

5/10/2010

Comrades of the IRL-FI

You have sent us a statement on Spain. In it, at first glance, it appears as an effort to give the masses and Spanish working class a program to increase its struggle. We recognize that effort. But, to be honest, we think that your statement on Spain is incomplete and incorrect on some key points. Therefore we want to know if it is a draft or if it is an official position adopted by the entire political committee of IRL-FI, cells, branches and all your members.

Beyond this question, let's focus on the key points where differences are:

- 1) Your statement doesn't have an implacable denounce against all the union bureaucracies, labour aristocracies and socialimperialist European parties. Therefore it is narrowly national. You have forgotten that in May in Madrid there was gathered the "Counter-summit of the people". They call, in May!, to a general strike... for September 29th!... across Europe. There is no doubt that this cynical swindle had the aim of isolating the workers and masses of Greece, which were on their fourth general strike, facing openly Papandreu's government.

Thus, the World Social Forum and its counterrevolutionary Fifth International allowed the bourgeoisie to concentrate all its forces to attack and snatch back all the conquests of the Greek working class, which was led to several strikes to tire and exhaust them, preventing –so far- that they overthrow the Greek imperialist regime, Morgan Bank's agent.

Thus, in moments when the Spanish proletariat is fighting –with the limits imposed by the leadership- with their huge 'day of struggle' on September 29th, the revolutionary Greece is completely disregarded.

What is even more serious, the "Counter-summit of the People" held in Madrid, gave some time to the bourgeoisie, from May to September, not only to focus the attack on Greece, but also to hit in eastern Europe where the governments of the small republics, full of maquilas (sweatshops), signed –in exchange for usurer credits- adjustment plans of the IMF that attack wages and the life of 3 or 4 generations of the proletariat in countries like Hungary, Poland, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania and so on.

The "Counter-summit of Madrid" played the same counterrevolutionary role of supporting bankrupted capitalism that their pals of "Socialism 2010" in USA, who put the working class on their knees before Obama, or like the ELAC in 2008 and CONCLAT in 2010 in the American continent that strangled the left wing of the proletariat of the continent.

This criminal policy isolated the working class country by country and allowed capital to focus its attack on Greece and the attack massively and as a whole, from that cave of bandits named Maastricht and the European Parliament, the working class across the old continent.

The "Counter-summit of the People" of Madrid held in May gave precious time to all the imperialist European governments to save financial capital, with funds they received by plundering the gains of the working class; i.e. "socializing losses and privatizing for them the profits".

Thousands and thousands of millions of dollars were given by the states to save the bankruptcy of the bankers. The consequence of such action was the absolute bankruptcy of all the states, which ended up full of debt, plundered and in crisis.

Once the profit of the capitalists has been guaranteed and they have the money on their pockets, they now want to make the masses to pay for the bankruptcy to which the imperialist states were taken, whose funds, reserves and treasury were emptied by finance capital in crisis. This means that the working class would have to pay this crisis, as it is doing, with wage cuts, pension cuts, the budgets of health and education have been lowered and the tax on wages and consumption have been increased, just as the VAT in Spain.

The imperialist transnational companies close branches, and for the betrayal by the leadership, entire layers of the European working class were dismissed, migrant workers were expelled. Those companies concentrated in the branches of production, relocated their companies to Asia, Latin America or Africa to plunder the slave work force of the semi-colonial countries a lot more, and with that to blackmail the working class.

Under these conditions they are imposing brutal flexibilizations and massive attacks on the gains of the European working class.

The treacherous leaderships have proved that they exist to keep the pockets of the different exploiters gangs and imperialist bankers always full. They get paid to impose that the working class pays for the crisis and ruin of the imperialist states. Revolutionary Marxism must denounce this fraud before the working class, where treacherous leaderships gave time to the bourgeoisie to put a gun to its head, demanding that the masses pay for the states' crisis. In this way they prepared the worst conditions for the fight in Greece, France, Portugal yesterday, and today for the Spanish proletariat.

Your narrow view "on the Spanish general strike", that regrets and denounces correctly the role played by the leadership of the trade unions, doesn't denounce that this betrayal is only a link on the chain of betrayals against the working class to submit it before the different bourgeois imperialist governments of Europe and to fence the revolutionary process on the semicolonial world.

We affirm that the treacherous role of UGT and CCOO can't be denounced, without denouncing the centralization of the counterrevolutionary forces that were grouped and centralized to prevent the masses' counteroffensive against the plunder, attack and closures imposed by world financial capital against the European working class and the oppressed people of the world.

- 2) You make a call to unify employed and unemployed workers in Spain, stating some correct transitional demands like "sliding scale of wages and hours", "equal pay for equal work", etc. This policy is correct, but is a half truth. Because you can't be silent that –since the start of this year up to May- while revolutionary

Greece was on fire, thousand of immigrants were expelled from the imperialist European countries. Many of them went to jail. Other millions of immigrants were deported to Africa, several hundreds of them died in the Mediterranean Sea.

You can't now "regret" on and "defend the immigrant and unemployed workers" **without mentioning that the counterrevolutionary war cry of the leadership of British Trade Union was "British job for British workers"**, and that this policy was applied by all union social-chauvinist bureaucracies of Europe, and –by the left- taken by all the socialimperialist parties, even the renegades of Trotskyism.

Once the immigrants were expelled, once the outsourced workers were dismissed, after the factory closed and the production was re-structured based on huge changes of production and massive dismissals, now the capitalists are coming for a full scale attack on everything.

Workers of colour –from Italy and France- called for a European General Strike for the 1st of March.

The war cry against the British Trade Union leaders was also launched by the Renault workers from Romania. They demanded to conquer the same wages than the Renault workers in France. Their war cry was silenced. The bureaucracy prevented the centralization of the struggle of the European working class and now the workers of Renault in France have the same conditions or even worse than the Renault workers of Romania.

Factory occupations against dismissals in France were dissolved by the union leaderships, which support the adjustment plans of the transnational companies in crisis. This allowed Sarkozy today move onto an attack, increasing the retirement age of millions of exploited in France. This time, the tragedy is that the struggle of the French proletariat struggle is defensive, completely defensive, launched so that the bourgeoisie doesn't completely starve the workers. These are the conditions imposed on the proletariat by the treacherous leaderships.

"Equal pay for equal work", "unity of the European working class"... you say in your statement. **Well let's put back in the streets the motion of the Renault workers of Romania. Let's say clearly to the working class in France, Germany, that they have no chance of achieving those demands if they don't defeat the treacherous union bureaucracy, which submit the working class to their respective bourgeoisie country by country.**

Do you raise the demand of "Sliding scale of wages and hours", without taking the central motion of immigrant workers, who already organized actions in the streets of Europe... **without raising the demand of unemployed committees to join the factory committees which held the strike in Spain?** In Spain there are **4 million unemployed** ignored by the union bureaucracies. Precisely without calling to set up and coordinate the unemployed workers committees and factory committees, we can't even deliriously dream of a program to unify workers ranks and regroup the forces capable of defeating the treason of union bureaucracies and socialimperialist parties of the European working class.

That is why the Spanish general strike, by the character and program of "rectification" (improvement of conditions) imposed by its leadership is not good enough to develop all the huge fighting energies of all the exploited.

- 3) **Your statement doesn't denounce that even September 29th, as a "European general strike", was boycotted and betrayed by the same leaders and organizations that called for it in May.** Thus, the Spanish general strike was isolated from the struggle of French, German, Portuguese, Italian, workers, who since May went out to fight in scattered and isolated struggles country by country.

We state that European general strike didn't exist and all that the servants of financial capital did was nothing but a demonstration in Brussels to pressure the European parliament and Maastricht "for a more social Europe". This social-imperialist program of the labour aristocracy and union bureaucracy and their parties in Europe was imposed in Spain with the war cry of "rectification against the attack!"

The perfidious role of the counterrevolutionary leaderships is to claim for a "social Europe" when financial capital and bankers left the states empty and broke, they put the money in their pockets to cover their losses and, by cutting wages, flexibilization, dismissals, increase in 'productivity', chronic unemployment, etc, they want to make their own working class (but mainly the working class of the oppressed people of the world) pay.

How will Spanish workers stop the attack, get bread and jobs without expropriating Santander and Bilbao Vizcaya banks, Repsol and Telefonica? That is the way to defeat Zapatero!

Your statement claims 'general strike' and "Down with Zapatero!" but it doesn't say the truth to the workers: that the expropriators must be expropriated with proletarian revolution in order to get the jobs, bread, to stop the capitalists' attack.

Your statement doesn't affirm that the conveners of the "Countersummit" of the WSF in Madrid in May were the ones responsible for boycotting the European General Strike, leaving Greece isolated yesterday and Spain now.

That is exactly what all the world left currents did, which now they silence on the life and death of the other half of Europe, i.e. Eastern Europe, where German, French, British and US imperialist killers own maquilas, as well as cheap labour, just like in China, but today in Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, etc, which have become small capitalist republics strangled by the IMF.

By not denouncing this question of a Maastricht "Social Europe" and the perfidious role of treacherous leaderships, you don't go up to the end and raise: Down with Maastricht and its cave of bandits called the European Parliament!

- 4) Comrades, your statement is also incomplete, we insist, because it doesn't denounce the British SWP (Socialist Workers Party) and other agents of London and HSBC, like the IST (International Socialist Tendency) who didn't call for the general strike in Great Britain on September 29th, being scabs like all the reformist leaderships before, taking the masses of Greece to a dead end. This isn't a "European policy". You know it perfectly well. For instance, in Zimbabwe the whole ISO (International Socialist Organization)

is inside MDC (Movement for the Democratic Change), Obama's party in Zimbabwe, or also supporting it by left, as all the "socialist" currents try to do in Zimbabwe.

They do the same in the USA, where your former friends of ISO and its "Socialism 2010" marched under the leadership of the Democrat assassin Obama in a demonstration before Capitol hill, supporting "by the left" the discredited Obama with the demand of "another country is needed". It is a shame, these workers and left organizations of the USA holding the AFL-CIO on their shoulders, GM scab and strike-breakers, friends of the treacherous bureaucrats of UGT (workers trade union headed by social democracy) and CCOO (worker trade union headed by Stalinism) on Spain. All that was to support Obama "by the left" while the "ultra-right" organized a Tea Party demonstration. Thus, the regime of republicrats contains by the right and left the masses on the one hand, while they wave the whip of Fascist Sheriffs on the other and put the rich middle class in the streets to smash US proletariat if Obama and his servants' counterrevolutionary swindle fails.

These leaderships, which marched supporting Obama in the USA, are the ones that "called" for the "general strike" across Europe on September 29th; not only was it separated from the Greek, French workers as we said before, but they also dislocated it from the German proletariat. During September the German working class started a wave of struggles of hundreds of thousands of metal workers of the steel industry, demanding wage increases; they were fighting at the time that German imperialism –based on the ruins of Europe- subsidized its companies and cut wages by 30% and it combined it with an offensive policy of export across Europe and the semicolonial world as an imperialist power that ended victorious after the crisis.

As we denounced from the ILTF not only new imperialist powers can't emerge from such bankruptcy of capital, **but these are times when imperialist powers plunge.**

Germany is growing at a 2% quarterly rate based on throwing the crisis onto its working class. When the euro was falling apart and it was clear that the bankruptcy of the European financial crisis was going together with the mess of Wall Street, the German imperialist bourgeoisie, which settled the value of euro with its high productivity, let the Euro plunge, but only until it was enough, since it has still to pay the trading debts to the Bundesbank.

US imperialism and the super-banks of Wall Street recovered the millions of loans that had been given to the minor imperialist countries of Europe in years before to raise their currencies to the value of the German mark (i.e. Euro). In the burst of the crack in Greece, it was clear that it was the dollar, with huge loans given at a high interest rate, the one that was bankrolling the Euro, while the German mark was the payment and solvency warranty. For now, far from devaluation, the imperialist powers chose to keep Euro, but with the dollar retreating, which won't go to cover the European finance capital deficit. It is the working class the one that is made to pay it. **It is matter of life or death to see who pays for the crisis – the capitalists or the working class.**

- 5) The German bourgeoisie, the one with the highest productivity of labour of Europe, could have the luxury of establishing a "New Deal". It gave an ultimatum to its working class: "Either cut wages by 30% or face mass retrenchments in the factories". The coward social-imperialist bureaucracy sold out the German proletariat in the crisis. At the same time the bourgeoisie subsidized with state funds and Bundesbank, a 25% of the worker class salary who kept the jobs.

Thus, on the ruin of Europe, by paying subsidized salaries due to the wage cut and state subsidies, the German bourgeoisie pays Chinese worker-level salaries with the highest productivity to go out to dispute the world openly.

The German proletariat try to be co-opted but with the gun of the crac and unemployment at their head and losing huge historical gains. The Imperialist German bourgeoisie needs it to move forward with greater adventures in the world than those in development in Afghanistan with their troops. These greater adventures will be possible over the ruins and sinking of the competitor-imperialist powers above all those in Europe.

For this, the German finance capital had and has the support of the social imperialist labor bureaucracy of the German trade unions, in particular that of IG Metal (metallurgic trade union) which after such huge pillage of the workers pocket only demand 2% more than the 6,9% increase of salary the government gives.

The European working class has been left in that condition. With millions of unemployed workers, the employed producing at terrible high productive rhythms, with a 30% salary reduction and the East European proletariat is being exploited in a double and triple way by the imperialist powers, the IMF and their pillage.

Thus, the iron alternative is: either Maastricht of the imperialist powers, the IMF, and NATO, with that den of thieves of the European parliament and the counterrevolutionary pacts with the killer restorationist bourgeoisie like the one of Putin in Russia; or the unity of the working class for the proletarian revolution to unify in a single combat the fight for salary and against unemployment of the European working class that only can be solved in the Socialist United States of Europe, by leaving nothing of the imperialist Maastricht behind.

Without this perspective, without a program to unify the working class' ranks in a single demand in the entire Europe- from the struggle against the pillage of East Europe to the fight for salary, for the same work conditions for all the European proletariat from Portugal to the Russian steppes – your programme is like that of the counterrevolutionary forces gathered in the Madrid Counter Summit when they tried to prevent a

unified struggle by calling a symbolic European one day general strike on 29 September when they convened in May. How to unify the European working class in a common action if one is a servant of Maastricht, that is, if the proletariat of the different countries is put under the feet of their own bourgeoisie? How to unify the European working class for its own liberation if the labor bureaucracy and aristocracy in the trade unions and the social imperialist parties supported the expulsion of immigrants and pillage of colonial and semi-colonial countries, including Zimbabwe?

It is about and was about, as the FLTI did, unmasking this fraud and betrayal against the European and world proletariat.

The Madrid "Counter Summit" only existed to divide the workers ranks and to give support to the capitalists so that it re-organize its ranks and develop the fusion and concentration-process of the different production branches of the world economy, and strengthen its regimes and governments to attack the working class.

In these conditions the "sliding scale of wages and labor hours" is not a "national" slogan for Spain in particular. So, let's pose the war cry: "Not one unemployed worker in Spain! Don't touch the Immigrants! Equal job for equal salary across Europe and also across the colonies and semi-colonies! Let's recover the salary robbed by the capitalists in Germany!"

For the expropriation without compensation of every factory that closes, suspends or dismisses in the entire European continent and especially in every colony or semi-colony where the super powers over-exploit workers and plunder the nations, taking from there the super profits with which they buy the treacherous leaderships who back them by paying peanuts! For the expropriation of imperialist banks, they have the money in their pockets and they are the ones who leave the states in bankruptcy, and today they expropriate our wage and pensions! Let's expropriate them! The German transnational companies are making super profits!

For a 35hour- working- week for all the German and European working class! One more labor shift in all the factories! All the free hands to the production! If there is a "single imperialist currency", then, for a single salary- the highest one earned by German workers- for the entire European working class! First: that the workers in all the imperialist companies that overexploit our class brothers in the semi colonial world in China, Africa, Latin America, etc. have such equal salary in all their plants! Out IMF from East Europe! Out Basf and Exxon that plunder Russia and the countries of the former soviet republics! Equal work for equal salary in France, in Rumania, in Russia and in Portugal! For a program to unify the workers ranks under a revolutionary leadership!

The imperialist banks and transnational companies in the entire Europe have already recovered their losses, leading the states to bankruptcy. For the demands of the German workers to be the minimal demand of all the fighting organizations of the European working class. For the war cry: '*No more unemployment and attacks against immigrants!*' to be the demand of all the European working class. This means to prepare and organize a true European General Strike with self-defense committees, and factories committees.

The bureaucracy and social imperialist parties have already proved they divide every attempt of a centralized fight of the European working class, let alone of the workers in the semi colonial world.

Against the Madrid "Counter Summit", servant of Maastricht and imperialist powers, the Greek, Spain, German, and French working class who today are at the head of the struggle, must convene a great international congress of all the fighting organizations from Portugal to Russian steppes. Capital has declared war to us. The unified working class must also declare war against capital.

- 6) In your letter, comrades, you raise the slogan of "Down with Zapatero!". Such slogan, by itself, doesn't solve the issue of power in Spain, nor does it pose it. Why? Because **the true power and government in Spain is the Monarchy.**

Precisely the plan of the Spanish bourgeoisie is to discredit Zapatero -who is nothing more than a minister of the true power and government that is the Monarchy is Spain -so that he applies the worst adjustment plan, so then the government of the right wing Popular Party can be placed, which already has the slogan of "Nor Zapatero, nor general strikes: general elections".

You say: "General strike, down with Zapatero!" But, what do you say about the Monarchy, which is the true power in Spain? Do you know that the king has rights and the power to dissolve the parliament and dismiss the Prime Minister? Yes, King Juan Carlos can decide tomorrow to dismiss Zapatero and bring elections forward.

You can't have this "lack of clarity" in the statement. The World- and Spanish 'left' refuse to raise "Down with Spanish state monarchy, which only subjugates the oppressed peoples of Spain (Basque, Galicia, etc)- it is above them to merge in bonapartist regime with the superpowers!" The monarchy owns Repsol, Vizcaya Bank, Telefonica, i.e. the concentrated power of financial capital, which no one in the world 'left' dares to face.

It seems a lie. Raising the demand of "Free the Basque prisoners!?" Silence from you about it. Raising the right to the self-determination of the oppressed peoples in the Spanish state? Also

silence. “For a Federation of Iberian Workers and Socialist Republics over the ruins of Monarchy and the power of financial capital”? Silence. Talking about bread and jobs without expropriating the expropriators of Spanish monarchy, the true owners of Repsol, Telefonica and other Spanish imperialist companies, means being on the side of the Monarchy and support it.

We insist; we don't understand this “lack of clarity” in your statement, since it is the point where every mask and disguise of those-“leftist” ones and reformist “marxists” of the world who want to dress as Trotskyists falls down. You can choose to correct it or not. Because, precisely without this program, there is no chance to conquer the unity of the European working class.

- 7) Your statement does not have a program to unite the European workers ranks until the end. This silence on the fight against the Spanish Monarchy and for imposing a true program of unity of the workers ranks in Europe is a huge weakness of your statement. Today the workers in Europe, in the western imperialist powers are worse off, as bad as, or their conditions are deteriorating towards that of the conditions of the workers of the former soviet republics oppressed and controlled by the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy that imposed the capitalist restoration in 1989. The workers of the former soviet republics, in ruins because of the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialist plundering, didn't know how to get out from the atrocious conditions and the economic stagnation to which those nations were driven. Those workers wanted to have at their disposition the full gondolas of the West. Today the workers in the East and in the imperialist powers see the full gondolas but every time they are able to buy less and less.

Meanwhile, millions of immigrant workers were expelled back to their countries. Millions fled. Capitalism in bankruptcy no longer allows even 100 immigrant gypsies from the East in Paris. Can this Maastricht be more social? It is a reactionary utopia on the part of the social imperialist leaderships. To talk about “Spain and European general strike on 29/09” and not to denounce their traitors and disorganizers, means to abandon beforehand the task of preparing a true revolutionary general strike and common actions of the European and world proletariat.

For that reason, in your statement we see the fight for overthrowing the Spanish monarchy, is absent. Because deep down you neither see nor do you articulate a transitional program for making the working class advance towards the destruction of the French Fifth Republic, to defeat the murderous lords of the British Crown and the puppet government of Olivetti and FIAT of Italy and other plunderers of the semi-colonial or colonial world.

It is them, the governments and regimes of finance capital, we say again, the ones that empty the coffers of the states and led them to bankruptcy, in order to throw the whole crisis to the masses and save its finance capital. Finance capital already has the money in its pocket and it won't just give it either for some whining about ‘overthrowing Zapatero’ or for more general strikes to be made to put pressure on the exploiters. We have to put the foot in the chest of the exploiters, to put them down on their knees and march towards the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only this way we'll be able to fight to set up the Socialist United States of Europe, over the ruins of Maastricht and the IMF that plunders the Eastern Europe countries.

- 8) Despite of saying correctly some transitional demands -such as sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of working hours, education, equal pay for equal work- your statement, which calls to recover the unions, does not call, neither does it give a way to organize the Spanish unemployed workers, which are over 4 million. And, what's even more serious, it accepts that the UGT and the CCOO can each one have their own unions inside every factory, thus dividing the Spanish workers movement.

When you drop, as we have already said, the fight for the factory committees to unite the workers ranks and the fight to set up unemployed committees for these common demands together with the fight for migrant workers committees, you are already renouncing to fight for all of it, from the onset. Without this program of factory committees, migrant workers committees and self-defense committees (about which you say nothing), you also abandon the fight for recovering the workers organizations and the unions, beforehand.

General strike to fight against the biggest attack of the capitalists ever since the Second World War against the European working class? Without a workers militia or without self-defense organs of the exploited to organize the masses in struggle, when the unions do not group within them more than a third of the European working class, or even less?

This is a key omission of your statement, because you cannot play hide and seek with a ‘revolutionary’ call to the general strike. The general strike that you call now in Spain, without militias or self-determination organs, ends up being the same policy the entire reformist left raised in Greece of pressuring the Stalinist and Social Democrat bureaucracy.

There is no “peaceful way to socialism” nor a “peaceful way” for the workers to get the sliding scale of wages and working hours.

Even with demonstrations having a pacifist program, under the leadership of the treacherous bureaucracy of the European trade unions, the workers still end up being brutally repressed, wounded and detained. Under these circumstances your refusal to set up self-defense committees is not to prepare the working

class to overcome the demand of “rectification” and move in a real way towards the fight for expropriating the expropriators.

With your program and proposed organizational steps, you do not prepare any revolutionary general strike.

- 9) Because, comrades, under these circumstances and with your positions, how can you call for a workers-peasants and students’ government in Spain imposed only by defeating Zapatero, without calling to sweep away the murderous monarchy and without expropriating its assets?

This is clearly false. The world reformist left has a program that is to the right of Robespierre and the French bourgeoisie, which did its revolution back in 1789 by beheading nobles and monarchs.

At least we expected your side to show a guillotine to the king to cut his head. Do you realize that the one that can kick Zapatero out is the king himself, since he is the real power in Spain?

- 10) Spain has troops, together with the US-UK imperialism, killing in Afghanistan. Years ago, when the bombs in Atocha went off, the Spanish working class rose with a true revolutionary anti-imperialist cry, overthrowing Aznar in the streets. Their war cry was: “Your war, our deaths!”, this means, “you make the war, you take the benefits for yourselves, but we are the ones that get killed”. The mobilization of the Spanish masses and the heroic Iraqi resistance imposed the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Iraq. The Zapatero-PSOE government came to expropriate this anti-imperialist action of the masses against the Spanish state.

Today, the army of the Spanish crown, together with US imperialism, the murderers under the command of the Queen of England, and the troops of the Bundesbank have settled close to 200,000 men in Southern Afghanistan to slaughter the Afghani resistance, taking over Kandahar, in a true genocide and “human cleansing”. This is already underway, under the command of General Petraeus, the killer and murderer of Iraq, with the bombing of the entire Southern Pakistan, where they made a slaughter to cut off the provisioning of the Afghani resistance.

How can you say nothing about the monarchy troops that are preparing a massacre in Afghanistan with the murderous US imperialist army?

How can you be against capitalism but not fighting in Spain for the defeat of the Spanish troops that are making a slaughter in Afghanistan together with the US-UK imperialism troops?

The world reformist left has not learnt a thing from the Spanish civil war. The republic in the 30’s did not raise the fight for the independence of the colonies. It allowed Franco to organize storm troops in Morocco, that made up the heart of the fascist forces that smashed the masses in Spain.

This silence places you on a dangerous path, behind the footsteps of the popular front that strangled the revolution and the civil war in Spain in the 30’s.

Every statement on the general strike in Spain must start with demanding and calling the working class to expropriate Repsol, Telefónica, the Spanish finance capital that subjugates the oppressed people and the working class of the semi-colonies. If it raises this call, the Spanish working class won’t be isolated nor weakened, as it is today due to the treacherous social-chauvinist leaderships.

Spanish troops and those of the imperialist powers out of Afghanistan! No shipment of weapons for the imperialist armies, invaders of Iraq and Afghanistan!

Your unfortunate silence on this, hides that the Spanish working class won’t be able to succeed if it does not assist in freeing the working class of the semi-colonial world from the exploitation imposed by its own imperialist bourgeoisie... But anyway, How can the left of the World Social Forum reach to this conclusion, if it refuses to propose in its own country, Spain, the fight for “out with the king and its oppression over the Basque, Catalan, etc?”

- 11)- How can it be believable the struggle you announce of “Down with Zapatero!”, “General Strike!” and “workers government” without putting on the table the motion of “**the enemy is at home**”? Marxism 2010 in Zimbabwe... will go in the footsteps of Gwisai and the ISO of USA and the SWP of England and its social-imperialist policy!

We insist it has to be clearly said: **For the military defeat of the troops of the Spanish monarchy and the entire imperialist powers in Afghanistan!**

Say it: factory committees, unemployed committees and self defense committees, as the only way to conquer the unity of the workers’ ranks and to recover the trade unions from the hands of the traitors of the trade union bureaucracy! International congress for a great workers’ parliament of all the fighting organizations of the European continent, to prepare a revolutionary counteroffensive that takes the Maastricht of the imperialist powers and this den of thieves of their parliament into ruins!

Let’s go up to the end, say: down with monarchy! At least, be consistent liberal – democrats. Call to fight for the republic, as an extreme democratic slogan to confront monarchy. We ask the liberals at least to do this, to be consistent left wing liberals.

If you keep silent on these questions, you do not confront the bureaucracy of CGT and CCOO really. Do you know why? Because you do not say: “**Down with the Moncloa Pact!**” **This is the true oppression and exploitation regime in Spain, under the rule of the sabre of the monarchy and its layer of Francoist officers.**

The Moncloa Pact, this extra-parliamentary agreement under the leadership of the King, between the boss central organizations and the trade unions. It is a real Bonapartist social pact that has guaranteed a fierce attack against the Spanish working class and its conquests over the past 25 years.

You do not denounce that the cynical program of “rectification of the attack” (for ‘just’ conditions) posed by the trade union bureaucracy is nothing but a program to make pressure for minor concessions in the Moncloa Pact, and never to defeat it.

Down with the Moncloa Pact of giving away the conquests and the wages of the working class before the bosses and their chief, the monarchy of the Bourbons!

Down with the trade union bureaucracy of CGT and CCOO! Either they break with the Moncloa Pact or they have to be expelled from the workers’ organizations!

Do you not think that the demand of expropriation of Repsol –that plunders all the oil of Bolivia, Argentina and Ecuador among others-, Telefonica, the Bank of Vizcaya, etcetera, are immediate demands to unite the Spanish working class with the working class entering the combat in Bolivia, in Ecuador and in Argentina? But for this, there has to be a fight to defeat of the monarchy, the Moncloa Pact, for the expropriation of all the monarchy’s assets and for the defeat of the trade union bureaucracy.

As we understand it, we must end off by telling the Spanish workers, who began to stand up and to offer battle: “You, class brothers and sisters, with your great general strike, gave a huge step forward to resist the attack from the big capital. Your leadership tried to submit this struggle to the pacts against the workers, together with the bosses and their representatives, such as the king, asking for “rectifications”. The Spanish workers want decent wages, jobs, self-determination of the oppressed peoples. There is no solution for this without defeating the Spanish monarchy, its Bonapartist constitution, its puppet governments. Your allies are the workers of the world who are confronting the plunderers of the enemy who is in your own home: Repsol, Telefonica, Vizcaya Bank. The life of the Spanish workers depends on the coordination now, of their struggle with the workers of Greece, in a common congress of the workers’ organizations to impose the unity of the European working class from Portugal to the Russian steppes, with the war cry: Down with Maastricht! NATO out! IMF out! Long live for the socialist revolution! For the Socialist United States of Europe!

12) - In your statement you call to put on feet a “revolutionary party” in Spain, but this is a call to put on feet a national party, truly Spanish as the castanets (music instrument). You do not call to defeat the treacherous leaderships, grouped in the Madrid Counter Summit to strangle European proletariat, as yesterday they did so in the ELAC to control the left wing of the American proletariat, or as they are doing today in Africa. Without it there is no way of building up such a revolutionary party.

You are witnesses, since you came from there, that the entire International ISO were not only militants of Obama but also you know that the English SWP through its professors in the Universities of London create NGOs with which to support the entire bureaucracy of the African continent and corrupt the entire left with crumbs taken from the super profits of the London City and Wall Street.

In Africa the militants of the “left” who want to escape alone without freeing the entire working class from the hunger and slavery to which they have been submitted, are corrupted by two dollars. On one side, the parties of the bureaucracy and labour aristocracy; and on the other side the party of the incorruptible ones, the party of the international revolutionaries. And such a party cannot be a “Spain national party”, let alone “National party of Zimbabwe”.

The question is that the epoch for the national programs and parties is over. Without an international committee for the re-foundation of the Fourth International to give continuity to its program, no serious Marxist can even think about building a national party, except that this party is to adapt itself to the bourgeois governments and regimes and to betray its own working class.

Comrades, in this letter we are contributing with what we believe are decisive elements to put on feet a revolutionary program for the Spanish and European working class.

Lamentably, your statement finishes in an ultra partial program that is not even close to what the Spanish masses need, to enter in maneuvers of revolution nor to overcome their present leadership.

It is very possible that the present isolation of some sectors of the IRL-FI, which requested to be sympathizers of the ILTF and its revolutionary program, is taking you too close to an abyss, that if you do not stop in time, it will really take you to a political bankruptcy. Or, as Trotsky would say: “from a scratch to the danger of gangrene”. Because of this, we asked you some days ago to officially send us the updated program of the Marxism 2010 meeting, because, from what we have taken note of in Zimbabwe, it does not even pose some of the lukewarm positions that you posed in Spain.

For example, does Marxism 2010... call for a general strike in Zimbabwe and in South Africa for jobs for all, with a decent wage and with the same wage for same work for all workers, including immigrant workers? Does it call to defeat the union bureaucrats, to put the unions at the service of the struggle of the workers? As far as we know, the trade union bureaucrats that come from scabbing the heroic strike of the textile workers of Kadoma, will be speakers in Marxism 2010 in Zimbabwe.

We know that leaders of the MDC, of the NCA and of NGOs financed by USA and the Spanish crown will speak in your conference “Marxism 2010”. How can it be?

Marxism 2010 in Zimbabwe without calling to defeat the trade union bureaucracy? Without calling to unite with the working class of the whole Southern Africa to break the fence of Madagascar, and to do as in Kyrgyzstan, where it was put so clearly that without arms there is no bread?

Why so many apparently revolutionary words for Spain and not for Zimbabwe? Why “down with Zapatero!” and not “down with Mugabe, the MDC, the Constitutional Assembly and its millionaire servant Gwisai, who are under the commands of Anglo-American and all its servants, sprinkled with dollars from the capitalists, always ready to betray their class brothers and sisters!”?

Why this ‘forgetfulness’ about Gwisai, former leader of ISOZ and current member of the Constitutional Assembly, who operates as a true minister without portfolio of Zimbabwe’s government? Why not “out with Gwisai, the millionaire servant of the billionaires, disguised under “socialist” clothing, the very one who sent you yesterday to the bourgeois courts and the police!”?

Really, we do not understand. It seems to be that you are playing the funeral march in Spain, where there is a wedding, and the wedding march (re-marriage?) in Zimbabwe where there is a memorial. Superficial revolutionary phraseology 10.000 km away (in Spain), but in Zimbabwe a minimum program is raised, supporting the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats, led by the bureaucrats of the Spanish UGT, the North American AFL-CIO and the British TUC. In this question, you have to define yourselves. At least, raise up your program of Spain for Zimbabwe.

As Trotsky said in the lessons on the popular front in Spain and in France: Where there is a bourgeois and a thousand workers, the bourgeois rules. Why? Because if the workers say that they want a wage increase, and the boss has to put the money, the bourgeois leaves the assembly. To keep him there, the workers must water down their program and support the profits of the bosses.

This is what it is happening in your Marxism 2010. The imperialist NGOs and the bourgeois parties put the money and the funds to guarantee Marxism 2010, and you are forced to water down your program and to go back, as you are dangerously doing, to your starting point, that is to say, to be the left of Gwisai and of the MDC, without Gwisai; or with Gwisai?.

For so many betrayals and capitulations made in the name of socialism, the IST (the international current of the British SWP) has exploded into tens and tens of groups in the world. It is not possible to speak about socialism and to be a counsellor of the Democrat Party of the imperialist butchers in USA, or to be inside the MDC, agent of the Anglo-American in Zimbabwe.

If in Europe you cannot be for building up a revolutionary party, not even in Spain, without breaking and decisively fighting against the World Social Forum, the parties of the labour aristocracies and bureaucracies which live from the crumbs falling from the over-exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial world, then it is not even possible to think about setting up a revolutionary party in any place in Africa, let alone in Zimbabwe, without breaking with the parties of the Anglo-American, particularly the MDC.

It is not possible to fight for the sliding scale of wages and working hours without calling to unite the entire working class of Zimbabwe (which has three million of immigrants in South Africa doing the worst jobs, while not being accepted by the unions led by the corrupt millionaires of the South African Communist Party) and without establishing the unity of the entire proletariat of Southern Africa with that program.

Unfortunately, the meeting “Marxism 2010” of Zimbabwe says nothing about this. You already know that most of your members have agreed that it is not possible to join the fight for the program of the Fourth International and have a dual membership of the MDC and the pro-imperialist parties nor to be organizers, distributors and members of the imperialists NGO’s. These organizations are the ones who came with water and charity to extinguish the fire of the revolutionary workers of Zimbabwe in 1998 and 2008. The only thing that can be achieved by it, as a maximum, is that some leaders of the Zimbabwean left can eat and live, sharing alms while the majority, slaves of the concentration camps die of starvation and treatable diseases. Organizers of the charity and alms of the NGO’s: out of the workers organizations!

The working class has the able hands to work, energy to transform nature, to carry tractors and plough the land, to put the machines, that the capitalists paralyzed, to work again. The money is in the banks! Let’s expropriate them! Food and bread for all!

So you will see that, with this program, the same one we raised together on May Day, the NGO’s and Gwisai will flee from “Marxism 2010”. They, dressed under “Marxists” clothing, are the biggest defenders of capitalism in ruin. A choice has to be made. Either with the Fourth International for the proletarian revolution, or with the Fifth International of the Bolivarians, Hu Jintao and all the servants of renegades of Trotskyism that legitimate it from the left.

The IRL-FI had a short-lived passage through Trotskyism after breaking with the betrayal by the ISO.

Some of their old leaders went back on their steps. “They have to eat”, they claim, in the middle of a sea of starving masses, while they are subordinated to the MDC and the imperialist NGO’s. For some spare change, they become administrators of a concentration camp of slaves.

Why don’t you occupy the factory, as the textile workers of Kadoma and Chegutu called to do so; or why don’t you occupy the land, as the poor peasants and agricultural workers do, in order to eat? It is easier for the leaders of the “left” to go sitting in the right seat of the 4x4 vans of the NGO than being at the head of the fights of the working class against its executioners, with the risks that it means.

Few months ago, the leadership of the IRL-FI in its documents of the split from Gwisai and the IST were wondering “Will we be able to look into the eyes of the working class after so many betrayals?” You came into the ranks of the ILTF. But within our ranks you cannot be verbally for the program of the Fourth International in the congress and then bury it in the class struggle.

In that way, pushed by the rank and file workers, the leaders of the split with Gwisai appeared to begin to move forward towards Trotskyism and its program. On behalf of the FLTI they began to look in the eyes of the working class. The vast majority of workers of your organization- who cannot be bought by any NGO since they live off their work and with a miserable 90 dollars per month, it doesn’t matter if its temporary- start to become trotskyist

and understand their historical tasks and responsibilities as regards African and world revolution. There is a choice, when "Marxism 2010" begins to session in Zimbabwe with representatives of the imperialist NGOs, with scab strike-breaker bureaucrats of the trade unions in Zimbabwe, with the students' leadership openly supported and financed by the MDC –truly privileged who do not care that thousands and thousands of students are expelled from university and secondary schools because of the lack of scholarships to study-, together with academics from university, militants of Obama –who have their hands dripping with blood from the massacres in Iraq and Afghanistan-, you will have to turn your eyes down once more.

You take the path of the revolution because a conviction. The path of reformism is adopted not because of convictions but of solutions and privileges only for the leaders that distribute alms, with which the exploiters want to keep the exploited passive and quiet. On that path, we insist, you will not only not be able to look right into the eyes of the working class in Zimbabwe, but you will not even be able to speak in the name of the Bolivian revolution, of the Madagascar revolution, of the revolts for bread in Mozambique, and of the heroic combats of the African working class.

The honest majority of the rank and file and cadres of IRL-FI have already chosen for the Fourth International. Their most perspicacious workers already understand this question.

The renegades of Trotskyism rub their hands believing that Trotskyism in Zimbabwe is withdrawing. Sooner or later they will break their teeth. First, it was indifference; they pretended to ignore Internationalist Trotskyism being set up in the vanguard of the deep masses in Africa. Now, that we are selecting our ranks they will become enthusiastic.

The ones who are being pushed out of Africa are the forces of the renegades of Trotskyism and servants of the Fifth International. And Trotskyism of the Fourth International is the one that selects the best elements, frees themselves from opportunists by putting into firm hands the program of the socialist revolution in Southern Africa.

The renegades of Trotskyism will not arrive on time because they have already been there and have long been exposed in the eyes of the masses. Their role has already been played by Gwisai, one of the presidents of the World Social Forum and deputy of the slaves' concentration camp of Mugabe and MDC. Zimbabwe is nothing more than a political battlefield of an international fight of FLTI to defeat before the eyes of world proletariat, not only Gwisai, but also the US ISO, and English SWP, the Chukaku-ha of Japan, the ELACs of Latin America, the social forums and NGOs full of corrupt people from Africa, who have regrouped their ranks to save the profits of international finance capital and stop the revolutionary upheavals of the exploited.

The reformists, the traitors of the Fifth International are the ones who are splitting. You are a molecule of that split, and you are moving towards either the banners of the Fourth International, or the banners of Gwisai...of MDC and their bosses of Anglo-American.

Of course, the conditions are difficult to sustain a revolutionary organization and a revolutionary program in your country. The solution is not to gather anyone to any politics. In the deep masses of Africa and of Zimbabwe in particular, with its powerful and combative working class, are the elements that will retake the revolutionary combats of 1998 and 2008.

The NGOs distribute alms/crumbs and pay commissions to the "African socialists" to distribute them. The agents of the constitutional assembly are the enemy of the expropriation of land and of the national independence; they will not be at the head of the next revolutionary attack of the working class in Zimbabwe, and less than that, they will be those who are trying to kneel down before the imperialists today.

The ILTF is preparing a new revolutionary counteroffensive in Africa. All the renegades of Trotskyism know about this combat. We do not look for organizing just anyone, and less than that, neither those who are organizers of the imperialist NGOs, nor the militants of a bourgeois party as the MDC, agents of the Anglo-American. We are not used to making centrist alchemy.

We know that the ISO has exploded all around the world, after openly betraying in Greece, England and USA like vulgar servants of the HSBC, the Morgan Chase and their representatives. This split has occurred in Zimbabwe. Long live the explosion! Dozens of groups and fractions abound in the world, in Africa and in Zimbabwe in particular, coming from this explosion. Long live the explosion! It is not possible to speak in the name of socialism and at the same time to live peacefully, by betraying the proletariat.

It is from this explosion-that has already taken several months in the IST at worldwide level, and in Zimbabwe in particular-where the honest and heroic combatants for the cause of the Fourth International will arise and delimit themselves. The proletariat needs a world revolutionary party, and it will not be built in Europe or Africa, without first defeating the socialimperialist parties, the renegades of Trotskyism, whose aim is to legitimate from the left this Fifth International that has turned with all its forces onto Africa precisely to prevent the setting up of revolutionary, insurrectionalist, combat and internationalist parties, which will trace a river of blood, as Lenin says in "What's to be done?", between the bourgeoisie and the workers, between reform and revolution.

Either you return to the program of ISO with Gwisai, or keep yourselves in the fight of IRL-FI with the internationalist program worked during the May Day in Zimbabwe and internationally. Either ISOZ or IRL-FI with the program of the May Day and Fourth International, this is the iron alternative. Either to return ISOZ of Anglo American, or keep the conquest of IRL-FI under the banner of the Fourth International. We do not have doubts that the most perspicacious and determined Trotskyist workers are the ones who will take in their hands the banner of the Fourth International in Africa.

To maintain that eclectic program for Spain, to go into conferences with the biggest enemies of the proletariat to discuss socialism in Zimbabwe, is to refuse, from the beginning, fighting for a "revolutionary party" in Spain, as

you propose in your statement. Lenin already said that it does not matter how many “r-r-rrred” chatter it can be done at the international level, without decisively confronting the own bourgeoisie in each country, it is not believable to appear as an internationalist, and less than that, to fight for socialism, and please don't say anything about defending Marxism in the year 2010 at the festival of the bourgeois.

You have the last Word.

LTI of Bolivia