

The pacts to subdue the South African black guerrilla have not prevented the insurrection of the black working class and the population of the urban slums.

All the agreements, truces, ceasefires, “coalition governments” and suchlike that were made in Lebanon fell like a house of cards in the face of the furious onslaught of the Arab and Palestinian masses.

However, this policy of the “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” has not yet been defeated. It remains a deadly danger to workers and peoples because it confuses, demoralises, and demobilises, allowing imperialism to prepare harder counterattacks.

The International Workers League looks with total confidence at the future of the revolution, despite the hopes this rogue policy may arouse among the masses and many honest fighters. The lie has short legs because the capitalist-imperialist system cannot give any solution to the peoples, but more hunger and more death.

Thousands of fighters in the world are no longer fooled by these false promises of “peace”, even if they come from the mouth of Castro, Ortega, Lula, Walesa and John Paul II! Again and again, they return to combat because they are not ready to starve!

Tomorrow, millions will attack the imperialist beast and its partners and accomplices, fully aware that there can be and must be no peace or truce until it is destroyed!

The revolutionary mobilisation will throw the “Front for social peace and democracy” into the garbage dump of history!

III.-Hunger, exploitation and misery punish the world's poor

Humanity is going through one of the most serious crises in history, probably the decisive one. Above all, it is an economic crisis but it is also social, political, moral and cultural. The situation suffered by almost every country on the planet is the national expression of this world crisis.

The workers of the countryside and the city, of industry and the so-called services, see their misery and exploitation grow day after day. A no smaller number of peasants, small merchants, independent city workers, artisans and professionals are sinking into ruin.

Misery and unemployment

Hunger punishes 600 million human beings, and 1.2 billion more are undernourished. At the heart of the most advanced economy, a quarter of New York's population have incomes below the poverty level. Across the United States, 35 million are in the same situation and must resort to soup kitchens for food. In Ethiopia, Brazil and other regions, entire villages migrate in search of food and water, leaving thousands of dead on the roads.

Misery throws crowds from the countryside into crowded cities. New York and Los Angeles; Sao Paulo and Mexico; Cairo and Nairobi; Paris and London; Tokyo, Calcutta and Jakarta host miserable masses, who are part of the 300 million unemployed in the world, huddled in precarious houses and lacking the most basic services.

Those who get jobs must submit to brutalizing workdays of 12 and 16 hours, to the infernal increase in production rates, to the systematic loss of social gains and job insecurity. Those who worked a lifetime are rewarded with miserable and continually declining retirements.

Hunger wages

Hunger wages are paid. The worker produces more and more but earns less and less. The offensive against workers' income is so brutal that in many countries they are below subsistence levels. The working-class family is disintegrating because of the exhaustion of the father and the forced labour of the mother and children.

Immigrant workers isolated from their families are treated as second-class citizens, without social or political rights. This is how, among others, four million "illegals" living in the US; half a million black workers working in the South African mines; hundreds of thousands of Arabs in France and Turks in Germany; thousands of Haitians sold as slave labour. And when they are no longer useful for lowering the wages of native workers, they are persecuted and expelled *en masse* by the police and the army, as happened in Nigeria with oil workers from neighbouring countries.

This fall in the standard of living of the masses, this inhuman increase in the exploitation of wage earners reaches all countries. It no longer happens, as it did 20 years ago, that European, American and Japanese workers had the privilege of earning and living better and better while those of the "Third World" sank. Today wages also fall in the advanced countries. In America, they fell 11 per cent in the past decade.

Women, youth and the elderly are also victims

Other sectors of society are also dragged into oppression and degradation. Women in the nuclear family are subjected to double work —inside and outside the home— and are increasingly relegated to lower-paid jobs. In the US they already occupy two-thirds of the jobs in the "services" sector —the lowest paid— while the number of women who are the sole economic supporter of their household rose to 10 million. The relative gains gained in equality, divorce, and the repeal of anti-abortion legislation in some advanced countries during the 1970s are today threatened and curtailed.

Young people are increasingly limited in their possibilities for training, personal development and productive incorporation into society. Unemployment hits them especially hard: 40 per cent of unemployed youth in Spain, 30 per cent in Italy and 20 per cent in France and Britain, last year. In Brazil, only one in five young people looking for their first job gets it. The extremely low pensions condemn the elderly to work for paltry wages or to live at the expense of their already impoverished families.

The oppressed nationalities

The oppressed nationalities, deprived of their rights and their cultures, like the Basques and the Irish, are occupied by oppressing states. National, racial or religious minorities are enslaved by

discrimination and police and military repression. Entire nations have been torn apart by artificial borders. Such is the case of the Kurdish nation —divided between Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey—, of the Afghans and Muslims —who live on either side of the Soviet border—, to mention but two examples. The indigenous masses suffer the destruction of their ancestral social ways; they are evicted from the lands they have inhabited for thousands of years and fall into misery, disease, decay and the danger of disappearing.

Nature is in danger

The crisis also attacks and destroys nature. The atmosphere of large cities is polluted. The waters are poisoned by industrial waste. Irrational exploitation exhausts the soils and the seas, transforms forests into deserts and eliminates thousands of animal and plant species. The latest crime against man and nature has been carried out in one fell swoop by the multinational Union Carbide, whose “accident” in the Indian city of Bhopal has cost 2,000 dead and 200,000 intoxicated. The ones below were sacrificed. The land has become uninhabitable. The masters did not suffer the slightest punishment.

The armament industry, a monstrous excrescence of science and technology, absorbs a considerable part of man’s effort. Nearly two million dollars are spent on the planet every minute on arms. Thirty per cent of the world’s scientific activity is destined for the war industry. For the first time in history, the threat of all life forms disappearing as a consequence of a nuclear world war appears on the horizon.

This is the abyss where the handful of exploiters who enslave the vast majority of humanity lead us!

Faced with this situation of hunger, misery, death and slavery, the International Workers League declares:

There is a path to end the tragedy that we live and the even worse future awaiting us!

It is the path of the revolutionary struggle of the workers, the peasants, the exploited people, the youth, the women and the oppressed nations!

Our fight will end hunger and slavery because we will destroy the cause of all these evils: the capitalist-imperialist system that dominates the world!

IV. Imperialist capitalism is the root of all evils

From the imperialist countries, an oligarchy of billionaires —the Rockefellers, Dupont, Flick, Morgan, Mitsui, Rothschild, Agnelli, owners of banks and multinational companies— mercilessly exploit the entire world. This is the root cause for which misery constantly grows: an ever-growing mass of the goods and wealth we produce is taken from us to fatten the profits of this world oligarchy.

In one pole, that of the workers and the peoples, hunger is concentrated because in the other pole the super-profits of multinationals and banks grow without restraint.

The great octopuses

Seven companies control the world’s grain trade. Another seven control oil. A similar number control electronics and computing. Exxon, Ford, Mitsubishi, Siemens, Rhone Poulenc, ICI, FIAT, Cargill and a handful of other multinationals control almost all production, monopolise the most advanced technology, set prices to their liking and destroy those who interfere in their domination of the world trade. Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, Morgan Trust, and Manufacturers Bank are the names of the super usurers who fleece the planet and condemn poor countries to the life sentence of the payment of the foreign debt.

The crisis, that relentlessly deepens the misery of the masses and threatens the survival of the human species, has its roots in the very existence of capitalism, in its imperialist stage of decay and putrefaction.

Until the last century, despite all its blots, capitalism was capable of making humanity progress. Today, imperialist capitalism has become an absolute obstacle to progress. It is increasingly retrograde. Not only because the monopolies and multinationals, which are the essence of capitalist private property, plunder, corrupt and destroy everything they touch. But also because, amid the crisis, it maintains and increasingly closes another granite barrier that opposes progress: national borders.

The hindrance of national borders

Latin America and Africa, among others, are two dramatic cases. Split up into dozens of nations, most of them stunted, both continents are easy prey for imperialist plunder. Without national barriers, wheat and meat from Argentina, coffee from Brazil and Colombia, sugar from Cuba, fish from Peru, would be more than enough to feed the entire continent with the highest quality. Venezuela, Mexico and Ecuador would supply the oil. The mineral ores from Bolivia and Chile would provide the raw material for the development of heavy industry in the most backward countries, particularly those in Central America. Central American cotton and Uruguayan wool would dress Latin Americans. The industrial park and the technological resources of Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, united, would cause an industrial and technological revolution that would put all of Latin America at the highest global level. An equally colossal breakthrough would be achieved by unifying the economy of all of Africa.

Just by uniting their countries into federations without economic borders, the masses of these continents would suddenly raise their standard of living, not once or twice, but twenty fold. But this is absolutely impossible under the rule of imperialist capitalism and its junior partners, the oligarchs and the national capitalists.

Science and technology against humanity

This nefarious world system turns against men even the extraordinary advances in science and technology. Robotics, communication and cybernetics have condensed the work of hundreds of workers in a single machine. But this has not helped to work less and have more time for recreation and education. On the contrary, the working day has been prolonged to exhausting and stupefying limits.

Nuclear science has released the energy from matter and the mystery of life has become a technology in the hands of genetic engineering. But human life is degenerated by malnutrition and the existence of life itself on the planet is threatened by nuclear weapons.

The science and technology that can make man live better exists hidden in top-secret laboratories yet the masses live increasingly worse.

An economic crisis with no way out

The prophets of capital insist this world crisis is temporary. They say that in five or 10 years a bonanza period will come where things will go better, as it happened on other occasions. It is an ignominious lie! What has happened in the last 20 years shows the opposite. The economic crisis has become chronic, permanent, and its effects are and will be increasingly worse.

Since 1968 we have suffered three crises, each one stronger and more general than the previous one. In the first of these, there were six million unemployed in advanced countries. In the second, in 1974, 15 million. And in the third, which lasts until today, there are 35 million unemployed, in industrialised countries alone.

The periods of economic recovery between one crisis and the next were increasingly brief while the periods of depression and recession became longer and deeper. After each crisis, fewer countries could recover. In the last one, dozens of nations were sunk and bankrupt and only a handful of imperialist countries came afloat. The recovery of the Yankee economy has been based on a terrifying economic and social cost for the world working class and the most backward nations.

The International Workers League asserts that nothing will improve if the imperialist capital of the world is not overthrown.

As long as it continues to dominate the world, it will continue to exploit the workers more and more around the planet and turn the less developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America into semi-colonial slaves of the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

There is no “Third World” solution

The full weight of the struggle against imperialist capital falls on the shoulders of the working and poor masses of the world and the peoples of the oppressed nations. The bourgeoisies of the backward countries could not put up effective resistance to colonisation and imperialist plunder. Worse still, they are their junior partners and live off the crumbs thrown at them by multinationals and imperialist banks.

The oligarchs and big capitalists of the “Third World” usually complain about the excessive voracity of their senior partner but they do little or nothing to seriously confront it. The meetings of the “Non-Aligned” are a farce where the hardships of the backward countries are spoken of in a grandiose way but a measure of struggle against imperialism is never adopted. The “Cartagena Consensus”, which brings together representatives of almost all Latin American governments, is an example. There it was reaffirmed they will pay every cent of the illegitimate foreign debt to the imperialist usurers. All of them flatly refused to form a debtor front, not even to haggle with the bankers; even less to stop paying the debt and face together the possible reprisals of imperialism.

As long as the oligarchies and big capitalists of the backward countries continue to dominate the economy and the governments of their nations, the multinationals and the imperialist banks will continue to drown them in a sea of debts, controlling their foreign trade and drawing up their economic plans in the offices of the International Monetary Fund. The Pentagon, the White House and the other centres of imperialism’s political and military power will continue to manipulate their governments, their most important politicians, generals and judges, through the chain of diplomatic, economic, military and cultural pacts they have forged among themselves.

We can expect nothing from the capitalists of backward countries, their parties or their governments, their policies or their military! They are partners of imperialist capital and faithful servants of their masters’ political and military orders!

The liberation of workers and peoples will be the work of the workers themselves!

We call on the workers, the exploited and oppressed of the world, the peoples of the backward countries, women and young people, to decisively join the fight that millions of brothers in suffering are already engaged throughout the planet!

We call on you to continue this war to the end, until the total defeat of the slavers of imperialist capital!

V. The so-called “socialist” countries are also in crisis

When the peoples of the world, frightened by the panorama the capitalist countries show, turn their eyes towards the so-called “socialist” countries, they do not find in them either a way out of the crisis or an answer to their desire for freedom. In all of them, from the USSR and China to Vietnam

and Cuba, the same effort is seen, desperate but unsuccessful, not to be submerged by the world economic crisis. And in all of them, workers are gagged and tightly bound by single-party police regimes and vertical “unions” that are simply offices of the state apparatus. The most dramatic case is the Soviet Union, the country of the first victorious socialist revolution, the most economically powerful and military superpower, showing the same economic disaster and the same totalitarian dictatorship.

This dire situation results from decades of bureaucratic governments that usurped the power that rightfully belongs to the workers because it was the workers who made the revolution and not the bureaucrats. Because of the bureaucracy, everything is wrong in the so-called “socialist” states: the economy is a disaster; the political system is a totalitarian dictatorship; international politics is opposed to the interests of the peoples of the world and the victory of the revolution in other countries and on the planet.

Economic disaster

Today, the USSR is the second economic power in the world and the first in some branches of production. But its technology is far behind in relation to the most advanced imperialist countries in the top industries. Labour productivity is extremely low: a Soviet worker produces half of what an American worker produces in the same working time.

Except for China, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, the rest of these countries are at the level of underdevelopment. They all have stagnant or declining economies. Only China presents an economic recovery but, as its government acknowledges, because of strong “capitalist stimuli”, which prepare a much more violent crisis, like the one suffered by the other countries of the world.

This economic weakness puts the so-called “socialist” countries more and more at the mercy of imperialist capitalism. Multinationals penetrate: Coca Cola, FIAT and Chase Manhattan Bank already have their subsidiaries even in Soviet territory. The countries become indebted to the imperialist usurious banks. The International Monetary Fund is already dictating economic plans in Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and North Korea. Chinese bureaucrats hand over entire cities, with their working population included, to the voracity of international monopolies.

Calamities for the people

The peoples of the countries called “socialist” suffer the consequences of the economic collapse. Production is in chaos and there is a shortage of everything. Although there is full employment, workers do not have what to buy with their wages. While in the capitalist countries they queue for jobs, in the so-called “socialist” countries they queue to buy the most basic products and they don’t always get them. The standard of living of the working class is far below that of its brothers in the advanced capitalist countries. After more than half a century of continuous progress, the living conditions of the population are deteriorating in the USSR itself: infant mortality is increasing and life expectancy is falling.

Brutal police dictatorships

In all workers’ states, there is a regime of police terror. There are no freedoms for anyone. There is only one party, the official party, and within it, no one can discuss or raise differences. This party dominates everything: the media, universities, scientific research centres. It also dominates the unions, where the workers cannot choose the leaders they want or strike. Every opponent is persecuted, imprisoned, sent to a madhouse, or directly killed. Bureaucrats have wiped out all democracy. Under their governments, the masses that made the revolution cannot self-determine, that is, they cannot meet, discuss, vote democratically and mobilise to lead the country and support the world revolutionary struggle.

The existing “socialist countries” are today workers’ states without workers’ democracy!

The retrograde nationalism of the bureaucracy

Like the capitalists, the bureaucrats have kept and reinforced national borders, preventing the union of all workers' states in a common economy. In this way, the 16 existing "socialist" countries are, each separately, weaker and more vulnerable to the effects of the world economic crisis. Worse still, the USSR harnesses its economic might to exploit the weaker "socialist" countries; it only helps Cuba and Vietnam, for military reasons.

Bureaucratic governments trample on the right to national self-determination. Dozens of nationalities suffer oppression in the workers' states: Georgians, Ukrainians, Afghans and many more in the USSR; Croatians in Yugoslavia. The invasion of weak capitalist states has been reached by the USSR against the will of their peoples, as in Finland and Afghanistan. Today Afghanistan is the Vietnam of the USSR. And it has culminated in the worst crime: wars and invasions between workers' states. The Kremlin invaded Hungary and Czechoslovakia and almost invaded Poland. China invaded Vietnam. Vietnam invaded Cambodia, and today Cambodia is Vietnam's Vietnam.

This is not the socialism we want!

The peoples of the world look in horror at these scoundrels. Millions of workers, especially in advanced countries, withdrew from the revolutionary struggle because they did not see in the "socialist" states a better future.

Socialism is not imposing terrible police dictatorships, curtailing all rights, waging wars between workers' states instead of uniting economically and politically to fight imperialism!

Socialism is not a bankrupt economy where monopolies and the IMF penetrate while rulers live splendidly amid moral putrefaction!

Socialism is not declaring, as the Chinese leaders do, that it is "stupid and naive" to adhere to Marxist principles because it is necessary to "modernize" the country!

Socialism is not that of the USSR bureaucrats who condemn thousands of opponents to psychiatric centres and the Siberian steppes while declaring that Jaruzelski, the Polish Pinochet, is the model for the construction of "true socialism"!

This is not the socialism we want!

VI. The bureaucracy is to blame for the disaster of the workers' states

Imperialism has known how to use the disastrous panorama presented by the so-called "socialist" states to drag socialism through the mud. Poisonous propaganda travels the world: Socialism is a dictatorship, single party and concentration camps! Capitalism is freedom and democracy! Socialism is scarcity and low standard of living! Capitalism is abundance!

Bureaucrats in countries called "socialist" help this propaganda. They say, like capitalists, that socialism is the atrocities they carry out in the countries they rule.

The workers' states are great conquests

The International Workers League leaps to deny the infamous lie of the imperialists and bureaucrats. The so-called "socialist" countries are great conquests of the world's working class. They made heroic revolutions, drove the exploiters out of the government, and expropriated their lands, banks and large industries.

Thanks to the revolution, in the "socialist" countries the means of production and exchange—factories, land and banks—no longer have an owner; they are social or collective property. Thus,

these countries ceased to be capitalist or bourgeois and became workers' states. The advance was so colossal that in a few years, needs postponed for centuries could be met. Hunger, illiteracy and unemployment disappeared. Huge leaps were made in production, science and technology.

Forty years ago, in India and China, millions of people starved to death. Today, in the Chinese workers' state, nobody starves, because the revolution was made; and in the Indian capitalist state, millions continue to starve because the revolution was not made.

“Socialism in one country”

All the horrors we see in the workers' states are not the result of the revolution being made, having broken with imperialism and the bourgeoisie expropriated. They are the fault of bureaucratic governments and their policy of “socialism in one country”.

Immediately after the Second World War, amid great revolutionary outbreaks of the proletariat in European countries and uprisings in the colonies, which put the defeat of imperialism at hand, at least throughout Europe and Asia, the Kremlin government turned its back on this extraordinary opportunity. It did exactly the opposite. It reaffirmed the policy imposed by Stalin: the USSR would only dedicate itself to “building socialism in one country”.

The bureaucrats said they would show in a short time their economic superiority to the capitalist countries. They said that by 1970, a standard of living equal to or greater than that of the United States would be achieved in the USSR. That they would win this economic competition, making Soviet workers work without rest and copying technology from the most advanced countries.

They said there was no need to make the revolution in other countries. And they should keep the best relations with capitalism and imperialism in “peaceful coexistence”, first of all with the USA. That the communist parties of the world should limit themselves to fighting for some improvements but always supporting the bourgeois sectors they called “progressive” and the military they called “patriots”. And if the current capitalist government had diplomatic or economic relations with the USSR, it had to be supported, even if it were a fascist military dictatorship.

They said the entire world would be socialist when it became evident the overwhelming economic superiority of the USSR and the impressive standard of living of its workers, who “built socialism” locked up within their borders. All the bureaucratic governments of the other “socialist” countries, both those that follow the Kremlin —from Czechoslovakia and Poland to Cuba and Vietnam— and those that broke with it —China, Yugoslavia, Albania— followed the same path.

There will only be socialism if it is global

The current crisis in the workers' states shows the total failure of the bureaucracy and its “socialism in one country”. It was inevitable because building socialism in one country is impossible. The world has been a single economic system for centuries. No country or region lives in isolation. The natural wealth, technology and production of each country or region are transported, processed and consumed in other countries or regions. Whoever dominates this world economy has prosperity and wealth in their hands. Today it is dominated by imperialist capitalism, especially the United States. This is why no country, capitalist or worker, can by itself build a more powerful, more dynamic, more technologically advanced economy than that of Yankee imperialism. When the workers of the world defeat imperialism, take away their dominance over the world economy, take it into their own hands and democratically plan it, only then will it be possible to build a socialist economy, a thousand times superior in all terrains to that of the United States and which will provide well-being to all. Socialism will be global or it will not be.

Therefore, despite their colossal leaps and advances, no workers' state can reach the level of development of the advanced imperialist countries by itself.

Thus, they could not escape the world economic crisis. A healthy economy cannot be maintained in any country in the world when the world economy is sick to death because of capitalist imperialism.

The bureaucrats sabotage the workers' states

This situation is aggravated in the workers' states by the parasitic bureaucrats who rule them, only interested in maintaining their enormous privileges and a standard of living a thousand times higher than that of a common worker.

These governments are to blame for the crisis in their countries because they have imposed police dictatorships that suffocate the working masses and do not allow them to run the economy or politics. The workers and peasants have neither voice nor vote. The economic plan is imposed from the top, without consulting anyone, which causes apathy and disinterest of the workers. Repression suffocates science and culture causing increasing backwardness in technology. The economic plans invented in the comfortable and sumptuous offices of the bureaucracy have nothing to do with reality and therefore they fail systematically. Each bureaucrat is interested in his progress and not in the worker's progress; the result is a chaotic disorder in production and distribution.

Like the capitalists, the bureaucrats maintain and strengthen national borders so they can better control workers and better prey on what they produce. Because of it, the workers' states are not united in a federation without borders, which would face the world crisis much better because it would be a thousand times stronger than each country separately. On the contrary, there are wars and invasions between workers' states.

A traitorous international policy

Because of the bureaucrats, the enormous economic, political and military potential of the workers' states is not at the service of the masses that are fighting against capitalist imperialism, but against them. Polish bureaucrats acted as scabs selling coal to Spain and England amid strikes by miners in those countries against the bosses and imperialist governments. The USSR, Czechoslovakia and China sold arms to capitalist governments murdering their peoples. China supported the jackal Pinochet. The USSR and Castro supported the genocidal Videla.

The crisis of the workers' states, the wars between them and their treacherous policies are not, as the imperialists say, the inevitable result of the triumphant revolutions paid in blood by the masses of the workers' states. They result from bureaucratic governments that usurp power and do not allow workers to direct themselves their countries and of the policy of "socialism in one country". The USSR supported Videla because Argentina sold them cereals. All bureaucratic governments support Contadora because they prefer the revolution in El Salvador and Central America not succeed so they can to maintain their friendly relations with Yankee imperialism.

The bureaucrats do not want the victory of any revolution that brings the workers to the government because that would be an immense example for the peoples and workers they oppress and squeeze in their own countries. On the day that Soviet, Chinese, or workers of any other workers' state regain confidence and realise they can run their countries far better than bureaucrats, they will be blown to smithereens, losing all their privileges. Thus, the bureaucrats are deadly enemies of the revolution worldwide.

Defend the workers' states! Topple the bureaucracy!

The workers' states are immense conquests of the workers, which we must defend with our lives, as we defend our unions, even if the bureaucracy leads them. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic clique must be thrown out of power so the workers themselves run the states through their democratic organisations.

A bureaucratic union settles with the bosses, does not consult the ranks, and does not support the struggles of other unions. But it is our union: we defend it and fight to kick the bureaucrats out of the leadership. The bureaucratic workers' states do the same but at the country and world level: they make agreements with imperialism which is the great boss of the planet, they do not consult the workers, they do not support the revolutionary struggle in other countries, they do not unite but make wars with each other. But they are our workers' states: we defend them and we fight to expel the bureaucratic dictatorships so the workers themselves rule.

VII. The only solution is global socialism

The world imperialist-capitalist system cannot be reformed or improved for the good of the working class and the peoples of the world. The "socialism in one country", preached by the bureaucracy of the workers' states, has proven its failure. The only way out of the crisis is to replace the imperialist-capitalist system throughout the planet with socialism. We must expropriate the multinationals and banks of the United States, Europe and Japan and make them collective, social property. The same fate must run the industries, banks and large estates of the oligarchs, landowners and big capitalists of the backward countries. We must lift national borders and make global planning of the economy at the service of the world's workers.

To achieve all this, the workers, supported by the peasants and the exploited people, must take into their hands the government of their countries, establish in them a regime of workers' democracy (opposed to the bureaucratic dictatorships that we know) and unite their countries in a Federation. This revolutionary struggle begins on the national arena since its first step is the overthrow of the existing capitalist or bureaucratic governments and the destruction of the state and military apparatus that defends the interests of the capitalists or bureaucrats. But it continues and spreads on the international and world arena since all revolutions face the same enemy: the world imperialist-capitalist system, commanded by the United States. All revolutions are, thus, part of the world socialist revolution. No revolution in a country has the future assured until Yankee imperialism is defeated and, with it, world capitalism, in America itself.

Only then can true socialism be built.

Socialism is a world economy planned by the workers

Socialism cannot be built from country to country. It can only be achieved on a global scale by expropriating capitalism in most of the planet, especially in the advanced countries, and by raising the barriers of national borders.

By expropriating the companies of a few dozen monopolistic, industrial, commercial, and financial octopuses, hundreds of millions of hectares of arable land of large landowners, and the mineral and oil fields of capitalists, the planet's population will have at its disposal an infinite number of goods and natural resources that today are monopolised by the exploiters. By raising national borders, the workers and the poor of the world will concentrate in their hands all the necessary resources to banish hunger in a few years and give work, education, housing, culture, recreation, freedom and peace to all.

Socialism is a world without weapons

By ending capitalist imperialism, we will end one of its worst blots, the armament industry. Not only will the threat of destruction hanging over humanity and all life on the planet disappear. Immense resources will be available to solve the tremendous problems suffered by backward countries. The trillion dollars a year spent today on armaments would be enough for 100 backward countries to receive 10 billion dollars a year, without this implying the least sacrifice for the workers of the advanced countries. In a year the foreign debt of all the backward nations would be liquidated!

In fifteen years, by the end of the century, each of those countries would receive 150 billion dollars! More than enough to recover and give extraordinary development to their economies now broken by imperialist plunder! In two or three years the hunger would completely disappear from the planet!

Socialism is respect for nationalities and the end of all oppression

By respecting the principle of national self-determination, the invasions and wars between workers' states will end, as well as the invasion by strong workers' states of weak capitalist countries against the will of their peoples. There will never again be shameful invasions like those of the USSR into Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Afghanistan, from China to Vietnam and from Vietnam to Cambodia! The socialist federation of workers' states democratically ruled by workers will inaugurate the reign of the most complete class brotherhood among the exploited of the world.

With socialism, humanity will be free from all oppression. The exploitation and inequality that women suffer today will end. The exploitation, marginalisation and lack of opportunities for young people will end. Never again will we see the horrendous spectacle of child labour. The elderly will cease to be a nuisance and will be integrated into social activity according to their abilities and possibilities, going through old age with dignity. There will be no racial discrimination. And, although socialism will fight to end religious superstition, it will do so through education and conviction, never by violence and always respecting individual beliefs.

Workers' government is the broadest democracy ever known

In the fight for world socialism, the International Workers League urgently calls on the workers and peoples of the world to take into their hands the government in all countries. We are convinced the revolutionary and democratic governments of the workers will give an example, still small, of what socialism will be. They will guarantee unlimited democratic rights for the people. The economic plan will be determined from the bottom up. The democratic organisations that the masses themselves decide to give themselves will govern directly. All the officials will be of free election and removal and their salaries will not exceed that of a qualified worker. Everyone can have the parties and programs they want. Workers will organise their unions, independent of the state and with the right to strike.

The regime of workers' democracy will be an example for the workers of the world. They will see they can govern by themselves, without "single party" dictatorships, or "marshals," or "commanders," or privileged bureaucrats who run apparatuses of police terror.

This democracy, the widest that humanity has ever known, will shake the conscience of the western working class. It will show them that what exists today in the workers' states is not socialism. The imperialist propaganda that equals revolution with police dictatorship, totalitarianism and terror is false. It will push millions of workers in the West back on the path of the struggle for socialism, which they abandoned out of hatred and disgust at the bureaucratic regime of the existing workers' states.

Only extremely critical conditions, such as the civil war unleashed by the counter-revolutionaries or imperialist invasion, can limit democratic rights. Outside of these circumstances, the parties of the middle class and even the bourgeois parties that keep the support of sectors of workers will have the right to defend their proposals, however perfidious they may be, before the people, through the mass media. The workers' government will inform the masses about everything that happens in the world and the country. It will end with what the ruling bureaucracies do which hide almost everything, distort the news, and misrepresent the facts.

International economy and politics at the service of the peoples

As harsh as conditions may be, the economic plan will prioritise the needs of the masses. Trade policy will take into account workers from other countries. No matter how good a deal it is,

arms will not be sold to anti-worker and anti-popular governments, as the ruling bureaucracies did more than once! Regardless of how much money can be earned, products will not be sold to sabotage strikes in other countries, as has been done, among others, by the Polish bureaucracy that sold coal to Spain and England!

The guiding axis of international politics will be to help the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. This is the best way to defend the workers' state itself and the workers' government! There will be no more secret diplomacy. The exploited around the world will know what pacts, negotiations and agreements the workers' government establishes with the imperialist-capitalist enemy and the real reason that leads it to make them.

The revolution in the imperialist countries

But all this will be a utopia, an unachievable dream, without a massive mobilisation of hundreds of millions of exploited that destroys the world imperialist-capitalist system and its partners and accomplices, the exploiters of backward countries and the bureaucratic governments of the workers' states.

The workers of the imperialist countries must be an indispensable part of this gigantic mobilisation. It is not true they have entered the field of the counter-revolution and support their bourgeoisies! Despite the betrayal of their leaderships and the fact they are not yet totally sunk in misery like their brothers in backward countries, they have reacted with very strong strikes and mobilisations of resistance to the bourgeois economic offensive. The economic crisis of world imperialist capitalism is hitting harder and harder in their countries. It is only a matter of a short time for their workers to counterattack with gigantic revolutionary strikes.

Following the example of the English miners, the workers of the imperialist countries must mobilise to defeat the plans of super-exploitation of their bourgeoisies, end the governments they impose, expropriate them, establish governments of the workers and put all the resources of their countries to the service of the world socialist revolution.

The revolution in the workers' states

Following the example of Polish workers of Solidarity, their brothers from all workers' states must go out to fight against bureaucratic dictatorships, to defeat the penetration of multinationals and the IMF into the workers' states, to conquer a workers' government that grants the broadest democratic freedoms, to build a Federation with the workers' states and to put all their human, economic and military resources at the service of the world struggle against imperialism.

Conquering workers' democracy, the workers of the workers' states will seal their unity with the deeply democratic conscience and feelings of their brothers in the advanced countries. The imperialist calumnies against socialism would collapse. Those workers would see that socialism is not a dictatorship but much many more rights and much more democracy than they have under the rotten bourgeois democracy. And they would launch by the millions to conquer it.

The revolution in backward capitalist countries

The workers and peoples of the semi-colonial countries must overthrow the governments of the oligarchy and the big capitalists, partners and servants of imperialism, and establish workers', peasants' and popular governments. These will expropriate multinationals and large national landowners and capitalists and break all the political, economic, and military pacts that bind their nations to imperialism.

A fundamental measure will be to disregard the overwhelming foreign debt. Through it, the imperialist usurers mercilessly plunder backward countries, condemning them to hopeless decadence and ruin. The constitution of a front of debtor countries, the non-payment of the debt, the unity of the backward nations in regional or continental socialist federations and a world federation with the

existing workers' states, will give colossal political and economic blows to imperialism. And they will be a full guarantee of progress for the backward countries, no matter how much retaliation the usurers want to take.

The great political victories achieved with the liberation of Nicaragua, Iran, Libya, Angola and Mozambique will only be consolidated if the proletarian revolution deepens in those countries, imperialism and the bourgeoisie are expropriated, a regime of workers' democracy is established and the revolution is extended at the international, regional and global scale. Victories in any backward country will be partial and permanently threatened as long as they do not spread, deepen and serve as an example to the world proletariat, principally that of the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Japan. But this will be impossible if it is not the working class, democratically organised and led by an internationalist and revolutionary workers' party which extends and deepens the revolution, since its current petty-bourgeois or bureaucratic leaderships do not want to or will not.

The working class must lead the revolution

In all countries, whether imperialists, workers' or backward capitalists, the working class must lead the revolution. It does not matter whether it is a minority in the population. Great revolutions, like the Russian, the first two in China and the Bolivian, were led by small working classes, which led the majority of the peasant masses. The only one that triumphed, the Russian, became the example to be followed by the working class and its allies in almost all the world for its great conquests and the regime of workers' democracy of its first years.

What is valid for each country is doubly so for the world socialist revolution. It can only succeed when the great giants of the working class —the American and Soviet workers— rise. However overwhelming the victories of the revolution may be in backward countries, only these workers — the most numerous and concentrated in the world— can carry the world socialist revolution to the end, leading the exploited large peasant and popular masses.

VIII. Forty years of struggles and victories

For 40 years we have been living a colossal socialist revolution on a world scale. Although imperialism has not been defeated in its fundamental centres, the struggle of the masses has managed to corner it, striking it hard, achieving spectacular victories and conquering fundamental bastions throughout the planet. Revolutionary workers and fighters must be aware of what is happening because it is so immense and dazzling that it blinds us.

The black night of the counter-revolution

In 1941, the world map was black. The imperialist counter-revolution had triumphed almost everywhere. Except for the Soviet Union, all of Europe was Nazi-fascist: Salazar ruled in Portugal, Franco in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, and Hitler in Germany and all other countries. All of South Asia: India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand were colonies with puppet governments. The Japanese empire occupied militarily a huge strip of Chinese territory, the richest.

The few independent Middle Eastern countries, such as Turkey and some Arab, nations were semi-colonies dominated by imperialism. All of Africa, with very few exceptions, was colonies with despotic governments appointed from the European metropolises.

Semi-fascist dictatorships or ultra-reactionary regimes that harshly persecuted the workers and the left infested Latin America, with the relative exceptions of Colombia, Chile, and Uruguay.

The Soviet Union, while remaining the greatest conquest of the world's workers, the only country at that time where the bourgeoisie had been expropriated and a workers' state established, was going through the worst of Stalinist terror. Most of the leaders of the 1917 revolution and thousands of opponents were assassinated, imposing a bloody dictatorship.

The world of 1941 was, then, the reign of totalitarian, extreme right, fascist and colonial regimes, alongside which the dictatorships of Videla, Pinochet, Botha, Marcos or Duvalier seem like child's play. Only the United States, England, Canada, Mexico, Australia, New Zealand and a few other countries were saved. In these bourgeois-democratic regimes reigned that, although rotten, were an oasis amid universal totalitarianism.

The world turns red

In 1943, the collapse of the counter-revolution began. The Soviet masses gave Hitler his first and tremendous beating in Stalingrad. There began the vertiginous and massive rise that continues to this day. The world map began to be dyed with the red of the revolution, which advances from victory to victory. During these 42 years, entire peoples have pounced on the bulwarks of oppression and exploitation, inaugurating the true epoch of the world socialist revolution.

Colonialism is over

Today there is hardly any colony left because the peoples of 70 countries conquered their political independence. From these revolutionary anti-colonial triumphs emerged 43 new nations in Africa, 13 in the Caribbean, and many more in Asia.

Only a few of these nations indeed managed to break the imperialist political control, such as Angola and Mozambique. The majority, by their leadership stifling the mobilisation of the masses, became semi-colonies of imperialism. Such was, among many others, the case of Algeria, whose leadership agreed with French imperialism on the semi-colonial submission of the country shortly after having forced the occupation army to withdraw.

But even so, the independence of the colonies is one of the great victories of the ongoing world socialist revolution.

A third of humanity freed itself from the capitalists

In 16 countries the workers ousted from power and expropriated the capitalists, building workers' states. Among them, China, the most populous country in the world; Vietnam, which gave Yankee imperialism the first military defeat in its history; our beloved Cuba, the first working-class territory in the capitalist West; and all the countries of Eastern Europe.

Democracy and independence are conquests of the masses

The bourgeois democracy itself —the bastard, curtailed and cheating democracy to which the propagandists of the “Western and Christian system” give lip service— is a conquest of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Elections and public rights that just about exist in many capitalist countries are not, as they say, a gracious concession to the peoples made by liberal and humanitarian capitalists. It was with massive mobilisations, in which the exploited paid in blood a high price, which annihilated the genocidal dictatorships of capital in Europe and Japan, in the colonies and the semi-colonies. The exploiters did not even give away “their bourgeois democracy”. The masses conquered it and forced them to rule through democratic regimes because they could no longer continue to do so with fascist governments. The heads of Salazar, Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, Batista, Somoza, Trujillo, Videla, Figueiredo, Alvarez, Morales Bermudez and the Shah are trophies of the revolutionary masses, not of the “democratic” imperialism that defended them to the end. Pinochet, Duvalier and Marcos will be soon.

The push of the revolutionary masses achieved another great conquest: to make capitalist countries independent from the political yoke of imperialism. Nicaragua, Iran, Angola, Mozambique and Libya, among others, are no longer politically controlled by imperialism, although their peoples

have not yet succeeded in the economic and social revolution, establishing workers' governments and expropriating multinationals and the large national capitalists and landowners.

More and more struggles and more victories

There were defeats. Some very harsh, such as in Indonesia, where in a few hours over 200,000 fighters were murdered and a terrible dictatorship was established. Others, such as those in the Latin American Southern Cone, bloody but not so overwhelming, since 10 or 15 years later the dictatorships fell dramatically. But in no case did they stop the world socialist revolution. The victories are much more numerous and forceful than the defeats. More and more exploited people enter the struggle. The imperialist beast is increasingly cornered. The time of the world socialist revolution is getting closer every day!

The International Workers League reaffirms its absolute trust in the revolutionary mobilisation of the world working class.

The workers and exploited of the world we have already freed almost all the colonies from the imperialist political yoke!

We have already liquidated almost all the military and fascist dictatorships!

We have already begun to make the semi-colonies independent from imperialist control, with great revolutions like those of Iran and Nicaragua!

We have already liberated 16 countries, which are one-third of humanity, from the rule of the bourgeoisie!

Let's go ahead with the revolution, trusting that our strength will finally bring down the capitalist-imperialist system, overthrow the bureaucracy of the workers' states and get true socialism, the widest democracy that humanity has ever known on the entire planet, to triumph!

IX. Forty years of betrayals

Although 40 years of struggles and triumphs show the revolutionary masses want and can win, imperialism has not yet been defeated and this is why the vast majority of the world population continues to starve and keeps getting worse. This contradiction has one and only one explanation: the revolutionary masses have had betraying and reformist leaders at their head, who have not wanted to make the revolution, have opposed the struggles, or have led them only to divert and stop them. These leaders have a first and last name. They are the social democratic parties of the Second International, the Soviet bureaucracy with its communist parties, the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist movements of the backward countries and the union bureaucracies of the capitalist states.

To these old treacherous leaderships were added new leaderships, equally incapable of leading the international socialist revolution to victory. First was the rise of Maoism and Guevarism. Now they are Castro, the chiefs of Sandinismo and the Salvadoran FMLN, the rulers of Angola and Mozambique, Arafat, Khomeini, Lula and Walesa.

The worst betrayal of the Stalinist bureaucracy

The history of betrayals is as long as the revolutionary history of the workers. But for many years, the world betrayal of the revolution has had a centre and an undisputed leader. It is the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR and has played that sinister role since it managed to crush the regime of workers' democracy led by Lenin and Trotsky at the head of the Bolshevik party in post-1917 Russia.

As a consequence of this role assumed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, these last 40 years of struggles and revolutions have also been the scene of the most criminal betrayals.

In the 1940s, when the capitalist-imperialist system was collapsing by itself across Europe, the Kremlin bureaucracy signed with Roosevelt, Churchill and Truman, the great imperialist chiefs, the Yalta and Potsdam treaties. In them, they divided the world into “areas of influence”. The communist parties were tasked with disarming the anti-fascist guerrillas who practically ruled France, Italy, and Greece along with the Social Democrats; they helped to rebuild semi-collapsed capitalism, calling on the workers to let themselves be exploited to the last drop of sweat. Together, they agreed to form the Nazi-Zionist state of Israel, dispersing the Palestinian people and agreed to the division of Germany.

Despite this, many revolutions triumphed. Disobeying Stalin, Mao continued the civil war in China, defeated the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship, and, although he was against it, was forced to expropriate the bourgeoisie. The same thing happened with Tito in Yugoslavia. In the countries of Eastern Europe occupied by the Red Army, although Stalin tried until the last moment for them to remain capitalists, he was forced to expropriate the bourgeoisie because of the cold war the United States had declared, a prelude to the hot war it was preparing against the USSR and that the masses prevented.

But imperialism was not defeated in one of its centres, Western Europe, which would have meant the beginning of the destruction of the imperialist system in the world.

Betrayal in Southeast Asia

Another colossal opportunity opened when the Vietnamese people, supported by millions of Americans mobilising against the war, defeated the Yankee Armed Forces. Nothing was easier than extending this victory to Laos, Cambodia and the entire Asian continent. But, five years later, the Maoist leadership attacked and invaded Vietnam. And the Kremlin, behind the scenes, supported the Vietnam invasion of Cambodia. Today, 10 years after the historic revolutionary victory of Vietnam, which put the global defeat of imperialism on the table, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia suffer equal or worse hardships than before, because of the betraying leaderships.

Betrayal in black Africa

Almost at the same time, the black guerrillas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea triumphed, ending the Portuguese empire. The possibility of spreading the revolution and of winning in all of black Africa was open. But the Kremlin supporters who seized the government of those countries agreed to very good relations with imperialism and the multinationals and finally signed agreements with the imperialist and racist South African enclave against the black guerrillas that threatened it.

Once again betrayal in Europe

As a product of the anticolonial victory, the revolution broke out in an imperialist country: Portugal. Salazar and Caetano, the oldest fascist regime in the world, fell. The workers, organised in company commissions, controlled production. The armed forces were divided and committees of soldiers arose who did not comply with the discipline of the officers. The government was within the reach of the workers and the people. At its borders, Spain was crisscrossed by a great mass mobilisation that threatened moribund Francoism. The dictatorship of the colonels in Greece fell. A new opportunity arose to begin to break imperialism in Western Europe. But the Communists and Social Democrats put all their strength to prevent the revolution from succeeding in Portugal and spreading to Europe. They succeeded and allowed their Spanish and Greek counterparts to agree with the bourgeoisie on replacement outcomes in the service of capitalism. Today in Portugal, the government of the Social Democrat Soares super exploits workers in the service of monopolies. In Spain, the Social Democrat González does the same thing supervised by a king that nobody chose, and in Greece, something similar happens. European imperialism was saved again by the Social Democrats and the Communist Parties agents of the Kremlin.

Betrayal in the Middle East

There was betrayal in Iran where the revolution destroyed the Shah regime and its army, clearing the way for the revolutionary victory of the Arab peoples. But the Kremlin gave Iraq weapons to invade Iran. Khomeini cracked down on the workers and the Iranian left. Arafat led the PLO to almost near destruction at the hands of the Israeli army for calling on the Palestinian masses to trust their capitulatory negotiations with the Arab bourgeoisies while withdrawing the program that is the *raison d'être* of the PLO and the Arab revolution: the destruction of the Nazi-Zionist state of Israel and the establishment of a secular and democratic Palestine Republic. Thus, together, they allowed Yankee imperialism to invade Lebanon with the troops of Israel.

Walesa aborted the Polish revolution

In Poland, Walesa led the great mobilisations of the shipyard workers, which spread to all workers and the people, putting the bureaucratic government in check. He organised Solidarity, the great democratic union that had 10 million members. The first victory of the anti-bureaucratic revolution was in sight, one that would have spread like wildfire to the rest of Eastern Europe until reaching the heart of the world bureaucracy: the Kremlin.

To defend itself, the Kremlin in 1981 promoted the Jaruzelski coup, which could succeed thanks to Walesa's policy. Advised by the Pope, Walesa stabbed the Polish workers in the back, refusing to organise the soldiers in Solidarity, which would have prevented the coup and brought Solidarity to the government. After the coup, Walesa fought with all his might to dissolve underground Solidarity, while negotiating with the Polish Pinochet from prison. A few months ago, at the height of the English miners' strike, Walesa came out publicly to defend and praise Margaret Thatcher.

Lula's reformism

In Brazil, Lula has led two powerful metalworkers' strikes in São Paulo's ABC. He organised the Workers Party, PT, and the Unified Workers Central, CUT. However, when all the workers and the Brazilian people were mobilising for direct elections, in 1984, Lula cancelled an already decided general strike that would have been totally successful. When the almost-president Tancredo Neves passed away, Lula ordered the suspension of the metalworkers strike, as a symbol of mourning, and days later he gave his public support to Sarney, the president of the "New Republic" and son of the bowels of the dictatorship.

Scargill prevented a total victory

The English miners' leader has just led a year-long strike that shocked the Margaret Thatcher government. He even used very progressive methods: strike pickets. He spoke correct sentences on some occasions, denouncing the bureaucracy of the British Trade Union Congress. But he was unable to crown that mobilisation with complete victory. He did not go to the end in the denunciation against the English union bureaucracy nor against the Stalinism of the Kremlin and Poland, which boycotted the strike with their shipments of oil and coal. He did not take advantage of the strike to call the whole of the English proletariat to a general strike against Thatcher. He did not give a clear political orientation to the struggle, denouncing and confronting the English imperialist and capitalist regime as a whole, and not only its current conservative government.

It is the same thing that Walesa, Lula and all the new or old, Stalinist or otherwise, union bureaucrats do when forced by the push from the ranks: they place themselves to the left, they lead struggles, and sometimes use advanced methods and say some combative phrases. But they never give the mass mobilisation a revolutionary political program of struggle for power for the working class and of development of the world socialist revolution.

Betrayal in Central America

There was betrayal in Central America, where Somoza and his army were annihilated by the workers and peasants and, shortly after, the Salvadoran dictatorship fell. The victory of the revolution in all Central America was near. And something much more formidable: That the socialist revolution would penetrate the heart of Yankee imperialism of which Central America is almost its border!

But Castro and the Sandinista chiefs strongly opposed to making Nicaragua a new Cuba: imperialism and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie were not expropriated and they agreed to pay Somoza's debt. Worse still: both advised the leadership of the Salvadoran masses to come to rule with Colonel Majano in 1980. The Salvadoran Communist Party did this, thus breathing life to a bourgeoisie and an army in crisis. Months later, Majano unleashed savage repression, defeated the workers and implanted fascism in the cities.

Today, the betrayal of Castro, the Sandinista and FMLN chiefs continues, with their support for the Contadora group and the Church so that the region remains, as always, the area of influence or "backyard" of the United States. The FSLN and FMLN leaderships pledge to pay the debt to imperialism and, until very recently, Castro advised them to do so. Meanwhile, the three watch impassively as the Yankees deploy their military apparatus to crush the Central American peoples. They complain about it but they say they will not get into the problems of Honduras or Panama because they respect the principle of "non-intervention". No one asks them to launch their armies against the Yankees if they do not have the strength to do so; but it is a rotten thing that they do not say a single word calling the Honduran, Panamanian and Central American people to get rid of the imperialist boot with the revolutionary mobilisation. On the contrary, they advise Salvadoran guerrillas to lay down their arms to share the government with Duarte's blood-thirsty pro-imperialist dictatorship.

Castro's universal betrayal

Outside of Central America, Castro's international policy is pure betrayal. He supported the dictatorships of Videla in Argentina and Velazco Alvarado in Peru, the ultra-reactionary governments of Torrijos in Panama, Carlos Andres Perez in Venezuela and Siles Suazo in Bolivia. He supported the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan and the Jaruzelski coup. He defends with all his strength the reactionary government of Betancur and condemns the Colombian guerrillas who refuse to stop fighting. He expresses his admiration for the imperialist President Kennedy —the same one who invaded Cuba—, the Pope, King Juan Carlos of Spain, the imperialist governments of Gonzalez in Spain, Mitterrand in France and Schmidt in the Federal Republic of Germany. His troops protect Rockefeller's oil fields in Angola and he says Reagan will possibly be remembered as the "president of peace".

We can expect nothing from non-proletarian leaders

With different names and surnames, all these leaders have something in common: they are not of the working class. The bureaucrats of the workers' states and the unions were never workers or they ceased to be many years ago. They are privileged people who live by preying on workers' organisations, whether they are states or unions. The national bourgeois, whether called Peron, Nasser, Gandhi or Khomeini, defend the interests of their capitalist class, which are opposite to those of the workers. The nationalist petty-bourgeois, from Arafat to Ortega, are not workers either; they want to become, or reality will convert them, into bourgeois or privileged bureaucrats.

It would be unfair, however, to label them all as traitors. Those who are part of great counter-revolutionary apparatuses, be it the Kremlin or the Church, are traitors by birth. Mao, Tito and Ho Chi Minh did not want to make the revolution but to make a pact with the bourgeoisie. They were forced to seize power by the thrust of the masses but the next day they established fierce bureaucratic

dictatorships against the revolution. Lula and Walesa were put in by the Vatican to prevent workers from imposing revolutionary leadership on unions after sweeping away old bureaucracies.

On the contrary, Ortega, Che Guevara, and the guerrilla leaders of Angola and Mozambique are great heroes of the national, democratic and anti-imperialist struggle. They did want to make democratic revolutions and they fought intransigently against pro-imperialist dictatorships. The same happened with Castro until he finally became part of the bureaucratic apparatus of the USSR.

But sooner or later they abandon the revolutionary struggle and betray their program. Since they are not workers' and internationalist leaderships, but bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or bureaucratic-nationalists, they cannot consequently be anti-imperialist and democratic, even if they lead their struggles for a stage.

From inconsistency to capitulation

These leaderships led great revolutions and anti-imperialist and democratic struggles that, in some cases, took socialist measures of expropriating the bourgeoisie. But these revolutions, while colossal, are but a small part of the great world socialist revolution, which will only come to victory led by the working class of highly industrialised countries.

As they are non-worker and nationalist leaderships, they oppose with all their strength to make their revolutions an instrument of that socialist, workers' and world revolution. So they cannot be consistently anti-imperialist. Therefore, once they make their countries independent from imperialist political control, such as in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Iran or Libya, they refuse to expropriate the imperialist monopolies and their bourgeoisie and to extend the revolution beyond their borders. Rather, they capitulate to imperialism seeking a *status quo* with it.

These leaderships cannot be consequently democratic either. By defending their privileges or aspirations of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or bureaucrats, they are enemies of the authentic and broader democracy: workers' democracy. A society that operates under workers' democracy, where the ranks can change any leader at any time because they do not accept that he has privileges or that he applies a different policy than what the ranks want, would go totally against their privileged situation. Therefore, these leaderships impose a military and totalitarian discipline on the struggling masses and when they reach the government they further strengthen this dictatorial control over the workers.

This is the reason why, although the revolutionary anti-imperialist and democratic struggle may be accompanied and even led by bourgeois leaders like Khomeini, petty-bourgeois like the Sandinista leaders, or bureaucratic like the guerrilla leadership of Angola and Mozambique, it will quickly suffer the defection of those leaders. If they have won over a dictatorship, they will refuse to make the country independent from imperialism, as in Bolivia. If the masses made the country independent from the political control of imperialism, as in Nicaragua, they will refuse to expropriate the great exploiters and extend the revolution to the countries of the area. If they have been forced to expropriate, they will refuse to support the revolution in other countries and will establish a regime of bureaucratic dictatorship, without workers' democracy, as in Cuba.

The lack of authentic consequently revolutionary workers' leaderships is the ultimate explanation of the betrayals and capitulations throughout these 40 years of revolutionary victories. For this reason alone, world imperialism has not yet been defeated!

X. The crisis of leadership of the revolutionary masses

So many betrayals, so many possibilities to end imperialist capitalism wasted and aborted, have prolonged for decades hunger, misery, wars and genocides. The workers and exploited of the world

begin to draw their conclusions. The old betraying leaderships, the Kremlin bureaucracy with its communist parties around the world, the Social Democracy of the Second International, the union bureaucracies and the bourgeois nationalist parties of the backward countries, are totally in crisis. The masses no longer abide by them as their union and political leadership. They ask the exploited not to fight but these fight anyway. The parties and bureaucratic leaders are divided and explode into a thousand pieces. Their ranks abandon them. No one believes in the old leaders.

The crisis of Stalinism, social democracy and the old union bureaucracy

The Spanish workers abandon the Communist Party, which fractured dramatically, and leave massively the social-democratic union central, the UGT, which is already an empty shell. French workers loathe the parties of Marchais and Mitterrand. English workers trust less and less on their old, weakened and divided Labour Party and can no longer stand the Labour bureaucracy of the British workers central, the TUC. Bolivians expel the communist leaders from the COB. Argentines break massively with the old Peronist union bureaucracy but at the same time repudiate the PC because it supports Alfonsín.

In countries where it rules, workers see the Stalinist bureaucracy as their most direct and immediate enemy. First, the Hungarians revolted, then the Czechoslovaks and recently the Poles. Russian workers do not obey the directives of the PC and refuse to work harder for these bureaucrats to live better. The bureaucratic world apparatus of the Kremlin breaks down more and more, year after year. Yugoslavia, China and Albania abandoned it. Many European communist parties, including the largest in the capitalist world, the Italian, no longer unconditionally comply with Moscow's orders, as they once did.

The crisis of bourgeois nationalism

The bourgeois nationalist movements of the backward countries, which four decades ago more or less resisted imperialism, have now fully capitulated to it. They are in a crisis with no way out, torn by divisions and internal struggles. Argentine Peronism, fragmented into dozens of currents, no longer politically controls the workers' movement; next to it sinks one of the strongest union bureaucracies in the world, uprooted from the factory leadership and questioned, for the first time since its emergence, at the very top of the union apparatus by a massive vanguard of fighters. The Indian Congress Party is devastated and has won the repudiation of the workers, peasants and nationalities that make up the Indian people. Arab Nasserism, which knew how to summon the masses through some anti-imperialist attitudes, today is seen as the agent of imperialism that pacts with Israel against the Arab people. The same is true of the Mexican PRI.

The leadership void

The crisis of the old betraying leaderships leaves a huge void. Millions of exploited in struggle are looking in all directions for how to organise and behind what program to rally, and they find nothing.

But the world revolutionary mobilisation continues and conquers victories, under the leadership of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist currents and new bureaucracies. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters see in these new non-worker and non-internationalist leaderships a hope for organisation and program. The leadership vacuum continues to exist, there is no internationalist workers' leadership recognised by the struggling masses worldwide. But it is partially and temporarily filled, in some countries or regions, by these new leaderships of the new revolutionary processes. However, the crisis of leadership is not resolved. Quickly these new leaderships defect, the revolutionary fighters withdraw from them and the leadership vacuum again takes place.

This was the case, first, with Maoism and Guevarism. This is currently the case with Castro, Ortega, Arafat, Lula, Walesa and Khomeini.

Maoism and Guevarism

In the late 1960s, tens of thousands of young revolutionaries sought a way out in Maoism and Guevarism. But in a brief time, these two currents broke up, disarticulated and disappeared.

The internal purges, the reciprocal blows and the repugnant bureaucratic methodology that was left bare amid the crisis of the Chinese regime, had nothing to do with a party that wants to make the revolution. On the other hand, Chinese international politics equalled and in some cases surpassed the blatant betrayals of the Russian bureaucracy. Suffice it to recall that China supported Pinochet while its Argentine disciples supported Lopez Rega, the fascist who organised the murderous gangs of Triple A. No honest revolutionary could remain long in Maoism. And this one burst into a thousand pieces.

Guevarism dazzled a large part of the Latin American revolutionary youth, with its slogan of “making two, three, many Vietnam in Latin America”. Its influence extended to wide sectors of the European youth and reached even more distant countries, such as Ceylon.³ But it ran the same fate as Maoism, although for other reasons. Their absolute distrust of the working class and the masses, characteristic of their social character as well-to-do petty-bourgeois students, led Guevarism to the theory and practice of the guerrilla “focus”, of the elite isolated from the masses that launched the revolutionary war on their own. The Guevaraist experience ended drowned in the blood of tens of thousands of young people exterminated by the bourgeois armies. The liquidation of the Argentine Montoneros and ERP, of the Baader–Meinhof Group in Germany, the death of Che himself in Bolivia and dozens of similar catastrophes ended with it as an alternative to the old treacherous leaderships.

Castro, Ortega, Arafat, Lula, Walesa and Khomeini

After Maoism and Guevarism, thousands of revolutionists were attracted, after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, by Castro, Sandinismo and the FMLN. The heroic struggle of the Palestinians made Arafat the point of reference for other litters of revolutionaries. Khomeini impacted thousands of fighters in the Middle East after the fall of the Shah. The fighters see that these leaders have led great struggles and even triumphant revolutions. Lula and Walesa attract thousands of union activists, who have seen them leading colossal new mass organisations, such as Solidarity and the Brazilian CUT, which have made workers independent from the police control of the old bureaucracies: of the Polish Communist Party and the “pelegos” in Brazil.

The dire role of the Church

Lula and Walesa are two examples of Church politics today. It is no longer the blatant counter-revolutionary apparatus which blessed the tanks of Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini. It continues to bless counter-revolutionary troops, as it did with Prince Andrew of England during the Malvinas War. But, at the same time, it clearly sees that the worst danger threatening the world imperialist system is the world revolutionary insurrection and the leadership vacuum of those struggling masses. The core of its strategy is to prevent the vanguard of fighters and the mobilised masses from reaching political positions and building revolutionary leaderships.

To achieve this goal, it launches mellow calls for the humanisation of capitalism and the supposed defence of the working classes, such as the encyclical *Laborem Exercens*. And, above all, it promotes leaders trained in the Vatican, who present themselves as enemies of the old treacherous leaderships, adopt leftist phrases, sponsor a certain democratisation of the mass organisations and lead some struggles. Before long, these new leaders put all the prestige they have earned to

³ Today, Sri Lanka. [Editor]

prevent the struggles from spreading, generalising, assuming a revolutionary socialist program and organisation, and culminating in victorious socialist revolutions.

The churches, not just the Vatican, thus become a terrible danger to workers and peoples in struggle. If they fill the void left by the treacherous old leaderships, once again deceiving the mass movement, they will lead them to retreat and defeat.

The revolution will surpass all treacherous and reformist leaderships

The new non-proletarian leaderships that temporarily and partially attempt to fill the leadership void will quickly follow the path of Maoism and Guevarism. The honest fighters and revolutionaries who trust them today and the exploited masses who follow them will abandon them in a few years. Their defections and capitulations will become more evident every day. The crisis of the imperialist-capitalist world and the unstoppable avalanche of new insurrections unmask them with each passing day.

These new leaderships are betting their great prestige on stopping and diverting the world revolution. But the revolution begins to pass over them. Wide sectors of the mass movement have already begun to disobey its discipline because they see that imperialism can be beaten, that it is being beaten, and they want to continue until the end, until they defeat it throughout the world.

XI. A key task: to win over the workers in the advanced countries

Stalinism, which from 1923 destroyed the workers' democracy of Lenin and Trotsky and established a counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, caused a historic disaster for the world working class. With the purges, persecutions, and mass exterminations, it physically annihilated almost the entire working-class vanguard that had led the great Russian revolution; demoralised, corrupted or murdered thousands of world revolutionaries who had been inspired by it; and destroyed the greatest conquest of the workers in its entire history, the Third International.

Stalinism destroyed the Third International

The Third International or Communist International was a truly revolutionary and workers' World Party, which crowned almost half a century of political and organisational experience of the workers. Its sections were mass parties that spanned almost all of Europe and several countries in the East and Latin America. They organised the best fighters of the world working class. The great masses saw it as their leadership. Its program was crisp and clear: proletarian internationalism, the fight for world socialist revolution until the liquidation of the capitalist-imperialist system, the fight for the government of democratically organised workers, the most absolute class solidarity and the most intransigent independence and opposition to the bourgeoisie, their parties and their governments, trust only in the strength and organisation of the workers themselves.

A big lag in the consciousness of the workers

The destruction of the Third International by Stalinism caused a huge leap backward in the consciousness of workers around the world. The workers' movement, which fights every day against the same enemy, world imperialist capitalism, lost its internationalist consciousness: it believes its struggle is in its own country and does not rise in throngs in support of decisive combats by its class brothers in other countries. It has regressed in class solidarity; even within the same country, fragmentation reigns, union by union, and even company by company. Because it no longer holds

the distrust in the bourgeoisie instilled by the Third International, the workers' movement is fooled by the class enemy when he disguises himself as "progressive", "democratic" or "patriotic".

To such an extent is there no awareness of their strength that, many times, the masses make great revolutions and do not realise it. The democratic and independent organisation of workers has also been forgotten: millions are waiting for the "secretary-general", "commander" or "chief" to give the orders.

This explains why, in many cases, as workers advance in organisation and struggle, they continue to go backwards in political consciousness. The Polish workers, who a few decades ago were violently anticlerical, put Vatican agents in charge of Solidarity. The Spanish workers, who were republicans, built the powerful Workers' Commissions to fight but, abiding by the PCE and the PSOE, they voted for the monarchy. The Iranians made their revolution with very strong workers' commissions controlling the companies but under the leadership of Khomeini (whose theocratic-feudal ideology dates back centuries).

This backwardness in political consciousness also explains why workers, who ignore their betraying old leaderships in the struggle, vote for them by the millions at the time of the elections.

Stalinism strengthened non-worker leaderships

By destroying the Third International, Stalinism left the field open to non-working-class leaderships to more easily entice the masses. Stalin's pacts with Yankee and world imperialism made the workers of the backward capitalist countries, who saw imperialism precisely as their main enemy, easy prey for the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. Nasser, Peron, Khomeini, Castro, Ortega and Arafat could only gain great authority over the masses by their disenchantment with the once upon a time revolutionary Communist Parties of the Third International.

Stalin's pacts with Hitler, which gave the latter half of Poland; his divisive politics that caused the defeat of the strongest German working class, the strongest in the world, at the hands of the Nazis; along with the brutal dictatorship that Stalin maintained in Russia, they provoked the legitimate rejection of the workers' movement of the imperialist countries, jealous guardian of the democratic rights, conquered in great popular revolutions throughout the last century. Thus the Social Democratic Second International, an agent of the European imperialist bourgeoisie, rose from its ashes. Felipe González and Mitterrand, the English Labour Party and the German Social Democracy have the votes of millions of workers only because Stalinism destroyed the revolutionary Third International and annihilated workers' democracy in the USSR.

The handful of worker revolutionists and internationalists who gathered around Trotsky could not prevent this historic disaster. Persecuted with equal viciousness by Stalin and the fascists, they could not prevent Stalin from breaking the historical memory of the world working class. Starting in the 1940s, the world working class is learning almost from scratch. It is remaking the experience that began in 1880, culminated in the Russian revolution of 1917, and was lost after the victory of the Stalinist counter-revolution in 1923.

The eclipse of the working class

To make matters worse, the Stalinist betrayal allowed world imperialist capitalism to enter a period of economic boom fuelled by the super-exploitation of workers in the post-war period. During this period, workers of the imperialist countries and some prosperous semi-colonies lived certain well-being. Betrayed and appeased with some concessions, the working class of the industrialised nations ceased to be the centre, the fundamental actor in world politics. It is not true, as some affirm, that the working class got bourgeois and stopped fighting; it never did and, on occasions, it exploded in colossal mobilisations, such as in 1956 in Hungary, in 1968 and 1969 in France, Italy and Czechoslovakia, since 1970 in Poland and 1974 in Portugal. But it did cease to be the undisputed vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in the world. Its place was taken up by the popular masses of the countryside and the cities of the backward countries, and by the working class of some of them.

The lost new revolutionary generations

The war and victory against Nazism opened a revolutionary wave that continues to this day. In it, new generations of revolutionary fighters emerged, who constantly looked for an organisation and a program that would lead them to victory and did not find them in the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

They crashed into the political backwardness of the working class of the advanced countries and their momentary eclipse as the vanguard of the world revolution. They had to pay the painful price of this new learning of the working class. They could not overcome the situation in a single leap and launch themselves to build a new revolutionary and mass-working International. Thus, they never managed to fill the leadership vacuum left by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The new generations of revolutionaries were thus becoming entangled behind the new bureaucratic, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships of the new revolutionary struggles. The fact that thousands and thousands of honest revolutionary fighters followed Mao, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Guevara, Ortega, Lula, Walesa, Arafat, or were content to be the “left-wing” of Peronism, Nasserism, or the Algerian FLN is part of this hard learning that the world working class has been remaking in the last 40 years.

The new emerging vanguard

But the revolution never ceased growing, deepening, spreading and conquering new victories. Behind those generations of revolutionaries who did not see beyond the narrow perspective of the national and democratic revolutionary struggle, a new litter is emerging.

The depth of the world class struggle and the dead-end crisis of the capitalist-imperialist system accelerate the experience of this new generation with the new and old betraying or reformist leaderships. The revolutionary mass movement thus produces, hour after hour, the raw material to build the Fourth International of masses that takes up the path closed with the destruction of the Third International by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The need for the Fourth International

The time is past when the construction of the Fourth International of masses seemed a utopia. As we Trotskyists foresaw, the world imperialist-capitalist system would not live indefinitely in the bonanza of the 20 years of the postwar economic boom: today its crisis is undeniable. As we Trotskyists foresaw, the construction of “socialism in one country” was a reactionary utopia: today the crisis of the workers’ states led by the bureaucracy and their systematic retreat in the face of imperialist power are evident. As we Trotskyists foresaw, there is no way out for humanity through peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the world bourgeoisie: today it is clear the only way out is to destroy imperialism and its world system and establish socialism throughout the planet. As we Trotskyists foresaw, the revolution is permanent: it does not stop in its democratic phase but it deepens with socialist measures of expropriation of the bourgeoisie; it does not enclose itself at the national borders but extends internationally, from country to country, from region to continent; it intensifies in each country led by the working class, or it retreats; it establishes the regime of workers’ democracy or dies.

The construction of the Fourth International of masses, which raises the banners of the Third International destroyed by Stalinism, is, therefore, the deepest need of humanity and the workers. Without it and the insurrection and leadership of the working class of the most advanced countries, imperialism will not be defeated, socialism will not be conquered and humanity will regress to barbarism or be annihilated by the nuclear holocaust.

The world reality itself allows and demands we get down to work. There are thousands of fighters in the world who are approaching this conclusion, even if it is slow and contradictory. There is also the worldwide insurrection of the masses against capitalist imperialism, which cries out for

revolutionary leadership, to fill the void left by the Kremlin bureaucracy. There is the dead-end crisis of the world imperialist-capitalist system. The great task of the hour is to build that working-class revolutionary Fourth International of masses.

Winning the working class of advanced countries for revolutionary socialism

This task faces multiple difficulties. The greatest of these is the political backwardness of the most powerful and concentrated working class in the world. The consciousness of the American proletariat, of Western Europe and Japan, remains kilometres behind what it was until 1923. We can say the same or even more about the consciousness of the Soviet working class. Further aggravating this backwardness, these countries have not yet reached the extreme of crisis and misery of the least developed nations. But the crisis does not stop at the periphery: it is accelerating towards the centre and is already threatening the world imperialist metropolis: the USA. The objective conditions are ripe for these decisive, strategic contingents of the world working class to get underway.

The Fourth International and revolutionary fighters around the world must be aware that the moment of decisive struggle is near since seen on the horizon is the entry into the combat of the world's most powerful working class, the only one that can strike a final, total and annihilating defeat to the imperialist beast. We must aim all the action of the Fourth International and the revolutionary fighters of the world at awakening or rebuilding the revolutionary internationalist consciousness of the workers of the United States, Russia, Western Europe and Japan. Their backward current consciousness is the only obstacle to finish defeating imperialism. The day these workers understand that world socialism must be made as humanity's only way out of the crisis, imperialism will already be defeated.

The weakness of imperialism

We firmly believe that imperialism is a paper tiger. Backward peoples with colossal military inferiority, such as the Chinese, the Vietnamese, the Nicaraguan and the Iranian, have been able to defeat it. How much more easily would the millions of American, Russian, Japanese and Western European industrial workers annihilate it! The great barrier to victory is that these workers still do not see that they can and should take this path.

This is the great task, the *raison d'être* of the Fourth International, the true need of its existence: to awaken the consciousness of these hundreds of millions of workers. Every triumphant revolution in a backward country must be put at the service of this task. This is why it is criminal to lock it up within national borders, as bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic leaderships try to do. Every triumphant revolution must demonstrate to the workers of the advanced countries that the government of the workers is also an enormous democratic conquest, far superior to the shattered bourgeois democracy of the imperialist countries: thus they will be won for the conscious revolutionary struggle, from which the blood-thirsty despotism and betrayal of Stalinism drove them away.

XII. A program that mobilises the masses against misery and unemployment until destroying imperialist capitalism

1. Against misery and unemployment

The 20 years of post-war economic boom and Stalinist treason caused the working class of the industrialised countries to stop being the vanguard and leaders of the revolutionary mass mobilisation in the world. This place was occupied by the peoples of the semi-colonial countries, who made great revolutions through mass, peasant and popular guerrillas. The traditional *Transitional Program* of Trotskyism, which revolves around the slogans and methods of struggle of the proletariat and underestimates the guerrillas, seemed to be outdated by the course of the world revolution.

Today, the economic crisis of imperialist capitalism, which throws millions of workers into unemployment and systematically lowers real wages, shows the timeliness of the *Transitional Program*. The great strike of the German metalworkers for the 35-hour week, the strike of the English miners and the Spanish naval industry in defence of their sources of work, the great mobilisation of Polish workers that began in protest at the increase in prices and the massive struggle of the Italian proletariat defending the sliding scale of wages are just a few examples.

- Against unemployment, a sliding scale of working hours without salary reduction.
- Against wage misery, a sliding scale of wages, automatically adjusted for inflation.

Likewise, the workers' resistance to the capitalist economic offensive makes more current than ever the methods of struggle and organisation of the workers. To fight against misery and unemployment:

- General strike.
- Company occupation and workers' control of books and production.
- Mobilisation on the streets.
- Union activism and strengthening of unions.
- Development of new forms of organisation for workers in struggle, such as strike committees, enterprise committees and coordination of these committees.
- Strike and self-defence pickets against fascist gangs and the military and police repression of the bourgeois state.

2. For the popular-peasant-worker alliance

The crisis of imperialist capitalism drives millions of dispossessed and oppressed to revolutionary mobilisation: the poor peasantry, the marginal masses of the cities, the oppressed nationalities. They engage in combat with their objectives and fighting methods. The world socialist revolution will only win with the closest alliance between the working class and those millions of dispossessed and oppressed. The working class can be the leadership of the revolutionary process only if it incorporates the progressive demands of its allies into its program, resolutely supports its struggles and, at the same time, keeps its class independence, does not mimic or tail-end these allied movements, nor does it stop criticising for a single minute their bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or bureaucratic leaderships.

- We make our own the demands of the peasantry against the landowners. For the agrarian reform that liquidates the landowners and allows the poor peasantry to exploit the land as they see fit: distribution in individual plots, cooperatives, communal property or other forms.

- We make our own the demands of the marginal masses of the big cities: for services, decent housing, jobs.
- We make our own the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities: we fight for respect for the right to national self-determination.
- We make our own the demands of all oppressed and exploited sectors of society: women, youth, religious and racial minorities.
- We support all mass struggles, whatever their method of revolutionary action. Most especially, we defend the popular, national and peasant mass guerrillas as a legitimate expression of the revolutionary mobilisation of these fundamental allies of the proletariat. At the same time, we maintain and point out our discrepancies with the leaders, programs, tactics and methods of struggle of their organisations and leaderships.

The highest expression of the revolutionary alliance of the working class with the impoverished and exploited masses is the revolutionary workers' and popular government, exercised by the working class through its organisations and supported by the mass organisations of the peasantry and the poor people which expropriates imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

3. For proletarian internationalism

We are on the side of the workers who fight in any part of the world against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic governments of the workers' states.

We stand in solidarity with the strikes, mobilisations, insurrections and mass guerrillas that face imperialist-capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic dictatorships. We are on the side of the English workers against Thatcher, the Polish workers and Solidarity against Jaruzelski, the Spanish workers against Gonzalez, the Bolivian workers against Siles, the Argentines, Uruguayans and Brazilians against Alfonsin, Sanguinetti and Sarney, the workers and the Chilean people against Pinochet.

We are on the side of the IRA against British imperialism, the ETA against the Spanish imperialist monarchy, the guerrillas and the Colombian Independent Trade Unionism against Betancur, of Shining Path against Belaunde Terry and his successor, Alan Garcia, of the guerrillas and the Philippine urban masses against the dictator Marcos, of the Kanak people of New Caledonia against French imperialism.

We support the struggles of blacks, Latin Americans, and Mexicans living in the United States, as well as the struggles of the American white working class. We stand alongside the struggles waged by the workers of Western Europe, first of all, the immigrant workers. We support the Palestinians, Lebanese and other Arab peoples attacked by imperialism and their fight for the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel. We support the fight of the black workers and guerrillas to destroy the fascist apartheid regime in South Africa.

We unconditionally support the battle of the Central American people against Yankee imperialism and its puppet dictatorships. We are on the FMLN's side against the Duarte government and its army. We are with independent Nicaragua against imperialism and its counter-revolutionary guerrilla. With Nicaraguan workers and peasants against their capitalist bosses and exploitative landowners. With the masses and the Dominican revolutionary left against the Social Democratic President Blanco, an agent of the IMF.

The proletarian internationalism that we advocate materialises in world campaigns for the victory of the revolution in the fundamental centres of the class struggle.

- The most urgent global campaign is to support the Salvadoran guerrillas and masses, so they destroy the Duarte regime and take over the government in El Salvador; same as the defence of Nicaragua and all of Central America against Yankee imperialist aggression.
- In the Southern Cone of Latin America, the central campaign to carry out is the support for the working masses and the Chilean people to destroy the Pinochet dictatorship.

- In Europe, the most resolute solidarity must be given to all strikes and mobilisations scheduled by Polish workers, also by the workers of any European country. The isolation to which the English miners were subjected to during a year of striking should never be repeated, when the mere announcement of a European general strike of solidarity could have led to their total success. Likewise, a campaign to support the Indian, Kanak and Filipino peoples must be carried out and the systematic denunciation of the Zionist intervention in Lebanon and the entire Middle East must be made.
- In the United States, the unity that is already being forged for the mobilisation against the aggression against Nicaragua and the South African fascist regime must be promoted with all our strength.

4. For national independence. Non-payment of foreign debt

In backward capitalist countries, we fight for national independence against imperialist exploitation and oppression.

- For the rupture of the political, economic and military pacts and agreements with imperialism.
- Against the OAS, which subjects Latin America to Yankee imperialism.
- Against the Yaoundé Convention, which binds Francophone African countries to French imperialism.
- Against ASEAN, which subjects the peoples of Southeast Asia to US imperialism.

We fight for the independence of the countries still under colonial rule! France out of Martinique, Guadeloupe and New Caledonia! America out of Puerto Rico! England out of the Caribbean! Spain out of Ceuta, Melilla and the Canary Islands!

We fight for the destruction of imperialist enclaves around the world, in Israel and the Malvinas, in Hong Kong, Macao and Gibraltar.

The great slogan that unifies all the capitalist countries behind in the anti-imperialist struggle is the non-payment of the foreign debt that plunges their nations into ruin and decadence to fatten the usurers of international banking.

- For the non-payment of the debt to imperialism.
- For a front of the debtor countries to jointly resist imperialist retaliation.
- For the immediate expropriation and without compensation of the imperialist monopolies and properties.

The task of national independence and liberation will be halfway and will go backwards if it does not culminate in the socialist revolution and the political and economic federation of the backward countries, by regions or continents. We fight for the Latin American Socialist Federation, Federation of Black Africa, of the Arab peoples of North Africa, of the Middle East —incorporating the Jewish proletariat of Israel— of Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent.

5. The anti-imperialist struggle is global

The anti-imperialist struggle is not the exclusive heritage of the peoples of the backward countries. It is also a fundamental duty of the working class in all countries.

Workers in imperialist countries must demand their country withdraw from the colonies it still owns; they must fight for the defeat of their own country when it attacks a semi-colonial nation or a workers' state. They must demand that their country withdraw the troops and military bases it has in other countries, that it unilaterally stop the production of weapons, that it immediately and unilaterally dismantle the nuclear devices threatening the workers' states, that it dismantle the "rapid deployment forces" they are preparing to fight the revolution in any corner of the world,

that it declare the foreign debt of the backward countries non-existent and that it recognise the ownership of said countries, with no compensation, over the companies, banks and properties of the imperialist bourgeoisie in their territory.

The fight against the imperialism of their country culminates in the overthrow by the working class of the bourgeois government in office, the establishment of the workers' government and the expropriation of its own bourgeoisie. And, from that moment on, place its immense economic, cultural and military resources at the service of the development of the world revolution.

Workers in the workers' states must fight the colonising offensive of imperialism, consented to and endorsed by the ruling bureaucracies, rejecting relations with the International Monetary Fund and the installation of monopolies and their "free market" in the workers' states. They must demand from their governments a solitary and privileged economic relationship with backward countries that refuse to pay their debt to imperialism. They must rise *en masse* to prevent their workers' state from going to war against another workers' state or from invading a backward capitalist state against the will of their people. When the invasion of a backward capitalist state is inevitable to defend the workers' state because imperialism has turned it into an aggressive military-political base, they must demand the people of the invaded country be immediately granted the maximum democratic rights so they organise and direct the country as they see fit. They must impose the immediate federation, political and economic, of all the existing workers' states.

The heroic struggle of the semi-colonial peoples against imperialism will not achieve any definitive victory until the proletariat of the imperialist countries and the workers' states, fundamentally the United States and the Soviet Union, come to the fore, raising these banners of the destruction of the global imperialist-capitalist system.

6. For a class policy, independent of the bourgeoisie, its parties and its governments

In all capitalist countries, whether they are imperialist or semi-colonial backward, we tirelessly preach to the masses the distrust of the bourgeois parties and governments. We tell them not to believe a single word of their demagogic chatter, which only seeks to trick workers into exploiting them more comfortably. We denounce the bourgeois regime and government on duty as their main enemy since they are the ones who apply, as political agents of imperialism and the exploiters, the anti-worker and anti-popular measures and plans for the benefit of big capital.

We denounce as agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism all those who call to support, under any pretext, bourgeois governments that they call "progressive", bourgeois sectors that they describe as "democratic", or factions of the Armed Forces that they call "patriotic".

In the event of *coup d'états* or actual threats of a coup, we promote the widest possible unity of action to defeat the coup plotters, including placing ourselves on the military side of the bourgeois-democratic government. We do the same in the face of wars, blockades or aggressions of an imperialist country against a semi-colonial country: we defend the country and fight under the military orders of the semi-colonial government or the guerrilla fighting for independence. But in all cases, we systematically criticise the policy of that military leadership, which will inevitably be mistaken because of its class character. We criticise the bourgeois-democratic government for its inability to consistently confront the coup-plotters or for its complicit passivity in the face of imperialist and oligarchic plans. We criticise the semi-colonial government for its inconsistency in carrying out an anti-imperialist war to the end and the petty-bourgeois guerrilla leadership for its inevitable capitulations.

7. We fight the "Front for Social Peace and Democracy"

We combat the perfidious traps of the "Front for Social Peace and Democracy". We explain to the masses that the tranquillity and peace they want will only be achieved with the triumphant

revolutionary mobilisation because misery and wars are an inevitable consequence of the capitalist-imperialist system. The “truces” and “concertations” only serve to demobilise and leave their hands free to the exploitation and genocides of imperialism.

We oppose the Moncloa Pacts of the Social Democrats and Stalinists with the Spanish bourgeoisie; the Naval Club Pact signed by the Frente Amplio (Broad Front) and the Colorado Party with the Uruguayan dictatorship. We point out the trap of the Peace Accords in Colombia, between a large part of the guerrilla leadership and the PC and Belisario Betancur. We warn of the deadly danger of the Salvadoran guerrilla negotiations with the Duarte government. We denounce the support of Sandinismo, Castroism and the leaders of the FMLN to the Contadora group, which is a manoeuvre mounted by imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisies of the area to force the FMLN to capitulate even more than it has already done on its initiative.

We alert the peoples of the world to reject operations similar to that of Contadora, which are executed or programmed in other pockets of the world insurrection. That is the nature of the agreements signed between the governments of Angola and Mozambique with the South African regime to isolate the black guerrilla and the permanent attempts by the Shiite leadership to make a pact with Israel, Syria and the pro-Israel Lebanese Christians against the Palestinian people.

8. Against secret diplomacy and agreements

The “Front for Social Peace and Democracy” weaves a dense network of negotiations and secret agreements of the betraying and reformist leaderships of the masses in the struggle with imperialism and national bourgeois governments. No one knows what is discussed or what is agreed. The peoples are not consulted about anything. When the pressure of the struggle forces the leaderships to report, the truth is deformed until it becomes unrecognisable.

This is currently the case with the negotiations between Reagan and the Kremlin, between Spain and NATO, between China and Great Britain over Hong Kong, between Castro and the State Department, between the United States and the Nicaraguan government in Manzanillo, between the PLO and the Israeli government. Everything the Contadora group negotiates is ultra-secret. And the wheeling and dealing of the Vatican with everyone is also secret.

The masses must demand from their leaderships that all negotiations with the enemy, with imperialism and the bourgeoisie, must be public, democratically discussed by the workers and the people and subjected to a referendum.

The workers must lead the fight against secret diplomacy and agreements. They must demand national and world politics the same thing they demand every day in their factory or union: that the leaders report with whom they negotiate and what is negotiated, and that the result of the negotiation be submitted to the approval or rejection of the factory or union assembly.

As in the daily fight against the bosses, negotiation only works if there is a mobilisation that wrenches the conquests.

When the mobilisation suffers a defeat, it is permissible and necessary to negotiate so its consequences are the least bad as possible. But in these cases, it is necessary to demand the leaders tell the truth, that this is an unfavourable agreement for the masses because the struggle has suffered a partial defeat and that the negotiation only serves to catch a breath and come back more strongly to the struggle to reverse the defeat. Whoever negotiates the conditions of defeat, tells the masses it is a win and calls them not to continue fighting is a traitor.

Negotiation cannot be the excuse to present the enemy as a friend of the masses. One principled condition for negotiating with the enemy is to systematically denounce that it remains the enemy. The one who, to negotiate, paints the imperialist and bourgeois enemy as a friend of the workers is a felon, however necessary and correct the current negotiation may be. This is the case of Castro, the FSLN and the Farabundo Marti, when they praise and point out as friends of the mass movement the ultra-reactionary conservative Belisario Betancur, Felipe González and the archbishop of San Salvador, whom they propose as the mediator between the guerrillas and the genocidal government.

We are not, therefore, adventurers opposed to negotiations on principle. But we denounce as traitors the leaders who negotiate with the enemy in secret, stop the struggle to negotiate, do not consult the masses, and paint defeats as wins and the enemy as a friend in the eyes of the masses.

9. We do not respect the pacts with military dictatorships and fascist regimes

We do not accept or respect, and we call on workers and peoples not to accept or respect any pact signed with military dictatorships or fascist regimes. For us, Alfonsín's agreement with the Jackal Pinochet over the Beagle Strait, the Naval Club Agreement with the Uruguayan military, and the agreements of Angola and Mozambique with the Botha government in South Africa are all dead words.

We call on the peoples to ignore the foreign debt that the military dictatorships contracted with imperialism in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. We denounce that the new "democratic" governments of those countries have pledged to respect these debts contracted by dictatorships that did not consult anyone. We denounce that Castro recommends Sandinismo and the FMLN do the same: Sandinismo does it and the FMLN agrees to do so if it is part of the government. We denounce that the leaderships of the Chilean people also commit to paying the debt of the dictatorship when they overthrow Pinochet.

10. For workers' democracy

We fight for workers' democracy, against the millionaire and mafia bureaucracies. For periodic assemblies to discuss and resolve everything. For leaderships democratically elected and removable directly by the ranks, with periodic rotation so the leaders return to work with their workmates. For wages for leaders that do not exceed the wage of a qualified worker.

We are fighting for free union membership. For the right of workers to organise in as many unions and centrals as they want —although we propose the single national union by the branch of industry and the single national central. For the free organisation in union tendencies and the proportional representation of the tendencies in the union leadership.

We reject the interference of the state, whether capitalist or worker, in union organisations.

The fight for workers' democracy is the same fight against the bureaucracy, both in the unions of the capitalist countries and in the workers' states. Workers' democracy must be the form of organisation of any workers' organisation, whether union, partisan, Soviet or state.

11. For the broadest democracy for the people

Revolutionary socialism has nothing to do with the crude caricature of socialism that the bureaucracy has imposed on the workers' states. We fight for democratic rights under capitalism and to maximise those freedoms under the rule of the workers and the people.

We demand full democratic rights, of expression, press, access to the mass media, of organisation, culture and religion. We fight against the state of siege and military justice.

We face the deadly enemies of democratic rights: fascist, vigilante and paramilitary gangs. We call on the unions and parties that claim to be democratic to confront and destroy these gangs through the unity of action on the streets.

We also confront the official repressive apparatuses of the bourgeois and bureaucratic states, which only serve to defend by arms the privileges of their masters. We demand the free unionisation and political organisation of soldiers and non-commissioned officers, the only way to prevent military coups, whether executed by Pinochet or Jaruzelski. We oppose the monopoly of arms by a privileged class or caste: the only guarantee of full democracy is the armament of the entire people.

In the workers' states, we fight for the destruction of the bureaucratic and totalitarian dictatorships of the single party. We want the workers and the people to organise themselves in all the parties they want and freely express their ideas. We want workers to have their unions, independent of the state and with the right to strike. We want the widest freedom of the press, cultural and religious. We oppose any limitation of these democratic rights, which must be much broader than those offered by capitalism, except for those sectors that refuse to defend the workers' state against imperialist aggression or an internal war unleashed by the counter-revolutionaries who have lost their fortunes and privileges at the hands of the revolution.

12. The liberation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves

This old phrase from the First International summarises all the previous points. The struggle of the revolutionaries and the proletarian vanguard is for the workers and the exploited masses to organise themselves, destroy the world imperialist-capitalist system, take the government into their hands and organise society politically and economically as they democratically decide. We are against any policy and form of organisation that puts the "single party", the "commander", the "socialist state" or the "secretary-general" above the mobilised masses.

We blindly trust our class. If the working class mobilises and organises, it will itself be the great architect of the world socialist revolution, it will put an end to the exploitation of man by man, to wars, to hunger, to genocide and torture, to bloody repressions, to the bureaucracy, to the lack of culture and the brutalization caused by exploitation, religious superstition and the lack of rights in all areas of social and individual life.

We do not believe in single and infallible parties, nor in commanders who "make the revolution", nor in states that, suffocating the masses, supposedly "build socialism".

The masses cannot play a passive role, waiting for orders from the parties, commanders and governments. They are the ones who contribute their blood to make the revolution and they are the ones who must lead their struggle and the direction of society after the victory. Although some parties, commanders or governments lead some struggles and achieve some partial victories, it is the masses that must mobilise and organise themselves. This is the only way to achieve world victory, which is the only definitive victory, that of the socialist revolution.

XIII. Uniting the revolutionaries to build the Fourth International of masses

Historically, the International Workers League is part of the Trotskyist movement. Our movement is going through a serious crisis because the currents that comprise it, except for ours and some national groups and parties, capitulate to the treacherous leaderships. The current led by Lambert has become an agent of the social democratic apparatus, its union bureaucracy and its imperialist government in France. The current led by Barnes and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States is an unconditional part of Castro-Stalinism. Both have been reduced to large sects in their countries of origin. None of them is a true international current.

Mandelist revisionism

Mandel's tendency is, along with ours, an international organisation. Its fundamental and almost single strength is in Europe, where, by tradition and weight of inertia, it is recognised as the Trotskyist International.

But it is in chronic crisis. For over 30 years, it has been capitulating to the old and new bureaucratic and petty-bourgeois leaderships that led revolutions or great mass movements: the

pro-Soviet communist parties, Tito, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Castro, Guevara, the Sandinista and FMLN leadership, successively. This capitulation led Mandelism to abandon systematic criticism of those leaderships (which shared the common characteristic of not being workers and of being against the permanent revolution), leaving aside the central task: to develop Trotskyist parties in all countries as a frontal, worker and revolutionary opposition to those leaderships.

The flip side of this permanent capitulation is the Mandelist strategy of making political programs for the vanguard, not for the whole of the mass movement, and proposing the unity of the “fighters” in general (whether Stalinists, reformists or opportunists), not the unity of the revolutionaries.

If the workers’ rise that crosses Europe does not make the Mandelism abandon its path of capitulation to the leaders of the mass movement, this current will be permanently lost for the construction of the Fourth International.

The International Workers League

We, the International Workers League, do not yet have mass influence in any country but we are the strongest Trotskyist tendency in Latin America. We do not deny our tradition and we reaffirm its fundamental programmatic point: we must build a revolutionary International of the masses, the Fourth International, with sections in all countries.

With this tool, we want to lead the world socialist revolution towards victory, defeating in the mass movement leaders enemy of the revolution: Stalinism in its various colours (from Castroism to Maoism), social democracy, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, Sandinismo and the official leadership of the FMLN, and the union bureaucracy around the world. For this colossal task, we call upon the revolutionary groups, organisations and fronts that arise, in the heat of the mass struggle, in the various countries.

We are not sectarian and we are not concerned with the fact that Trotskyists will surely be a minority in this International. On the contrary: we want thousands and thousands of revolutionary fighters, with their organisations, wherever they may come from, to build together with us the Fourth International of masses.

The revolutionary united front

The Fourth International will be built through the fusion of our current with organisations and groups that break with the betraying and reformist leaderships and make up revolutionary fronts at national and international level. The tactic of uniting revolutionaries in all countries where possible, building revolutionary fronts, is a very important tactic at this stage for the construction of the Fourth International of masses.

This policy has nothing to do with Mandelist revisionism. The revolutionary united front must be the unity of the revolutionary fighters, not of all those who fight under other banners, such as Castroist or Sandinista. In other words, a true revolutionary united front is one that is agreed upon based on a clear revolutionary program. Without this clear program, there is a danger that such a front is not a revolutionary one but rather a centrist organisation, which is not a step towards the construction of the revolutionary workers’ party but an almost insurmountable barrier to its construction.

The revolutionary united front is, therefore, a tactic, very important in this stage of crisis of the traditional leaderships of the mass movement, but nothing more than a tactic, which can and should be applied at certain times and countries along the lines of building the Fourth International. More than ever, the great task to be carried out in all countries is to develop and fortify the Trotskyist organisation. Without it, it is most likely that revolutionary fronts will not be built or that, even if they are built, they will rapidly degenerate towards centrism and capitulating opportunism.

The revolutionary united front program

The program that the International Workers League proposes to all the new progressive centrist organisations in the world to build revolutionary fronts is a program to mobilise the masses. It is not, like that of Mandelist revisionism, a program for the vanguard of fighters. It is the synthesis of the minimum objectives that the revolutionaries of the world must set for the workers and exploited so they gain them with their revolutionary mobilisation.

The fundamental points of such a program are:

- Fight against the hunger and unemployment offensive that imperialist capitalism has unleashed in crisis against the workers and exploited of the world.
- Defence and unconditional support, until the victory, to all the mass struggles that break out in the world and face imperialist capitalism, its capitalist partners and landowners from backward countries and its bureaucratic accomplices from the workers' states.
- The only way to end imperialist capitalism is the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. We reject any "truce", "concertation", "pact" and "agreement" with the enemy that serves to demobilise the masses and prevent the revolution from succeeding. We denounce as traitors all the leaderships of the masses that promote and sign this class of compromises with the class enemy of the workers.
- We are for class solidarity at national and international level. We are proletarian internationalists. Our program is the victory of the world socialist revolution over the decomposing capitalist-imperialist system.
- We call on the workers of the world not to trust the bourgeoisie, its parties and its governments. To not accept from their leadership any kind of secret diplomacy with the enemy. Not to place any trust in the bureaucrats and petty-bourgeois currents that circumstantially fight on the anti-imperialist side. The socialist revolution can only win if the working class leads it as leader of the large exploited masses if these only trust in their forces and have a revolutionary workers' party at their head.
- We call on the workers and exploited of the world to take over the government in all countries. This will only be possible by destroying the capitalist or bureaucratic state and its backbone —the Armed Forces— and establishing a regime of workers' democracy.
- We fight for workers democracy as the only truly revolutionary regime in any organisation of workers: parties, unions and workers' states. We tirelessly fight against any totalitarian regime seeking to prevent the free expression of differences and positions within the mass movement and in the political and trade union organisations of the workers.
- We call on the revolutionary organisations and militants of the world that agree with this program to join us. Only in this way will the revolutionary masses finally find a leadership that does not betray them and leads them in the fight for the destruction of capitalist imperialism, the seizure of power by the workers and the construction of socialism throughout the world.