

International WORKERS' ORGANISER

• Voice of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (ILTF)

Brochure # 1
*Fighting for an International
Conference of Principled
Trotskyism and Revolutionary
Workers' Organizations*

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We present in this brochure #1; first of all the Document of Agreement of founding of the Joint Committee of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, between WIVL of South Africa and LTF on April 2009. This was the base of the Foundational Congress of ILTF on July 2009. ILTF members are: WIVL (South Africa), LTI (Bolivia), FT (Brazil), LOI-CI (Argentina), POI-CI (Chile), LTI (Peru), CWG (New Zealand), NRI (Argentina) and HRS (United States).

Then we present three documents about the world situation (originally printed in May 2009 in the *Organizador Obrero Internacional* #12, Part II) that were approved as official documents of ILTF in its Foundational Congress, recently held.

"International Workers' Organizer"

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- Workers International Vanguard League, of South Africa
 - Partido Obrero Internacionalista (Internationalist Workers Party) of Chile
 - Liga Trotskista Internacionalista (Internationalist Trotskyist League) of Peru
 - Liga Obrera Internacionalista - Democracia Obrera (Internationalist Workers League - Workers Democracy) of Argentina
- Núcleo Revolucionario Internacionalista (Internationalist Revolutionary Nucleus), of Argentina
- Fracao Trotskista (Trotskyist Fraction) of Brazil
 - Communist Workers Group of New Zealand
 - Liga Trotskista Internacionalista (Internationalist Trotskyist League) of Bolivia
- Humanists for Revolutionary Socialism, of USA

Official document

JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL LENINIST TROTSKYIST FRACTION (JC-ILTF) BETWEEN WIVL OF SOUTH AFRICA AND FLT HAS BEEN BUILT UP

ON THE WORLD SITUATION FACING HISTORICAL EVENTS



Obama with Sarkozy



Demonstration in France: "You are the crisis, we are the solution!"

- *The worldwide regime of dominance imposed by imperialism since 1989 has entered into political crisis*
- *The crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat has deepened and worsened*



Greece: the youth face repression

APRIL 2009

Joint Committee for the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (JC-ILTF) between WIVL of South Africa and FLT has been built up

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

This document, undersigned by - Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) of South Africa and Fracción Leninista Trotskista (FLT) - composed by POI (CI) of Chile, LTI of Bolivia, FT of Brazil, LTI of Peru, CWG of New Zealand and LOI (CI)-Democracia Obrera of Argentina- represents the coming together and regrouping of ourselves, in first place, based on a joint international struggle that let us recognize each other as real revolutionaries seeking for a way to set up again the world party of socialist revolution. This internationalist struggle was focused on:

a) The struggle against the counter-revolutionary pacts that today besiege the resistance of the Iraqi masses, Palestinian masses, the Colombian resistance, and particularly fight against the wicked popular front policy that today strangles the Bolivian working class and poor

peasants and pacts with fascism; and in South Africa after the betrayal of the 80-90s revolution, today the ANC-SACP-COSATU in the government places the costs of the crisis onto the backs of the working class and exploited masses.

b) A joint struggle against that real counterrevolutionary international that is the WSF (a fight that has been launched by both WIVL and FLT separately even before meeting each other). The WSF that convened a meeting in Kenya, Africa in 2007 and gathers together the rotten Stalinist and pro-imperialist forces preparing themselves to strangle the African revolution once more.

c) The need for a program and an internationalist praxis for the sake of the victory of our class, for which reason, during many years -rather for decades- our currents have been seeking a revolutionary path, in iso-

lation and scattered because of the split of the Fourth International in the hands of the revisionists and opportunists who led it to its destruction.

d) A principled joint struggle, even with shades and differences, looking for the best program and surest way for the combat of the working class and people of Palestine and the entire Middle East to succeed. So, despite those shades and differences, our convictions as regards the required destruction of the Zionist State of Israel have united us. A task that can only be carried out by the proletariat of Palestine and Middle East along side the decisive intervention of the working class within the imperialist countries. It was possible to arrive at the present agreement due to the meticulous and deep discussions about each one of those shades and differences on the Palestinian question-in day and night meetings, because, as we have said, the need is to elaborate the best program so the Palestinian working class and people can achieve the victory of their heroic fight.

Thus, internationalists have recognized each other by fighting together against Stalinism and the electoral deception in South Africa, and while the world working class and exploited masses were developing the first battles of the imperatively needed worker counteroffensive in Greece, Madagascar, Guadalupe, France, Eastern Europe, etc., we have arrived at the following agreements:

POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN WIVL AND FLT

The following points of agreement are based on a discussion on the 23 points which serve as a basis for the



WIVL comrades in a demonstration in South Africa

real regroupment of revolutionaries in the fundamental task of rebuilding/refounding the Fourth International -or setting up a Fifth International as the CWG comrades of New Zealand state- always basing ourselves on the program and legacy of the Fourth International in its founding Congress in 1938. This will be solved by an international revolutionary movement that achieves regrouping its forces, and settles historically this question by defeating the treacherous leaderships

We agree on the method of establishing the program on the acid tests of struggle the working class faces today as a means of delineating the class line which must form part of the basis for regrouping;

On the point 1 (Socialism or Barbarism): we agree that this is the fundamental choice facing the working class today and that the crisis of imperialism today offers no way out for the working class. The only way out for the working class is to turn the current defensive into an offensive struggle for Socialism; this task of the revolutionary overthrow of the world capitalist system is inextricably linked with the political defeat of the misleaders of the working class (the fake trotskysts, the intelligent reformists, trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinist leaders, etc);

On point 23 (the international centre): without an international centre all revolutionary groups are bound to eventually lapse into 'national Trotskyism'; the building of an international centre is an immediate task as part of the necessity to centralize international experience, create internationalist cadres, create a centre to guide the building a revolutionary bloc to among others, call an international conference, to wage a political and theoretical struggle against all shades of treacherous leaders, as part of the struggle to build a new party of world socialist revolution. The construction of sections of this party on national terrain is part of this process. Without an international centre the fight for an internationalist program can a best tail the developments of the unfolding struggles in the world; as Leon Trotsky stated in 1928 struggling against Stalinism, "the epoch



LOI(CI) - Democracia Obrera in a protest for the freedom to the political prisoners

of national programs is over"

We agree that the period is transitory (ie the current crisis of imperialism)- it is necessary to turn the current defensive struggles into offensive struggles; already the masses in Greece, Guadeloupe and Madagascar are showing the way; what is critically absent is a program for the revolution and at the same time the necessary Trotskyist/truly revolutionary Communist parties as part of a revolutionary international. (the Transitional Program is a guide to the revolution in this period but its application varies on a national terrain depending on concrete conditions- in this sense the program is absent); in every country across the globe the centre of the program is based on the working class taking power and establishing a proletarian dictatorship; a revolutionary international can only develop on the basis of a multifaceted struggle for the working class to take power and must include combat against the reformist, intelligent reformist and counter-revolutionary leaderships and currents within the world working class movement; we are against so-called "reunification/unity" on a basis without revolutionary principles;

We agree that workers, poor peasants and soldiers' armed councils are necessary to defeat the restorationist bureaucracy in Cuba with a political revolution and so turn the isle into a real beacon for the world revolution. This is an interna-

tional task, especially due to the international counter-revolutionary role the Castroite bureaucracy has played since the first days of the Cuban revolution;

The class collaboration policy of the Castroite and Stalinist bureaucracy has been retaken today by the World Social Forum as it is clear in South Africa and Bolivia. The struggle against the popular front in Bolivia as expressed in the FLT "International Workers' Organizer" ("El Organizador Obrero Internacional"-OOI n° 10) and the fight against the popular front in South Africa on the part of the WIVL comrades are fundamental points of the current agreement.

We agree wholeheartedly that physical violence, slander, persecution as a means of resolving differences within the Marxist movement, is alien to us; we stand for the revolutionary morality of our class; In particular we condemn the physical attack by members of the PSTU and Qilombo Urbano on members of the FLT in Brazil and members of the committee for a null vote; WIVL needs to investigate further the question of the moral tribunal- WIVL would not oppose it; the WIVL position is that the matter needs to be exposed in the working class so that the politics that led to the physical attacks is understood;

On Greece: we agree with the position stated in the Greek thesis

reprinted in OOI N° 12 Part I of FLT and we affirm that a pre-revolutionary situation existed in Greece (lacking a real internationalist centre); the question was posed of building soviets of workers and soldiers, and of directing the revolution towards an all-European working class uprising—the anarchists and Workers Power and other similar groups turning the struggle into a parody of soviet; the situation in Madagascar proves more advanced as the army was split and came over to the side of the revolutionary working class—the question of taking power was more directly posed; we are not soviet fetishists and agree that there are only limited circumstances where soviets can arise; when such circumstances do arise, however, it is possible for a small Bolshevik party to win leadership of the masses and lead the working class to take power;

We agree to develop a common response to Lutte Ouvrière on the question of Guadeloupe; based on the agreement with the response given by FLT in its OOI N° 12 Part I to the controversy developed in relation to the socialimperialist position of the NPA — that today is in Palestine preaching the imperialist policy of “two states”—, and against its “left” agents, the renegades of Trotskyism of PTS, MAS of Argentina and CRI of France who composed the CLAIRE Tendency within the French NPA —New Anticapitalist Party. Again a pre-revolutionary situation existed in Guadalupe, at a period 90% of the workers were in the streets and no call was made by the local part of the LO or the LO itself, for the defeat of the French imperialist troops, no call was made for workers and soldiers soviets and the uprising was contained into a trade union negotiation; the LO position thus is an expression of social chauvinism, ie defense of their imperialist bourgeoisie;

We agree that the task in Eastern Europe is for working class to take power through a revolution; WIVL feels that they need to more work to seek a more precise formulation on the nature of these states prior to capitalist restoration there; we stand for a soviet eastern Europe, Balkans and ex-USSR, including Russia

(soviets of workers and soldiers); and we stand for, in the same way, for the working class to take power through revolution in China, for the Soviet Republic of China. In order to achieve that goal, it is necessary to put up again a true revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, which includes a revolutionary international with sections in each of these countries.

We agree that it is urgent to release a joint statement on the case of Mumia in the light of the US state rejecting any possibility for a new trial or release of Mumia;

We agree on our joint opposition to the pacts in Columbia and Bolivia which legitimize and strengthen a fascist counter-offensive against the working class in the entire Central and South America; we stand for a workers’ united front to defeat the fascists; we are also against the counterrevolutionary pacts among the imperialist powers and the Arab and Middle East bourgeoisies; by applying those pacts they want to make the Iraqi and Palestinian masses and their heroic resistance surrender.

We share the view that the World Social Forum, WSF, is a counter-revolutionary international, brought to its feet by imperialism in order primarily to divert the masses away from struggle against the real cause of misery, namely the capitalist system and the capitalist class itself, to divide the masses of the world, and in particular the working class in the imperialist centres from the working class in the colonies and neo-colonies and to sidetrack our struggle into reform of capitalism;

We agree that the North American working class, as indeed the working class in all imperialist centres, must rise up against their own bourgeoisies and overthrow them; the successful struggle of the working class in the colonies and neo-colonies is interconnected with and dependent on this process;

We agree on condemning the reactionary strike of the British workers (British jobs for British workers) and the positions of the

Workers Power, CPBG and other tendencies that support the strike in any way; we are for a sliding scale of hours and wages (jobs for all); in particular we defend the struggle of all immigrants employed at the workplace against the exploitation of the bosses; the essence of the international character of the socialist revolution is reflected in the defense of the immigrant workers and on the other hand the chauvinist character of the trade union bureaucracy and ‘national socialist’/trotskyist’ is exposed;

We agree with the method of the FLT in analyzing the history of the FI; we agree that an important common task is the further study of the history of the FI in order to guide the process of its re-founding/rebuilding. We repudiate the argument of the pabloists and other renegades of Trotskyism who affirm that because ‘Trotsky is dead’ therefore the prospect for overcoming the crisis of leadership at the end of the Second World War, during the whole post war and in our days is impossible. On the contrary, there have been many opportunities and revolutions where it was possible to put on its feet an international centre to give decisive leadership for the working class to take power, but Mandelites, Morenoites, Pabloites, Loraites, Lambertites, etc, failed to do so.

The FLT agree with the important and revolutionary contribution of the comrades of the WIVL on the international program:

We stand by the lessons of the 1980’s and the defeat of the SA revolution, of the defeat of the semi-dual power, through a process of strangulation of the revolution by international Stalinism, culminating in capitalist ‘reconciliation’.

We stand by the position of the WIVL on the role of the World Social Forum, the International Socialists Zimbabwe, in the defeat of the uprising of the masses in Zimbabwe in 2008 and in the period before by supporting the creation of the imperialist-backed MDC (a popular front of the trade unions, churches and social movements);

We stand by the position of the WIVL for completing the transitional program in the US on for example

the question of housing, as an essential component, based on the unfolding struggle in South Africa and the need to combine for example the questions of wages with that of housing, and so on;

We stand by the WIVL on the programmatic question of the land in South Africa.

We agree that it is necessary to fully study and expose the counter-revolutionary role of Castroites in Africa in the last 40 years. The contribution of WIVL comrades about the role of castroism in Africa is a key issue since this allows us to explain till the end the counterrevolutionary character of castroism-stalinism at a worldwide level.

At the end of the Second World War, stalinism applying its class collaboration policy contained the revolution in Africa and prevented the new nations emerging from solving the problem of land and the national independence, thus, these new nations were shaped by US imperialism leading them to fratricide wars and preventing their development.

In the '70s, castroism played this counterrevolutionary role since after smashing the revolution in Portugal with its thugs breaking up the councils of tenants, workers and soldiers it was able to strangle the struggle for the national liberation of the Portuguese colonies like Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique destroying the possibility of a new revolutionary Cuba in the African continent, so destroying the African revolution which was part of the revolutionary general rehearsal of the international proletariat during the 1968-74 period.

That was the role of the castroite-stalinist traitors, those traitors of the African revolution.

For Trotskyism, these lessons are key factors since there was one more chapter to be written on the history of treasons of Stalinism at worldwide level. And without these lessons it is impossible to build and set up African Trotskyism, since a bloody river divides Trotskyism from Stalinism and Castroism and that river was also delineated in African revolution.

This lesson is a key issue since

now the task is clear so, the international Trotskyist revolutionary party of the African working class will be an African continental party or it will not exist, since the victory of the proletarian revolution –that is, the seizing of power by the proletariat- within each country and their borders shaped by imperialism is no more than an episode and a link of a single African revolution which will only be able to succeed definitely at international level with the victorious socialist revolution in United States, the European powers and Japan. That's the only way, by socialist revolution in Africa and at an international level it will be possible to put an end to the fratricide confrontations among the masses within the continent, confrontations created by imperialism and pushed by Stalinism and Castrism.

6. We support the WIVL's revolutionary intervention in the elections and support the preparation in the next period of extra-parliamentary period and commit ourselves to contribute to the next internationalist newspaper of the WIVL

THE NEXT JOINT TASKS

1) Within 20 days we commit ourselves to develop a joint statement on Mumia, as part of an offensive to fight from inside USA to free Black workers- the heart of US working class together with the world and Latin immigrants- from the influence of castroism, the Democrat Party and their representatives like Jesse Jackson, who lead them at the feet of Obama, that new Mandela in USA.

2) Within 60 days we commit ourselves to develop the draft of a joint position on the struggle of the working class in Africa;

3) Prepare the basis and framework of a Joint partnership Committee.

The establishment of such Joint Committee for the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (as a provisory name) –amidst a world economic crisis and great struggles of the working class and the exploited who begin to fight back the attack by the capitalist-, has the objective of starting a polit-

ical, theoretical, programmatic and organizational struggle against revisionism in the name of the Fourth International (revisionism continuity of the school of falsifications of the Social democracy and Stalinism) and the enemies and traitors of revolution in the entire worker movement and international revolutionary movement; to call for an International Conference of Principled Trotskyists and revolutionary worker organizations, selecting in this regrouping all the forces that pass the acid tests of the international class struggles, and set up an international centre of Trotskyism to decisively intervene into the historical upheavals during the next period of revolution and counterrevolution.

For the running of this Joint Committee:

1. Both the WIVL and the FLT will have one vote each in this joint committee.

2. WIVL will have 50% of the pages of the OOI to write there all its positions and criticize and discuss openly FLT positions. The FLT will be able to criticize and openly discuss WIVL positions.

3. We will have an internationalist bulletin for jointly internal discussions, so that militants of both organizations can convince and be convinced and assure a real Trotskyist democracy between both organizations.

4. From the approval of this agreement by the two organizations, all the internal correspondence of FLT immediately will be sent to WIVL comrades for their participation and discussion in the entire internal life of FLT and to make sure a jointly offensive over the intelligent reformists and "political booby-traps" at international level. All internal correspondence of the WIVL will immediately be sent to the FLT as part of this process.

5. We are going towards a merger Congress in July to study the new agreements that emerge from this document on, evaluate in common the internationalist combats we launch jointly and study the conditions to advance to a superior centralism of both internationalist forces.

From the moment this current document is approved definitely by WIVL and FLT, such Joint Committee for the



Greece: youth fighting the PASOK-ND regime repression

International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction will be established.

ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES THAT REMAIN:

The WIVL feels that the only way to work through the remaining disagreements, after having reached principled agreement on the essence of the program, is through making a common experience, through merging with the FLT and in the spirit of real revolutionary internationalism, to place the advancing of the worldwide struggle for Socialism at the centre of our efforts and sacrifice.

We agree with the essence of the program of the FLT on Palestine; we agree that the state of Israel is a fascist state and that the central task is the destruction of this bastion of imperialism in the Middle East; we agree with the FLT position in that the task of every Jewish worker with class consciousness is to break with Zionism, break with Histadrut and get united into Palestinian unions and the combat for the destruction of the Zionist State of Israel. Both currents agree in that it is necessary to put in place a one and only revolutionary party in the region against all the so-called "Israeli worker party"

as promoted by stalinism of an Israeli CP, or as favored by French NPA, Argentinean PO and the rest of fake trotskyist, which have Israeli parties/groups. We consider that all these policies mean recognizing and approving the imperialist policy of the "two states".

These principled agreements are based on the lessons and program for South Africa written by Leon Trotsky in 1935- "On South African theses" that WIVL comrades only knew the unauthentic version counterfeited by the renegades of Trotskyism till we met- on which WIVL and FLT have agreed.

Having stated this, WIVL gives evidence that although it considers that the program is correct, it thinks that FLT has an incorrect understanding of the 'South African Theses'. The WIVL understands the words under the heading 'through the advanced workers': *'The proletariat of the country consists of backward black pariahs and a privileged arrogant caste of whites. In this lies the greatest difficulty of the whole situation'*, to mean that the greatest problem is that the working class is divided. This means that the problem of the necessary task of uniting them poses the greatest obstacle. Trotsky is clear that the basis of unity can only be without a single concession to any of the

white privileges or prejudices but on support for the black workers and poor peasants against the British imperialists and local bourgeoisie. The point is that this is a question to be posed *now* and not at some distant future. The winning of this workers unity, on this basis, is the cornerstone of any successful insurrection against the Israeli state. In South Africa the winning of the unity of significant sections of the white working class with the black workers, can be said to be a pre-condition for a successful insurrection in South Africa. The labelling by the FLT of all Jewish workers as an 'aristocracy' does not taken into account differences among these workers (some being more exploited than others) and limits the necessary tactics that should be applied before and during an insurrection. For example, the Bolsheviks even developed cells within the most privileged layers of the army, the Junkers, in October 1917, kept them busy in meetings and managed to get a significant number of the Junkers to be inactive during the critical last few days leading up to the insurrection. Revolutionary work is even needed within the reactionary Histadrut to win workers away from it and to support of the struggle against the Israeli state. On the other hand, revolutionary work among the poorer sections of the Jewish

workers is likely to, over time, to win them to the revolution- difficult work, but absolutely necessary. Already the majority of Jewish workers want 'peace'- yes this is a pacifist notion, but it shows that there is the desire to live with the Palestinians. Of course the bourgeoisie give this desire for 'peace' its own interpretation, namely of 2 separate 'states', but it for us as revolutionaries to work out the correct tactics to win workers unity and to neutralise other sectors that cannot be politically won at this stage. Class conflict exists between the Jewish worker and the Israeli bourgeoisie and imperialism- even if on the surface there is the appearance of equilibrium. We must in every way encourage the Jewish worker to also come to the conclusion that the class conflict between them and the bourgeoisie is irreconcilable.

In Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution (volume 3- chapter VI the art of insurrection), he spells out that the first task in *'every insurrection is to bring the troops over to its side.'* How is this to be done, except through a protracted period of work by the party among Jewish workers to support the Palestinian cause and of exposure of the Israeli state and the role of imperialism? Those who are not won through political work will have to learn through the revolutionary fire. The WIVL feels the FLT crucially omits any tactic to win the troops over to the revolution, other than defeat in a revolutionary war. Defeat of the Israeli army in its invasion of Lebanon is one thing, but defeat of the Israeli state is quite another. In this same chapter Trotsky spells out the Marxist critique of Blanquism, namely that its crucial error lay in not understanding that obeying the rules of insurrectionary tactics is not itself a guarantee of victory. The proletariat needs a suitable organization, it needs a plan, it needs a conspiracy and ... *'the soviets by themselves do not settle the question. They may serve different goals according to the program and leadership. The soviets receive their program from the party. Whereas the soviets in revolutionary conditions- and apart from revolution they are impossible- comprise the whole class with the exception of its altogether backward, inert or demoralized strata, the revolutionary party represents the brain of the class. The problem of conquering power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with*

soviets- or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets.' Thus, in the absence of a party, in a revolution, power will go to those who hold back the working class (as in the case of Madagascar recently).

The WIVL feels that the FLT too uncritically uses the principles of Blanquism and by the same breathe also underestimates the crucial role of the party before and during an insurrection.

On this and the matter of the history of the establishment of the state of Israel further discussion is needed.

FURTHER QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF MERGER:

National Assembly

The WIVL understanding of Lenin's Thesis on the National and colonial question is that even in backward countries, where the working class is in the minority, our task, while supporting the national revolutionary movement against the imperialist, is still to promote the building of a genuine Communist Party, and the working class should still lead the struggle for bourgeois democratic demands and should be organized independently of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. We raise this point because of the FLT notion of the National Assembly for the question of Palestine- it is not clear who will convene this assembly and what the role of the working class is therein. If the idea is to call a Palestinian soviet, then why not call for an all Palestine Soviet directly. If the FLT feels that a Constituent Assembly may have to be called to expose its impotence in the eyes of the masses and to gain support for the all-Palestine Soviet, then we need to be precise in our description of it. Either way we feel that this concept of National Assembly needs to be made precise.

Underground and open work

While we understand the huge question of the 'disappeared' we are for the combination of open and underground work. When conditions allow, we should fight for the maximum space to operate openly, as this facilitates the political work among the masses. We

know this question is not to be taken lightly and we wish to engage more over this when we meet. The whole drive by imperialism-capitalism to implement 'terrorist' legislation is to restrict the revolutionaries from disseminating ideas freely.

On the right of nations to self-determination

The WIVL understanding of the right of nations to self-determination is that it is based on proletarian internationalism and that after October 1917 the unity of nations was achieved by the different formerly oppressed nations having the right to separate. They were not forced to separate but had the right to do so. In this way the national barriers were broken down. Do we have a common understanding on this? Trotsky, in the South African Thesis did not imply that there were 2 different nations in South Africa but that the working class had been split. There was thus no question of any secession from South Africa. If, in the Soviet Federation of Southern Africa the working class in Zimbabwe, for example, wants to secede, they should have the right to do so.

Reformists and counter-revolutionaries

The WIVL feels that the FLT is too sweeping in its characterization of all other trends except themselves as counter-revolutionaries; we feel we need precise elaboration of the characterization of the main trends as this will have a bearing on who would be part of a workers united front, among other things. An incorrect characterization of trends could have disastrous consequences when fascism is on the march.

A question on the Popular front in Bolivia

Considering that the document above is an international document, we request clarity on why the FLT labels it as a popular front government in Bolivia- does the Morales government depend on the support of the COB? While Chavez could be labeled as a Bonaparte, could the same be said of Morales? What we seek is a precise formulation of the Morales regime- if it amounts to a popular front, so be it. •

ON THE WORLD SITUATION

New blows in the capitalist-imperialist bankruptcy; crisis and confusion of the exploiters: operation “Cast Lead” against the world proletariat and the first responses of the masses

FACING HISTORICAL EVENTS

From a reactionary conjunctural situation of crac, world crisis and a paralysis imposed to the proletariat by their leadership, to a new world situation

Document of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in “El Organizador Obrero Internacional” # 12 - Part 2 - May 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

Four months after the beginning of 2009 the situation has changed and keeps changing from the last months of 2008. In this short time, new events of the worldwide class struggle have developed and new blows of the crisis of the imperialist world economy have modified the objective conditions since the ending of 2008.

Therefore, we must take notice of this new situation, the changes that come one after the other at a heart-breaking speed in a period of historical events. But first we need to define clearly the conditions under which revolutionary Marxism acts to transform the reality. This reality has put humankind on the brink of total ruin because of the crisis of the imperialist system that also sets on the table **the alternative defined by revolutionary Marxism: either barbarism with new wars and fascism or the victory of the proletarian revolution.** If the proletariat does not overthrow this bourgeois imperialist system, it will survive with genocides and wars sinking entire spheres of the planet and throwing unseen catastrophes over the masses. The masses will have to pay, with more slavery, the hundreds of billions of dollars that the imperialist states are using to bailout their bankrupt banks and transnationals.

The bankruptcy of all finance institutions, the rounds of the crisis that, as the waves of a tsunami, are hitting the world economy; the factory closures, recession and plundering that the world proletariat suffers every day, need a new adjustment of the program and tasks of revolutionary Marxists. We need to define the character of these changes in the epoch of crisis, wars and revolutions, which are increasing and become more intense.

In these pages of the “International Workers Organiser” we will try to show how this “big bang” of imperialist economy crisis has been evolving in the last couple of months –that seem to be years-. We will try to show the contradictions and misery caused by the crisis and the manifestation of political crisis and wars that emerge from these conditions.

For decades, bourgeois politicians and ideologists have considered Marxism a dead corpse. In 1989, they proclaimed “the end of History”. Under the current objective conditions, all these parrots’ talks are now in the dustbin of History.

This crisis means that the world productive forces have rebelled against the capitalist system and its national borders. In the counterrevolutionary wars like Iraq, Afghanistan

or Palestine; in the first proletarian responses to the crisis emerging as sparks of the mass counteroffensive, like in Greece, in the revolutionary rebellion of the French colonies, in the revolution in Madagascar, mass irruption in Thailand, is where the ghost of Communism lives, as the Communist Manifesto (which was the program of the Communist League in 1848, in the first years of the modern proletariat) reads.

The world bourgeoisie is scared by the crisis, not because the magnates of the finance capital could be in misery or starving –as is the case of the majority of the working class and world oppressed masses-. It is known that a bunch of Wall Street parasites has won 20 trillions dollars in dividends and profits in the middle of the crisis, while their banks were saved with 800 billions dollars only in USA. The bourgeoisie is scared of the crisis mainly **because they know that their decisive clash against the world working class becomes inevitable.**

These parasites are aware that “the emperor has no cloth” and the system keeps losing legitimacy before the eyes of millions of exploited masses. Particularly, the General Staff of the imperialist countries are conscious they are fighting for the division of the world and their spheres of influ-



Wall Street stock market fell in October 2008.

ence and for the bailout of each one's finance capital taking huge sums from the state treasures and the workers' pensions. They know they are in a race to see who can defeat first their own proletariat to go to higher adventures of plundering and exploiting in the colonial and semi-colonial world. They contemplate the bankruptcy of their banks and transnationals and, with class instinct, they are aware that since there is no business for everybody as before, there is no room for all the imperialist powers. They know that many of them will be losers and will be ruined because of the crisis, and the winner will concentrate the most profitable branches of production and find a way out of this crisis.

That is why they are preparing themselves to re-colonize and reinforce the chains tying the colonial and semi-colonial nations and, specially, the former deformed and degenerated worker states where capitalism was restored in 1989. That restoration meant new markets and a real fresh blood transfusion into the veins of this rotten world economy dominated by imperialism.

That is why the bourgeoisie is already recruiting all the treacherous leaderships so they display their tricks, and achieve that the working

class and the masses accept social pacts and submission to imperialist and native bourgeoisie— to force them to pay for the crisis with mass layoffs, higher cost of living and unemployment.

The ruling classes know that they must use their agents—union bureaucrats and all kind of reformist parties—like squeezed lemons to contain the masses. While they launch their agents to divert an defeat the masses, they “dress up as Obama”, and the imperialist General Staffs is preparing itself to hit the masses decisively, like we saw in Bolivia, Iraq, Afghanistan and recently in Gaza.

However, the exploiters understand—and this is what scares them the most— that during this period of historical events in the class struggle, with the system losing legitimacy, the conditions are being created for the crisis of reformism in the worker movement. Also in the wars, in the masses' sufferings and in the catastrophes lie the conditions for Bolshevism to emerge, that is, the revolutionary Marxism that terrified all the world exploiters with the victory of the Russian Revolution in October 1917.

The current crisis, which is hitting on every country in the world and

making the economy retreat dozens of years, has pushed the bourgeois system up to the limits. Nevertheless, any crisis is neither fatal nor the last by itself, for the capitalist system. This rotten system will not fall by itself. The current crisis, that keeps expanding and developing internationally, tells the proletariat imperiously: “Seize the power!” It is the only solution to end with the present and future catastrophes.

At the beginning of the 19th century, there was hunger and the ignorant workers destroyed machines that cut their arms and legs without yet knowing that the real enemies were not the machines but the owners of the means of production who sucked their blood and destroyed their muscles and bones. **Now the capitalists with their system in ruin are the ones who are destroying the machines, the world trade and all the existing values.**

The private property of the means of production threatens the humankind with barbarism and degeneration. If despite of the favourable conditions of confusion and crisis of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat cannot establish a real international revolutionary leadership, this rotten system will survive. The life of society will continue on a capitalist basis with hunger, misery, destruction of productive forces, wars and maybe a complete collapse of the human civilization. Because if the proletariat does not stop it, we will see, within a medium term period, new wars among the different imperialist powers to define which ones will become winners or losers of this world bankruptcy of the finance capital.

This dreadful regime must be defeated by proletarian revolution. The so-called **worker parties have prepared neither themselves nor the proletariat for the seizure of power.** What is more, they are the declared enemies of the proletarian revolution and its victory.

In the name of Bolshevism and the Fourth International, the renegades of Trotskyism have become open reformists who support the bourgeois regimes and the counterrevolutionary

pacts. After almost one century of the bankruptcy of the 2nd International and of Stalinism, today renegades of Trotskyism are in charge of supporting and legitimizing -in the name of revolutionary Marxism- the bourgeois regimes in crisis and all the labour aristocracy and bureaucracies, with whom they share the World Social Forum.

These reformists –who are used to peaceful and class conciliationist epochs, and to coexist with the bourgeois regime- are scared when revolutionaries claim that the proletariat must be prepared for war, fascism and the seizing of power. They accuse us of being “ultra-left” and “sectarian”.

But revolutionaries know that sooner than later the objective conditions will undermine the floor where they stand. As we will prove to the advanced workers, the bankruptcy of reformism will follow the bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

The world crac keeps hitting as the waves of a “tsunami” and drags entire nations of the planet creating confusion in the ruling classes, imposing catastrophes and sufferings for the masses and breaking the “social peace” between the classes.

The Foundational program of the Fourth International in 1938 claims that the human crisis bpil down to the crisis of revolutionary leadership; i.e. everything depends upon how the vanguard of the proletariat manages to regroup their forces and makes the working class meet its hitorical tasks, replying to its executioners’ attack and solving the crisis on its favour.

A GENERALIZED “BIG BANG” OF THE WORLD ECONOMY STARTED IN 2009

So far, we have made a summary of the historical contradictions of the imperialist dying system that will be solved in the world arena of the class struggle, not in the economic arena. Now we must see how these contradictions are expressed in the current moment so we can adjust the program for the internationalist revolutionaries and define their tasks.

Thus, it is necessary to state clearly that at the end of 2008 the bour-

geoisie still thought that it was capable of containing the crisis. That is why they launched the “cast lead” operation against the Palestine working class and people with the attacks of the Zionist-fascist state of Israel against Gaza, which was the spearhead of an offensive against the world working class.

But imperialism received an answer, not just from the Palestine resistance, but also from the exploited masses, from Magreb to Pakistan, that threatened to set on fire the Middle East an the Arabic world. Workers and exploited masses marched around Paris, London and several cities in USA in support of Palestine. The proletariat of the imperialist countries threatened to arise again in an anti-imperialist struggle. At the same time, the Greek masses made the ghost of the socialist revolution fly all over the old imperialist Europe.

We are witnessing the first battles of the imperialist and bourgeois offensive and the first battles of the World proletariat counteroffensive led by the working class and the exploited masses in spite of and against the treacherous leaderships that, since 2007, had kept them tied and motionless.

Exploiters hit with their “Cast Lead Operation” and the exploited masses hit with their first revolutionary answers. But none of the two classes was able to turn into their favour the forces relationship between the classes. They were not able to make the other class pay for the crisis’ costs either.

That is why the blind laws of the crack acted again: at the beginning of 2009, a new blow of the crisis occurred, with the bankruptcy of Citibank and AIG in USA, and Japan and Europe in crisis. In Europe, all the former workers states in the Balkans and East Europe are suffering a generalized default of almost 2 trillions dollars.

Bourgeois annalists have called “the third wave” to this new hit of the crack. **This new “wave” is defined by the crisis that is now an open recession** expressed as a brutal crisis of overproduction: there are a lot of

products and goods in the stores and there is no one to buy them. This pushes to **deflation** –i.e. the fall of the goods’ prices- **in the imperialist countries**. And in the **semi-colonial world** recession is combined with inflation, setting a **stagflation** outlook, because of the submission and plundering by the hands of imperialism; the crisis in their trade balance; the fall of the commodities prices like minerals and hydrocarbons that those nations export; mass capital flight leaving the national currencies without backup, pushing devaluation and the printing of paper money without any backup.

Secondly, the “third wave” we are living in **also expresses now the direct bankruptcy of transnationals trapped in the international finance capital crisis**. The consequences are **mass layoffs all over the world** –in USA only in February 2009 there were 610.000 sackings!; in countries like Ukraine or Brazil there were 2 million of workers fired, etc- who start being part of the world reserve army of labour.

Thirdly, it is the bankruptcy and default of the semi colonial countries, and first of all of the former workers states in Eastern Europe and the former USSR. All of them owe 2 trillion dollars as external debt. After 20 years of capitalist restoration and the cynic promises of “full gondolas”, the masses have been led to unprecedented levels of misery and sufferings.

Fourthly, the new “wave” is marked by **imperialist states bailing out their own finance capital and transnationals**. That is to say, the huge lost of the finance capital go directly to states, by nationalization of banks and companies, by assimilating “toxic assets” which are 80% of the fake values accumulated by the imperialist banks.

Finally yet importantly, there is a dollar revaluation according to euro and yen. Why does the dollar keep rising if the crisis’ origin is in USA? Because even in its bankruptcy, USA still is a capital vacuum cleaner: 70% of world capitals still go to USA, because the bunch of parasites of the

finance capital keep seeing it as a safe place for investments.

We are in a moment where USA –as dominant power- is forcing world exploited masses and competitors –Europe and Japan- to pay the crisis of its finance capital. USA can apply this plan because it has the highest work productivity as dominant power, most of the spheres of influence and highest technology and mainly because US bourgeoisie is the one who has more advanced in the defeat of their own proletariat and, thus, has their hands free to go for further and superior disputes and colonial adventures.

Thus, USA enforces its role as dominant power during the crisis much more than the expansion cycle, throwing the weight of his crisis to his imperialist rivals. This explains why Germany, France, England and Japan join contextually under US command, as we saw in G-20 and NATO meetings or the Americas Summit: this means USA as dominant power tells the rest of his competitors “you all put money to pay my crisis and I save you from the threat of revolution for the time being”.

FACING HISTORICAL CHANGES OPENING A NEW PERIOD OF THE WORLD CLASS STRUGGLE

The year 2009 began with a radical change in the middle of convulsive events. Nothing will be like the old way. We are facing changes of historical character that have opened a new period of the world class struggle.

We are starting one of those epochs of “great historical clashes” as Trotsky defined in his work “Class, party and leadership”, **one of those convulsive historical epochs like the war and revolution.** Under those circumstances, the revolutionaries can break out with the isolation and meet the path towards the masses. For that reason, the beginning of 2009 ended up throwing away all the reformist claims that -as parrots of the bourgeoisie in 2007 and 2008- the world crisis does not exist, rather it was about “necessary corrections” of the stock-market, or only a “bank crisis”



Romania: workers of Dacia-Renault on strike, March 2008.

or a “finance” crisis which was not going to arrive to the “real economy”.

The most important change of the world situation in the last four months clearly was the speed race settled between the blows of the crac and the exploiters’ offensive, and the masses responses. The masses in spite of and against its leadership have started to hit adopting a counteroffensive position.

The mass impasse imposed by the treacherous leaderships since 2007 is starting to break. Meanwhile, the capitalist parasites, with harder hits, are trying to throw over the world masses’ shoulders the costs of the crisis. The proletariat and the masses, this time, are starting to respond every hit. For example, the Palestinian and Iraqi resistance, the mass mobilisations of the Maghreb and Middle East exploited masses, the revolutionary fights of the Greek masses, of the Guadalupe and Martinique exploited people, of Madagascar, the wave of the seizure of factories led by the French working class, etc.

What pushed and pushes the working class and the exploited masses of the world to get into combat is the capital whip, the brutal attack that the exploiters have launched against the world masses in order to make them pay the crisis. This is the driving force to start the combat when it is also clear the confusion of the exploiters

who do not know what to do before the deeper hardships of **the crisis that threatens to open a world depression.** It is clear that the bourgeoisie runs behind the crisis, it is very tired and can’t distinguish the crisis development, pace nor **knowing** how deep it can go or **the real figures of the lost values of the finance capital as every bank and monopoly hide it as much as they can.** It is no longer possible keep hiding that all the banks of the finance super capital that belong to the imperialist powers are broken along side the companies and the states. The imperialist powers debate on an open nationalization of the banks to solve the catastrophe of the finance capital or the state assimilation of the so-called “toxic bonds”.

Of course, this does not prevent the bourgeoisie from attacking the exploited masses and making them pay the crisis. It does not stop the attack; on contraire, whenever there is a new blow of the crac, the bourgeoisie deepens the counterrevolutionary offensive. It is a truly “Operation Cast lead” against the world proletariat: massive layoffs announced every day by Toyota, Volkswagen, Renault, Sony and dozens of other monopolies of the imperialist powers, persecution and a massive expulsion against the immigrant workers, high cost of living in the semi-colonial and colonial countries condemning them to hunger, etc.



Gaza destroyed after the genocide offensive of the Zionist Israel state, at the end of 2008

The crisis claims that the provisional status: transitional capital states of the former worker states where capitalism has been restored will get to an end eventually. If the proletariat does not prevent it by leading new October Revolutions to restore the proletariat dictatorship, the working class and the exploited people of those states, and specially Russia and China, should look themselves in the mirror of their class brothers and sisters of the colonial and semi colonial countries. They should look into the tragedy mirror of the martyred Africa, submitted to fratricides wars, genocides and massacres by the imperialist powers to fight for their cut of the wealth plundering –today in particular, the light and high conductivity minerals as coltan- of the black continent. They should look into the mirror of the semi colonial and colonial nations in Latin America and Asia devastated by the imperialist plundering of gas, oil, minerals, farm commodities, fish, forest recourses, water, etc, strangled by their external debt which has already been paid several times yet it does not stop increasing, and tied to imperialism by double chains.

Thus, as we can see once again, the sewer waste of the capitalist system comes to surface. The emperor has no cloth: we are facing the imperialist powers generalized bankruptcy

along side its finance capital and states that have already devoured the benefits not produced yet by the labour force, and they are shifting the costs of such a bankruptcy over the worldwide exploited masses. The successive tsunami waves have already caused the bursting of the economic, political, military equilibrium of the world. They have already brought recession and they prepare the path towards a worldwide depression.

ON A NEW WORLD SITUATION, THE CRAC DESTROYS GREAT PRODUCTIVE FORCES WHILE THE RULING CLASS IS CONFUSED AND FRIGHTENED OF THE PROLETARIAT

The bourgeoisie will make proletarians pay for the bailouts of its monopolies with unemployment, lost of gains, and in the future, a currency overprinting that will cause a great inflation, although today in the imperialist countries, a process of deflation and of sinking prices is developing to liquidate the over accumulated stock by transnational companies. In the capitalist “paradises”, like Japan, USA, Germany, life conditions of the working class and exploited masses are similar to those in India. In USA - the dominant power, which dominate the most advanced modern science and technology and has the highest work productivity and where billions

of the world finance capital continue flowing to- more than 40 millions of people eat with 3 dollars per day with the food coupons. Even some workers with two jobs are unable to feed their families. Meanwhile more than 5 millions workers depend on the unemployment insurance.

The bourgeoisie is very conscious that an epoch of historical convulsions has started where the “social peace” between the classes is broken. It knows that in order to save itself it will have to smash the proletariat; otherwise, the proletariat will smash the bourgeoisie.

Undoubtedly, the Greek working class and youth upheaval threatened the imperialists. They are afraid of the working class revolution, not only in the semi colonial countries but also inside the imperialist powers.

The bourgeoisie fears that, as in the ‘70s with Vietnam and Portugal, the national wars and the struggles of the colonies can end up opening a revolution inside the imperialist metropolis. This scene was prevented, for the time being, in USA by expropriating the struggle against the war of the US working class resulting of the heroic Iraqi resistance masses. As we said that before, this panorama threatens France: the revolutionary process that shakes its colonies in Antilles can end up opening a revolution in the France itself.

The General Staffs of the imperialist powers, even in the middle of their own confusion and panic, observe the current conditions with a sharpen and clear strategy a million times superior to the miserable General Staffs of the working class who are attached to the skirts of the bourgeois regime in crisis.

The bourgeoisie is aware of the danger by the inevitable class clashes. For that reason, the CIA chief designed by Obama said cristal clear that: *“the international finance crisis is currently the threat number 1 to the national security of USA (...) this new threat with its geopolitical implications is today more dangerous than the international terrorism (...) the fall of the growth rate and the increase in unemployment in the*

whole world can lead to political instability and social upheavals due to the unemployment and poverty, particularly against USA.” Clarín, Argentina newspaper, 22/02/09).

The bourgeoisie, who sharpens all its class instincts when its property and domination are at stake, shows its assessment of the real situation with more counterrevolutionary acuteness than the reformist General Staffs. Reformists still believe that the bourgeoisie will be able to find the philosophical stone to give a peaceful solution to the current situation.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie is not very hopeful. It knows that the confrontation with the proletarians is inevitable. Thus, following Kissinger’s advice, the exploiters, with Obama and the republican-democrat imperialist regime –the “Republicrats”- have started to strengthen the institutions of the imperialist regime of dominance in crisis. Just some examples of this are the current meeting of G-20, the NATO summit, the Americas summit (done a couple of days before in Trinidad and Tobago) the G-8 meeting which will be convened in the next months.

The imperialist bourgeoisie knows the open conditions due to the bankrupt world economy leads it to a decisive clash, to a civil war against the working class that together with a greater pillage of the colonial and semi colonial countries will pay for the millionaire bailout of the imperialist states.

Meanwhile the bourgeoisie uses the social pacts of the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy to force workers to accept the imperialist bankruptcy and to pay for the crisis. The bourgeoisie knows this is provisory. Thus, it will use Bonapartism, new colonial wars and even fascism. The bourgeoisie is frightened of this since it means to face the proletarian revolutionary threat. As Trotsky said clearly the bourgeoisie uses fascism only as a last resource, because even “*The bourgeoisie is incapable of maintaining itself in power by the means and methods of the parliamentary state created by itself*” and “*it needs fas-*

cism as a weapon of self-defense, at least in critical instances (...)the sober bourgeoisie does not look very favorably even upon the fascist mode of resolving its tasks, for the concussions, although they are brought forth in the interests of bourgeois society, are linked up with dangers to it.”

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1944/1944-fas.htm>
(*Fascism: what it is and how to fight it*)

THE WORLD WORKING CLASS STARTS FIGHTING BACK THE CRAC AND THE CAPITALIST ATTACKS SHOWING THE TRENDS TOWARDS A MASS COUNTEROFFENSIVE. THE “SOCIAL PEACE” HAS BEEN BROKEN

The bourgeoisie’s fear of the exploited masses’ upheaval and revolution is perfectly justified.

From the beginning of the crisis in 2007 until the end of 2008, the masses’ impasse prevailed due to its leadership. Now the proletariat and the exploited masses have started to respond. As we have said before, in the speed race between the crac and bourgeoisie’s attacks on one hand, and the workers’ responses on the other hand, the masses have started to hit back, establishing focuses of resistance and revolutionary combats in different places of the planet.

If the bourgeoisie wants to save itself from the crisis, it will only need to strengthen its attacks against the working class and the exploited masses. Thus, the bourgeoisie knows that it means to confront the proletarian revolution as a response. On this issue it has focused its fear.

Under the crisis conditions, the features of this imperialist epoch of crisis, war and revolution get deeper and deeper. Trotsky defined this clearly 80 years ago when he affirmed: “*The revolutionary character of the epoch does not lie in that it permits of the accomplishment of the revolution, that is, the seizure of power at every given moment. Its revolutionary character consists in profound and sharp fluctuations and abrupt and frequent transitions from an immediately revolutionary situation; in other words, such as enables the communist party*

to strive for power, to a victory of the Fascist or semi-Fascist counter-revolution, and from the latter to a provisional regime of the golden mean (the “Left bloc,” the inclusion of the social democracy into the coalition, the passage of power to the party of MacDonald, and so forth), immediately thereafter to force the antagonisms to a head again and acutely raise the question of power.”(Leon Trotsky – “*The Third International after Lenin*” 1928, quoted from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1928/3rd/ti04.htm#p2-02>)

In different places of the world since December 2008, we have seen those drastic changes as regards the world situation and the working class suddenly facing the question of power.

Thus, as written in different articles, letters and polemics in the IWO n° 12 Part I, the counterrevolutionary polo has been focused on the besieged Palestine, the counterrevolutionary pacts through which the Iraqi resistance has been besieged, the same pacts agreed to strangle Bolivian revolution and make Colombian mass resistance surrender, the pacifist wave through which the US proletariat was subordinated to Obama and the US imperialist regime, the action of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracies who subjugate the Latin American working class to the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies, the restoration of capitalism in Cuba and the US imperialist forces together with its allies of NATO to smash the Afghani resistance. From December 2008 on, in Greece the focus of the revolution has been established striking in the European imperialist heart.

This has threatened the world bourgeoisie. As the spark in Athens has set on fire the French colonies of the Antilles, has provoked a revolutionary upheaval of the working class and the exploited masses in Guadeloupe and Martinique, a general strike in Reunion Island in the Indic Ocean; and in Corsica, an upheaval by the workers and exploited youth has began behind the cry for a “Free Corsica”. The spark has also burnt Madagascar, a former French colony,

where the proletariat and the poor peasants have won the soldiers and started a great revolution, setting up a dual power regime. The spark has burnt Thailand, where the working class and the exploited masses are fighting through the bourgeoisie gaps at the top a great mass political struggle which can open the revolution in this country in the Southeast of Asia.

The spark has begun to burn the imperialist French metropolis where the working class organized two general strikes in January and March and is occupying factories and taking the bosses hostage against the layoffs, the factory closures and the wage cuts. This process has begun to overwhelm the union bureaucracy of CGT, CFDT and FO. Where the bureaucracy and its delegates in each factory –and in many cases these delegates are militants of NPA, LO and Lambertism– have tried to sell out the struggle and factory occupation to the parliament negotiating behind the back of the workers, the latter start to revolt against them. It happened so in Caterpillar of Grenoble, where 250 dismissed workers burst onto the assembly where the bureaucracy and the delegates were trying to sell out the struggle, shouting “Now we, the workers, are the ones who decide and not the union delegates” and chanted: “Weapons!, we are wage-earning workers, we are furious, we are going to win!”. And it also happened in Continental of Clairoix: the Supreme Court voted in favor of the bosses who wanted to close the factory, so workers burnt the town council building and the security offices of the factory and then they marched all together to Hannover, in Germany, to make a common gathering with the Continental workers of that city.

The world bourgeoisie also fears for the Eastern European situation, and sees countries close to default, masses’ upheavals like in Latvia, strikes like that by Dacia-Renault workers in Rumania in 2008, the Georgian masses uprising again, like in 2007, against the pro-US and murderous government of Saakashvili, because of the unbearable living conditions, etc.

The masses of the ex workers states have re-taken the combats showing the historical character of the changes that we are living: barely 20 years ago, in 1989, the bourgeoisie throughout the world saw Eastern Europe where the capitalist restoration was imposed, cheering with champagne, and prophesied the “end of history” and the “definitive failure of socialism” and chanted eternal glory to its rotten system, talking about a long and prosperous existence.

Today, 20 years later -barely a few seconds in the clock of History- the bourgeoisie cries out for fear, foreseeing the possibility of the proletarian revolution and the restoration of the proletarian dictatorship by a revolution in the same countries where they had restored capitalism two decades ago.

It is clear that facing the “Operation Cast Lead” of the exploiters against the exploited masses at worldwide level; the proletariat has started responding blow by blow and adopting a counteroffensive position. There is no lack of revolutionary combats; or of a proletarian disposition to fight and make those parasites of the international finance capital pay for their own crisis. The only thing that prevents the real mass counteroffensive of the world working class, a generalized revolutionary uprising such as that in 1968-1974, is the traitor character of the leadership of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracies, their trade unions and all the reformist/counterrevolutionary parties that the working class has at its head.

THE CRISIS OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT GETS DEEPER WHEN THE OBJECTIVE REVOLUTIONARY CONDITIONS PUSH THE MASSES TO THE COMBAT PREPARING THE FERMENT FOR THE RE-EMERGING OF BOLSHEVISM

Facing panic and disarray, the world bourgeoisie has decided, for the time being, to put their trust into actions carried out by the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy of any kind with their parties and trade unions. All their forces have been recruited to

guarantee the submission of the masses with counterrevolutionary pacts of surrender, social pacts and the terrible policy of class collaboration and trying to stop the generalized counteroffensive of the exploited masses to prevent them find a path towards revolution and make them pay for the cost of the crisis.

Facing the crisis and the discredit of the social-democracy and Stalinism, today more than ever, the bourgeoisie needs the renegades of Trotskyism. So, in Europe and in the heart of the imperialist powers, those renegades can play the same role of executioners of revolutions they have played in Latin America during the first years of the 21st century. Thus, they have re-shaped the WSF in their last meeting in Belen de Pará (Brazil) last January and placed PSTU, PSOL and other renegades of Venezuela, Bolivia, and Argentina in Europe to lead those New Anti-capitalist Parties (NPA). These NPAs are as social imperialist and social chauvinist as the social democracy and Stalinism that they are going to replace.

So, as regards the second speed race established in the world arena of class struggle between the masses’ responses and the crisis of their revolutionary leadership, -that is to say, the overabundance of treacherous leaderships-, the latter continues getting deeper while the masses sufferings keep increasing under the whip of the crac.

Imperialist bourgeoisie has already lived in epochs of proletarian revolutionary upheavals throughout the world. After the First World War, the masses’ uprisings resulting from the war led to the success of the October revolution in Russia and the masses also questioned the power in Europe and other imperialist countries. In the ‘30s, great combats of the working class in Germany, France and Spain took place. After the Second World War, the bourgeoisie was saved from the revolutionary upheaval in France, Germany, Italy, Greece, by the Stalinist bureaucracy who had signed Yalta and Potsdam pacts re-establishing the imperialist dominance. The bourgeoisie lived through the ‘68-‘74



England: reactionary strike against the immigrants workers propelled by the TUC bureaucracy

uprising – a real world revolutionary “dress rehearsal”. Now, under the current conditions, the bourgeoisie has realized it can lose what it has conquered since 1989 with the restoration of capitalism in the former worker states by the Stalinist bureaucracy become a new bourgeoisie.

For that reason, the exploiters do not bet on what the reformists call “the crisis of subjectivity of the proletariat”. They know that under those conditions of war, crac and revolution, not only the proletariat enters into combat, but also revolutionary leaderships emerge and could make jeopardize the bourgeois power. The bourgeoisie knows that under these conditions the reformists can only give proletarians submission, betrayals and prostration. The bourgeoisie knows that under these conditions bolshevism and the revolutionary movement flourish resulting of the revolutionary objective conditions of the imperialist epoch opened in 1914.

A TRANSITOTY WORLDWIDE SITUATION HAS OPENED WHERE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CLASSES WILL BE DEFINED IN FAVOR EITHER OF THE BOURGEOISIE OR THE PROLETARIAT.

The first bankers’ and imperialist parasites’ assaults against the worldwide working class; the “Cast Lead” operation and the massacre in Gaza;

the Palestine resistance together with the Greek mass uprising and the first battles of the working class and exploited masses against the imperialist counteroffensive, have **changed the current reactionary situation**. Since the beginning of 2009, **we are before a transitory worldwide situation, characterized by the following essential features:**

First of all, the generalized “big bang” in the world economy that already imposed the economic recession -with its phenomena expressed as overproduction- threatening with a worldwide depression.

Secondly, this transitory situation is characterized by a deep tendency to a polarization and collision among classes. Imperialism and bourgeoisie are hitting, but the working class has started to respond like in Greece, in the French colonies and France itself, in Madagascar, etc.

Thirdly, it is a situation whose reactionary elements are due to the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, that is, the action of the labor aristocracies and bureaucracies and the social imperialist and reformist parties that tie the hands of the working class splitting its ranks to force proletarians not to fight and to accept, with a gun triggered on their temple, wage cuts, lost of gains and millions of layoffs while their sufferings continue increasing.

Fourthly, this transitory situation is marked by the tendency to the crisis and weakening of the regimes and governments (despite USA having strengthened its General Staff) and the opening of gaps at the top.

Against all metaphysical thought of the reformists who see a fixed and immovable capitalist system, in the historical process of this imperialist epoch characterized by sudden changes Trotsky said “...*In the processes of history we find stable situations which are altogether non-revolutionary. We find likewise situations which are obviously revolutionary. And again, there are counter-revolutionary situations (we had better not forget them!). But the most striking features of our epoch of capitalism in decay are intermediate and transitional: situations between the non-revolutionary and the pre-revolutionary, between the pre-revolutionary and the revolutionary or . the counter-revolutionary. It is precisely these transitional stages which have a decisive importance from the point of view of political strategy. What would we say about a painter who could only distinguish between the two opposite colours in the spectrum? That he had no sense of colour or was half-blind, and that he ought to give up the easel. What will we say about a political strategist who can distinguish only between the two states: “revolutionary” and “non-revolutionary”? That he is not a Marxist, but a Stalinist, who might make a good functionary but never a proletarian leader.*” (Whither France? Leon Trotsky)

For us, a **transitory situation** has opened in which the conditions of putrefaction of the capitalist system, the crises and disputes of different sectors of the bourgeoisie launching ferocious commercial wars, debilitate the governments and regimes.

In key places like USA, México, Brazil and Argentina, for example, the proletariat, tied down by its leadership, cannot respond to the attack that has already started on it.

The Latin American working class that fought against the bourgeoisie with anti-imperialist and revolutionary fights at the beginning of the 21st cen-

tury today is motionless facing the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies’ attack. The passionate speeches and the anti imperialist demagoguery had been left behind. On the contrary, recently in The Americas’ Summit we saw all these bourgeoisies kneel down in front of Boss Obama. The former Sandinista “Commander” Ortega turned into a bourgeois president of Nicaragua, went out with his trousers worn out due to kneeling down so much. The anti “imperialist” Chavez, mentor of the farce of the “Bolivarian revolution”, told Obama he wanted to be his friend and gave him a book...meanwhile in Venezuela he sends hired killers paid by the bosses to repress every workers’ struggle and assassinating workers leaders. Hence, on May 5th, the union leader of Toyota in Cumana, Argenis Vázquez was killed; in the beginnings of 2009 the Chavist policy repressed the workers of Mitsubishi, shooting and killing two workers; at the end of 2008, three working leaders of the UNT of Aragua were shot to death. This is the real face of the “Bolivarian revolution”!

As the Latin American revolution was strangled and contained, today Obama and US imperialism go back for their old “backyard”, where their imperialist competitors had advanced a in term of business and spheres of influence taking advantage of Bush’ Government during two years.

The Americas’ Summit was the beginning of this US counteroffensive by discussing a decisive question: Cuba. The Castroite Bureaucracy and the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies “had been waiting for Obama” and he didn’t disappoint them: he removed some of the restrictions in Cuba imposed by Bush and said: “Let’s do business”. Obama plans to lead the capitalist restoration in Cuba, flooding this country with cheap goods and making pacts with the Restorationist Castroite Bureaucracy that is recycling itself into national bourgeoisie. Imperialism wishes to recover the island as “its” brothel taking the place of the French, Spanish and Canadian imperialists in the business of tourism, nickel, etc but first of all it prepares a terrible defeat against all the American proletariat as

it would be without doubt the capitalist restoration in Cuba. This is the master strike that the imperialism is preparing to go back to its Latin American backyard.

This is, for the time being, the situation of the working class in America but in other regions of the planet the heroic masses resistance is increasing, setting up a limit to the imperialist counterrevolutionary offensive, as in Iraq, Palestine or Afghanistan. In Greece, the working class started offensive actions following the Belgian working class general strike and the European proletariat political fights. Also the French colonies have rebelled and together with Greece threatened to set on fire Paris. Moreover in Guadeloupe and Martinique the fight for the Socialist Revolution in the Caribbean is at the order of the day threatening the plans of capitalist restoration in Cuba. In Madagascar, the workers and exploited masses started a magnificent revolution. In Asia, Thailand is shaken by a huge mass political fight, while the exploited masses of Eastern Europe have begun to return to the world arena of class struggle.

From the point of view of the class struggle and the relationship between the classes, we affirm the proletariat and its vanguard are starting to adopt a counteroffensive position in different parts of the world. We are, as we have affirmed before, in a **transitory situation** that contains and **combines both reactionary and non revolutionary elements** imposed by the traitor leaderships that tie the hands of the proletariat, subordinating it to the blackmail of the economic crisis stopping proletarians from fighting, and **pre-revolutionary and revolutionary elements** which when breaking with the traitor leaderships and the contention wall they’ve imposed, the working class and exploited masses of the French colonies, as the Greek proletariat, have returned to the combat and the heroic resistance of the masses in the national wars against the oppressors and are beginning to gestate the conditions for a mass counteroffensive; perspective that terrifies the ruling classes.

If in the next period, in spite of and against the treacherous leaderships the tendency of masses’ uprisings is generalized and a real mass counteroffensive takes place, the transitory situation will change in favor of the proletariat, opening the road to a revolutionary upheaval like in 1968-74. We fight and prepare ourselves for that.

If on the contrary, in spite of their intentions the proletarians, tied down by their leaderships, are unable to advance to a counteroffensive position, the reactionary elements in this transitory situation will prevail. As Trotsky said, **history will punish the proletariat for not having taken the power by throwing the worldwide economy to the worst depression,** the crac, the generalized depression of all values and its consequences of massive unemployment, destruction of productive forces, colonial wars, bonapartism and fascism.

But nothing is already defined. We are recently entering in this transitory situation that preannounces polarization and clashes between the classes and defines that all peaceful coexistence has come to an end. Wherever the proletariat achieves to break with the treacherous leaderships, it bursts in mass political struggle threatening to open the revolution in key regional focuses of the planet.

In this situation where, as the Transitional Program said, the objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution are not only “ripen”: they have begun to get somewhat rotten, that the historical crisis of mankind boils down to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership has been thoroughly proven.

We have established in April 2008, the 23 Points that in the real life and before the acid tests of worldwide class struggle separate revolutionaries from reformists, as a proposal to regroup urgently the Internationalist Principled Trotskyists and the Revolutionary Workers’ Organizations. To these points, we add now the new revolutionary lessons- “the practical conclusions from the revolutionary conditions”, as Trotsky said- from the new counter-

revolutionary blows and the reaction- as in Palestine, Afghanistan, Cuba, the reactionary strikes of the English Trade Unions, etc.- and the new revolutionary blows of the exploited masses as in Guadalupe, Madagascar, Greece, France, etc.

We are only a subjective factor in the worldwide proletariat vanguard. We cannot lead the masses and their revolutionary combats to the victory yet. But meanwhile in the heat of the objective situation where the conditions for Bolshevism ferment, we can (and will do) put all our forces at the service of the two principal tasks to give back to the worldwide proletariat its historical leadership, that is to set up again the worldwide party of the proletariat revolution under the program and the legacy of the Fourth International and its founders in 1938.

These two principal tasks are: first of all, the commitment of putting all our forces wherever a pre revolutionary or revolutionary situation is developing – as in Guadeloupe, Madagascar, Greece and France, etc.- in favor of the setting up, extending and centralizing of direct democracy and armed dual power worker and peasant organizations in these nations. Thus solving their problems within these organizations, the masses can rapidly discover through their own experience the role played by the treacherous leaderships, and within those organizations a small group of revolutionaries can multiply its forces by thousands while struggling for the leadership of the masses. But this will be only possible through waging a relentless combat against all the treacherous leaderships and showing the masses step by step who are their allies and who are their enemies.

The second task, inseparable and linked to the first one, is to put 100% of our forces into the combat for defeating any attempt to set up new centrist monsters like the International “Two and a Half ” (the “Amsterdam International” in the '30s), i.e. a regroupment without balance sheets and around only one point of agreement -as that one in the opportunist reunification of 1963, around Cuba-, and to fight for conquering a real

International Conference of the Principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary workers’ organizations, A Zimmerwald and Kienthal of the 21st century to open the way to solve the historical crisis of mankind, that is the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat.

THE INTERNATIONALISTS SHIFT TO THE OFFENSIVE IN OUR COMBAT TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Where the proletariat has started to respond to the attack of the exploiters, in a position of resistance such as in Palestine or Iraq or in an offensive position as in Greece, Guadalupe, Madagascar, etc, we see the developing of focuses of radicalization of the masses. Sectors of the masses are turning from right to left, searching for a revolutionary path to end with their hardships which have been multiplied by the capitalist crisis and the bourgeois offensive.

Those phenomena are like fresh water for the revolutionaries because they allow us to break out of our isolation and find the path towards the masses. On the other hand, those phenomena are like boiling water for reformists of all kinds and in particular for the renegades of Trotskyism since they are no longer able to live splitting peacefully, as we are wit-

nessing today with the SWP in England, or as the Brazilian PSTU that is suffering a crisis and internal splits.

1989 was a historical milestone; after the changes it carried within started, the revisionist, opportunist and centrist currents that formed the so-called “Trotskyist movement” split in several pieces. It couldn’t be otherwise: when the masses of Russia, China and Eastern Europe were rising against the restorationist Stalinist bureaucracy, those currents had already been under the coattails of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the social democracy in the West during the last 50 years, and for their responsibility, in 1989 the Russian, Polish, Chinese, Rumanian etc., sections of the Revolutionary Fourth International did not exist.

They split in thousand pieces but the restoration of capitalism meant a great defeat for the world proletariat. The working class had a bad time, and as a consequence, we had a bad time as well. The healthy and internationalist forces of Trotskyism who suffered a double defeat, that is, the capitalist restoration and degeneration and destruction of the Fourth International kept us isolated and dispersed, fighting against the current for uniting the severed threads of continuity of Revolutionary Marxism for the last 20 years.

Today, the new historical period



French and German workers of Continental in a demonstration in Hannover



Thailand, April 2009: thousands of demonstrators clash with the police

that “the” world economic crisis has opened means not only the objective conditions have changed but also the subjective ones, that is, the conditions are being created that favor the fighting to resolve the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the working class. Today, the world regime of dominance imposed by imperialism since 1989 is in political crisis, the reformists burst, disperse and gasp breathless as fish out of the water and in particular the renegades of Trotskyism.

This means that the defensive period of isolation is already over for the healthy forces of Trotskyism. That means we are starting an offensive to re-group the Leninist-Bolsheviks at an international level, as in the ‘30s, in

order to conquer a Zimmerwald-Kienthal of the 21st century.

In 1915 and in 1916 when a small group of internationalists gathered in those two Conferences against the treacherous social democracy, the first imperialist war selected and separated internationalists from social chauvinists. Because anyone who denounced the war and called the proletariat to turn their guns against it’s own bourgeoisie and to transform that war into a civil war was killed as a “traitor of the nation” or in a lesser case he was imprisoned.

Today, there is not an imperialist war which makes such objective selection. Under these conditions, it is easy for the “intelligent” reformists disguised as Trotskyists, to swear faithfulness to the Transitional program and Trotskyism, and then betray them everyday in the class struggle. For that reason, there are acid tests in the class struggle, for example, the Palestine question, Madagascar, Greece, the Cuban question, the position before the bankruptcy of capitalism, the combat against the forces of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracies recruited by the world bourgeoisie that select and separate clearly, in the world arena of class struggle, reformists, opportunists and centrists from international revolutionaries.

Lenin used to say that the story of Bolshevism is that of its struggles between tendencies and fractions. This was clearly showed in the defen-

sive period during the last 20 years. And it will be proved again, undoubtedly, in the starting period of the internationalists’ offensive to make Trotskyism -the only revolutionary Marxism alive- not only a subjective but also an objective factor again, that is, flesh and blood of the world working class vanguard.

We know that the pace of this offensive will depend on the willing and the conscious activity of the internationalist revolutionaries and also on developing objective conditions. If the proletariat can free its hands and burst in a world revolutionary upheaval, the pace of our offensive will be multiplied and we will be closer to defeat the traitors and to solve the crisis of revolutionary leadership. On the other hand, if the treacherous leaderships prevent this possibility during the next period, and the bourgeoisie is able to win in the relationship of forces, our struggle will be even more against the current for a whole period. Anyway, in any case, it will be an offensive and not a defensive combat as it has been during the last two decades.

In this road that we have recently initiated, the establishment of the International Joint Committee for the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction between the South African revolutionaries of the Worker International Vanguard League-WIVL- and the FLT, whose provisory document of formation we present in these pages, is a little step ahead but a whole signal we have entered one of those “exceptional epochs in the history” as Trotsky said, where the revolutionaries are able to break out of their isolation and merge with the world proletariat vanguard, meanwhile the reformists play the role of fish taken out of water.

This small but significant step ahead marks the beginning of the offensive period of the internationalist Trotskyists, to whom the masses will give thousand and one opportunities on the condition that we disarm neither our strategy nor the program. •



Leon Trotsky

Under the generalized collapse caused by the economic crisis and amid the heroic resistance of the masses

THE WORLDWIDE REGIME OF DOMINANCE IMPOSED BY IMPERIALISM SINCE 1989 HAS ENTERED INTO POLITICAL CRISIS

Document of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" # 12 - Part 2 - May 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

1 Obama's taking office on January 20, 2009, put an end to the crisis in the chief Staff of US imperialism that had started in 2006 with the heroic Iraqi resistance; the national war of the Palestinians and the masses of the South of Lebanon defeating the genocidal Zionist Israeli Army in 2006, and the rising of the American working class for their demands and the immigrant workers' rights and against the war.

US imperialist regime of worldwide dominance imposed since 1989, gave a leap forward in late 2001 when it was necessary for US imperialism to launch a counterrevolutionary counteroffensive to solve the economic crisis started in 1997. The new markets conquered by imperialism through the capitalist restoration of the former USSR, Eastern Europe, China and the other former worker-states, had not been enough to avoid the waste and destruction of productive forces by the international finance capital.

The target of that US offensive was Iran, North Korea, Iraq and Afghanistan, that is, part of the famous "Axis of Evil". The objective of Cheney and Bush, the General Staff of the oil companies, was the Balkanization of Russia so that the oil gangs- with Bush commanding the US General Staff- could take the control of the big oil reserves of the Muslim republics of the former USSR. Their objective was also to guaranty the overexploitation of the Chinese labor force. Therefore they needed to impose a clearly Bonapartist regime of dominance.

Since 2004, this counterrevolutionary offensive has broken its teeth against the worldwide resistance of the working class and the exploited masses. The heroic Iraqi resistance set up a limit first and the US working class and exploited masses – whose higher layers



January 20th, 2009: Bush and his wife with Obama and his wife on the Day of the Presidencial Assumption

the US exploiters had began to de-coopt - began fighting against the war. In addition to this phenomena, at the beginning of 21st century, waves of anti imperialist struggles and revolutions occurring in Latin America, threatened to spread to US through Oaxaca, Mexico, joining the rebellion of millions of Latino immigrant workers and the anti war movement that could have opened a Vietnam type scenario.

During two years, we witnessed the crisis of a Bush Government hated by the masses, what left the Central chief Staff of the North American imperialism in a defensive position.

While the regime of the Republican and Democratic parties – the "Republicrats" regime- backed Bush counterrevolutionary plans, voting his military budgets a "pacifist wave" was prepared inside the US: the "Obama plan" had the aim to cover the imperialist butchers with a "democratic" mask to replace fascist Bush. This "democratic and pacifist wave" inside the US,

needed a parallel strengthening of US world control: thus the Turkish invasion in the north of Iraq, the Shiite bourgeoisie containing the rebel masses which had defeated the collaborationist Iraqi Army in Basora; the Syrian bourgeoisie pacting with US imperialism to prevent the Iraqi Resistance from getting weapons.

The "Obama plan" would have been impossible without the attacks against the immigrants' struggles wave in US. Now, 4000 jailed immigrant workers have been separated from their families showing this farce of "democratic" or "pacifist" US imperialism. Also two Oakland Dockers- the vanguard of the Movement against war- were taken to public court and could end in the jails of the "Republicrats" regime.

But what is most important, the imperialist political victory of its reconstruction of the US chief Staff would have not been possible without the collaboration of the treacherous leaderships that strangled the revolutionary

processes in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, contained the mass offensive in Chile and Peru and subordinated the anti imperialist masses of Venezuela to the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisie with their Popular Fronts ant class collaboration policy.

Thanks to the World Social Forum –that hodgepodge of Stalinists, Social Democrats and fake Trotskyists- the national bourgeoisies took advantage of Bush Government’s crisis and of the disputes among the imperialist powers for their spheres of influence, to make agreements with all of them, hoping to receive a better share of their businesses.

The WSF supported Al Fatah in Palestine which recognized the Zionist-fascist state of Israel. It supported Hezbollah in Lebanon. When the armed masses of the south of that country smashed the Zionist Army in the national war of 2006, Hezbollah allowed the entrance of the imperialist troops of the UN and claimed its seat in Siniora’s Government to have a share in the reconstruction of that country devastated by the Zionist bombings.

2. Now with Obama government the crisis of legitimacy before the US masses has receded and US witnesses a strengthened “Republicrats” regime. US working class continues to be submitted to imperialism due to AFL-CIO and “Change to Win” bureaucracies, the Castroites and the entire WSF –fake Trotskyists included- who present Obama as a “democratic” imperialist in opposition to “fascist” Bush.

Who got benefits from the two-year political crisis of Bush government were US imperialist rivals: France and Spain had a New Deal/ “good neighbour” policy making great business in Latin America, US old “backyard”, but in their direct colonies and spheres of influence support Bonapartist governments and dictatorships; as France does in Algeria, West Africa and its “overseas territories” controlled by the weapons of the Foreign Legion.

Also Bush government’s crisis and the limit imposed by the mass resistance to US imperialist counterrevolutionary offensive strengthened Germany which made big investments in Russia: today, BASF owns 50% of Gazprom which is the main oil and gas supplier to Europe. In Afghanistan, by making pacts with Taliban and building hospitals and schools, German imperialism controlled opium supply, an

essential raw material for the pharmaceutical companies like Bayer.

Japan also got stronger as the great moneylender for transnationals’ investments in China and as machine-tools supplier in that region.

At the same time the native bourgeoisies –in the colonial world- took advantage of the imperialist disputes to negotiate as junior partners and make business deals while all of them together, backed by the traitor leaderships, contained and surrendered the revolutionary processes.

3. But during 2007-2008, while preparing their change of government and Obama’s taking of office, USA imposed limits to their imperialist rivals. USA bombed and shot its rivals’ spheres of influence to stop their advance over his defining who would centralize the attack against the masses and distribute business.

That was shown in Georgia, in the massacre on the Colombian resistance by Uribe, in the fascist putsch in Bolivia and recently in Palestine, with the Zionist army massacring in Gaza.

Thus USA scared the masses and forced the native bourgeoisies –who were flirting with the other imperialist powers- to enforce counterrevolutionary pacts to force the masses to surrender. That is how US imperialism achieved being who divides business throughout the world and, in last instance, disciplines the working class and exploited masses.

Under these circumstances, the world economic crisis just blew. Capitals of all imperialist countries were trapped in US housing market finance bubble. The “every man for himself” began. Only the imperialist powers that managed to be relatively spared by the crisis and defeat or co-opt their own proletariat could go for higher adventures on the planet; those imperialist countries destroying enough surplus production and controlling key production brands could become winners of the inevitable capital concentration process that will come after the world crisis.

4. As we said in the Editorial of the “International Workers Organizer”, at the beginning of 2009, we are facing a world transitory situation as follows: the exploiters’ offensive to make the exploited masses pay for the crisis; the world proletariat’s reply as the first bat-

les of the workers’ counteroffensive and the “third wave” of the world crisis.

In this situation, we are facing a temporary arrange of the imperialist powers under US command –as in G-20 and NATO summits-. It isn’t love but fear what gathers them: they try to close gaps for the moment because they are afraid of a proletarian revolution emerging, i.e. that the first battles of the workers’ counteroffensive become a world revolutionary upheaval as in 1968-1974.

5. Under the current conditions, US imperialism –as dominant power- has a challenge: **how to impose again its undisputed dominance on the world, that is, how to put order to the worldwide disorder caused by the crisis and the heroic mass resistance** that set a limit to the plans of the oil businessmen who commanded US during the Bush era.

All the institutions for US dominance that had been established after the 2WW during the “Yalta period” have burst and are in crisis – from the UN and natal to IMF, WB and all the Breton Woods agreements. The regional trade agreements are unquestioned or in shambles as Maastricht, MERCOSUR/MERCOSUL, NAFTA, etc.

This is showing that the provisory political balance achieved in USA when Obama took office is not enough to stabilize a new political, economic and military equilibrium in the planet.

That is why the overt discussion in the chief staff of US and all imperialist powers is how to get out of the economic mess and the political crisis of the imperialist domination. They also discuss about how to attack the proletariat and the masses and contain their struggles.

Kissinger in different articles in the imperialist press said clearly that the regional counterrevolutionary pacts –as Maastricht, MERCOSUR, the SCO, etc- are provisory and aren’t an stable world regime of dominance, because with them it is impossible to contain all the contradictions of the world –like the blows of the crisis, the imperialist disputes, the native bourgeoisies’ bargaining, national and fratricide wars, anti-colonial upheavals and specially the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat.

Kissinger says that though USA has been able to leave its governmental crisis behind, the issue remains on through



Coffin of a US marine killed in Iraq

what institutions and what combination of them Obama's government expects to rule the world and re-establish a stable political equilibrium. That is because they have to defeat first the world masses and working class. Kissinger is aware that the decisive class clashes are already here.

Obama, the Clintons and the new gangs of the high-tech monopolies who lead today US government answer him that they will take care of that huge problem later, but now it is their time to make some business and get their pockets full, like oil companies did.

This new clique in US government states that they have a plan, which we could call an "offensive-defensive" one. Obama already has announced he would have an "open hand" policy towards the Muslim bourgeoisies in Middle East. He wants to re-establish the counterrevolutionary pacts of the '80s, when US imperialism armed the Islamic bourgeoisies to defeat the Russian army –in those times commanded by the Stalinist restorationist bureaucracy- which was occupying Afghanistan. Also USA armed Saddam Hussein and his army to smash the Iranian revolution with an 8-by years fratricide war. Now again, no longer with weapons but by applying new pacts, integrating Muslim bourgeoisies as junior partners, USA wants to keep the oil business under the control of its own companies.

It is not by chance that Obama gives

a boost to a policy of pacts with the Islamic bourgeoisies. Through such pacts, USA is trying to prevent Iraq from becoming a new Vietnam. Obama "stretches his hand" to the Islamic bourgeoisies because they have been helping US in Iraq and all over Middle East. US plan of troop withdrawal from Iraq is based precisely on that.

Meanwhile, US new imperialist command announces new counterrevolutionary offensives on Afghanistan; from there this command wants to control the former Muslim republics of the late USSR in Central Asia and the Caucasus oil output and re-takes the control of the opium routes –that is currently under German control in partnership with the Pashtun bourgeoisie in Afghanistan and Pakistan- to supply US laboratories. It also wants to turn Afghanistan into an imperialist aircraft carrier to prevent Pakistan's destabilization and to have a beachhead towards China.

Thus, "pacifist" Democrats dressed up as Obama, prepare the new counterrevolutionary wars. But first they must submit and defeat US working class who –like all the imperialist powers' proletariat- is suffering the same or higher iniquities than their class brothers and sisters in the semi-colonial world.

6. But Kissinger –war adviser during Vietnam War, and also Clinton and the Bushes' senior adviser- is a states-

man of counterrevolution. He fears that while the high-tech clique is carrying on some business, and there are gaps among the tops, inter-imperialist scrambles for the spheres of influence, etc. without renewed and strong institutions of world dominance, a danger is looming: revolution. He says that inter-imperialist disputes can increase and put in danger not just the current business but the entire bourgeois property and regime of dominance at worldwide level.

Europe has already been whipped by the first revolutionary upheaval like in Greece, and also there is willingness by the working class to fight like it was proved in Belgium, Spain, and France – in the metropolis and their rebellious colonies-. Capitalist parasites are in a fashion of "every man for himself"; while all the European imperialist powers, and above all Germany, are threatened by the danger of a generalized default in East Europe –the former workers states where capitalism was restored are today in full bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, in the Far East, Japan has closed upon itself and has been led to the worst crisis since the end of the 2WW; its coffers are full of US treasure bonds and drown in overabundance of capital; that means that together with China it will not allow that the rest of the imperialist powers lock themselves up with protectionist measures. This scenario will lead Japan from the recession and current crack to an implosion of his finance capital which over-accumulated in his banks.

The events during the past weeks proved that Kissinger's warning have been listened to. The G-20 meeting resolved to strengthen IMF with 1 trillion dollar to avoid a default in the former worker states of East Europe and former USSR that would cause the collapse of the Austrian, Greek, German, and French banks since they are the creditors of about 2 trillion dollars of the external debt that these countries have as a whole. Together with NATO summit and the recent meeting of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago are all attempts to give an answer to what Kissinger has said. We are witnessing how the imperialist regime of the "Republicrats"-dressed up as Obama- has consolidated and strengthened since it managed to take out of the scene the US proletariat for the time being.

A huge political crisis of the worldwide regime of dominance imposed by imperialism since 1989

7. Kissinger's sound of alert is the expression that we are not only facing "the" crisis of world capitalist economy, but also a huge **political crisis of the regime of world dominance imposed by US imperialism, as dominant power, from 1989 on.**

The well-being of one imperialist power is in contradiction with the well-being of each one of its rival's. Regional agreements and markets, together with the reactionary utopia of a European bourgeois unity, are blowing out. The old "strategic partners" become suddenly enemies in the trade disputes and if the proletariat does not prevent it, they will be political and military enemies.

The world crisis and crack; the heroic mass resistance that put a limit to the counterrevolutionary offensive with which imperialism tried to leave the 1997-2001 crisis behind-; the inter-imperialist open dispute and the "every man for himself" have not only destabilized the world capitalist economy: the imperialist regime of dominance imposed by USA since 1989 -as the real and absolute winner of the 2WW not only in 1945 but definitely in 1989 when the restoration of capitalism was achieved in the former workers states- has entered a political crisis and lost stability.

In the imperialist epoch there exists a world economy dominated by imperialism. Furthermore, imperialism dominates politically. This means that there is a system of institutions -agreements, alliances, treaties, international organizations, etc. - and a particular way of combining those institutions on which the imperialist domination over the world leans during a historical period. That is what we call the "regime of dominance" of imperialism.

THE REGIME OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY WAS IMPOSED AFTER WORLD WAR I

8. For example after the inter-imperialist 1WW the regime imposed was based on the Versailles treaty, which left German as England and France's vassal; USA as a rising imperialist power was the great creditor to England (dominant power) and France;

both had huge debts because of the war and specially of the war loans and the emission of currency without a backing during the post war period (they succeeded in creating a fictitious boom to prevent proletarian revolution since the Russian October Revolution threatened to spread to the heart of old imperialist Europe).

This new regime of world dominance after 1WW enjoyed stability only from 1924-25 on, after the defeat of the Hungarian and two German revolutions (1918-1919/1923-1924) caused by the immaturity of the Communist Parties that belonged to the Third International founded in 1919. The European revolution was defeated for a whole period. These conditions isolated the soviet Workers State and the economical and cultural backwardness of Russia and the hunger and catastrophes of 3 years of imperialist war and a 4-year civil war created the material conditions to allow the emergence of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In 1926, the Stalinist bureaucratic centrism, setting up the Anglo-Russian Committee, betrayed the English general strike. Giving support to the Kuomintang, Stalinist bureaucratic centrism also betrayed the heroic Chinese revolution in 1925-27.

For that reason, it was not revolution what made burst the regime of dominance of the Versailles Treaty, but the crack of Wall Street in 1929-1930 and the deep world economic depression caused by it.

After the defeat of the Soviet proletariat in the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the German, Austrian, and



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in Yalta Conference (Iran) in 1943

Italian proletariat in the hands of fascism and the French and Spanish revolution were strangled by the popular front, the bursting of the old regime of dominance led to the imperialist 2WW in 1939-1940.

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, A WORLD REGIME OF DOMINANCE BASED ON THE YALTA AND POTSDAM PACTS EMERGED

9. In 1945 at the end of 2WW, a new regime of dominance was imposed based on the Yalta and Potsdam pacts between the US-UK imperialists and their lackey the USSR Stalinist bureaucracy. Both Yalta and Potsdam were counterrevolutionary pacts to contain the world revolution because the 2WW, like the first one, had caused revolutions.

Faithful to those pacts, Stalin and the CPs sold out the French, German, Greek and Italian revolutions -saving the main parts of the imperialist regime of dominance-; while they controlled the revolution in the East, bureaucratizing the new workers states in Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia from the beginning and then, playing their role in the Yugoslavian, Chinese and Cuban revolutions. At the same time they strangled and betrayed anti-colonial revolutions and also supported the creation of the Zionist state of Israel.

Based on these pacts and agreements, US imperialism -emerging as the dominant imperialism- put order in the aftermath of war, imposing the "Yalta and Potsdam regime" -with institutions like the pacts with the bureaucracy, UNO, IMF, the Bretton Woods agreements, etc-. But this regime was transitory because there was a second character of the 2WW that needed to be solved, which was the aggression to the worker state and the capitalist restoration in the URSS (solved only in 1989).

Yalta's regime of dominance was the regime of "the Allies" -USA, England and their lackey Stalin -. In this regime US economy was the engine of the world economy. That is why all the powers, even the other "winners" of the war -at first the defeated German and Japan were merely subsidiary to the winners- were secondary imperialisms and within the world division of labour, they were suppliers of goods for the US internal market and their industrial-military appara-

tus, which boosted the world economy.

With the capitalist restoration in 1989 –completed by Stalinist bureaucracy that was bought by Reagan and Thatcher in the `80s- US imperialism finally solved, 44 years later, the post war unresolved task and completed Roosevelt and Churchill’s plan.

US imperialism as main winner and guarantor of the recovering of the former workers state for the capitalist economy ended the Yalta transitory regime and started a new one based in his regime of dominance of the planet.

But it was no longer 1945: Japan, Germany, France, etc., emerged as imperialist powers but this time as neither vassal nor subsidiary imperialisms; they competed and still do with USA for the spheres of influence. It is what we call a new period of “more normal” imperialist regime of dominance.

That is why in 2009, despite US imperialism’s “dress up” as Obama has recomposed its chief staff after Bush government crisis -strengthening its regime, the Trotskyists affirm that under the whipping of the world crack and the conditions it is causing, the political crisis of the imperialist regime of dominance does not cease but is increased.

USA has to deal not only with its own crisis but also with the crisis it has downloaded on all imperialist powers which is putting in question which powers will be winners and which losers.

SINCE 1989 TO 2009: A BONAPARTIST REGIME OF DOMINANCE HAS DEVELOPED THROUGHOUT THE PLANET RESULTING FROM THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VICTORY OF CAPITALIST RESTORATION IN THE FORMER WORKERS STATES

10. The regime of dominance imposed by US imperialism since 1989 was based on the pacts of Yalta and Postdam, with the Stalinist bureaucracy under US imperialism control as the world gendarme. The maximum expressions of the counterrevolutionary offensives were those carried on by the oil gangs and the Government of Bush in 2000-2001. They were an attempt to impose a real Bonapartist regime of worldwide dominance, that which is now in crisis. The United States’ slogan in 2001 was “ether with us or against us”.

The “axis of evil” included Iraq,

Iran and the entire oil route. The objective of the offensive was taking control of the Pacific market, the Balkanization of Russia and the submission of the other imperialist powers to secondary roles.

11. This Bonapartist regime of dominance of the US imperialism emerged from a defeat for the worldwide proletariat: the capitalist restoration of the workers states by the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1989.

The regime of dominance emerged in 1989 tried to settle down through the military control of the worldwide market by the US imperialism. On that purpose the General Staff of the American financial capital divided the world, from the political- military point of view, into five sectors under military command. The Pentagon, the military power house of US imperialism, tried to control the world, defending its interests, putting a limit to the expansion of the competing imperialist powers and controlling the masses.

As the dominant power US wanted thus to collect as soon as possible the dividends and benefits of its counter-revolutionary victories of 1945 and 1989.

As the documents coming to light nowadays testify, US established since 1989 five autonomous military commands as guarantors of US companies’ benefits and investments around the planet. C.I.A. officials and American ambassadors to different countries subordinated each one under the discipline of a corresponding command.

The NORTHCOM (North Command) included USA, Canada; Central America and México. The SOUTHCOM (South Command) included Latin American South Cone. This command armed the murderer Uribe and its genocide army in Colombia to act as gendarme of the whole region. The EUCOM (European Command) set up the antimissile shield in Poland and Hungary during G. W. Bush two terms. The Pacific command was named “USPACOM” in the American military jargon. Finally there was the CENTCOM (Central Command) which was located neither in the Pentagon nor in Washington, but in the oil “hot zone”: Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. (About two years ago another Command, the AFRICOM, has been added, NT).

This map of military control of the

planet is the copycat of the world division made by Hitler’s fascist Army to control it. It is a paradox: 45 years after the end of the war the “democrat” imperialists who won the war imposed Hitler’s golden dream.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the American Army had already taken over the whole planet and US imperialism was ready to send soldiers at any moment to the most remote of places. That was the plan of Bush infamous regime involved in 149 secret wars in the semi colonial world through proxy-even mercenary- troops. The CIA secret jails coming to light nowadays spread out around the world together with each of this five military commands.

As denounced by the Pentagon war correspondent, Robert Kaplan, USA has established 59 Military bases in countries and territories overseas with troops spread out from Greenland to Nigeria and from Norway to Singapore, meanwhile the military budget increased to 3,3% of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

Before the bomb explosion against the Twin Towers in September, 2001 – which was at least allowed to run, if not directly plotted by US intelligence services – US was carrying out military operations in 170 countries.

Since 1989 US imperialism has been trying to impose this completely Bonapartist regime of dominance, with the purpose of conquering the full dominance of the worldwide market; surely it doesn’t have a different ideology from its German fascist mentors. This ideology was “the Civilization War”. From the military academies of the imperialist beast, its commandants and generals emerged and were educated in a war against the American Indians in the US, the “Conquest of the West” in the 19th century.

More than 100 years after, in the beginnings of the 21st century, we have faced a new “civilization war” – represented by the advanced, democratic US against the “backward and barbaric tribes” in Middle East, Asia, Africa and entire sectors of Latin America. They had to be wiped out for the sake of gaining “democracy and civilization” for the entire world. In the military academies, US marines learn that a “civilized soldier” cannot stand alone among the “barbarian tribes” because all these tribes use to gather together to defeat the invader. General Custer was defeated and killed with 210 of his sol-

diers of the 7th Cavalry Regiment, in the Little Big Horn battle, where the Indian chief Caballo Loco (Crazy Horse) managed to unify all the tribes against them.

They learn that US has embarked on a war without frontiers, without vanguard or rearguard, like the annihilation wars of the different Indian tribes in the United States.

12. Nowadays there still exist shameless people that in the name of revolutionary Marxism pretend that 2WW was between “democracy and fascism”. There are also shameless people that insist US imperialism while supposedly in “decadence”, spread out more democracy as a way of dominating (or regime of dominance of) the world, as Gramscian currents of the likes of fake Trotskyists as the Argentinean PTS affirm.

Nowadays fake Trotskyists supporting such outrageous ideas are working against the world proletariat, because in fact imperialism becomes either “democratic” or fascist depending on what helps it -according to the given circumstance- to dominate the world or out of the urgency to defeating its own proletariat

Hitler’s plan of world dominance put into motion by the US transnationals and finance capital; its infamous regime of “Republicrats” and Bush Government, was first planned by the Nazi generals who wanted Germany not to be a vassal power, but the conqueror in Europe and the world by winning the 2nd World War. US ruling class has the same ideology.

Revolutionary Marxism affirms 2WW had a dual character; it was not a war between “democracy or fascism” but an inter-imperialist war between the different imperialist powers, to dominate the world, and a counterrevolutionary war against the USSR to restore capitalism. Germany also tried to do this by invading the USSR, causing the death of 27 millions of Russian workers and peasants.

One more time it has been proved it wasn’t a war between “democracy and fascism”. When US the “democratic” imperialist power that won the (inter-imperialist) war in 1945 it was able to define favorably the other post war result (restoring capitalism)

in 1989 being the dominant power of the planet and applying the same plan of its old “fascist enemies”

This is the American “democratic” imperialism, supported during decades by Yalta and Potsdam pacts, by the Stalinist bureaucracy expropriator of the October revolution, who since 1980, smashing the masses sold out the workers states to the different imperialist powers.

13. Since 1989 under the new regime of dominance, the American working class, as never before, started suffering the same shortages, hunger, layoffs and repression like its brothers and sisters in Afghanistan Iraq, , Africa, and in all the nations oppressed by the imperialist beasts. The same imperialist powers that in 1989 showed the workers of the USSR and Eastern Europe the supermarkets full of goods, now are in a crisis and open recession. The workers of the same imperialist powers are getting sacked and cannot buy anything in the overflowing supermarkets. At the same time, 20 years after the 1989 events, the Eastern European and Russian proletarians are one million times worse than before Capitalist restoration. Moreover the few millions of parasites that rule this rotten system; the same who wasted 14 billion dollars in a year, eating beforehand the benefits the human society hasn’t yet produced, are responsible for millions of African exploited people’s deaths, the backward social situation in Russia and China and now they are destroying productive forces and machines in the central imperialist countries. They submit the planet to chronic unemployment and consequently to the waste of thousands of millions of man-hours, to diseases, starvation, etc., carrying the world to barbarism.



Pekin 1989: students mobilization in Tiananmen Square

barism. These bloodsucking parasites call themselves “the civilization” saying they represent a vigorous capitalism and not a decadent system causing more and more barbarism!

Since a long time ago revolutionary Marxism has defined imperialism, no matter its “democratic” or “fascist” instance, as Barbarism, backwardness and destruction of productive forces. Imperialist wars are an example of the extreme degree of destruction of the productive forces.

The bourgeoisie is right when it says in horror: “We are facing a “1989 period” but this time from the point of view of the capitalist system”. The “barbarian and backward people” in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine have imposed a persistent and heroic resistance; the same ones in Latin America have opened offensive revolutionary combats in the beginning of 21st century, like in Bolivia and the linked revolutions and mass upheavals that shook the continent threatening to reach the US.

What the imperialists call “barbarian people” in a derogatory manner, is the working class, the class that produces the wealth that these parasites squander. The “barbarians” are the proletariat of the colonial and semi colonial world and the working class of the imperialist countries who manages the most advanced and the highest technology of productive forces.

In fact, the civilization forces belong to the working class and socialism and the forces of barbarism belong to this rotten imperialist regime which deserves to die since a long time ago.

TWO DIFFERENT MOMENTS OF THE WORLDWIDE REGIME OF DOMINANCE IMPOSED SINCE 1989

14. This new worldwide regime of dominance imposed since 1989 had two key moments: the first one between 1989 and 1991, which was characterized by the beginning of the full dominance of the planet by US Imperialism and the rest of the imperialist powers’ General Staffs recognizing US total hegemony in the economic, political and military scenario. There were enough business and markets for all. US was the guarantor and shared them out. All the other imperialist pow-

ers became US partners. But different from the period of Yalta when the US played the role of the “driving force” for the other imperialist powers, now the whole world was turned into US own internal market; US imperialism used the finance capital of the other imperialist powers to finance its own an huge deficits and make business.

This new regime of dominance had its greatest expression in the first Gulf War in 1991 led by US President G. Bush Sr. heading the coalition of 21 countries, including all the imperialist powers, the UN and Russia and China with capitalism already restored.

The second moment was the world economic crisis of 1997-2001 when US imperialism used the Twin Towers terrorist attack as an excuse to launch the offensive on Afghanistan and Iraq and at the same time leave aside France, Germany, the UN and all the old institutions of Yalta. Now it was the time of US “unilateralism”, the slogan of Bush Jr. was “either with us or against us”.

Hardly 10 years had passed since the restoration of capitalism in that one third of the world where the worker states had been, when the 1997-2001 crisis announced the finance capital had consumed thousands of million dollars from the new markets of the former workers states, by exploiting millions of Chinese slave workers and the highly qualified labour force of the former workers states of eastern Europe, besides plundering the huge oil, gas and mineral reserves of the former USSR.

Since then, the only way for them to get out from the trap was increasing their parasitic character -as Lenin defined Imperialism-, developing only destructive forces and reproducing the capital in a fictitious way because it cannot find a lucrative rate of profit in the productive process. The 50 years’ boom of capitalist expansion that would come according to capitalism apologists was a bluff: it was only a short cycle of parasitic survival, a destructor of finance capital unable to take profit from the productive process or usufruct the new markets the imperialists had already plundered. Thus, while exploiting to the end the Chinese slave labor force, they invented fictitious values in the “futures” markets of oil, grains, producing a housing market bubble and the finance capital got exposed as what it is: a parasite gang- all of them are Madoff!- expropriators of human labour.



Greece: national strike on April 2nd, 2009

Since 1989, the imperialist regime of dominance in crisis, survives thanks to the support of the treacherous leaderships of the proletariat.

15. We affirm this Bonapartist regime of dominance couldn’t consolidate during 20 years of political crisis, increasing inter imperialist disputes and splits, because of the heroic masses resistance.

It does not owe its survival to the five counterrevolutionary military Commands outlined by the Pentagon and the US finance capital or to the strength of the US Army and its marines, defeated in Afghanistan, Iraq and (through its proxy the ISAF) Lebanon in spite of its superior military technology. It survives **because it has been supported and helped by all the treacherous leaderships, guarantors of destroying all the fighting organizations constructed by the masses during the first decade of the 21st century.**

They were responsible for besieging and strangling the revolutionary processes in the semi colonial world during the first years of the 21st century and now in the semi colonies and the imperialist countries, through the bureaucracy and labor aristocracy parties and the World Social Forum (WSF). They are the real shield, the fundamental support of Capitalism in political and economic bankruptcy in the whole world. The objective is to divert the class struggles or to stop the proletariat from waging a class revolutionary war against the exploiters to face the brutal attack and

civil war already launched on the masses by the exploiters.

We could say that due to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, the imperialist system was able to “escape from” revolution at the end of 2WW. That is, due to the betrayal of Stalinism and Social Democracy, Capitalism as well as the Stalinist bureaucracy went out safely from the 1968-1974 revolutionary uprising; for the same reason capitalism was restored in the workers states, that huge conquest of the international working class which were sold out by the Stalinist bureaucracy become new bourgeoisies.

When the Bonapartist world regime of dominance imposed in 1989 went into crisis, badly beaten by the mass resistance and offensive, once again Stalinism, the Social Democracy together with the fake Trotskyists came to save it. From that den of thieves, the WSF, commanded by the AFL-CIO and other world labor bureaucracies supported this rotten capitalist system subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, the “Bolivarians”, the coward Muslim and Arabian bourgeoisies and the “democratic” imperialisms. They subordinated the working class and the exploited masses to their tyrants in the precise moment when the latter are in crisis. Those traitors are the guarantors of the counterrevolutionary pacts of Iraq, Palestine, Bolivia, and Colombia

besieging and strangling the revolutionary processes.

And now when the objective conditions of the capitalist system in crisis and bankruptcy, and the extreme sufferings of the masses appear; when the masses fighting attempts are ever more aggressive, like in Greece, the open revolution in Madagascar, the French Colonies of Guadalupe and the Antilles, the treacherous leaderships again save this pestilent system from the proletarian revolution.

All this historical period has confirmed the thesis of the Fourth International founders and Trotskyism that the historical crisis of mankind, even of civilization, boils down to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. The objective conditions are deeply revolutionary and the objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have begun to get deeply rotten. But from the leadership point of view, the conditions are as reactionary as the perfidious role of the masses' treacherous leaderships. They avoid the proletariat entering the road of revolution and force it to accept layoffs, and the loss of gains giving the excuse of the crisis. They are who subordinate the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, to the regulationist social pacts. They are in charge of besieging and isolating the bursts of resistance of the masses when the latter achieve breaking the walls these misleaders set up around them.

Only when the masses are able to break the retaining walls, they can free their hands and enter the combat demonstrating their force and power, as we saw in Greece, in the general strikes in spite of and against the labor aristocracies in Belgium, Greece, Italy, France, in the masses uprising in Latvia, the great revolutionary mass rebellions of Guadeloupe, Martinique and the other French colonies and the extraordinary revolution started in the African island of Madagascar. There, rebellious workers and peasants rose up against US, Korean and French monopolies who disputed their territory. Madagascar was able to advance even to a point beyond that the revolutionary Greek uprising was able to advance.

The workers and peasants broke the Army and the rank and file soldiers refused to shoot them.

These revolutions and uprisings keep alive not only the proletariat and exploited masses' future but also that of the whole mankind civilization.

The new historical period will be defined in the confrontation of revolution and counterrevolution at worldwide level.

16. In the worldwide speed race between the development of the bankruptcy of capitalism and the first responses of the masses the new historical period opened will be defined, under huge historical convulsions as those that took place in 1989. This is the beginning of a new period that will be resolved in an open clash between revolution and counterrevolution in the world arena of class struggle. For that reason, all the pacts and the apparent "unity" of the different imperialist powers around Obama and US we are witnessing today, have a provisory, circumstantial character: if the exploiters succeed in preventing the masses from advancing towards a revolutionary counteroffensive and are able to make the masses to pay entirely for the crisis, those pacts and "unity" will tend to consolidate and settle in renovated institutions of regime of dominance.

If, on the other hand, against the treacherous leadership, the working class can open the path towards a revolutionary counteroffensive, we will see those pacts and provisional agreements burst and deepen the "disorder" of the bourgeois order.

17. Today, the world bourgeoisie asks itself how far the crisis would get, when it would touch the bottom. This is the prevailing uncertainty among the ruling class who is watched over by the jailers of the worker movements, the treacherous leaders bought by the great capital.

Based on scientific socialism, the lesson of revolutionary Marxism of the imperialist epoch and the Third and the Fourth Revolutionary Internationals, Marxists know what will be the output of this crisis if the success of the international socialist revolution does not stop it in the next historical period.

The historical experience shows that the system survives itself by destroying. Thus, the delay of the proletariat revolution means that this system will destroy the fictitious values needed to equal the real values with the real goods created by the human labor.

Secondly, this crisis where the financial capital does not achieve to recover its profit rate in the productive process will mean not only the sale at a lower price,

even lower than the cost price of what has already been produced because of the overproduction crisis, but also a loss of value of capital due to the inexistence of a profit rate which could make possible the investment under the conditions of the present recession that will become in a world depression, that is to say, a depreciation of value of all the goods, first of all that of the labor force, creator of the entire material wealth, with the resulting mass expulsion from the productive process and the increase of mass suffering.

Thirdly, each imperialist state has bailed out with loans and disbursements of the national treasure, its own finance capital. Those hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars have to be paid by the masses through tax increases, by stealing the savings of the middle class, an increase in the super exploitation of the labor forces still not evicted from the productive process in order to take from them a new slice of absolute and relative surplus value; this superexploitation is facilitated by the exploiters blackmailing with a reserve industrial army that will get bigger and bigger. For that reason, even though today the "third wave" of the crisis expresses in the imperialist countries through recession and price deflation (while in the semicolonial countries it appears as stagflation -recession plus inflation), the bank and corporation bailouts by the imperialist states are creating a new "bubble" that sooner or later will explode provoking an inflationary -and even hyperinflationary- process inside the own big metropolises.

Fourthly, the survival of this system means a new sacking of the semi-colonial countries through the devaluation of the national currency, an external credit crunch, generalized bankruptcy and default as we can see now in the Eastern European states. This will put on the agenda the need for the different imperialist powers to re-colonize and strengthen the chains tying the colonial and semi-colonial countries in their respective spheres of influence.

Fifthly, there is no longer a place for the existence of relatively independent capitalist countries, like Russia and China. The sinking of oil and other commodity prices and a marked trend of FDI coming off China will push those nations to an open recession.

As we have said, we are facing the development of objectively revolutionary conditions and a huge political crisis of the tops which do not know how to recover a new economical, political and military point of equilibrium and let alone, a stable regime of dominance. An all that cannot be achieved without the imperialist bourgeoisies defeating or deceiving their own working class to advance towards superior colonial adventures, new wars, and sinking some imperialist powers by depriving them of their spheres of influence.

But, above all, **it will not be possible to rebuild a new stable world regime of dominance without first settling which imperialist power will take Russia and China as its spheres of influence**, that is to say, as its own colonies and semi colonies. Obama –as the Bushes, Clinton, Reagan, etc., and even Roosevelt did earlier - is totally conscious that who controls Russia and China will rule the planet. Obama knows that if USA loses Russia and China in the hands of Germany, Japan or other imperialist rivals, it could mean the beginning of the decay of US imperialism as a dominant power.

18. If rotten imperialism overlies, where will the crisis get to? The revolutionary Marxists affirm that it will not stop till destroying the necessary wealth to restore the rate of profit; until Capital can devalue or suppress enough goods to allow the surviving finance capital, supported by their states get the productive forces and the wealth of the semi colonial countries at a bargain price. It will not stop until the capital gets high rates of profit into new production branches where it has succeeding in eliminating all its imperialist competitors, and with this new possibilities to get the entire world market in branches such as automaking, biopharmacy, machine-tools, high-tech, among others, developing a huge process of capital concentration on the hands of a very tiny bunch of parasites of the international finance capital.

The crisis will arrive to the point where the monopolies and the transnationals –that are backed effectively by each state of any of the imperialist powers- will dispute each other –even by means of bullets- the world market in each of the productive branches where there is overabundance of monopolies and imperialist powers, and also they will scramble for redividing spheres of

influence in the semi colonial countries.

How far will the crisis get? It will get a lot further. Because if it saves itself from the proletarian revolution, capitalism will survive making its parasitism even deeper, leaving ever less imperialist powers and monopolies as winners and some others will lose. As the experience of the 20th century has showed, in

this imperialist epoch, this dilemma will not be resolved by applying to nice agreements, but by means of a full inter-imperialist war, since the powers resulting without spheres of influence, losing control of the production branches and being cornered by the winning powers will not give up their places peacefully.

The historic alternative continues to be either communism or fascism

19. This new milestone in the imperialist era is no different from the old ones: either it will be solved with revolution or through war, with socialist revolution or fascism.

If none of the classes in conflict succeeds in overturning to its favor the balance of power in the immediate period and in making the rival pay the costs of the crisis, depression will come. Thus, capitalism will reach in the end a restoration of its rate of profit on the basis of a massive destruction of productive forces. That will be a punishment the proletariat will receive if it fails to meet its historical responsibilities because of the traitor leaderships, servants of the big capital that it has at its head.

The truth must be told to the advanced workers of the world. The principled Trotskyists have told them so with our 23-point program calling for an International Conference of the healthy forces of Trotskyism and the revolutionary workers organizations: the struggle against the high cost of living, for food, land, jobs, national independence, even to maintain the minimum gains we have not yet lost. The program proposes to proletarians a mass political struggle to defeat the bourgeois regimes and states that have already declared a social civil war on the exploited masses of the world to make them pay the crisis.

What is more, against the liars, renegades of Trotskyism that announce more and more “democracy”, more and more pacts with “democratic” imperialisms, with “progressive” bourgeoisies; the internationalist revolutionaries affirm that the Muslim and Arab bourgeoisies will not doubt to seal thousands of deals with imperialism- as they have done in Iraq and in martyred Gaza- in order to use the masses as small change for their business. The supposed “Anti-imperialist” Colonels,

such as Chavez in Venezuela, will become the Peron of 1974, that is to say, the Peron that developed the fascist gangs of the Triple A (death squads organized and armed from the Ministry of Social Security that crushed unions’ rank and file and factory committees’ delegates, worker parties’ members, left intellectuals, etc., during Peron’s 3rd presidency, NT). Following that model, Chavez has not hesitated in declaring the illegality of the aluminum workers strikes and in other companies in Venezuela and threatening to send the “Bolivarian” army to repress the workers who dare to fight.

We have already seen Morales- the servant of French Total and Spanish Repsol- making deals with the fascist national elites that massacred the workers and peasants in the Media Luna (rich oil-gas and soy region in Eastern Bolivia, NT), and establishing a regime of shared government to suffocate the revolution in Bolivia.

The internationalist Trotskyists affirm that, when the time arrives to pay the loans with which the imperialist states are today financing their banks and transnationals bailout, the chauvinist shouts of the labor aristocracies in the imperialist powers, with their reactionary strikes –such as those by the leaders of the British Trade Unions claiming “Out illegal immigrants! British jobs for British workers!” - will be of no use. Then you will see, not only much of the labor aristocrats will be laid off, but the remaining ones at work will have to work in worse conditions than those of the immigrant workers; because the current recession and the devaluation of capital will be followed by an irrepressible issuance of currency to pay the loans of the states, with a consequent inflation –as in Germany in the late ‘20s and ‘30s- to make masses pay the bailout “party” of banks and financial capital.

20. These are the historical forecasts arising from the deep trends of a system that cannot survive without new wars, extreme destruction of goods created by human labor, and destroying the entire civilization.

Big capital in crisis has recruited all the forces of the labour aristocracies and bureaucracies to support and save it. On the other side, the insurgent masses remain, as in Greece, Guadeloupe, Madagascar, trying to break the siege of the leaderships that oppress them; as in other parts of Europe who try to stop the ongoing attack, or as those that resist heroically under siege like in Iraq, Bolivia and Gaza. Only Trotskyism has been next to them, the only living revolutionary Marxism, even though the impostors who speak in its name have repeatedly muddled its clean flags to save Capital. The program of Trotskyism is socialist revolution that, today more than ever, becomes wholly significant.

The Trotskyists affirm that the current crisis will not be solved through “regulating the laws” of the decaying imperialist capitalist economy. It will be solved in the global class struggle, as asserted by the revolutionary 3rd and 4th Internationals.

The bourgeoisie is not only a social class controlling production and the state with which it represses the exploited class, but a global politically and militarily organized social force with a program, ideology, institutions; a class that has bought a fraction of its class enemy to serve as hired agents; a class with a determinate will to overcome.

In the same way, the proletariat is not only a class subject to exploitation. It is also a social force that comes out to struggle pushed by its most elementary needs; a class that builds and rebuilds institutions for the combat, that with its magnificent spontaneity and unchained forces overthrows governments, regimes, divides armies and makes bourgeois states shake and fall. But, by contrast to the bourgeoisie, in order to conquer as a class the will to overcome, the proletariat has a limitation: its treacherous leaderships.

Those who struggle to set up again the world party of the socialist revolution under the flag of the Fourth International of its founders in 1938 have a task: that of solving the issue of the limitation of the proletariat.

This issue will not be solved in one

or two years: it will take a historical period to be solved. The working class will give revolutionary Marxism a thousand opportunities to grow roots in the masses, as has happened every time the proletariat revolves massively against its chains since it entered the political scene as an exploited class in struggle.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the 4th International wrote the Manifest of War and prepared the world proletariat with a program containing the conditions for victory- like Zimmerwald and Kienthal had done at the beginning of the First World War.

But, unlike the internationalists of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, when Trotsky died in 1940, the Trotskyists dissolved the chief staff of the Fourth International and left the national sections on their own during the war. Inevitably, without an internationalist centre, these national sections through opportunist zigzags led the Fourth International to a centrist and federative rebuilding in 1948.

In the Manifest of War, the Fourth International affirmed that, if the regime of war endured, the revolutionary parties would degenerate. In effect, the war regime endured with the sinister pact of Yalta and Potsdam carried out by Roosevelt, Churchill and their lackey Stalin. That counterrevolutionary pact was consummated with the capitalist restoration in 1989 and, needless to say, all revolutionary parties degenerated.

Thus, the period opened in 1989 found the Trotskyist movement bursting into a thousand pieces and then openly passing across to the rows of opportunism following Stalinism, raising the same foul policy of class collaboration and becoming groups of pressure on the bourgeois regimes and states.

This new milestone that marks the crisis of global imperialist capitalist economy, a real “1989 of capitalism”, means that what is blowing up is the whole regime of parties and post war complicities, opening a new historical period in which reformists will not be able to call alms as gains facing the world proletariat and they will be showed in their true colors. They are showing themselves as strike-breakers, as we have seen in Greece; tormenting Palestine masses into the worst of collaborationism, backing Fatah and the Zionist state of Israel. They are already exposing themselves: strike-breakers as the English Trade Unions bureaucracies that are only a sample of the labor aristocracies and bureaucracies of the world. Or else, they are servants of the

Bolivarian bourgeoisies in Latin America, declared enemies of the working class.

We affirm that the conditions are open for a historical period that could be defined as that of the counterreformism, on condition that revolutionary internationalist Marxism unifies with the proletarians giving them a flag and a program to fight for, putting in their hands the conditions for victory, helping them to set free from the present leaderships.

This new period will only be defined in favour of the proletarians if, grouping their ranks under the program of the socialist revolution, they manage to solve the crisis of their revolutionary leadership.

21. We are, therefore, at the beginning of a new period, that will be defined historically in the alternative “either socialism or barbarism”; either communism or fascism: either the social world revolution advances; or in the next period one or some imperialist powers will find their way out of the crisis depriving the others from their spheres of influence, a question that, as we have said above, will open the path towards a world war that is, to fascism and barbarism.

But, we insist, this is a historical alternative. Nothing is yet resolved. The new period has already started and its results will be solved in the current and oncoming convulsions, in the clashes between revolution and counterrevolution in the world arena of class struggle.

The proletariat has always had the last word. Contrary to (the economic assessor of the Soviet Worker State at the beginning of the 20’s, that the finance capital parasites are studying today) Kondratieff’s claims, the economic crisis neither develops nor resolves itself along the automatic laws of economy; in this imperialist epoch, the economic crisis gets resolved and defined in the world arena of class struggle, in the confrontation between revolution, counterrevolution and war. For that reason, the proletariat has and will have the last word also in this period that has started. The result of the struggle will be defined in favor of the proletariat as long as it can surpass its current leaderships and build up, under the combat and the historical convulsions, an international revolutionary leadership able to lead it to take the power. •

IN THE NEW HISTORIC PERIOD THAT HAS BEGAN

THE CRISIS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS DEEPENED AND WORSENERD

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THE REFORMIST LEADERSHIPS CAN MAKE NO MORE "REFORMS" OUT OF THE MISERABLE CRUMBS THE BOSSES HAND OUT WE ARE FACING "COUNTERREFORMST" PERIOD

In 1922, after the First World War, Trotsky said: "When the bourgeoisie resorted after the war to throwing sops to the working class, the conciliators obsequiously converted these sops into reforms (the 8-hour day, unemployment insurance, and so on); and discovered – amid the ruins – the era of reformism. Today the bourgeoisie has passed over to a counter-offensive all along the line, and even the London Times – a super-capitalist daily – refers with alarm to capitalist "Bolsheviks." The current epoch is the epoch of counter-reformism." (Leon Trotsky. *The First Five Years of the Communist International* - Volume 1- "Report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International - Second Session", June 2 1921)

We can apply this definition to the current situation. The bourgeoisie can no longer throw some crumbs to the

proletariat now and then so that the reformist leaderships are able to present these crumbs as 'reforms' or 'victories' to contain the struggle of the masses. Now, facing this global crisis the imperialist bourgeoisie has launched ferocious offensive against the world proletariat. Far from delivering charity, imperialism has to rob even the most small and elementary gains won by the working class during almost two centuries of struggles. We are effectively in the epoch of counter-reformism.

THE CRISIS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP DEEPENS AND WORSENERD, BUT SO TOO ARE THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS SHARPENING FOR THE REFOUNDATION OF BOLSHEVISM

We have seen how, in the race between the crisis and the attack of the bourgeoisie on one hand, and the response of the masses on the other. The blows of the crisis follow one another as the waves of a tsunami, threatening with a global depression. The masses have begun to fight back

taking up the counter-offensive,

Now under these conditions this transitory situation can only be resolved in the interests of the exploiters or in the interests of the world proletariat. Thus the crisis of revolutionary leadership goes deeper and deeper.

The world proletariat enters this new period held back by the long crisis of leadership that has been unresolved for decades. But at the same time, there are "exceptional epochs in History" such as we are experiencing, periods of great historic convulsions, which scorch the ground under the feet of the reformists, and allow Bolshevism to come to life again, breaking with its isolation and once more able to find its way to the masses.

In the new period that is opening, the proletarians and their struggles will give revolutionaries thousands of opportunities for reaching to the masses. But this will only be possible on condition that the internationalist Trotskyists, still a subjective rather than objective factor in the world proletarian vanguard as we explain below, do not disarm our strategies or our program, and step up our fight for an International conference of principled Trotskyists and revolutionary worker organizations, a new Zimmerwald-Kienthal of the 21st century.

IN THE MIDST OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND OF THE CRISIS OF THE PRESENT REGIME OF IMPERIALIST DOMINANCE, IMPERIALISM AND ALL THE BOURGEOISIES HAVE RECRUITED ALL THE AVAILABLE FORCES OF THE LABOR ARISTOCRACIES AND BUREAUCRACIES TO TRY TO MAKE THE MASSES PAY FOR THIS CRISIS



Lugo, Morales, Lula, Correa and Chávez at the World Social Forum in Belém do Pará, Brasil, January 2009

We are in the midst of the World economic crisis, facing also the crisis of imperialist world domination. The

World working class has begun to organize in a counteroffensive formation. The inter-imperialist disputes are in heating up and their general staffs discuss different plans to resolve the crisis. But there is one thing that they agree on: it is necessary to recruit absolutely all the forces of the labor aristocracies and bureaucracies, with all their unions and parties around the world, in order to support imperialist rule, and prevent any challenge from a proletarian revolution -specially in the very heart of the imperialist countries- and so guaranty the masses will pay for the crisis.

At the same time imperialism is also utilizing its fascist agents, as already exist in Bolivia, or in preparation in Italy, and in Palestine with the ferocious attack of its Zionist-fascist agent against the Palestinian masses. The treacherous leaderships of the labor aristocracies and bureaucracies have established a new pact analogous to the "Stalin-Laval Pact"; an open policy of class collaboration to guarantee that the world proletariat and the exploited masses will be surely kept submitted to the "democratic" imperialists, to the "progressive" bourgeoisies, and to the "anti-imperialist" bosses and military in the semi-colonial world.

This infamous role played by the unions and parties of the labor aristocracies and bureaucracies is now crystal clear in Palestine, in Greece, in France and its colonies, in the UK, US, all over Latin America, particularly in Cuba, as we have demonstrated both in Part I and the present Part II of The International Worker Organizer N° 12 (Spanish version) and the present issue of The International Worker Organizer (English version 2).

THE REAGROUPING OF THE TREACHEROUS REFORMIST LEADERSHIPS -UNDER NEW DISGUISES- TO PLAY THEIR ROLE IN THE NEW PERIOD HAS BEGUN

Now in this period of counter-reform when the bureaucracy cannot offer any more crumbs as 'reforms' they have to act more and more openly as strikebreakers. Thus the treacherous and reformist leaderships are more and more exposed before the masses as the traitors they are. That's why we are attending today a regrouping of the leadership of the world labor movement under new disguises to better prepare them in the new conditions to go on

playing their role of making the masses pay for the crisis and of rescuing bankrupt capitalist imperialism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is fully conscious that in the eyes of the vanguard the social democratic and Stalinist parties have lost most of their legitimacy. The traditional Socialist Parties and Communist Parties - especially throughout imperialist Europe - have had many splits and created a number of "new" offspring. The European Socialist Parties have been the alternative parties in their imperialist governments for the last 30 years. In the '80s, it was Mitterrand in France, Felipe Gonzalez in Spain, Papandreu and the PASOK in Greece who carried on the Reaganite-Thatcherite attack on the masses. Then again in 1989, the social democratic parties alternated in government with the conservative "neo-liberal" governments, making the worst attacks against the working class and promoting wars of conquest in the semi colonial world, such as the Spanish PSOE, the German Social Democrats, the French and Belgian SPs, the New Labor of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown in UK, the Italian Democratic Party in the "Olive" government and then that of Prodi.

For their part, the Communist Parties in Europe are the heart and soul of the labor bureaucracy that forces the "regulationist" Social Pacts on the masses, forming coalitions with imperialist governments to advance on working class gains, and acting as open strikebreakers.

Thus, for example Rifondazione Comunista in Italy (inside which the majority of the Trotskyist renegades were cohabiting until recently) was openly a part in the imperialist Prodi administration that downloaded the cost of the crisis onto the shoulders of the masses and sent imperialist troops to Lebanon under the UNO "umbrella". The French CP is the heart of the union bureaucracy that goes on negotiating with Sarkozy how to make the working class pay for the crisis, while containing the masses through ineffective 24 hour strikes and preventing them from organizing an indefinite general strike to throw out Sarkozy and leave the imperialist regime of the 5th Republic in ruins. The CP bureaucracy refuses to unite the heroic occupations of factories and the taking of bosses as hostages that have terrorized the French bourgeoisie, deliberately isolating one group

of fighters from the other.

The Spanish CP is practically an appendage of the imperialist government of Rodriguez Zapatero and a faithful subject to "His Majesty the King" whom the CP supports unconditionally in their oppression of the Basque people. And the Greek CP, as we have already seen, backs the government of Karamanlis and its regime of alternating with the PASOK, acting arrogantly as a strikebreaker against the rebellious youth and the masses.

Moreover, Stalinism has over its head the stigma of having surrendered the former worker states to capitalist restoration and to crown it all, now in Latin America, it is getting ready to consummate the restoration of capitalism in Cuba. The recently convened Summit of the Americas completely unmasked the Monica Lewinsky-style servility towards Obama, not only of all the "Bolivarian bourgeoisies" but also of the openly restorationist Castroite bureaucracy. Raul Castro spoke for the bureaucracy when he returned the smile and hint of negotiation from the US president, saying that they are ready to negotiate everything, everywhere, anytime. So blatant was his eagerness to please that they had to pick that semi-corpse of Fidel out of his coffin to "clarify" matters saying that "Raul had made an involuntary mistake", because he had "forgotten" to say that there would not be any "liberation of the political prisoners" but rather an "exchange" for the Cuban Five imprisoned in the US.

In Palestine, Stalinism is doubly a traitor, as it subordinates the Palestinian workers and resistance fighters to both Fatah and Hamas, while the "Israeli" CP is a straightforwardly Zionist party.

FACING THE CRISIS AND THE FAILING LEGITIMACY OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND COMUNIST PARTIES, THE IMPERIALISM BOURGEOISIE NEEDS THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM MORE THAN EVER

Facing this situation, imperialism and the world bourgeoisie need more than ever the fake Trotskyists to contain and strangle the mass rebelliousness and revolutionary processes that could emerge from the current crisis, especially those in the imperialist powers, just as Social democracy and Stalinism did in the global revolutionary upsurge of 1968-74. These traitors are no long



Founding Congress of the "New Anticapitalist Party" in France, February 2009 (left). Besancenot, leader of the French NAP, in Tel Aviv (above)

sufficient for this task as they have pay for their treacherous role in the interests of imperialism earning the suspicion or hatred of the masses.

Imperialism and the bourgeoisies need the Trotskyist renegades to takeover this role to sell out the masses in the rebellious French colonies, in imperialist Europe, in the US where sooner or later the pacifist-democratic illusions in Obama are sure to dissipate. They have also been recruited to provide the supporting role for discredited Stalinism and Castroism in Latin America, where they acted on behalf of the bourgeoisies to suppress the Ecuadorian, Argentinean, Bolivian revolutions. They played the same role to suppress the anti-imperialist fight of the Venezuelan masses, they helped to keep the Brazilian working class submitted and tied up hands and feet under Lula, and they support the Castroite bureaucracy that is taking the lead in containing the revolution on the sub-continent in order to have its hands free to finish the restoration of capitalism in Cuba.

TO FULFIL ITS ROLE AS THE SAVIOUR OF BANKRUPT IMPERIALIST CAPITALIST, BY CONTAINING THE THREAT OF REVOLUTION, THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM PREPARES ITSELF FOR ITS COUNTER-REFORMIST TASK

An expression of this process is the re-configuration of the World Social Forum, which had in late January, 2007 its annual meeting in Belem do Para, in northern Brazil, showing its ability to change its features to better fulfill its counter-revolutionary role.

This meeting was attended by the

NGOs, used by the different imperialists and their monopolies to corrupt and buy the worker leaderships within that forum, the Castroite bureaucracy, Stalinism in its different colors and the Trotskyist renegades. But while up to that point the fake Trotskyists had been performing the role of left cover for the Stalinists, Social Democracy and the union bureaucracies within the WSF, today these renegades have gone to the centre, to become one of the main supports of the World Social Forum allowing it to fulfill its counter-revolutionary tasks.

The presence of the "Bolivarian" presidents at the Belem WSF, who paid "an homage to the Cuban Revolution" on its 60th anniversary and chanted arm in arm the "*Hasta siempre comandante...*", had as a central objective the legitimizing of the Castroite bureaucracy which is preparing to finish the restoration of capitalism in Cuba hand in hand with Obama and French imperialism. The latter has made big investments in Cuba in the form of joint-ventures with the Castroite bureaucracy, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Bush administration with wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, to take some profitable stakes in what used to be the traditional US "backyard" –Latin America.

In Belem there were not only the Brazilian central unions (the official CUT, and the old yellow bureaucrats of Fuerza Sindical and CGT) as well as other union bureaucracies of the American Continent, but also the WSF the ELAC (a supposedly "anti-imperialist" gathering of all the "combative" unions from North, Central and South

America, NT) and the "oppositionist" Brazilian CONLUTAS (under the leadership of the Morenoite LIT and its Brazilian PSTU). Another item on the secret agenda of the Belem WSF was how to keep the Latin American working class submitted to the national bourgeoisies, that is to the popular front as in Bolivia and Brazil, to class collaboration governments like that of Chavez, and to the "Bolivarian" governments of the sub-continent at a time when all of them were, and are, launching ferocious attacks against the masses to make them pay the cost of the crisis, with a wave of mass layoffs, work suspensions, wage cuts and a unstoppable increase in the cost of living.

UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE WSF AND THE TROTSKYIST RENEGADES IN LATIN AMERICA, "NEW ANTICAPITALIST PARTIES" ARE MUSHROOMING; THEY HAVE TAKEN THE ROLE OF THE DELEGITIMATED SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND STALINISM

The meeting in Belem do Para was also the key to building and strengthening the new "mediators" with a central role played by the Trotskyist renegades. Thus, within the WSF in Belem an international conference was convened of the "new anticapitalist left" headed by the PSOL of Brazil (Mandelites) and the French LCR which was about to found the NPA (New Anticapitalist Party). That conference was also attended by the Pakistani LPP, the "Sinistra Critica" of Italia, the MST (Worker Socialist Movement) of Argentina, Syriza-Synaspismos of Greece, the Left Bloc of Portugal, the

Catalonian fraction of the Spanish Izquierda Unida, and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) of US, among others.

These “new anticapitalist parties” –which are anything but “new”- are playing the same role in Europe, in the US and elsewhere, the same role played all the reformists in Latin America during the first five years of the 21st century. That is, diverting, containing and finally smothering the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and defeating the left wing of the proletariat. They are new “mediators” that are preparing to contain the radicalization of the worker and youth vanguard that we have already seen in Greece, in Guadeloupe, in Martinique, Guyana, and other French imperialism’s colonies, as well as France itself.

But the imperialist bourgeoisies have put the Trotskyist renegades PSTU and PSOL from Brazil as well as those of Venezuela, Argentina and the whole of Latin America in charge of building these new mediators in Europe. It is no accident that they put at the head of this delicate task those Trotskyist renegades that have already “passed the test”, i.e., that have already demonstrated their ability to smother revolutions, expropriate the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, support popular front governments like that of Morales, or class collaborationist ones with some “bourgeois nationalist” color as that of Chavez, etc.

They use these renegades to supervise the building up of the new anticapitalist parties and to direct and train the European Trotskyist renegades who do not have the same experience as their Latin American colleagues, despite popular candidates in France winning many votes in the elections. That is because there have been no revolutions in Europe for the last 30 years. So confident is the world bourgeoisie that the Latin American renegades are suited for their role as “trainers” that all these “anticapitalist” European parties will meet again this June in Brazil under the direction of the PSOL. Meeting there again will also be the Pakistani LPP, the Cuban CP, the Mexican EZLN (the “Zapatistas”), the PSUV of Venezuela, the Bolivian MAS and the bureaucracy of the Bolivian (Central Union) COB, the Argentinean MST, among others, in a seminar prepared to “debate the new situation, the

impact of the economic crisis and the responses and initiatives from the left in Latin America and the World”, according to the statement made by the PSOL.

So in France, behind its “red” slogans –e.g. “*nique le capitalisme!*” (“fuck capitalism!”) and “for a new May of ‘68”- the recently founded NPA (“New Anticapitalist Party”) wants to contain the most combative sectors of the worker youth from the “Citès” (the poor outskirts of Paris, NT) who in 2005 and 2006 revolted against the regime shouting: “*Let’s make every night a Baghdad in Paris!*”. Not only this, the NPA also aims to contain the most politically conscious sectors of the working class in the French imperialist metropolis.

But the fact is that this NPA, in spite of the popularity enjoyed by its chief public figure Olivier Besancenot, whom the media call “the Trotskyist postman”, in spite of having 10,000 registered members, has not been able to prevent or stop the factory occupations and holding bosses as hostages. This shows that the party isn’t yet reliable enough in the eyes of the French imperialist bourgeoisie to function as an effective mediator in containing the core of the French proletariat.

What is, then, the role played by the NPA in France at the moment? It is that of occupying the vacant position left by the French Socialist Party which is in disarray and completely exposed before the masses. That is, the NPA is useful for now for the task of capturing the disenchantment of many layers of workers and youth who have broken with the FSP and the FCP, and campaigning to win the votes of these sectors in the elections. Meanwhile the NPA also serves the FCP-led union bureaucracy of the CGT by supporting it in its role of guaranteeing that the militant fighting French proletariat, is isolated factory from factory, blocking the way to a political general strike, i.e., to a “new French May of ‘68”.

A NEW “BATCH” OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS

These new “anticapitalist parties” together with other variants of the Trotskyist renegades, as for instance, the Lambertite current in France, constitute a batch of social-chauvinist parties that pick up the worst features of both Stalinism and social democracy. From Stalinism they copy the strategies

of supporting the “democratic” imperialists, the two-stage revolution “theory” and the “peaceful road to socialism”. From social democracy they take its open social-chauvinism and its extreme electoralism.

They fit exactly Lenin’s 1915 definition of the social-chauvinists:

“... (*they are*) proven to be social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists in words, but chauvinists in deeds, who are helping “their own” bourgeoisie to rob other countries and enslave other nations.”

(V. I. Lenin, *Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International*, Published for the first time in German in January 1916)

That’s why the French bourgeoisie and the imperialist regime of the 5th Republic called on the French NPA to play an overtly social-imperialistic role a short time after it was founded. A few days after its proclamation as the NPA this party and its leader Besancenot were very busy running all over the place to fulfill their role in the Antilles. There, these “socialists in words” proved to be “chauvinists in deeds”, helping to betray the general strike and preventing the start of the colonial revolution for the price of miserable 200€ per head. They proved to be very useful in helping “their” bourgeoisie to enslave and plunder other people’s “fatherlands”, guaranteeing the continuity of the colonial rule, as we have already explained in Part I of the International Worker Organizer. (El Organizador Obrero Internacional #2).

As early as 1915, Lenin defined clearly the economic nature of social-chauvinism. He said: “*The bourgeoisie of all the big powers are waging the war to divide and exploit the world, and oppress other nations. A few crumbs of the bourgeoisie’s huge profits may come the way of the small group of labour bureaucrats, labour aristocrats, and petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers. Social-chauvinism and opportunism have the same class basis, namely, the alliance of a small section of privileged workers with “their” national bourgeoisie against the working-class masses; the alliance between the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against the class the latter is exploiting.*” And he continued: “*Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same political content, namely, class collaboration, repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repudiation of revolutionary action, unconditional accep-*



France: Caterpillar plant in Grenoble, occupied by its workers

tance of bourgeois legality, confidence in the bourgeoisie and lack of confidence in the proletariat.” And he crowned that with the following reflection: “Social-chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form. It is quite ripe for an open, frequently vulgar, alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staffs.” (Lenin, op.cit., our emphasis).

Lenin’s words written almost a century ago accurately describe the Trotskyist renegades of the French NPA and their colleagues in some other countries. We know that the LCR –the French NPA’s predecessor- openly renounced the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We have seen the LCR condemning the revolutionary action of the worker youth of the cités and safeguarding the bourgeois legality of the imperialist 5th Republic. Now in Guadeloupe, we see Besancenot, along with the leaders and public figures of the NPA’s sister parties, the Lutte Ouvrière and the Lambertite PT in the Antilles, act as the lackeys of “their” imperialist bourgeoisie which is robbing and enslaving the exploited masses in the Antilles. It is very clear now that all of these parties have become openly social-chauvinist parties. They are already ready to make a pact with the bourgeoisie, as Alain Krivine himself recognized, when asserting that they are ready to enter the French government as long as they are not forced into a coalition with the discredited Socialist party.

Not a day passes without the

“Trotskyist” renegades in France and the rest of imperialist countries proving that they have become open social-chauvinist currents. As early as 2002 we saw Alain Krivine – then a “Euro-deputy” i.e. a representative of the French LCR in the European “Parliament”, traveling to Palestine to tell the Palestinian masses that they should accept the “two states” plan. We saw him again in 2004, voting in the EU “parliament” in favor of the imperialist “Road Map” for “solving” the Palestinian question. Today when the ruins of the Gaza Strip are still emitting toxic fumes after the genocidal attack of the Zionist State; when the corpses of the Palestinian women, children and others are still being counted, we see Besancenot and the rest of the candidates from the French NPA for this year’s elections to the so-called European “parliament” fully engaged in their electoral campaign. They loudly proclaim “peace” and “two states” not only in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip but also in Tel Aviv where they made a joint declaration with allegedly “pacifist” Zionist organizations, saying: “The campaign for the European elections would be a particularly sensitive occasion to demand political, economic, sport, diplomatic and cultural sanctions against Israel, starting with the immediate suspension of the association between the European Union and Israel, for as long as the latter does not agree to international jurisprudence and to the UNO resolutions”. Pure and

overt social-chauvinism!

The “Trotskyist” renegades have become the public defenders of French imperialism and its zones of influence. Sarkozy had not finished his tour of the former French colonies in the Magreb and Black Africa when the Algerian general elections were held. We know that in 2004 the Lambertites of the Algerian PT and Mandelites of the Algerian PST participated in the elections and got some representatives in the congress and/or the councils. In this way they supported and gave some legitimacy to the ferocious French imperialist crony dictatorship of Bouteflika, at the same time that the majority of the Algerian working class and exploited masses abstained from participating in the fraudulent elections. This time, the renegades in Algeria have divided the job between themselves. The Lambertite PT and its candidate Louise Hanouni stood on their slate in the fraudulent presidential elections of April 9, won... surprise!... by Bouteflika himself with 91% of the votes (a most scandalous fraud, since the masses abstained even more than in 2004). This time the Mandelite PST did not offer to stand and called for abstention. Hence they placed themselves a little more to the left, after having supported and given legitimacy to the pro-French dictatorship for decades. Their intention is now to prepare themselves for containing the rising radicalization of the workers and exploited youth, which is overwhelmingly unemployed, expelled from education and unskilled because of lack of resources, and fed-up with the bloody state repression. Not even a week goes by without a revolt erupting in one or other Algerian town and city, especially in the Berber region of Kabylia, in the same way that their class brothers and sisters rose up in 2005 and 2006 in the French Cités.

This final degeneration of revisionism and opportunism of the renegade Fourth International into social-chauvinism, i.e., social-imperialism, proves, as if it were necessary, that imperialism has caused at the start of the 21st century, through the liquidation of the Fourth International and the passing of the majority of its forces to the camp of reformism, a new split in Socialism. As Lenin said “Unity with the social-chauvinists means unity with one’s own national bourgeoisie, which exploits other nations; it means splitting the international proletariat.” (Lenin, op.cit.)

THE LAWS OF HISTORY ARE STRONGER THAN ANY APPARATUS: NEW BREAKS AND SPLITS HAVE BEGUN AMONG THE TROTSKYIST RENEGADES AND MANY MORE ARE IN THE WORKS

We have seen up to here how the treacherous leaderships, the “intelligent” reformists and opportunists reconfigure themselves in the rush to win new places where they can fulfill their role of containing and strangling the struggle of the masses and the revolutionary development of the proletarian vanguard under the conditions of the new period.

But this won't be a rosy road for these leaderships. As we have said, the convulsive conditions of sudden changes of this new period that produces and sharpens the conditions of the epoch of wars, crises, revolutions and counter-revolutions won't let them live in peace and will necessarily make them break at every step. As Trotsky said, the laws of History are stronger than any apparatus, and now in the period that is underway, we have already seen these laws act with all their inexorable power in the same way they operated strongly in 1989.

We are experiencing the first episodes of these breaks. Thus, in England, the UK SWP has been shaken by expulsions and splits. After losing a section of its leadership and membership that left for the “Respect” coalition led by the Laborite Galloway, an organization founded and controlled by the SWP, the SWP historically unmovable “iron” CC has just split in two wings, one led by Rees and the other by Callinicos. In the midst of this break, a faction of members has emerged that demands “internal democracy”. The programmatic positions of the different factions are not at all clear, as is usual in a split in a thoroughly reformist party.

What is progressive about this fact is the break itself, and the new struggles of tendencies and factions that are shattering these old conservative apparatuses. Because those ferocious fights and clashes among tendencies and factions in the international Marxist movement is the best cultural medium for at least some tendencies, groups and currents to begin to make an evolution from right to left. This is proven by the experience of those that belong to the FLT: all of us are children and come from the burst of

Morenoism, Loraism, and branches of British or US Trotskyism. Under the acute and convulsive present conditions, the laws of History, sooner than later, will also break up the French NPA and the rest of the “anti-capitalist” parties, squeezed between the pressure of the bourgeois states and regimes that want them to play their role of strike-breakers to the end, and the pressure of the legitimate and just demands of their own rank and file and of the radicalized layers of worker and youth that joined these parties thinking that they were true revolutionary parties that would carry them to revolution and the seizing of power.

CENTRISM IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR OF OUR EPOCH

Now, the WSF, the treacherous leaderships and the reformists have been obliged to re-invent themselves and to put new barriers in front of the masses to prevent them mounting an effective counter-offensive to imperialism's offensive. The genocide against the Palestinian masses in Gaza by the Zionist-fascist State of Israel, on one side, and on the other, the emergence of revolutionary uprisings like that in Guadeloupe, today represent the two opposite poles of the world situation – of counterrevolution and of revolution – that prefigure new and decisive confrontations between the classes.

Out of these confrontations we see how the first and as yet incipient phenomena of radicalization are beginning to develop, as layers of the working class and the exploited masses begin to turn leftwards, looking for a revolutionary breakthrough. These centrist phenomena of the masses appear both within the resistance, as in Palestine, and within the revolutionary offensive in Guadeloupe where the workers and the exploited masses set up their strike committees and their pickets. They also appear in France, as expressed by the wave of factory occupations.

The emergence of centrism, though reflecting the early stages of mass radicalization is a decisive question.

Why? As Trotsky used to say once and again, centrism is the most important phenomenon of our epoch. All those layers of workers and youth that turn from right to left under the blows of the crisis, under the capitalist assaults, amidst the heat of the con-

frontation between revolution and counterrevolution constitute that “actual revolutionary movement of the proletariat” which Lenin said in “*Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*”, was the movement without which Bolshevism can neither break its isolation nor develop and find its way to the masses.

That is because Bolshevism while a necessary factor is not the *decisive* factor in a revolution. Historically speaking, only the masses and their revolutionary strength can be the decisive factor, because if they are absent, there is no other power that can move the levers of History.

Bolshevism –and Trotskyism, its living continuity – is nothing more than a fraction of the international proletariat. The process of radicalization, and the emergence of centrism, means that it is our fraction of the world proletariat i.e., the most exploited and oppressed layers who first begin to enter the stage – like the Black workers descended from slaves, in Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyana, still under the bloodthirsty colonial regimes of French imperialism; like the working class and exploited youth that every week set a poor rural village or a shantytown on fire in Algeria, etc.

As Trotsky said, there are in this planet more reformists than revolutionaries; more compromising than uncompromising and committed fighters. That is why exceptional times in History are needed for revolutionaries to be able to break out of our isolation, while reformists begin to thrash about like fish out of water. The global economic crisis and the festering bankruptcy of capitalism; the crisis in the imperialist regime of domination; revolution and counterrevolution in a race to the end; and the first emerging phenomena of the radicalization of the masses; all this shows that we are at the beginning of one of these “exceptional times in History” in which we revolutionaries can converge and merge with our fraction of the world proletariat, fighting for the leadership of the whole of our class to open the road to victory.

For the moment these still early developments are in many cases contained by the reformist and opportunist leaderships such as the “new Anticapitalist parties”. But any leap forward in the radicalization of the masses, or the opening of two or three revolutions in the heart of Imperialist Europe

will be a severe blow to the “new Anticapitalist parties”, sharpening their contradictions and breaking them into fragments.

The internationalist Trotskyists must intervene strongly in the radicalization process to prevent the dinosaurs of renegade Trotskyism dressed up in anti-capitalist drag from demoralizing and destroying the new militant layers. It is necessary to be inflexible in our strategy and the program, not to cede an inch to the opportunist and reformist leaderships that are for the moment diverting these layers. But at the same time, it is necessary to reach out and talk with those thousands of workers and youth that are seeking a revolutionary road and are temporarily attracted to the ranks of those parties they already know and which speak to them of “anti-capitalism”, “socialism”, “Trotskyism”, etc.

Though we have never to forget that centrism is an episodic phenomenon, lasting only briefly before fading away or transforming itself in something else, the centrism of the masses constitutes a moment in their turn from right to left. In the case of groups or currents, their centrism means that they oscillate permanently between reform and revolution. Therefore, in the period of upheavals when the tendency is for decisive clashes between revolution and counterrevolution, these centrist groups end up generally being swept away into the dustbins of History.

Thus, to work on centrism in a revolutionary way, the first condition is to define the direction of the arrow: where are the given centrists going? To the right? To the left? Once we know the answer, it is necessary to intervene audaciously on these breaks, both on the centrist phenomena of the masses and on the groups and currents that are evolving from right to left, with strategic intransigency and tactical flexibility. This is an unavoidable condition for internationalist Trotskyists to advance towards gathering of our forces internationally and to find a way to the masses.

BEWARE OF THE “INTELLIGENT” REFORMIST WOLVES ARE DISGUISED AS “CENTRIST” LAMBS

On one side of the road, to the “left” of the “Anticapitalist parties” are a number of groups and currents that scramble for “reconstructing”, “reshaping” or “reformulating” the Fourth

International, convening their “international conferences”, “international coordinating meetings”, etc.

Beware of these booby traps! All those groups and currents are what we call “intelligent reformists”. They are crystallized centrist groups, or tiny national sects of Trotskyist renegades that during the first eight years of the 21st century have been hanging from the coattails of the WSF, or of the “anti-globalization” movements. They act as the “fifth wheel of the cart” in the popular front and its counterrevolutionary pacts in Latin America and the Middle East.

By speaking of “reconstructing the Fourth International”, convening conferences in the name of Trotskyism, etc., all these groups aim to occupy today the space that the Trotskyist renegades left empty as they moved right to occupy the spaces vacated by social democracy and Stalinism and fill it with “anti-capitalist” parties. However, both kinds of these deceivers of the masses have to play their role under new conditions of a left turn of large layers of the masses, which are fighting the attacks of what they see instinctively and correctly their “enemy”, the exploiters.

These “intelligent reformists” know that if they do not speak in a “Trotskyist language”, chatting about “the Fourth International, etc.”, they would not be able to play any significant role in containing the mass radicalization processes in course. Therefore, they are preparing to occupy the space of the old social democracy and Stalinism by creating new groups, holding new “reunification” conferences similar to the unprincipled reunification of 1963. These “Reunifications” make no balance sheet of past errors and betrayals, with arrogant disrespect for revolutionary principles, and draw no revolutionary lessons from the main developments of the world class struggle!

In the ‘30s, Trotsky aptly defined these “intelligent (astute, deceiving) reformists” by saying: “(8)...for the frightened reformists, who must now disavow themselves, are ready to accept the most “revolutionary” of formulas, if only they are not obliged today to break with the hybridity, irresolution, “passivity” which are natural to them. That is why the struggle against the hidden or masked opportunists must principally transport itself into the sphere of the practical conclusions from revolutionary promises.” (Leon Trotsky, *Two*

Articles On Centrism, February/March 1934)

These “practical conclusions from revolutionary promises” are in short the revolutionary lessons and program that the “frightened reformists” are afraid of drawing in front of the acid tests of the world class struggle. The world class struggles are the only valid tests that let us define in the laboratory of the world arena if a group or current are honest fighters that are making a left turn, seeking a way to Bolshevism, that is, to a militant internationalism, or on the contrary, they are “intelligent reformists” disguised as “Trotskyists”.

If they are honest fighters seeking the revolutionary truth and the best program for the proletariat to win, even if they have some wrong positions, they will enter direct and honest debate, wanting to test their positions in the acid tests of the world class struggles. However, if they are “intelligent reformists” they will speak out about “program” and “the party”, but they won’t agree to debate the revolutionary lessons to be drawn from these acid tests. On Bolivia, they will be supporters of Morales’ popular front. On the war in Iraq, they will be the pacifists of the WSF helping it to sellout the workers to the “democratic” imperialists of Obama, etc. On Colombia, they will have supported the deal between Chavez, Uribe and the Castroite bureaucracy to crush the resistance, or to dissolve the CRAF leadership. On Argentina from the 2001-2002, they are part of the new “picketer bureaucracies” and the deals made against the masses by “left” union bureaucracies and party leaders behind their backs. On Cuba, they are the lackeys under the orders of the Castroite bureaucracy.

As Trotsky said, in order to define “who is who”, and to verify “passports” within the revolutionary movement, a vital tool is needed: “the program, the program and again, the program”. But as Trotsky also said, “...*The importance of a program does not lie so much in the manner in which it formulates general theoretical conceptions...*” –the “intelligent reformists” limit themselves to this formal task- “...*it is to a much greater degree a question of drawing up the balance of the world economic and political experiences of the last period, particularly of the revolutionary struggles of the last five years -- so rich in events and mistakes.*”(L.T., “1. The Program of the

International Revolution or a Program of Socialism in One Country?" in *The Third International after Lenin- The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals*, 1928 – our emphasis).

If a honest comrade dares to tell an "intelligent reformist" that in order to put in motion a truly revolutionary regroupment, a truly internationalist one of the healthy forces of Trotskyism at an international level it is necessary to "draw up the balance of the world economic and political experiences of the last period", i.e. of the Palestinian revolution and its defeat; of the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan; of the Bolivian, Argentinean, Ecuadorian, etc. revolutions; of the fraudulent "Bolivarian Revolution"; of the subordination of the US proletariat to Obama; and every other acid test that define, within life itself, who is a revolutionary and who is NOT... well, that honest comrade will surely get an hysteric shriek in reply, "So you have no program... you have no program!!!" followed by a precipitous flight on the part of the reformist in question.

Everybody who is incapable of drawing up the balance of the world economic and political experiences of the last period, will not be able to prepare for the new and convulsive developments that are looming, and will not be able to pass the tests raised by of these developments, of the new revolutions, the new wars and counterrevolutions, the new deals signed against the masses, the new blows of the crisis... and much less resist the "siren songs" of the popular front, or fascist terror. These chatterers will go on shrieking hysterically about "the" program and "the" party; they will convene their conferences and meetings; they will proclaim each one "its own" International, but will be all impotent, and what is worse, they will be an obstacle in the path of the proletariat towards the revolution.

**THE NEW TASKS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE FLT.
OUR FIGHT FOR A NEW ZIMMERWALD-KIENTHAL OF THE 21ST CENTURY IN THE NEW PERIOD OPENED BY THE BANKRUPTCY OF CAPITALISM-IMPERIALISM AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALIST RULE OVER THE WORLD**

The FLT enters this new period as a pole, or point of support, a small but

solid one, from which to fight to resolve the crisis of humanity, that boils down, as the Transitional Program says, to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat.

So we are a pole of support for anyone that seeks for a revolutionary path and fights for a re-grouping of the healthy forces of Trotskyism internationally, around the lessons and the program in front of the hot events of the World class struggle, for declaring a relentless war against all the reformist and treacherous leaderships, and particularly, against the renegades of Trotskyism that have become in reformists, to fill the place left vacant by Stalinism and social democracy.

However, as a pole of support, the FLT is yet a subjective –as opposed to objective- factor in the vanguard of the world proletariat. It could not be otherwise. All of us that comprise the FLT are the children and the results of enormous defeats suffered by the world proletariat. We are the offspring of that terrible historical defeat of the world working class, the Stalinist betrayal that restored capitalism in the worker states. Those worker states, even though deformed and degenerated under Stalinist rule, had been the biggest gain won by the world proletariat in one and a half centuries of class wars against its exploiters. Furthermore, we are the offspring of that no less terrible –and perhaps more decisive defeat - the liquidation of the Fourth International that was founded in 1938. A liquidation that was a consequence of the betrayals of the revisionists, opportunists and renegades of Trotskyism who has passed over to the camp of reformism, which is the camp of the class enemy, turning themselves into the paramedics in charge of prolonging what Trotsky called the Death Agony of Capitalism.

Under these conditions, we internationalist Trotskyists that have gathered together in the FLT, have fought for over 20 years against the current, separated from the masses, struggling to tie up again the threads of continuity of revolutionary Marxism that had been severed by the liquidators of the Fourth International. The enormous defeats that the treacherous leaderships brought on the heads of the world proletariat meant that the revolutionaries would remain isolated, separated from the masses, and this was tragic for both revolutionaries and world proletariat. It could not be otherwise under the condi-

tions of the regime of imperialist rule that has prevailed since 1989.

But as we have already said those conditions have changed radically. We are at the beginning of a new period of crises, wars, revolution and counterrevolution; of decisive clashes between the classes. We are at the beginning of one of those "extraordinary epochs of History" that Trotsky referred to. The reformists now begin to feel the pain of the fish out of water, and we revolutionaries are starting to breathe fresh air because our fraction of the world proletariat is beginning to enter onto the world stage.

This will be the start of a period when the Bolsheviks can begin to function as a revolutionary force. We will be able to abandon our defensive position of painfully maintaining our programmatic and ideological positions against all our enemies. We will be able to fight to break out of our isolation and find our way to the masses. That is, we have entered a period of struggle to transform ourselves from a subjective factor into objective factor in the vanguard of the world proletariat. This is in short, the new task and enormous challenge that we internationalist Trotskyists of the FLT have ahead of us.

Our fight for the International Conference and the two dangers threatening us: sectarian abstentionism and opportunism of the type of the "Two and a Half (Amsterdam) International" re-groupments

Under these conditions, we principled Trotskyists run two risks: on one hand, we may sin as sectarians and loudly proclaim we are the "only revolutionaries" in the world. This would amount to renouncing any fight against centrism. That would prevent large layers of the masses, groups and militants in the proletarian vanguard, from completing their evolution to the left, towards revolutionary Marxism. As Trotsky said we must not be afraid of the inconsistencies of centrism:

"... and do not frighten the others without a reason, do not make false accusations, do not look for betrayal where it doesn't exist, do not replace Marxist discussion with unprincipled disputes. Experience has shown that the moment when an organization is ready to come out of a blind alley onto a wide street, elements always appear that want to stay in that alley, they know all

of their neighbours and they rely on the news and gossip and the important "cabinet changes" of their own limited environment. These sectarian conservative elements are very frightened of not being able to carry their old houses onto the new terrain."

The other risk is that of working against centrism but watering down the program and disarming the strategies. This would mean that centrism is working on the revolutionary movement, disarming and sterilizing it rather than the other way round. This second danger seems to have already derailed currents as POM in Brazil, a current with which we in the FLT have been struggling together for an International Conference of the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations, using the method of re-grouping internationalists and exposing the "intelligent reformists" around the lessons of the acid tests of the world class struggle. However, today, the POM comrades are convening a pre-conference around some general programmatic points that do not distinguish reformists from revolutionaries, that do not debate serious differences, and which can end up with a new centrist re-groupments of the type of the "Two and a Half International" ruthlessly fought by the Third International of Lenin and Trotsky in the early '20s and by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the '30s.

Regroupment around the acid tests of the international class struggle, or around a general program that any "intelligent reformist" could endorse?

Everybody objecting to the method of the FLT of using the acid tests to separate the reformists from the revolutionaries, says that FLT's method means "not having a program", and that FLT is for a regroupment "around purely conjunctural struggles". We have already seen that Trotsky said that the program is not a bunch of abstract theses, but the practical conclusions drawn from the political and economical experience of the class struggle events of the last period.

If that is not the case, why, did then Marx and Engels write "Class struggles in France" on the 1848 revolution in that country, lessons that they considered of a first order of importance for the German revolution? Why did Marx

devote the most part of the last years of his life to draw with extreme precision the lessons of the first historic great proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune? How can it be denied that Lenin himself proclaimed, Russian Marxism, and then Bolshevism, was founded and prepared for revolution in the land of the Czars with the lessons of the Paris Commune?

How can anybody ignore or deny that the lessons of the first great Russian Revolution of 1905 had such a decisive importance, signaling a milestone in the fight of Rosa Luxemburg against German social democracy (remember "The mass political strike")?. Those lessons of the masses, and setting up the soviets, had shown that they were able to go beyond a syndicalist consciousness and convinced Lenin it was necessary to adjust his theory of "the party". Those lessons, too, obliged Trotsky in his "**Results and Prospects**" to change his theory about revolution in Russia.

How can anybody believe that without drawing the correct lessons of the Paris Commune, of the 1905 Revolution, of the bankruptcy of the 2nd International before the First World War, etc., the Bolsheviks could have led the Russian working class to power in October 1917?

In 1924, Trotsky wrote in "**The Lessons of October**": "*Had we failed to study the Great French Revolution, the revolution of 1848, and the Paris Commune, we should never have been able to achieve the October Revolution, even though we passed through the experience of the year 1905. And after all, we went through this "national" experience of ours basing ourselves on deductions from previous revolutions, and extending their historical line. Afterwards, the entire period of the counter-revolution was taken up with the study of the lessons to be learned and the deductions to be drawn from the year 1905.* (Leon Trotsky. **The Lessons of October**. Chapter 1 - "We Must Study the October Revolution" - 1924-1925)

Whoever accuses the FLT of "not having a program" should explain what was the program of the "Bloc of Four" forged by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Paris Conference, if not the synthesized balance and lessons of the world economic and political experiences of the (then) last period, that is, of the Anglo-Russian Committee, of the

Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, of the defeat of the German proletariat at the hands of Fascism, of the degeneration of the USSR and the 3rd International under the Stalinist bureaucracy, etc.

We are certain all our critics will hold high in their hands the Leninist aphorism that without a revolutionary theory no revolutionary praxis is possible. But "Theory" is in no way a crystallized dogma obtained ("revealed") once and for all. It is, on the contrary, the generalization in scientific laws of the lived experience of the fights of the proletariat in their struggle for the proletarian revolution. It is able to learn new lessons and gains precision with each new revolution, war, or decisive defeat of the proletariat. That is the meaning of Marx's quotation of Goethe's words: "*Theory is gray, my friend, but Life's is a green tree*".

If it is not around the acid tests of the world class struggle, around what other program could the true internationalist revolutionaries be found and re-grouped?

Oh, yes! Somebody would say: "Around the first four congresses of the Comintern, around the Transitional Program!". Really? The Trotskyist renegades would endorse such a program without hesitation—even Chavez walks nowadays with an issue of the Transitional Program under his left arm!; notwithstanding that, these renegades betray Leninism and Trotskyism every day at every minute. Maybe it could be possible to regroup around some general points as "the bankruptcy of capitalism", "against popular front", "against labor bureaucracy", "for the soviets", etc.? Again the same problem: even the last and more recalcitrant reformist and crystallized centrist will be eager to endorse such a program, made of general points, that commit them to nothing at all, that do not shape their day-to-day activities. Again we are obliged to quote Trotsky in the '30s: "*As a matter of fact, what harm is there in repeating once again the general formulas about the collapse of capitalism and so on? It smacks of radicalism but puts no one under any obligation whatever. Such formulas have become a very cheap commodity during the years of the world crisis.*" (L.T. "**Centrist Alchemy or Marxism?**" April 24, 1935).

Conferences around general programs, or programs of one or two points—as that proposed, for instance, by

Workers Power around the Greek question- would not pass the examination in Lenin's eyes, because "...To him, the task of all conferences consisted not in presenting a "respectable" resolution but in effecting the selection of militants and organizations that would not betray the proletariat in the hours of stress and storm". (Idem).

Such conferences would only serve to set up new centrist obstacles, new internationals of the "Two and Half type", with their leaderships gathering together each 12 or 18 months to issue "statements" that do not commit them to any real revolutionary activity, and then everyone of them is set free to go back to the corresponding country of origin and continue capitulating to "their own" bourgeoisie, "their own" regime, and "their own" union bureaucracy.

We that conform the FLT, as we have already said, fight for an International Conference that re-groups the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations which every day, in the world class struggle and particularly in its most acute and decisive developments, are able to prove passing the test; which declares and effectively wages a utterly ruthless combat against all the centrists that do not pass that test, against the "intelligent" reformists disguised as "Trotskyists" and to the renegades. In that way and under that strategies, we are able to show an endless patience and tactical flexibility to work over the centrist phenomena and collaborate in their evolution towards revolutionary Marxism. We know that tactics as that of the "Bloc of Four", or even as that of the "French turn", will be at the order of the day in the period that is just starting. And at the same time, we are sure we are able of maintaining the highest strategic and programmatic intransigence, without yielding an inch in the grounds of principle. Therefore we have made ours the words of Trotsky: "*The Bolsheviks have no reason for uniting with the centrist leaders ("unity" ... once every year and a half at a conference!). Hollow international parades are of no use to us. Revolutionists do not flirt with centrists at conferences but carry on tireless day-to-day work against them in their own countries, and they participate at their own revolutionary international conferences, where they do not blow soap bubbles but discuss and decide the questions of the class struggle.*" (L.T., "*Centrist...*", 1935)

The struggle for an International Conference of the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations: what is similar, which are the limits of the analogy to Zimmerwald-Kienthal

Having defined with clarity the international re-groupment which we are fighting for, today, under the convulsive conditions of the new period that is opening before our eyes, and with the above mentioned high challenges and objectives, we will re-double our combat for an International Conference of the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations, for a "new Zimmerwald-Kienthal of the 21st century".

Any historic analogy is dangerous if we do not state precisely its limits. Because Lenin, Trotsky, Luxembour and the rest of internationalists that gathered in those conferences in 1915 and 1916 were selected "naturally" by that enormous and decisive acid test of the world class struggle that was the First Inter-imperialist War. It was simple then to distinguish internationalists from social-chauvinists: anyone that proclaimed his/her opposition to the war, was persecuted, chased up by his/her "own" imperialist bourgeoisie for "high treason to fatherland", and unless he/she opted for hiding or going to exile, he/she ended with his/her bones in jail as Karl Liebknecht or murdered (i.e., shot as traitor).

But again, the internationalists that gathered in Zimmerwald-Kienthal –and also, further on the Zimmerwald left- in spite of being a bunch that could scarcely fill four cars (in Trotsky's own words), were an objective factor of the world proletarian vanguard, as they were the left fraction of a mass party –the 2nd International whose right and centre (Kautsky) wings had gone to the camp of reformism.

The revolutionaries that founded the Fourth International in 1938 before the 2nd WW, in the black night of fascism and Stalinism were also a few thousands all over the world. However they were at the same time an objective factor of the vanguard of the world proletariat because they had been, as Left Opposition, a fraction of the 3rd International (Comintern) that was a mass organization. Moreover, and this

is decisive, they had also been –first as Left Opposition; then as Bolshevik-Leninists and finally as Fourth International, the continuity of Bolshevism in the resistance, which they defended with their minds and lives. Leon Trotsky –an internationalist in Zimmerwald; a leader of the October Revolution; a founder of the revolutionary 3rd International alongside Lenin; the creator of the Red Army; the promoter of the Left Opposition and a founder of the Fourth International was, no doubt, the living expression of that continuity. Incidentally that was the supreme importance the physical elimination of the last living internationalist Zimmerwaldian had for the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialist bourgeoisies.

So it is very clear that we must first of all signal two central differences that the present situation shows with respect to that of Zimmerwald-Kienthal: firstly, we have not yet here an inter-imperialist war as an objective "selector" of internationalists. Secondly, as we have already explained, we internationalists are not today an objective factor, but only for the moment a subjective factor in the vanguard of the world proletariat.

Which is, then the sense of the analogy that we from the FLT make today with Zimmerwald-Kienthal? There is a crucial issue here: today, because of the desertion of the "Trotskyist" renegades that liquidated the Fourth International, the "threads of continuity" of Bolshevism, the threads of the strategy, the program and the very material existence of Bolshevism itself –the "threads of History" – have been severed. It is imperative to tie them again, as Trotsky stated in his magnificent work "*History of the Russian Revolution*" had been precisely the decisive task fulfilled by the Zimmerwald-Kienthal conferences.

This is also our task; it is not a different task from fighting to find a way to the masses and get out of our isolation; that was also the task that the Bolshevik-Leninists put to themselves in the '30s, working offensively with total tactical flexibility (as shown in the Bloc of Four or the brilliant move of entering the Socialist Parties, the so called "French Turn") but absolute strategic intransigence both on the mass centrist phenomena and the centrist groups and currents that after the defeat of the German proletariat to the hands of fascism in 1933, were in the numbers –all of them oscillating between reform

(i.e., social-democracy, Stalinism) and revolution, clearly represented by the Bolshevik-Leninists headed by Trotsky.

Today History will give us more than a thousand opportunities to the international revolutionaries for finding a way to the masses and for resolving the historic crisis of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat; the only condition is for us to be able to keep the most intransigent inflexibility in terms of ideology –that is not to water our program to flirt anyone, not to disarm our strategy even for a nanosecond- and at the same time, to be able to be tactically flexible in order to allow without even a shade of sectarianism or a self indulging “blowing of our own horn”, that the masses understand by their own experience the correctness of our program and strategy, and to collaborate in promoting the evolution towards Trotskyism, i.e., toward militant internationalism, of all those currents, groups or militants that are honestly looking for a revolutionary way out.

Today, more than ever: For an International Conference of the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations!

The international developments do not allow a minute of resting, they create at each step new acid tests before

which we revolutionaries must put to test our theory and our program; they delimitate with clarity reformists and centrists from militant internationalists. There you have the Greek question that puts to the order of the day the fight for the soviets and the armament of the masses; there you have the Palestinian question that exposes all the enemies of a unique and only national war and mass insurrection of the Palestinian masses to destroy the Zionist state of Israel, as a decisive link in the all-Middle East revolution; there you have the revolution that is shaking Guadeloupe and the rest of the French colonies, unmasking all the social-chauvinists, and showing the dialectical unity of revolution in the colonies with that of the metropolises, as Trotsky had defined so brilliantly as early as 1929 in his Theory of Permanent Revolution. There you have the reactionary strike by the UK labor aristocracy that is thoroughly exposing all its servants; the events in the Palestinian questions unmasking the fallacy of an alleged “Israeli working class”. There you have, made hotter than ever by the revolution in the Antilles, the Cuban question, that is, the fight for the political revolution in Cuba against the restorationist Cuban bureaucracy, as a decisive link in the Caribbean and American revolution. There you have, finally the

re-configuration of the World Social Forum and the emergence of new mediations as the “New Anticapitalist Parties” that expose and delimitate with clarity who are the “intelligent reformists” and who are the consistent internationalists.

That is why we of the FLT vindicate the 23 points that almost a year ago we wrote and raised as a proposal to put up an Internationalist Bloc fighting for an International Conference; these 23 points concentrate the method of revolutionary Marxism of the 20th century of testing the programs, the theories and currents of the real world in the acute events of the world class struggle, without which, as we have said, we run the risk of setting up a “Second and a Half International”, that is, we run the risk of ending ourselves as those hens that hatch ducklings.

Surely there will be lots of conferences of opportunists, intelligent reformists, booby traps and all kind of reformist “ducks”. We will be even obliged to intervene in many of them very audaciously in political fight to prevent the formation of new obstacles in the way of the proletarian vanguard. But with the necessary tactical flexibility and the equally necessary ideological intransigence, the struggle of the internationalist Trotskyists of the FLT continues to be to regroup and select at international level the healthy forces of Trotskyism, to build up an international centre that, even with a yet imperfect democratic centralism will be a thousand times more perfect than the democratic centralism of any national group that, isolated, is hopelessly condemned to degeneration or disappearing.

We have enumerated the tasks and challenges, gigantic though exciting that we have put on our shoulders for the period that is beginning; we fight for giving back to the world proletariat under the new conditions of the times, the leadership that they deserve and need, by founding again the world party of the socialist revolution with the legacy and the program of the foundational congress of the Fourth International in 1938. •



Leon Trotsky, reading on the Founding Congress of the Fourth International in Socialist Appeal



***Leon Trotsky, founder
of the Fourth
International***