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We are publishing this week excerpts from a talk by Comrade Stéphane Just, a member of the Central Committee of the OCI, before a meeting of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste held September 28 in Paris at the Mutualité Hall.

We will continue next week with publication of preparatory documents for the pre-cell meetings of the OCI, namely the second part of the document on "Obstacles to the Proletarian Revolution" [i.e., this series ^{of documents} ~~was~~ interrupted to free the back page of IO for excerpts from Just's speech--TRANSLATOR]

We will then publish the fourth document, which is on the OCI and its place in the struggle for the reconstruction of the World Party of Revolution--the Fourth International--which is confronted today, as Comrade Just explains, with a virulent attack by bourgeois and Stalinist reaction.

After remarks by an Iranian Trotskyist woman comrade who spoke on the nature and role of the developing proletarian revolution in Iran and how it is an expression of the new phase of the world proletarian revolution, Comrade Just took up the significance and scope of the revolution that is unfolding in Nicaragua:

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"What an extraordinary confirmation of our entire assessment, of our entire political perspective, in contrast to those who do not understand or do not wish to understand the character of the period and the tasks that are today ours in the work to build a revolutionary party in France and to reconstruct the Fourth International," he said in introducing his remarks on the development of the proletarian revolution in Nicaragua.

Some are already, in effect, trying to deny this, asserting that what is going on in Nicaragua is some sort of democratic revolution, associating together in the same struggle for liberation both the exploited and the exploiters, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, landowners and peasants.

"No," said Comrade Just, "that is absolutely not the case. What is unfolding in Nicaragua is a proletarian revolution, a new development in the world revolution."

And that is precisely why, in both Iran and Nicaragua, reaction has been unleashed against the organizations that claim adherence to Trotskyism, against the organizations that claim adherence to the Fourth International.

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It is also why a campaign has been unleashed against the Fourth International in an attempt to prevent the proletariat from achieving its class independence.

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Comrades, we are fighting for the proletarian revolution, for the overthrow of imperialism and the parasitic bureaucracies, for the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why we cling to all the conquests of the working class, to the conquests represented by the expropriation of capital in Eastern Europe, ~~in~~ the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba; that is why we cling to the defense of those conquests ^{of} ~~for~~ the working class that come under the heading of democratic rights.

We know that the proletarian revolution can advance only to the extent that the proletariat can organize itself as a class, express itself, and fight. And that is why, in close connection with our assessment of the world situation and of the relationship of forces between the classes, especially in Europe, ^{in connection} and ~~with~~ our assessment of the imminence of revolution in certain countries, we give so much importance to the struggle for the defense

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of democratic rights, to the right of the masses to express and organize themselves, as well as to the right of peoples to self-determination....

Because of these principles we have fought to save the lives of the comrades of the Iranian HKS and, as the comrade who just spoke made clear, this campaign has not gone without results. But nothing definitive has been won; the battle must continue. Because what is involved is the defense of liberties, of the right of peoples to determine their destiny. In short, what is involved is defense of the Iranian revolution.

Moreover, in regard to the members of the HKS, this battle has a particular significance for us. For independently of the political orientation the HKS comrades may have, independently of the fact that they claim adherence to the United Secretariat, the attack against the HKS is an attack by the counterrevolution. The aim is to try to deny the right to political expression that is indispensable if the masses are to move forward toward victory--to deny this right to the political force that is building the revolutionary party.

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By attacking the HKS, by trying to execute its members or keep them in prison, and now by staging a new trial, reaction is trying, with the support of Stalinism, to ban political freedom to organizations in Iran who claim adherence to the Fourth International, who claim adherence to Trotskyism. But this battle also has to be carried out in Nicaragua, comrades, in connection with developments in the situation there.

Although American imperialism is unable to intervene directly in Nicaragua, that does not mean that it is disarmed and that counter-revolutionary activity has ceased. Its weapons, the weapons that it possesses are those that have been given it by the counterrevolutionary holy alliance--first and foremost the Kremlin bureaucracy for whom, we must note, Fidel Castro is at the present time the most effective international agent.

Comrades, listen to this quotation from the speech Castro gave in Havana July 26. He said: "I repeat that we're glad that the United States and other countries are to help Nicaragua. What's more, we're ready to enter an emulation campaign with the United States, an emulation

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campaign to see who can do the most for Nicaragua. We invite the United States, we invite all the countries of Latin America, we invite all the countries of Europe [the countries of the Third World, our sister socialist nations, everybody] to take part in an emulation campaign to help Nicaragua."

[words in brackets were deleted from Just's version of quote, with nothing to indicate that a deletion had been made--TRANSLATOR]

Comrades, what is this campaign? What is this competition? What is this united front? It is the united front of the counter-revolution!

A campaign with the United States to contain, roll back, and ultimately crush if possible the Nicaraguan revolution. Such is the role of Stalinism, whose agent Fidel Castro is today the Stalinists' most valuable tool, at least in Latin America. And comrades, this we know: Stalinism has a counterrevolutionary consciousness that is as refined and distilled as it could possibly be. Stalinism knows that Trotskyism is synonymous with proletarian revolution.

The Stalinists, the Kremlin bureaucracy,

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its agents, they all know perfectly well that it is not sufficient for the proletariat to take power, for the revolution to unfold, for committees to multiply among the workers and farmers and in the army. These are, to be sure, necessary conditions for victory, for the proletariat to take power, but they are not sufficient.

For the proletariat to take power it must have a political voice that fights for the class independence of the proletariat, that opens the road toward the centralization of the proletariat as a class and toward the struggle of this class for power. ~~And~~, Comrades, we must take note that a virulent attack has been unleashed, and this is no ~~mere~~ coincidence, against Trotskyism in Nicaragua. The form of the attack is different from the one in Iran but the conditions are no less pernicious.

Comrades, we do not know the precise orientation around which the Simón Bolívar Brigade fought. This formation was led by Trotskyists of the Bolshevik Faction of the United Secretariat, a faction with which we have enormous differences.

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We do not know in a precise fashion the political line under which it intervened in Nicaragua. But we do know ~~very~~ very well why it was dissolved, why it was banned, and why attacks against Trotskyism are increasing in Nicaragua. It is, as always, ~~an instrument~~ ^{to serve} of the counterrevolution. To see this, it is sufficient to recall Iran, of course, but also the example of Spain, of Nin and the members of the POUM, who were not Trotskyists. Politically, the Fourth International and Trotsky had deep differences with them. Accused ^d of being Trotskyists by the Kremlin bureaucracy, the agency of counterrevolution in Spain, they were murdered. Accusing them of being Trotskyists and murdering them for that meant denying any possibility of class independence for the proletariat; it meant binding the Trotskyists hand and foot; it meant preparing to crush them.

I repeat, comrades, we do not ^{know} in a precise way what the policy of the Bolshevik Faction of the United Secretariat was in Nicaragua. But today, in the same way that we defend the members of the PST in Iran, we also defend the right of existence and expression of the comrades in Nicaragua who claim adherence to Trotskyism, of all those who

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claim adherence to Trotskyism, of all those who claim adherence to the Fourth International and to the organizations of the Fourth International, whatever the political line of these organizations and activists. ^{may be} It is ~~the~~ defense of the right to political existence of Trotskyist organizations of the Fourth International that is at stake.

Any other attitude would be that of liquidators of the Fourth International, and therefore of the revolution. □