

KANSAINVÄLISEN TYÖVÄENKOMITEAN POLIITTINEN UMPIKUJA

**Marxilaisen Työväenliiton Kansainvälisestä
Työväenkomiteasta eroamiseen johtaneista
syistä sekä MTL:n poliittisista tavoitteista**

Marxilainen Työväenliitto

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1. Johdanto

Marxilainen Työväenliitto erosi Kansainvälisestä Työväenkomiteasta 8. lokakuuta 2001. Tämä pamfletti valottaa kyseistä eroamista. Sisältö koostuu neljästä artikkelista: Ensimmäinen on Marxilaisen Työväenliiton (MTL) eroamisesta tiedottava kannanotto 8.11.2001. Toisena on ilmoitus, jonka MTL lähetti Kansainväliselle Työväenkomitealle (KTK, englanniksi IWC) 8.10.2001. Kolmas artikkeli on KTK:n Ukrainan osaston vastine MTL:n eroamisilmoitukseen. Neljäntenä artikkelina on MTL:n viimeisin vastaus Ukrainan osastolle.

Aluksi on syytä kertoa hieman Marxilaisesta Työväenliitosta. MTL:n edeltäjä, Marxilainen Oppositio (MO) muodostettiin vuoden 1999 loppupuolella ryhmäkunnaksi Sosialistiliiton sisälle. MO kritisoi Sosialistiliiton johdon politiikkaa ja pyrki herättämään keskustelua Sosialistiliiton sisällä. Sosialistiliiton johto ei ollut halukas keskustelemaan, ja huhtikuussa 2000 MO erosi Sosialistiliitosta ja ilmoitti perustavansa itsenäisen järjestön. Kesäkuussa 2000 Marxilainen Työväenliitto perustettiin Oulussa.

Alun perinkin Marxilainen Oppositio oli osa Kansainvälistä Työväenkomiteaa, itse asiassa KTK:n perustajajäsen, ja

MTL jatkoi luonnollisesti KTK:n jäsenenä. Mutta vaikka MTL:n perustaminen jatkamaan Trotskin bolševikkileninististä perintöä Suomessa oli itsessäänkin tärkeä askel, MTL:n toiminta jatkui suhteellisen vähäisenä. Vasta keväällä 2001, jolloin järjestöön liittyi uusia voimia, toiminta toden teolla alkoi.

Maaliskuussa 2001 MTL piti epävirallisen valtakunnallisen kokouksen Oulussa. Tuolloin järjestö julkaisi kannanoton, jossa se esitti ennusteensa uudesta imperialistisesta sodasta. MTL pyrki herättämään keskustelua maailmansodan vaarasta, ja kun tätä keskustelua hieman syntyikin, julkaisi järjestö toukokuussa pamfletin Kolmannesta maailmansodasta.

Järjestön ja sen julkisen profiilin voimistuminen trotskilaisen liikkeen edustajana Suomessa herätti myös huolestuneisuutta osassa maamme stalinisteja. Keskustelu etenkin Kommunistisen Työväenpuolueen (KTP) kanssa oli vilkasta ja osin kärkeväkin. Tätä keskustelua varten MTL julkaisi pamfletin artikkeleista Stalinismi on stalinismia, hunnun kanssa tai ilman sekä Miksi Neljäs Internationaali pitää jälleenrakentaa.

Huhtikuisten Quebecin mielenosoitusten analysoiminen historialliseksi käännekohtaksi vahvisti järjestön näkemystä Göteborgin kesäkuisen EU-huippukokouksen aikaisiin mielenosoituksiin osallistumisesta. Göteborgissa, joka oli järjestön toiminnassa vuoden 2001 tärkein tapahtuma, MTL vaati työläisten ja nuorten yhteistä taistelua EU:n huippukokouksen pysäyttämiseksi ja työväenvastaisen EU:n murskaamiseksi. Göteborg osoittautui sekin historialliseksi käännekohtaksi, ja MTL:n toiminta oli päässyt hyvään vauhtiin.

Heinäkuussa 2001 tilanne muuttui nopeasti. Eräs MTL:n ja jopa KTK:n perustajajäsenistä kieltäytyi toimimasta yhteisten päätösten mukaisesti. Koska hän ei pyydettyessä edes perustellut käytöstään, hänet erotettiin. Nykyään hän edustaa

CWI:tä. Vaikka MTL:n voimavarat tästä vähenivätkin, tämä ei varsinaisesti ollut MTL:n toiminnan lamaantumisen syytä, vaan erään toisen jäsenen toimista Genovassa aiheutuneet epäselvyydet.

Näihin epäselvyyksiin, jotka kärjistikivät MTL:n ja KTK:n poliittisia erimielisyyksiä, tyrehtyi MTL:n toiminta. KTK:n kansainvälinen johto oli jo keväästä 2001 lähtien — siis koko sen ajan, jolloin MTL:n toiminta oli ollut parhaimmillaan — suhtautunut nuivasti MTL:n esittämiin poliittisiin linjauksiin. Heinäkuussa MTL:n Genovan mielenosoituksiin osallistuneelta jäseneltä, joka määrätietoisimmin oli uusia poliittisia linjauksia puolustanut, poistettiin toistaiseksi jäsenoikeudet. Näin MTL:n vähäiset voimavarat kävivät vieläkin vähäisemmiksi, ja kaikinpuolinen luottamuksen romahtaminen masensi kaiken poliittisen toiminnan.

Kun syyskuussa imperialistinen maailma ajautui taloudellisen kriisin lisäksi myös sotilaalliseen kriisiin, eivät MTL:n jäsenet voineet enää tyytyä katsomaan vierestä, kuinka maailmaa ajettiin barbariaan. Toiminnan uudelleenkäynnistämistä sovittiin, ja tässä keskeistä oli eroaminen KTK:sta, sillä KTK oli ajanut itsensä järjestölliseen ja poliittiseen umpikujaan. KTK:sta eroamisen jälkeen MTL:n toiminta on ollut taas erittäin aktiivista, järjestön koko on kasvanut ja järjestö on monista kokemuksistaan viisastunut.

Tämän pamfletin artikkelit käsittelevät eroamiseen johtaneita poliittisia erimielisyyksiä ja niitä tavoitteita, joita MTL ajaa, mutta joiden ajaminen KTK:n jäsenenä oli osoittautunut mahdottomaksi. Tällainen on esimerkiksi tavoite Neljännen Internationaalin jälleenrakentamiseksi. Keskustelu ukrainalaisten kanssa paljastaa lukuisia heikkouksia KTK:n politiikassa.

Koska kansainväliset keskustelut KTK:n sisällä on käyty

englanniksi, ei näitä alun perin englanniksi kirjoitettuja artikkeleita ole erikseen suomennettu. Tästä pamfletista on tehty kaksi versiota, toinen kokonaan englanniksi, ja toinen, jossa johdanto ja MTL:n kannanotto 8.11.2001 ovat suomeksi, mutta keskustelut KTK:n sisällä englanniksi.

1.12.2001

2. Marxilainen Työväenliitto erosi Kansainvälisen Työväenkomitean jäsenyydestään

Marxilaisen Työväenliiton kannanotto 8.11.2001

Marxilainen Työväenliitto (MTL) ilmoitti 8. lokakuuta Kansainväliselle Työväenkomitealle (KTK) eroavansa järjestöstä, ja että jatkossa MTL:n nimeä ei enää saa käyttää puhuttaessa KTK:n Suomen osastosta. Tähän MTL:n päätökseen johtaneita syitä eivät niinkään olleet pitkän aikaa jatkuneet poliittiset ja metodologiset erimielisyydet, vaan KTK:n johdon kieltäytyminen käsittelemästä niitä.

Objektiivisen todellisuuden analyysin ja kannanottojen puute KTK:ssa vaivasi MTL:a jo aikana ennen Göteborgia. Järjestettäväksi päätetyn KTK:n ensimmäisen kansainvälisen konferenssin alinomainen lykkääntyminen ja siihen liittyvien asiakirjojen syntymättä jääminen tarkoittivat käytännössä erimielisyyksien ratkaisemisen siirtämistä hamaan tulevaisuuteen.

Tilanne kärjistyi Genovan tapahtumien jälkeen, jolloin KTK:n johto päätti tilapäisesti erottaa erään MTL:n jäsenen ja poisti tältä oikeudet käyttää järjestön nimeä siihen asti, kunnes Genovan yhteydessä sattuneet sekaannukset yhteistyökuvioden suhteen olisi tutkittu ja selvitetty. Kyseinen MTL:n jäsen vastasi syytöksiin ja totesi, että sotkun takana piilevät ennemminkin mm. teoriaan työväenluokan

separatismista ja Neljännen Internationaalin jälleenrakentamiseen liittyvät poliittiset erimielisyydet. Tähän 19. elokuuta lähetettyyn vastineeseen ei KTK:ssa ole vielä kukaan otettu kantaa, ja tästä seurasi miltei täydellinen MTL:n toiminnan lamaantumisen ja teoreettisen työn hidastuminen. Syyskuulle suunniteltua MTL:n vuosikokousta ei koskaan pidetty, ja yhteiskunnallisen tilanteen kriisiin ajautumisen kriittisessä vaiheessa MTL oli käytännössä poissa toiminnasta. Syyskuun 24. päivä kyseinen MTL:n jäsen ilmoitti eroavansa KTK:sta, ja pian sen jälkeen 8. lokakuuta koko MTL teki samoin.

Porvoossa lokakuun 26.-27. päivinä pidetyssä MTL:n epävirallisessa kokouksessa päätettiin jatkaa järjestön toimintaa puhtaalta pöydältä. Päätöksiä tehtiin seuraavista asioista:

- järjestäytymiskokous pidetään Helsingissä helmikuussa 2002
- kokoukseen liittyvät asiakirjat julkaistaan pamflettina tammi-kuun alussa
- osallistutaan globalisaationvastaisia aktivisteja ja työväenluokkaa kokoavan yhteisrintaman toimintaan
- järjestön kotisivut uusitaan ja niitä päivitetään säännöllisesti
- tulevassa järjestäytymiskokouksessa päätetään paitsi uusia säännöistä myös järjestön kansainvälisestä suuntautumisesta
- toistaiseksi MTL pysyy kaikkien olemassa olevien kansainvälisten tendenssien ulkopuolella, lähtökohtanaan edelleen globaalikapitalismin kritiikki ja maailman luokkataistelun tarpeet.

Järjestäytymiskokoukseen valmisteltavassa ohjelmaluonnoksessa sanotaan seuraavaa:

Työväenluokan täytyy perustaa toimintansa historian

kokemukselle kokonaisuudessaan, mutta siihen ei pidä rajoittaa, vaan siitä on päästävä eteenpäin korkeammalla tasolla. Työväenliike ei saa rajata itseään välittömän ja karvaan kokemuksensa kansallisiin rajoihin, vaan sen on jälleen löydettävä kansainväliset vallankumoukselliset perspektiivit ja vallankumouksen Internationaali.

Trotskin toteutumaton hanke, Neljännen Internationaalin rakentaminen, on kysymyksistä päivänpolttavin. Trotskilaisuus ei ole vain antistalinismia, kuten yrittävät väittää demokraatit, "uudistajat", kommunistit tai jopa monet trotskilaiset. Se on vuonna 1917 alkaneen maailmanvallankumouksen avoimesti kehittyvää teoriaa ja käytäntöä. Hanke ei toteutunut, koska Internationaali ei ehtinyt levittää lokakuun vallankumousta. Miksi Neljäs Internationaali, miksi sen jälleenrakentaminen? Internationaali ei voi syntyä pyyhkimällä historia muistista, vaan sen täytyy sisäistää kaikki 1900-luvun irvokkaiden ja traagisten kokemusten opetukset ja samalla pyrkiä eteenpäin niiden pohjalta. Tämän vuoksi Neljäs Internationaali perustettiin. Erinäisistä syistä johtuen hanke ei toteutunut, vaikka se on yhtä tärkeä välttämättömyys kuin maailmanvallankumous. Emme kuitenkaan puhu yksinkertaisesta entisöinnistä, vaan puhumme jälleenrakentamisesta: jokaisesta kokemuksen ja tiedon lähteen yhdistämisestä, valloittamisesta ja kehittämisestä, ihmiskunnan tulevaisuuden osoittamisesta. Tämä on jälleenrakentamisen perusta. Ja jos luopuisimme Neljännen Internationaalin lipusta, luopuisimme samalla luokkataistelun teoreettisista, poliittisista, strategisista ja ohjelmallisista saavutuksista.

Toinen ja Kolmas Internationaali ajettiin poliittiseen kuolemaan sosialidemokraattien ja stalinistien toimesta ennen, kuin ne ehtivät organisaatioina hajota. Neljäs Internationaali lakkasi olemasta yhtenäinen organisaatio ilman, että se olisi

kuollut poliittisesti. Toinen Internationaali tuhoutui isänmaallisuuteen ja Kolmas Internationaali politiikkaan sosialismista yhdessä maassa. Molempien poliittinen ydin mätäni ennen kuin organisaation kuori murtui. Sen sijaan Neljännen Internationaalin keskeinen teoreettinen ja poliittinen ydin, jatkuva vallankumous ja maailmanvallankumouksen dialektiikka, siirtymäohjelma, Petetyn vallankumouksen opetukset jne., on elävämpi kuin koskaan, huolimatta organisaation sirpaloitumisesta ja Trotskin jälkeisen ajan neuvottomuudesta. Haaste Neljännen Internationaalin jälleenrakentamiseksi lähtee tästä ristiriidasta elävän historiallis-poliittisen ytimen ja haavoittuneen poliittisen organisaation välillä. Historiallista ydintä ei voi säilyttää, jollei sitä kehitä. Nostalginen paluu vuoden 1938 olosuhteisiin tai silloisten toimien mekaaninen toisto eivät ole mahdollisia. Neljättä Internationaalia ei voi rakentaa sosialidemokraattien tai stalinistisen byrokratian sisällä, vaan itsenäisenä järjestönä ja edellisten vastakohtana.

Nyt, kun kaikki sodanjälkeiset voimasuhteet ovat järkkyneet, on mahdollista ja välttämätöntä ryhtyä suureen harppaukseen. Uusi internationaali tulee olemaan Neljäs Internationaali, tai se ei voi syntyä ollenkaan. Trotskilaisen liikkeen kokonais-historiallisen arvioinnin välttämätön tehtävä on vielä edessäpäin. Dialektinen materialismi filosofiana, logiikkana ja tietoteorian on marxismin teorian ja käytännön vallankumouksellinen ydin. Sen tutkiminen ja opiskelu on MTL:n ensisijaisia tehtäviä.

MTL päättää tietoisesti jäädä Neljännen Internationaalin nimeen vannovien tai sen "jälleenrakentamiseen" pyrkivien ryhmien ulkopuolelle. Kuitenkin MTL on avoin keskusteluil-le ja muulle käytännön tason toiminnalle muiden trotskilaisten kanssa. Tendenssien ulkopuolelle jääminen ei tarkoita kansallistrotskismia. Stalinismin romahtaminen, joka vei

mukanaan suurimman osan trotskilaisista järjestöistä, on luonut täysin uuden tilanteen, joka ei salli vanhan sodanjälkeisen poliittisen ja järjestöllisen olemassaolon jatkumista. Välttämätön uusi jälleenjärjestäytyminen kansainvälisellä tasolla ajaa vanhojen ryhmittymien ohitse ja tulee vetämään puoleensa erilaisia poliittisia taustoja ja perinteitä omaavia voimia, joiden sisällä meidän tulee taistella Trotskin perinnöstä, kunnes voitamme. MTL ei aio tuhannennen kerran julistaa perustetuksi vielä yhtä trotskilaista tendenssiä. Lähitulevaisuudessa poliittisen näyttämön koostumuksessa tulee tapahtumaan uudelleenjärjestäytymisiä. Kannatamme kansainvälisen kampanjoinnin aloittamista työväenluokan keskuudessa ilman poissulkemisia, mikä mahdollistaisi kansainvälisen konferenssin, jossa keskusteltaisiin Neljännen Internationaalin jälleenrakentamisesta.

3. Formal announcement of resignation

Marxilaisen Työväenliiton eroilmoitus Kansainväliselle Työväenkomitealle 8.10.2001

The Marxist Workers' League of Finland (MTL) announces its resignation as an organization from the International Workers' Committee (IWC) and sends this announcement to the whole IWC.

On time scale before the resignation MTL has for its own part returned all membership privileges to comrade Dimitris Mizaras, who was put on suspended membership by the International Secretariat (IS) of the IWC on July 2001. Through the explanation of comrade Mizaras, and various discussions later on, we have been fully convinced, that the accusations which the IS casted on comrade Mizaras where exaggerative. We are now convinced that all comrade Mizaras could have done better was to not use any other person's email account to send his message from, and that he should have sent a Finnish message to Finland if he wanted translation to English. In no way he was acting traitorously.

So, after returning his membership to comrade Mizaras, let's get back to our resignation. You may ask some reasonings for it. Well, let's begin from comrade Mizaras' case and the International Control Commission (ICC) which was called

for to deal with this issue. After the IS put comrade Mizaras on suspension, it was not much interested in him; a bit for the beginning, but now the case has remained unsolved and forgotten for more than two months. It is doubtful that the ICC or the IWC will ever solve the question. Comrade Mizaras wrote his own response to the accusations of the IWC, and comrade Teemu Luojola promised to translate it in English — this is true, but although comrade Luojola has not translated the document, he is not the only one around the question who has not done anything to help the situation internationally. You may understand his frustration with the organization, when at first a good comrade is put on suspension, then this comrade explains what the situation for his part is, and then the organization forgets the whole question. Comrade Luojola claims that he was got in a trap. With the question of comrade Mizaras' membership in the IWC the organization has got itself in a dead end.

Now it is necessary to ask, if the IWC actually exists as an international organization to struggle to organize the working class. Actually almost nothing has happened for about two months now. The IWC pulled the emergency brake at Genoa and has not proceeded its work since then. Not in Finland, but also not in Yugoslavia, Britain or East Timor. For us the work of Ukrainian and the U.S. sections is a question mark — has anything happened? Even the email list has dried up.

The failure of the First International Conference of the IWC didn't happen by accident. There has never existed necessary discussion routines in the organization for such an important task. So far all that has been done is the call for the conference — but after the call was issued, the date of the conference changed. Comrade James Paris circulated the renewed basic principles, which actually were the old ones in a bit different

order and some changed expressions. Not any really new or even discussional documents have appeared. Also was promised in the Spring 2001 that comrade Lisa Weltman will write the third part of the article about working class separatism, and some extracts from this article will be released for discussion before Autumn 2001, when the whole article was said to appear. Nothing has happened. The world situation in general has been changing rapidly in the latest months, but for a way too long while there has not appeared any discussion or propotions for statements. And now the imperialists have started a new war. If the organization does not discuss internally, how can it lead the class struggle and develop Marxist theory? What is the role of the IWC, if 300 000 people in the streets of Genoa, or an imperialist war which may lead to WWII are not causing any effect and public response in its leadership or membership? What should we say to the masses now, when they are boiling in their anger and frustration, ripe for the right-wing populists to pick.

The lack of discussion reflects the internal problems of the IWC. The organization has no perspectives, it tends to repeat the same routines in each and every case. When comrade Jari-Pekka Raitamaa from Finland was not willing to work for the organization, he was accused of working for another organization, and he was expelled (to make it sure, in this case he didn't even want to defend himself and is now working for another organization, but we are bringing this up, because the same elements are repeating all the time). When comrade Mizaras was in Genoa and we couldn't follow everything he was doing there due to lack of proper communication media, some misunderstandings arose, and he was accused of working for another organization, entrism and agentism. And finally, when comrade Vicente Balvanera from Argentina travelled to

the USA but happened to disagree with the comrades of MWG, he was accused of traitorous behaving, raiding policy and "stealing of comrades" for another organization. Hello, hello! Does somebody REALLY believe in that comrade Balvanera travels from Argentina to the USA just to steal a couple of members from a tiny and almost non-existent organization? Have you ever thought how expensive such a journey is for an Argentinian? Was it such a holiday trip you described, or were his intentions to discuss with you, but that he ended in a situation where he couldn't agree with you? Is he guilty of something, or is there again lots of misunderstandings in the air?

We are now focusing to the point: these three cases, which happened in less than two months' time, are not any random cases, but they represent the problems of the IWC: repeating of the same formulas, blind application of principles and Marxism's classics. A revolutionary organization does not operate like this. How is it possible, that everybody turns out to be a traitor? Would it be possible, that the stamp of traitor is stamped far too quickly. It really seems like that the IWC has no perspectives, and thus it cannot survive or lead the class struggle.

Comrade Mizaras resigned from the IWC at the end of September. He asked us to clarify a little: he resigned from the IWC only, and if MTL resigns from the IWC as well, he is willing to continue to work in MTL, but if MTL didn't resign from the IWC, then he would resign from MTL as well. Anyway, a member resigned from the organization, but nobody reacted in it on the international level. If such a small organization like the IWC does not care if one member resigns, does it even care if one of its sections resigns as an organization. We'll see it now. MTL has resigned from the

IWC. We'd also like to add here what was told to comrade Mizaras in July: if for some reason principled comrades get separated into different organizations now, the revolutionary wave will bring them back together, just as Lenin and Trotsky were separated for more than ten years, but after the February revolution were the closest collaborators. If this doesn't happen — then we all have to ask ourselves, have we been principled in our doings.

4. Statement of Ukrainian Workers' Committee (UWC) — Ukrainian section of the International Workers' Committee (IWC)

Adopted on the meeting of UWC 18 October 2001

Comrades,

8 October 2001 Marxist Workers' League of Finland (MTL) announces its resignation as an organization from the International Workers' Committee (IWC). We should acknowledge that such resignation was not complete surprise for us. Marxist analysis leads us to the conclusion that such decision of MTL is natural result of the crisis and disorientation of Finnish comrades. Unfortunately MTL didn't succeed to give the proper reply on the current situation. It's especially pity that such announcement was issued just before US imperialism aggression against Afghanistan. Just at this time world workers class needs clear analysis of the last developments from the positions of clear and consistent workers separatism, which could be proposed only from the side of IWC.

We would like to analyze some points of MTL announcement:

- 1. "Now it is necessary to ask, if the IWC actually exists as an international organization to struggle to organize the working class. Actually almost nothing*

has happened for about two months now. The IWC pulled the emergency brake at Genoa and has not proceeded its work since then. Not in Finland, but also not in Yugoslavia, Britain or East Timor. For us the work of Ukrainian and the U.S. sections is a question mark — has anything happened? Even the email list has dried up."

We'll try to make the work of Ukrainian section not so mark. We're continuing our job. In August we participated in 8 pickets of Italian embassy in Kiev with our own demands and materials. We called for freedom of political prisoners — the participants of Genoa protests. 14 September we distributed our leaflet on the large rally in Kiev, which was organized by some organizations, including ourselves. We distributed 70 copies of the leaflet — all, which we succeed to print. 15 October we printed and distributed another 40 copies at the checkpoints of 2 Kiev enterprises — Arsenal and Rosinka. Already 22 October we organized open conference for our contacts — the workers of different Kiev enterprises (about 50 persons), where we explained the nature of 11 September events from the point of view of real Trotskyist analysis. 29–30 September 3 members of UWC went to Lutsk (Volyn region, Western part of Ukraine), where participated in mass rally and meeting (about 700 persons). Our comrade Evgen spoke at the meeting at the name of organization. Comrades distributed another 45 copies of the leaflet. After US aggression against Afghanistan we participated in 2 anti-war rallies in Kiev, where distributed new leaflets. Both times comrades spoke at the meetings. Due to such our activities 2 new comrades joined UWC and IWC, as well we have a lot of new contacts among the workers, not only in Kiev, but also in

some another regions. So, we can say that UWC and IWC is rather alive then dead :)

The email list indeed has dried up on some time, but not in connection with absence of the work. Comrade should understand that not all IWC sections work under so comfortable conditions, as Finnish comrades do. For example, Ukrainian section has no capacities of permanent access to Internet, we have no own computer and use each possibility to receive such access on the workplace of our comrade. But it's connected with serious problems and delays with postings to the IWC list with information about our activity. Comrade is permanently under the risk of release if bosses will see even small part of the correspondence. We know that situation of Yugoslavian comrades is about the similar. We see as a cynical announcement the critic of East Timor comrades don't participate in e-mail discussion and don't report permanently about their work. East Timor comrades each minute could be put in prison or even be murdered as a result of state or ethnic repressions. We don't think comrades have the possibilities even see the computer with Internet access. As well we think that situation of our comrades in Leeds is as well hard. But UWC thinks that it's not the weakness, but, on the contrary, the advantage of IWC that considerable part of our sections works in third world countries, under very hard conditions of open class struggle. Just under this conditions US section of IWC makes extremely important job for providing the informational support of international IWC activities.

- 2. "The failure of the First International Conference of the IWC didn't happen by accident. There has never existed necessary discussion routines in the organization for such an important task. So far all*

that has been done is the call for the conference — but after the call was issued, the date of the conference changed. Comrade James Paris circulated the renewed basic principles, which actually were the old ones in a bit different order and some changed expressions. Not any really new or even discussional documents have appeared. Also was promised in the Spring 2001 that comrade Lisa Weltman will write the third part of the article about working class separatism, and some extracts from this article will be released for discussion before Autumn."

One could have the impression that MTL needs only novelty for novelty as it is. It could seem that MTL proposes to refuse of "old principles" and adopt at the conference some new ones. Under our opinion IWC has no "old" or "new" basic principles, we have program basic principles of revolutionary Marxism and workers class separatism, which depended on current situation, could be expressed in one or another form. It's the sense of "some changed expressions". The work on program documents of IWC, which should be adopted on the First International Conference of the IWC is extremely important. The drafts proposed by Comrade James Paris should be discussed as wide as possible by all IWC sections in the process of pre-conference discussions. We've never seen active participation of MTL comrades in the discussion of basic principles. So, MTL is as well partly responsible for the delay of the First International Conference. But we don't see it as a failure. UWC is ready to organize the First International Conference in Ukraine and take the responsibility for its organization.

3. *"What is the role of the IWC, if 300 000 people in the streets of Genoa, or an imperialist war which may lead to WWII are not causing any effect and public response in its leadership or membership?"*

So, MTL thinks that IWC has no role the world class struggle and nobody hears the voice of IWC. But our everyday work with different sectors of Ukrainian proletariat, the job of another sections, even those, which have no permanent access to Internet, shows something opposite. Yes, we still is relatively small organization. But more and more workers every day know more about heritage of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and about workers class separatism. MTL considers that IWC doesn't exist as an international organization and the voice of IWC isn't heard, but maybe MTL comrades simply don't want to hear?

4. *"What should we say to the masses now, when they are boiling in their anger and frustration, ripe for the right-wing populists to pick."*

We are very surprised that MTL comrades bring up such rhetorical question. Do you really think that, for example, the call from Communist Manifesto "Workers of all land, unite!" is not actual anymore? Can't we propose to the workers program principles of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and program of IWC? It's really a pity if MTL indeed can't oppose something to right-wing populists and capitulate against them giving the workers to their hands.

5. *"Does somebody REALLY believe in that comrade Balvanera travels from Argentina to the USA just to*

steal a couple of members from a tiny and almost non-existent organization? Have you ever thought how expensive such a journey is for an Argentinian? Was it such a holiday trip you described, or were his intentions to discuss with you, but that he ended in a situation where he couldn't agree with you? Is he guilty of something, or is there again lots of misunderstandings in the air?"

We don't understand why Finnish comrades a priori reject just a possibility of dishonest behavior from the side of opponent organizations. Of course, we know that in Finland MTL is about only organization, which calls themselves Trotskyist. Just due to these reasons we understand that Finnish comrades have lack of experience of face-to-face discussions with such kind of opponents. We in Ukraine, like our US comrades, have such experience. We already informed IWC comrades about terrible policy of such organizations as CWI or IBT in CIS. This policy could disorient considerable part of workers class and, in this way, play on the hands of world bourgeoisie. Things should be called by their real names — fake Trotskyists can be the agents of bourgeoisie in the workers movement, no matter if they wittingly do it or not. We understand that situation in Finland is not similar to situations in USA or Ukraine, but the attempts of MTL comrades mechanistically extrapolate their situation to the situation with absolutely another conditions and traditions seem to us the expression of subjective idealist illusions of MTL. And is it not one of the main reasons to "work for another organizations"?

6. *"We'd also like to add here what was told to comrade*

Mizaras in July: if for some reason principled comrades get separated into different organizations now, the revolutionary wave will bring them back together, just as Lenin and Trotsky were separated for more than ten years, but after the February revolution were the closest collaborators. If this doesn't happen — then we all have to ask ourselves, have we been principled in our doings."

We agree completely — we all have to ask ourselves, have we been principled in our doings. But will we receive clear answer from the side of MTL comrades? We'll see now.

7. *"After the IS put comrade Mizaras on suspension, it was not much interested in him; a bit for the beginning, but now the case has remained unsolved and forgotten for more than two months. It is doubtful that the ICC or the IWC will ever solve the question."*

We don't think that it completely corresponds to the reality. Comrade Sidorenko twice sent e-mails to comrade Teemu Luojola with the propositions to deal with the case in the framework of ICC, but didn't receive any replies. It's very difficult to deal with case from Ukraine without any information about the details. It's necessary to add that case with comrade Mizaras is still unclear to us.

8. *"...from a tiny and almost non-existent organization..."*

More and more advanced workers by their everyday and purposeful fight give the answer to MTL comrades. IWC ranks

are permanently increasing. The aim of each IWC section is to form the proletarian vanguard, build the linkage of the proletarian vanguard with the class and to create the conditions for realization of world proletarian revolution on the base of the program principles of IWC. We understand that only those, who do nothing, do no mistakes, and we believe that MTL comrades will recognize their mistakes and return to the ranks of IWC — only real revolutionary Marxist proletarian organization in the world.

5. Reply to the statement of Ukrainian Workers' Committee on 18th October 2001

Marxilaisen Työväenliiton vastaus Ukrainaan 12.11.2001

Marxist Workers' League of Finland (MTL) announced its resignation from the International Workers' Committee (IWC) on 8th October 2001. Ukrainian Workers' Committee (UWC), the Ukrainian section of the IWC, replied to our announcement on 18th October. This document is our reply to the Ukrainian comrades. But before we go to their statement, we'd like to add our claim, that the name of MTL must be removed from the web pages of the IWC, and the name of MTL must not be used by the IWC any longer.

UWC writes: "We should acknowledge that such resignation was not complete surprise for us." This implies, that UWC was actually waiting for the moment when we will resign. Despite of this, UWC did nothing to raise the problem inside the IWC, and thus did not even want to stop us from leaving — if the statement above is correct at all. If UWC knew about that we will resign, the fact that they didn't tell about it inside the but only after we had resigned, did they act correctly? UWC continues: "Marxist analysis leads us to the conclusion that such decision of MTL is natural result of the crisis and disorientation of Finnish comrades." We may ask, what crisis?

Again, if UWC saw that we were in a crisis, before we resigned, why didn't it bring the question up in the IWC?

According to UWC, "just at this time world workers class needs clear analysis of the last developments from the positions of clear and consistent workers separatism, which could be proposed only from the side of IWC." We agree, that the working class needs a clear analysis. But we didn't see, that the IWC had been preparing such. Has such ever been done during this Autumn? We'd like to note, that MTL issued its own statement on the current crisis, the terrorist attacks and war in Afghanistan on 24th October. Although we are in crisis — according to UWC — and the IWC is not, why is it possible, that we published our statement far before they did?

Then UWC quotes our previous words: "Now it is necessary to ask, if the IWC actually exists as an international organization..." They describe their job in Ukraine and then sum up, that "UWC and IWC is rather alive then dead." Well, according to what they described, UWC seems to be alive. But, their description does not tell, if the IWC exists as an INTERNATIONAL organization. Have other sections done anything for a long time? It is proper to ask more detailed about the existence of the IWC. 1. What (executive) bodies it has, and how they are elected? 2. Once the IWC had the International Executive Committee, but it has not convened for about a year. Does it exist any longer? 3. One person (James Paris) is coordinating the opinions of individual members. Doesn't this sound more like a hobby club than an international communist organization?

In our resignation announcement we also mentioned, that even the email list has dried up. In no way are we implying that the email list should be the sole function of the organization. UWC replies us, that the comrades in East Ti-

mor, Yugoslavia and Ukraine have no permanent access to the internet. That is quite understandable, and we are not trying to measure the activity of different sections with the number of email messages they are sending. But we'd like to remind, that the October Revolution happened 84 years ago, some 70 years before the internet was opened to the great public. And even before that, for several decades' time, the First as well as the Second International were communicating internationally, without email messages. If the comrades in Yugoslavia and East Timor are doing something, why can't we hear anything from them? If the comrades in the USA are in correspondence with them, why the US comrades are not sharing their information with us? Although computers are very handy tools for propagandistic work and communication, the revolution is not dependant on them. The lack of discussion and correspondence does not mean that there are no computers — it means that there is no revolutionary work.

Next we criticized the lack of discussion and documents about the First International Conference of the IWC. UWC replies us, that we just need "only novelty for novelty as it is". Does this mean, that they don't see it necessary to review anything in the principles of the IWC? The world situation has dramatically changed in three years after the principles were published. It is such a long time, that the same principles can not be as accurate any longer. UWC sees, that because the IWC has principles of revolutionary Marxism and working class separatism, these principles don't need to be checked against the history. If so, tell us, how the IWC has applied the working class separatism in A) Gothenburg June 2001, B) Genoa July 2001, C) Afghanistan Sep–Nov 2001. UWC continues: "The drafts proposed by Comrade James Paris should be discussed as wide as possible by all IWC sections

in the process of pre-conference discussions. We've never seen active participation of MTL comrades in the discussion of basic principles." To be honest: MTL was not the only section, which did not participate in the discussion. Actually, there was no discussion at all. If UWC sees the discussion such important, why does it not self participate in it? And how about other documents for the conference? The draft principles by James Paris was the only document ever prepared for the conference.

We asked, what is the role of the IWC, if 300 000 people marching in the streets of Genoa are not causing any effect in leadership or membership of the IWC. Perhaps UWC misunderstood us, because they are trying to tell us, what the role of the IWC is. Our rhetorical question could be expressed in a different form: Because 300 000 people marching in the streets of Genoa or an imperialistic war, which may lead to WWII are not causing any effect and public response in the leadership or membership of the IWC, does the organization actually exist, and does it have any role in the revolutionary movement? But let's return to our original question, and look at the reply UWC gives us: "MTL thinks that IWC has no role the world class struggle and nobody hears the voice of IWC." We'd like to ask, what voice? If the IWC is quiet, how could it be heard. UWC tells again about its everyday work with Ukrainian proletariat, but it seems that this work is not actually developing its analysis at all. They also refer to the work of another sections of the IWC — but how could they even know about the work of other sections, because no correspondence between different sections exists! UWC continues: "MTL considers that IWC doesn't exist as an international organization and the voice of IWC isn't heard, but maybe MTL comrades simply don't want to hear?"

Actually, we are resigning because we do NOT hear, although we would like to hear.

The chapter following this needs to be quoted completely. We wrote earlier: "What should we say to the masses now, when they are boiling in their anger and frustration, ripe for the right-wing populists to pick." UWC replied to us:

"We are very surprised that MTL comrades bring up such rhetorical question. Do you really think that, for example, the call from Communist Manifesto 'Workers of all land, unite!' is not actual anymore? Can't we propose to the workers program principles of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and program of IWC? It's really a pity if MTL indeed can't oppose something to right-wing populists and capitulate against them giving the workers to their hands."

So, UWC is saying, that the Communist Manifesto is enough to organize the workers. According to them, no more theoretical work and analysis of the reality is necessary. Bullshit! When we say to the workers: "Unite!" a worker will ask us: "Why and how?" The role of an international organization is to discuss, what to tell to a worker. We must have an answer. We can't say to the worker: "Here, the Communist Manifesto, take it and read it!" No, we must tell him the lessons of the present time. Otherwise is probable that he does not understand today's barbaric conditions. But the IWC has not fulfilled its task and analysed the dramatically changed conditions of years 2000 and 2001, and compared them to the whole history of the capitalistic society.

The next question deals with traitorousness. UWC writes: "We don't understand why Finnish comrades a priori reject

just a possibility of dishonest behavior from the side of opponent organizations. Of course, we know that in Finland MTL is about only organization, which calls themselves Trotskyist. Just due to these reasons we understand that Finish comrades have lack of experience of face-to-face discussions with such kind of opponents." We are acquiring experiences from the international Trotskyist movement, which we are closely following. Also, there actually exists four Trotskyist organizations in Finland, three in addition to MTL, all representing different international tendencies. We have had public discussions with these organizations. According to UWC, fake Trotskyist can be agents of bourgeoisie in the workers movement, no matter if they wittingly do it or not. We see this differently. One may act stupidly, but it does not automatically make one a traitor. If somebody claims to be a revolutionary, but unwittingly acts in an opposite way, we see that such a comrade can be won to our side via discussions. You should give some evidence before you call somebody a traitor, otherwise you are speaking just like Stalin. UWC continues by hinting that also MTL is "working for another organization". We'd like to ask, what they are meaning with this. For which organizations we are working? For the Argentinians? We have not been in correspondence to Argentina after we resigned. Does UWC have another organizations in their mind? Do they see us as traitors, too?!

When we wrote at the end of our announcement, that we all have to ask ourselves, have we been principled in our doings. UWC seems to hesitate, if they will receive a clear answer from the side of MTL comrades. But they seem to forget, that the advice does not apply only to us, but to them also. When we take in account the vast amount of subjective idealism UWC has shown in its statement, it seems that UWC has not

asked itself about its principality. We were a member section of the IWC, but after two months' languishing disactivity we had to ask ourselves, is the IWC going anywhere. That self-criticism lead to the resignation.

UWC then replies to our comments on the question of comrade Mizaras' case. We criticized the IWC that it was not interested in the case. They tell us, that comrade Sidorenko twice contacted comrade Luojola, and claim that this was enough. Well, it is true that comrade Sidorenko contacted comrade Luojola, but he was the only one who ever asked about comrade Mizaras. Same thing again: comrade Paris can not substitute the International Executing Committee, UWC can not substitute the whole IWC (we did not get any response from the IWC to our resignation, just from one of its sections), and comrade Sidorenko can not substitute the International Control Commission. If the IWC claims to be an international organization, it can not operate as a bunch of individual persons. If the organization claims to be strong enough to set up an international control commission, it should be strong enough to carry on its work. UWC adds, that the "case with comrade Mizaras is still unclear" to them. We ask them, are they going to solve it? Like we said in our announcement of resignation, we can hand you the reply from comrade Mizaras, so you can continue the work.

UWC finishes its statement by writing: "We understand that only those, who do nothing, do no mistakes, and we believe that MTL comrades will recognize their mistakes and return to the ranks of IWC — only real revolutionary Marxist proletarian organization in the world." It seems like the comrades of UWC didn't read this sentence before they vote for it. Now we understand, why UWC and the IWC are not making any mistakes. This also implies, that we are making

the most of the IWC sections, because we are claimed to be making the biggest mistakes. The illusion of being the only organization, which has found the absolute Truth, is crowning the whole statement.

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Marxilainen Työväenliitto erosi Kansainvälisestä Työväenkomiteasta 8. lokakuuta 2001. Tämän pamfletin artikkelit käsittelevät eroamiseen johtaneita poliittisia erimielisyyksiä ja niitä tavoitteita, joita MTL ajaa, mutta joiden ajaminen KTK:n jäsenenä oli osoittautunut mahdottomaksi. Tällainen on esimerkiksi tavoite Neljännen Internationaalin jälleenrakentamiseksi. Keskustelu ukrainalaisten kanssa paljastaa lukuisia heikkouksia KTK:n politiikassa.

Koska kansainväliset keskustelut KTK:n sisällä on käyty englanniksi, ei näitä alun perin englanniksi kirjoitettuja artikkeleita ole erikseen suomennettu.