

J. POSADAS

ON CHINA

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Foreword ...

The couple of texts on China in this booklet were elaborated in November 1980 by the Marxist theoretician and revolutionary organiser J. Posadas who died only six months afterwards. These texts are still fundamental today because they show that the Workers State is the way to socialism, and that it needs Marxism to continue on the road to socialism.

When comrade Posadas says in November 1980, in relation to the workers' demands in Poland, that "*... this is an unfinished process but, in as far as it goes, we call for the same thing to happen in China*", he is not calling for the overthrow of the Communist Party! He is calling for its rectification and the greater socialist progress of the Chinese Workers State.

The author is the only Marxist leader to have based himself on Trotsky's analyses of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy to explain how the profoundly counter-revolutionary leadership of Deng Xioping could impose itself, and yet be neither able nor willing to overthrow the Workers State.

The author demonstrates that the limitations of the world Communist movement and the political and economic corruption of the Chinese Communist Party are not inherent to the construction of Communism. He shows that these limitations have their origins in specific historic conditions that cannot be repeated - and most of all, in the lack of Marxism in the leaderships engaged in the building of the new society.

When the shipyard workers demanded the end of privileges in the Polish Communist Party, they were effectively demanding equitable distribution. Had counter-revolution and world capitalism/imperialism not intervened, the Polish Workers State could have advanced towards 'to each according to their needs'. This would have stimulated similar movements throughout Eastern Europe, in the USSR and in China also.

These texts reiterate Trotsky's dialectical analysis that a Workers State must not be rejected on account of its leadership, however reactionary the latter may be.

China in 2012 is probably the most powerful economy in the world, but this is so precisely because it is still a Workers State.

Capitalism/imperialism is rapidly going down the drain, along with the market. In the face of this, the Workers State is demonstrably the road to socialist human relations because it can control, supersede and eliminate the market.

In 2011, the government closed down an urban chemical factory in Dalian in the North East of China, in response to large protests against pollution. The same took place this year (2012) at Sifuang, in the province of Sichuan, against a copper plant. When the workers and masses protest in China, they may not always win, but they find support in communist layers and in the Communist Party, because China is still a Workers State.

It is interesting to note that in 2012, China no longer follows the counter-revolutionary policy of Deng Xiaoping. Indeed, China supports Russia against the war preparations of world capitalism, as expressed by the two vetoes of China and Russia on the question of Syria at the UN Security Council.

There is no historic space for China to become a bourgeois State, and the Chinese masses, who have made the revolution, already know what to do. The only road ahead is the progress of the Workers State.

This is bound to happen soon, in a very great upheaval, either before or during the coming world war. In every case, the world and the Chinese masses will organise the economy to make it serve the interests of the whole of humanity, not just the interests of a few.

If the economic achievements of China today were combined with a conscious and Marxist leadership, China would unite with Russia, and capitalism/imperialism would be swept away in no time.

We call for the workers' organisations, the trade unions, the Communist, Socialist and revolutionary movements to discuss this.

Editorial - 19.07.2012

Some editorial background information:

"The Gang of Four" (composed of Jiang Qing, Culture Minister, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wen Yuan and Wang Hongwen) were four officials of the Chinese Communist Party arrested in 1976, along with many others, only one month after Mao Zedong's death. They were accused of having caused the death of 34,375 persons in 1975 and an assortment of other crimes. In 1976, a team of coup leaders containing Hua Guofeng and Zhou Enlai grabbed the Party's leadership from the 'four'. Supported by two important military commanders who changed sides after Mao's death, they arrested tens of thousands of those who had sided with Mao.

During the *Cultural Revolution* (1966-1978) Mao had expelled Liu Shao Qi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen from the Party leadership because, for these people, each policy failure meant that the revolution should be abandoned. In 1971, one of Mao's allies, Lin Biao, 'died' in a plane crash after having been accused of crimes (similar to those levelled later against the 'four'). As the initial popular enthusiasm for the Cultural Revolution started to wane, Zhou Enlai who stood mid-way between Mao and Deng regained authority. Immediately after Mao's death in Sept. 1976, Zhou named Hua Guofeng Party Chairman and returned Deng Xiaoping to the Party leadership.

At the end of 1980, when these articles were elaborated, the trial of the 'four' started. Comrade J. Posadas did not live to know the outcome, but the death penalty was looming large over the 'four' at that time. The way Lin Biao's plane had crashed in 1971, following the 'death' of two of his close associates, indicated that some Party leaders wanted to liquidate the 'four'. Jiang (Mao's wife) repudiated vigorously the charges against her, and Zhang refused to 'confess'. Yao and Wang confessed, but even the capitalist press spoke of 'a show trial'. In the event, the four were kept in jail and later released. This shows that the case against them failed to convince. The Deng leadership was successful, however, in smashing the progress of the revolution.

THE TRIAL OF 'THE GANG OF FOUR' BY THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE WORKERS STATE

J. POSADAS

20.11.80

This trial of the 'four' Chinese revolutionaries is a new "Moscow Trial". It has the same aim of paralysing the Communist Left. It wants to intimidate the revolutionaries of the Chinese Communist Party, its large membership and even sectors of its leadership. But the world has changed, and such threats have no longer the same effects.

A wing in the Chinese Communist Party wishes to pursue the Socialist experience, but it is hampered by the lack of revolutionary leadership. The *Teng Hsiao Ping*¹ clique feels free, therefore, to give a political expression to the ruling circles where private property and deals with capitalism mean self-advancement and individual careers.

The Teng leadership has a material interest to let capitalist influence enter China. It is in its interest to stop the rise of revolutionary ideas from the Party's base. It wants to do this, but it is not certain that it can do it. Stalin acted similarly in the USSR; but the conditions to thwart the revolution in Stalin's days were greater than they are now. Even then, Stalin and his clique had to work hard against the revolution before feeling able to behead it. A lot of repression preceded the killings. When the killings started, the leaders of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party were murdered first. Then it was the turn of those on the political bureau, and then it was Trotsky.

The world revolution was retreating during the Stalin years, but this retreat itself was immensely facilitated by his policy of conciliation with capitalism.

¹ The Editors have kept the original names' spellings. All subheading and emphases are from the Editorial.

For Stalin, conciliation with capitalism was a policy norm, not a political expedient. He sought support in one capitalist sector against the other, but he mostly sought support in capitalism against the revolutionary movements: As in Spain, where he started by giving little or no help, and ended up surrendering the movement.

Now (1980) the situation has changed. The world revolution keeps growing. It shakes the world and influences everywhere. It stimulates the way people think and helps them organise. Those wanting the development of their countries have only to look around themselves for any revolutionary example.

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The policy of the Teng leadership has much to do with the previous absence of an ordered Party life. Much to do also with the lack of communist structures and proletarian weight in the Communist Party. Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao sought to remedy this with the "*Cultural Revolution*", but this was not adequate. The adequate measure would have been to organise the Party and give pride of place to the Communist base within it. It is true that this base was never very proletarian; the proletariat only started developing after 1949.

With the trial of the Chinese 'four' - who are all revolutionaries - the Chinese leaders want to dash the hopes of the revolutionary tendencies, the Youth, the Trade Unions, the peasant masses, the revolutionary military and the Left. This trial is directed less at the 'four' than against the Left - to frighten it, to make it abandon.

The world process today is not conducive to this sort of thing. Countries with even less class or Party preparation than China adopt socialist programmes. It is not rare, in such places, to see struggles and presidential reshuffles end up in favour of even better socialist programmes. These countries are not 'socialist' but they are often Workers States. Do not confuse socialism and the Workers State! The Workers State is a step towards socialism, it is not socialism.

When the world was faced with nazism and fascism, Stalin used this as a weapon to browbeat the workers' vanguard. His actions intimated that 'any attack on me is to the advantage of fascism'. This was plausible in those days. It was not easy then to make Workers States. But today, masses of people and scores of Revolutionary States² retake the path of the Soviet Union. Today, any country wanting progress makes a Workers State with state-ownership and planned production. The masses of China live this reality, like those of the world. They have no leadership, but this is no longer decisive.

China never had a consistent leadership, or a consistent and conscious programme. As early as 1927, and before, the Chinese Communists were forced to fight Stalin who was imposing on them a policy of national conciliation with capitalism. The Chinese Communist Party never developed strong class roots and never had much class life. Mao's leadership often took good position and led just struggles, but always from the top.

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Teng's policy of conciliation with capitalism goes down every counter-revolutionary road, in China and in the world. But the world situation stimulates forces that are strongly opposed. Teng wanted to occupy Vietnam for instance, but he had to get out! If his clique re-enters Vietnam, it will be thrown out again; Laos and Cambodia will support Vietnam, and a Soviet intervention is not excluded.

There are constant changes in the Workers States, and in China itself. In Poland³ such changes happen through the Trade

² Read: *The Revolutionary State and the transition to Socialism*, J. Posadas, 28-29 Sept 1969.

³ Poland: On 14 August 1980, a Strike Committee was formed in the Gdansk Shipyards with Lech Walesa at the head. This was followed by the setting up of a *Polish Trade Union Federation* in which several organisations were involved, like the KOR, an organisation of dissidents of Communism set up in Poland in 1976. The demands of the Polish shipyard workers were for the immediate cancellation of food price rises, and the sacking of corrupt Communist leaders from the Party. Having negotiated satisfactorily with the Communist authorities, the Strike Committee called for a return to work on 16 August 1980.

The new *Polish Trade Union Federation* rejected this call, however. It started insisting on wider anti-

Unions and the Communist Party⁴; but in China, they happen through the generals, or by changing the generals. In China, a general controls both a Party and a military region. The result is a Communist Party led by camarillas without ability or imagination. Whereas Stalin - who had also military connections - had his roots in the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, the Chinese Communist leaders are rooted in the military; it was militarily that they defeated Chiang in the revolutionary battles of 1949; the previous Communist Party had been slaughtered in 1927.

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The howls of world capitalism when the Vietnam's soldiers entered Cambodia have died down⁵; even the Red Cross admits that Cambodia does not need aid because the Vietnamese have done everything wanted there. Indeed, production in Cambodia has increased by 30%! This could only happen because the

bureaucratic demands, assimilating them with the need for their *Federation* to gain its "independence from the State". The Communist Party and indeed the world Communist movement, having confused the Workers State with Communism, were unable to explain the difference between 'independence from the State apparatus' and 'independence from the Polish Workers State'*. The result was devastating: With the help of KOR and other tendencies, the leadership of the *Polish Trade Union Federation* assimilated 'free Trade Unions' with 'non-Party Trade Unions'. For them, the independence of the Unions in Poland meant their independence from the Workers State and Communism.

The demand for "Free Trade Unions in Poland" was immediately trumpeted in all the major capitalist countries. The world capitalist media united this demand with a savage anti-Soviet campaign to "get the Russians out of Afghanistan". Poland was presented as the worst dictatorship ever known, where the Polish shipyard workers were "fighting for freedom" - that is to say, freedom from Communism. Unfortunately, this campaign was supported with an extraordinary enthusiasm by the leaderships of the major Trade Unions in the capitalist countries, including the *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, the *World Confederation of Labour*, and the various International Unions that came from later fusions.

The British TUC and the main Trade Union leaders in Britain started a virulent campaign for "Free Trade Unions in Poland". They were accompanied in this by loud and obstinate anti-Soviet campaigns throughout the Labour Party, often led by the many varieties of capitulator Trotskyist groups. The official British Communists went along, or split, or remained silent, leaving imperialism free to equate Communism with tyranny. The most important Communist parties and Trade Unions of France and Italy - Italy particularly - held constant demonstrations and symposiums against the Soviets' intervention in Afghanistan.

Although this was not revealed by the bourgeois press for a long time, Kuron was Walesa's personal advisor as early as the end of 1980, and KOR was already turning Solidarnosc into an anti-Communist tool of political, intellectual and clerical counter-revolution, supported by world imperialism and the Vatican.

⁴ Read: "The Function of the Trade Unions in the Workers States and in the capitalist system", J. Posadas, 26.5.1980.

⁵ Read: *Cambodia-Vietnam and the problems of the construction of socialism*, J. Posadas, 18.1.1979.

conditions exist in the world for the advance of the masses. All these events are bound to stimulate and fortify the Communist masses of China.

The Chinese leaders want more capitalism as long as it does not take over

As it penetrates China, the influence of world capitalism stimulates the growth of counter-revolutionary elements wanting conditions to set up their own Party. So this trial must be seen also as part of the plans of the Teng's clique to be the only ruling stratum and stay in sole charge. This explains the constant reshuffles - in the military particularly. Such plans may need 20 years, but the world revolution will continue to influence China in the meantime.

The mentality of those around Teng is basically the same as that of Stalin. To appropriate the country's wealth, they need the economy developing and the revolution declining: The same hopes as those who supported Stalin. This is how a Communist Party can end up with leaders more focused on their own interests than on the interests of the Workers State.

The world balance of forces has changed since Stalin. It now inclines in the opposite direction, and the policies of the Chinese leaders are running against the historic trend. To this, they react by stimulating even more capitalist norms in China: Students' fees were recently reinstated and university places are no longer reserved for the children of the countryside. From now on, most students will be the children of the petit bourgeoisie and functionaries. Now, you are a "sir" in the army, no longer a "comrade". The generals can take all the leave they want; they have more power over the soldiers than their own mothers. There is a return to feudal norms.

No country can go to socialism in these conditions. The Soviet masses put up with Stalin because the USSR was the only Workers State at the time. But today, Vietnam and Cuba support the USSR - and they oppose China! The masses of China see that their leaders' policies make a few people rich but bring little progress to them.

The masses of China do not condemn relations with capitalism as such, but they observe that the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam use such relations to advance the revolution. The whole world observes this, the Chinese masses too.

We are told that there are many young thieves among the twenty million unemployed in China. But this speaks less of the degeneration of the young people than of their reaction against the country's leadership. The Chinese youth and people see no political, cultural or revolutionary life in their country. The young react particularly strongly because they see no revolutionary probity.

We are told that homosexuality grows in China. If so, it is for the same reason; it is a reaction to the political climate of insecurity, instability and uncertainty in the country. The young seek a refuge, and they find it in individual solutions. This homosexuality is not genetic; it is the product of this stage, the stage of history we live in.

The Teng leadership has no historic justification. Its only role is to drag the revolution as low as possible without killing it. It constantly calculates the right amount of capitalist relations to be injected in the economy; but such a 'right amount' does not exist. Each injection simply submits China a little more to capitalism, that is all. Absurd! Any country that wants to develop economically, Ethiopia being a good example, must nationalise and plan. Capitalism pushes capital investment down the throat of the Workers States, but the latter place those funds where they do least damage. Why are the Chinese leaders doing just the reverse with their 'Chinese model'? They profit by it - that is why. They exploit the revolution! But in the long run, this will liquidate their social authority. Stalin failed, and so will they.

None of the 'four' accused is an assassin or a thief. We criticised these comrades, but as revolutionaries, and good ones. The Chinese leaders act like the Stalin leadership when it murdered all the leading Bolsheviks of the Russian Revolution. In both cases, the aim is to scare the proletarian vanguard.

In the USSR, all the Bolshevik leaders of the Revolution were murdered, Trotsky included, to quit the socialist road, break the spirit and make people give up. When Stalin had finished, the worker's vanguard was torn off from the deep popular layers, and they all reeled under the blow; the Communist and Socialist leaders of the world wavered and tottered, finally settling for the Stalin-instigated policy of conciliation with capitalism.

Today's Chinese leaders have much fewer opportunities than those around Stalin. Although this trial is taking place, where in the world do you see the working class reeling? The class struggle increases! Nobody was shattered or awed when the Chinese leaders invaded Vietnam! This proves conclusively that the world proletariat has a very high level of consciousness, and that the Chinese leaders have a very low one.

The consciousness of the world proletariat is stimulated by the influence and experience of a constant stream of revolutions - Guyana here, Ethiopia there. It is 'revolution' that the masses sing the praises of, not the Chinese leaders. And it is not lost on anybody how little capitalism pays the Chinese leaders in return for their cravenness!

Bureaucratic atrocity
has lost its power to paralyse

The Teng leadership is killing constantly. It invaded Vietnam where it murdered revolutionaries and others; and through the support it gave to Pol Pot⁶, it allowed millions to be massacred in Cambodia. Beware of the bureaucratic mentality, for this is where it leads!

It is to repel and force back the revolution that the bureaucrats commit such crimes, but the revolution continues. Bureaucratic atrocity has lost its power to paralyse. The masses of today want capitalist overthrow. They have made the experience, and in China itself, that the economy gets planned when they intervene to the full in a state-owned and centralised context.

⁶ Pol Pot: In government in Cambodia in 1975 for 3 years. His clique imposed forced-labour. He was supported by China, but ousted by Vietnam (with Soviet support).

Let's get on with this, they say! Down with every backwardness! Forward to more economic and social progress! With the trial, the Chinese leaders say 'no' to this, but the world revolutionary process says 'yes'. The latter continues to influence and organise the masses, in China and the world.

This trial is a pretext behind which the Chinese leaders seek justification. They want 'the four' to seem evil enough to deserve death; forget that they are revolutionaries! This trial was delayed for five years because the true murderers are the accusers – a visibly inept and wavering lot. This trial is designed to manipulate world opinion, for fear of the impact of world opinion upon China. Teng and his clique want to be accepted in the world - Pol Pot policies and all.

What follows is an interview given this year ⁽¹⁹⁸⁰⁾ by Teng to Adriana Fallaci, a journalist for *Corriere della Sera*, the Italian paper:

FALLACI: "Didn't you support Pol Pot who killed two million people?"

TENG: "You exaggerate; it was not as many as that".

FALLACI: "But Mr Teng, you say yourself that you have made mistakes..."

TENG: "No, no. Let us say that if I made a 50% mistake, I am still 50% right ..."

Teng did not say what he was right or wrong about. Is it that one million murdered is less of 'a mistake' than two million? Absurd! Pure contempt for analysis, method, dialectics! No notion that there may be lessons for China in the history of the world, or of the Workers States. Teng was free to speak in this interview. He could have commented on Poland. This would have been apposite, since Poland is a Workers State too. He could have described how the Polish workers *did not* rise against the Polish Communist Party, but that on the contrary, they called the Party leaders over to tell them to get rid of the incompetents amongst them.

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**The revolutionary builders
of the Workers State are no traitors**

The layer around Teng thinks it can scare people. Not so! What decides in Teng's China, even today, is the confident struggle of the Chinese and world masses. Scared are those who pretend that revolutionaries are assassins. The four 'intended to kill Mao', we are told. But then, what differences did they have with Mao? What programmes and policies? Not a word! And who did the four assassinate, exactly?

The world Communist movement must condemn this trial. There is nothing to stop it setting up a fraternal office of investigation, with its seat in a Workers State, with the right of the world masses to take part. Aren't the Communist parties beating their loudest drums about Poland? Why Poland and not China?? Is it not in their power to seek the facts and judge what the Peking Trial is about? Their most elementary first act must be to demand the physical integrity of the four, who look like ghosts on TV. These people led the Chinese Revolution! The way they are treated is unacceptable! And the burning question remains: How do the revolutionary builders of a Workers State become traitors?

It was to thwart the socialist progress of the USSR that Stalin assassinated the Bolshevik leaders. But Stalin was himself thwarted by the immense programmatic legacy of the first seven years of the Soviet Union. He could not erase the Bolshevik Party entirely. The Bolshevik leadership had deep roots in the workers, peasants and intellectuals; and the Bolshevik Party itself had deep roots in Russian history. Stalin could not destroy this. Even when he had stuffed the Party full of bureaucrats, he was still not secure; everyone he took on board had some link with the first seven years. The economic structure of the country, put in place during those years, was too solid to be shifted. Stalin distorted and half suffocated it, but the vital centres of planned production and agro-industrial development remained. Realising that the continuation of the USSR depended on shoring these up, Stalin had to retake aspects of the programme of Trotsky's *Left Opposition*.

The China of today has no comparable background or programmatic inheritance. The result is an entirely empirical leadership; a leadership that never experienced anything like the years in the USSR under the political leadership of Lenin and Trotsky - Lenin's above all. It is literally the first seven years of the Soviet Union that saved the revolution from Stalin. The post-1924 bureaucratic strata kept an interest in the revolution only because it profited from it. It still had a material reason to maintain the revolution, though it was adamantly opposed to extending it. Time passing, this also waned; the subsequent bureaucratic layers became more and more distant from the revolution.

The First Seven Years of the USSR had a crucial impact on China. So profound that you can still see it today. Observe for instance how the Teng leadership still only supports capitalism inasmuch as the latter gives it the conditions to build and develop a Chinese bureaucracy.

Capitalism is on the eve of its final elimination anyway - a process that the Chinese leaders view with the hope that the USSR and world capitalism will annihilate each other. As if the Chinese bureaucracy were going survive this, and thrive!
Absurd!

**Defend China Workers State,
repudiate its leadership**

The Communists as well as the world workers and Trade Unions must condemn the trial of the Four and the Teng camarilla. They need to explain, to themselves and to the world, how a gang of killers like Teng happen to be in the leadership of a Workers State! For the world working class and its Trade Unions, for the Communists, the Socialists and everyone, such an explanation is vital.

No political tendency in the world is comparing the policies of the four revolutionaries on trial with the policies of their accusers. How can this remain so?

There is nothing to stop the world Trade Unions organising public debates, posing this question and adopting resolutions. The interest of the world working class is directly at stake.

The world Trade Unions must study this matter and refute the accusations against the four. Public debates must be called to analyse China's history and its present policies. We repudiate this trial; we call for this to be discussed among the intellectuals, the Communists, the Socialists and in the workplaces: What is happening in China today is of direct concern to humanity.

China must be defended as a Workers State. As such, it is an instrument for the progress of history. An instrument of progress with a rotten leadership. We derive this analysis from the objectivity of Communism. In reality, we are not even referring to the whole of the Chinese leadership, but to a large part of it. The Soviet Union and all the Communist Parties – from Albania to Yugoslavia – must defend the objectivity of Communism. If based on facts, the Chinese leaders have every right to make condemnations and criticisms, but as the villains that they are, they do not present the facts. They act against the four like Stalin did when he arraigned the Bolsheviks leaders as "enemies of the revolution". He could not even wait to have them all destroyed before making a pact with Hitler!

We have political differences with the 'four', but they are differences between revolutionaries. We differ in order to communicate what we know and understand. We base all our polemics with China on the principle of the defence of the Chinese Workers State. Our differences with the four are deep, but they are differences between revolutionaries. We stand today in solidarity with them because they are revolutionaries, and because they have tried to build socialism in China.

Stalin's purges intended to cut the USSR off from the world proletarian vanguard. But the latter understood and went on defending the USSR. This is why world capitalism, that would have invaded the USSR there and then, thought the better of it. It adopted a policy of isolating the USSR instead, preparing fascism and the Second World War.

The spectacle of a USSR opposed to the anti-capitalist struggle had a devastating effect on the will of the world masses. The Chinese leadership today wanted to repeat this. But the historic circumstances have changed. The epoch when Stalin could act in this way has passed. Today, the existence of 20 Workers States proves that the world masses are back on the road of capitalist overthrow.

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Through the trial of the four, the ruling Chinese camarilla seeks to justify itself. It does not mind the opinion of the world working class because it disdains it, thinking it passive or indifferent. But it cares for what the power-apparatuses may think of it. It does not trust in the working class, only in apparatuses - its own mostly. This is why each of its hopes and each of its actions are imbecilic.

Far from what happened in Stalin's times, the world masses are not unnerved by the trial of the four. Indeed they are redoubling the fight. The Vietnamese masses rebuffed the Chinese invasion by standing shoulder-to-shoulder with their Workers State's government; and they also supported their government when it sent troops into Cambodia. By 'Vietnamese masses', we mean working class, petty bourgeoisie and poor peasants, all at one behind their leaders who decided to enter Cambodia. Vietnam entered Cambodia to stop hunger, torture, murder and mayhem there. Vietnam *did not invade* Cambodia! World capitalism screamed 'invasion!' in the same way as it did when the Soviets entered Afghanistan. But in Afghanistan, the Soviets did not invade. They went to assist the development of Afghanistan. And Vietnam did not invade Cambodia; it went to assist the development of Cambodia. Not every intervention is an invasion!

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With the trial of the four, capitalism had an opportunity to proclaim: "No justice in the Workers States!", "Revolutionaries not respected there!" and "Workers States' trials are farces!".

But nothing like this happened. Instead, the anti-communist commentaries are coy and restrained. A lot is said about the crimes of the four who 'wanted to kill Mao' and 'wanted to make state coups' - but nothing is said about their political divergences. Here capitalism could have said that "differences of opinion are not allowed in the Workers States". But of course, this Chinese leadership is the ally of capitalism - of Yankee imperialism particularly - and of every reactionary government in the world.

The accusation of murder against the four comes from a bureaucratic gang which has no time for the programme of Communism, and even less for the intervention of the masses in the construction of Communism. In all these matters, the Chinese Trade Unions have been kept out of the way, proof that they don't believe the lies that they are told.

To prove its superiority, capitalism never fails to disparage the Workers States. It obviously does not think much of its ability to use this trial. It could have denounced the death penalty that still applies in China, for instance. But it keeps silent, fearing the development of polemics and arguments. It does not want currents to start drawing their own revolutionary conclusions.

This trial evokes avoidance and concealment. The four are accused because they are accused, and they wanted to kill Mao because they wanted to kill Mao. No analyses or comparisons are attempted to explain who are the 'the Gang of Four' and what they represent. How did it happen that the 'four' made the revolution and became assassins? And if they are assassins, why five years to bring them to trial? They are a revolutionary anti-capitalist tendency, that is all. And they have been framed! Their crime is to want confrontation with capitalism whilst the Teng leadership wants alliance with capitalism. This is their crime.

Soviet democracy is one of the essential motors of the progress of history. In all the Workers States, there are Soviet *forms* of one kind or another - whatever their names - but Soviet democracy itself involves every person in the most complete discussion of policy and programme.

Soviet Democracy

Soviet democracy allows the most complete comparisons to be made between ideas, and the most complete conclusions to be drawn.

Soviet democracy means public debate; but this Peking trial takes place in the most obvious absence of it. And an absence of analyses. Around the matter of this trial, the Chinese leaders never refer to the possibility of the existence of alternative economic models or options. They have taken to repeating that "the four failed", and that they were "too bold and brazen". Not quite the same as wanting to kill Mao and destroy China!

The capitalist press speaks of Teng's revenge against revolutionary adversaries. Not so! This trial is a political measure. It is a menacing act to stop the development of revolutionary tendencies. The plan is to impose on the masses the leaders' policy of conciliation with world capitalism! This Peking Trial is the work of a bureaucratic layer that wants the fruits of China's economic development for itself, right now, and at any cost. Stalin's stratum did the same.

Teng's clique is a bureaucratic layer like Stalin's. Finding itself in the Communist Party, it wants the Party to serve its policy of conciliation with capitalism. Those at the top want to murder the revolutionaries; they want the end of debate, politics, political life and opposition. This trial happens only now [and not five years ago] because the Teng's clique was not secure before that. It wants economic development for China in competition with the rest of the world because this suits its interests, never mind what suits the Chinese people. But this will fail. In a Workers State, the economy can only develop through socialist measures, that is to say, the intervention of the masses. When the masses intervene fully, they plan for everyone, not for a handful of bureaucrats!

In the army, the Chinese leaders have brought back 'sir' instead of 'comrade' and politics have been eliminated. In Mao and Lin Piao's time, political discussion was customary in the army and the universities, where they educated revolutionaries.

We did criticise these comrades for their confusion and the weakness of their plans, but they were revolutionaries. They created anti-capitalist currents and looked for ways to make socialism. All this is massively under attack today. The Teng leadership represses these currents, stimulating instead the formation of a petty bourgeoisie in the image of the leaders, with the same notions, all based on the policy of conciliation with capitalism.

Teng's followers favour the development of layers of self-seekers and careerists in order to give themselves some kind of social base. For these cliques, 'development' means their own development, not everyone's. They think, or rather dream, that capitalism is going to let the Chinese economy develop! They believe that China can develop *and* conciliate with capitalism at the same time. But this will not be possible.

To develop China, production must be planned for everyone. The question of industrialisation today is posed differently from when Lenin lived. There is a socialist system in the world today, and with massive support. The search for a programme of development solely based on industrialisation has become unattainable. The bureaucratic sectors of the Communist Party dream of technology, but even technology demands planning.

This trial shows the accusers of the 'four' as blinkered persons with pre-arranged verdicts in mind. But it shows them also in the light of irresolute leaders, weak on the Marxist method, falling foul of the process; leaders whose positivism accepts a pinch of Marxism as long as it does not spoil their broth. There is a lack of proletarian weight in China, but most of all, there is a lack of political and revolutionary life in the Communist Party. The Teng leadership epitomises the lack of revolutionary Marxist political life in the world Communist movement.

The policies of Stalin generated very deep feelings of resentment and vengefulness against him and Krutchev in the Chinese Communist Party. This reinforced the most nationalist and chauvinistic layers there - those who are putting today their local and regional interests above the revolutionary ones.

What is stopping the Chinese masses expressing their views about this trial? The Communist Party and the Trade Unions are the organisations through which the masses should be heard, but no word has come from there. In the wake of Stalin's murder of the leading Bolsheviks, the Soviet Communist Party remained similarly silent.

If this trial were purely against assassins and saboteurs, as we are told, why should the Chinese masses be prevented from having an opinion and expressing it?

J. POSADAS

20.11.80

THE NEED FOR SOVIET DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

J. POSADAS

20.11.80

The 1927 great rising in China was national-bourgeois against the feudal lords and imperialism. To defeat these enemies, the Chinese bourgeoisie made an alliance with the Communists. The principle of accepting [conditionally] such alliances was an old policy of the Communist International. In 1927, the International agreed to facilitate the creation of a United Front between the Chinese Communist Party and Chiang Kai Shek⁷ - or any bourgeois sector. China was becoming a national State and when the Front was made, it demanded democratic rights, the expulsion of imperialism and the expropriation of the biggest imperialist owners.

As we said, the principle of making such alliances had been agreed at the time of Lenin and Trotsky. But then, the Communist International had stipulated that, in any Front, the Communists should always retain their independence as Communists. This was when Trotsky said: "I make a pact with the devil if this suits the revolution, but in no way will I go to the house of the devil", adding: "In any United Front, we, Communists, participate with our flag and our policy. We maintain our independent organic functioning, and we keep it based on our own communist programme and objectives".

Indeed this is the proper way to make United Fronts. A Front of that sort allows the influence of the working class to reach far and wide. It reaches the proletariat and the peasantry beyond the Front. It attracts large petit bourgeois sectors and wins them over to a proletarian position, or at least to an anti-capitalist one.

Stalin who was in charge of the policies of the Communist International in 1927 did not wish to preserve the independence of the Chinese Communist Party. Hence, when the 'Front' was made, he oversaw the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party in the Front. He was already planning to liquidate Trotsky, and he specifically overruled him in this matter. This done, Stalin started to liquidate all the Communists who frustrated him.

⁷ 1887-1975. Chair of the National Military Council of the National Republic of China 1938-48.

This policy stripped the Chinese Communist Party of its Communist project and placed it at the tail-end of the Chinese national bourgeoisie. Trotsky stood fiercely opposed, in solidarity with the Bolshevik tendency that existed then in the Chinese Communist Party. There was a substantial Trotskyist tendency in the Chinese Party in 1927. It was composed of comrades who accepted the United Front with Chiang, but refused to give up the Party's name. They fought for the preservation of the organic independence of the Communist Party - but were all liquidated for their pain. The entire Trotskyist layer of Chinese Communists, then effectively fighting against Stalin's orders, was hounded, hunted down, captured and murdered. Many were handed over to Chiang and certain death. Whilst Chiang was getting on with the task of decapitating thousands of ordinary Chinese Communists, Stalin was getting on with the task of decapitating the Chinese Communist Party.

This was a body blow for the Chinese Party. Although it survived and grew again over the next twenty years, its new members tended to come from the [nationalist] bourgeois camp, from towns, technicians and military types. The Communists of this new period were different from those of the 1920's. The Communist leaders you observe in China today (1980) have their roots in this new layer, not in that of 1927. As for the Chinese Trotskyists who had been so numerous in 1927 - many had been soldiers and some even army generals - none of them were left in 1949. They had all been rounded up, transported, dispersed or assassinated, handed over to Chiang to be killed. Stalin who presided over this in China proceeded similarly in the whole Communist world! No sooner he had done with the Chinese Trotskyists than he embarked upon the extermination of all the Communists that had opposed his policy.

You could say that the post-1927 Communist Party of China was a new one. Its revived structures were weaker now, and its petit-bourgeois and even bourgeois composition was stronger. Among the soldiers, there were more landowners. The few survivors of the 1927 onslaught had been thrown out of the Party; they too had often been the children of landowners, but the Russian Revolution had influenced and won them to Communism. The same happened in the Soviet Union because, as we have seen, the pre-1927 Communists had been liquidated by Stalin.

This is how the great rug of Marxism came to be pulled from under the feet of the world Communist movement.

* * *

Following 1927, the Chinese Communist Party that grew again over the next 20 years turned out to be a brave Party with a fine tactical sense. It survived tremendous repression, intervened and managed to develop. In 1949, it displayed an immense heroism, like Mao Tse Tung himself.

Strengthened by the revolutionary experience that the Bolsheviks had made in Russia, the Chinese Communists adapted the revolution to their own circumstances. The Yunnan (Long) March allowed them to cut their losses, regroup, resist and prepare new conditions. In 1949, the best Party leaders were once again liquidated, and the mentality of those who replaced them was even more regional and local than before. This is the mentality you observe in the Communist Party of China today (1980).

The Chinese revolution of 1949 wiped out Chiang Kai Shek and his era. The Yunnan march played a big role in this success, and so did the immense, the incomparable bravery of the Chinese Communist militants. These were organised in the Party around a tight core of dogged leaders who fought with the complete determination to win. These comrades worked wonders, assisted by the fact that the Soviet Union had smashed the Nazis - with the result that Stalin's days were numbered.

China's triumph owes much to Stalin's demise. But before Stalin's demise, Hitler and Mussolini had been defeated. The grand capitalist plan to let the Soviets be crushed by Hitler, and then to turn against Hitler - was dead. As for Hitler's own grand plan to smash capitalism first, and then turn against the USSR afterwards, this grand plan was dead too. All these factors made the powerful mix that contributed so much to the triumph of the Chinese Revolution.

More about the Trial of the 'Gang of Four'

The world workers movement must demand that the opinion of the Chinese people is heard. The world Communist movement and the Workers States must themselves discuss it, and give their opinions. For this, they must discuss the whole process, not just the 'four'. No doubt the four made mistakes, and not just them! But political mistakes are one thing, assassins and traitors are another. Of course the four have committed political errors. But the political errors of these revolutionary leaders cannot be separated from the political errors and lack of ability in the world Communist movement as a whole!

Stalinism could not have triumphed without negating the Marxist method. He negated it, and adopted instead a kind of *positivism* adapted to the pursuit of immediate interests, for best results in shortest times. But best results turned out to be no results! No improvements were made in ideas, policies or State control. The only thing improved was the alliance with capitalism and its tighter grip on the throat of the revolution. That had been the idea, of course.

The lack of Marxist theoretical life helped the formation of cliques in the Communist Party.

Krutchev⁸ oversaw the last stages in the Soviet policy of conciliation with world capitalism. He opposed China because he saw in its revolution a danger for the Soviet bureaucracy. He did not want the development of the Chinese Revolution to inspire revolutionary revivals in the Soviet Union. Krutchev was afraid that communist layers opposed to his policy of conciliation with capitalism may start forming in the Soviet Communist Party. He feared the economic competition of a developing China, but he feared most of all the effects of the political and social competition of China.

Krutchev decided to isolate China from the Soviet Union. He stopped all aid, technicians, economic support, even spare-parts. This Soviet policy favoured enormously the eventual rise of the Teng counter-revolutionary clique in China. Krutchev's policy was repudiated in the Chinese Communist Party, but the lack of Marxism was leaving the Party defenceless in front of the bickering of small groups. The lack of Marxist theoretical life in the Party meant an absence of programme. Add to this the lack of a proletarian base - all these factors contributed to the formation of cliques in the Chinese Communist Party.

* * *

⁸ Nikita Khrushchev, 1894-1971. In government 1953-64. Followed by Breznev.

**Communist construction
needs Marxism
and the intervention of the masses**

In China, most of the past and present problems can be laid at the door of the lack of Marxist preparation in the communist leaders. Countless crises and disputes stunned the Revolution, with all the marches, the 'leaps', the reshuffles and the changes of plans. Then came the lies and the false data concerning production. The fundamental errors of the years 1951, 57 and 59, came from the absence of Marxist leadership. The desire for Communism was consistent, but the Marxist leadership was lacking. The "Cultural Revolution" was designed to stimulate the proletarian and Marxist wing of the Party. The leaders tried to build a Marxist tendency. They incorporated workers to make them weigh in the Party and there was an attempt at building communist relations. The universities were opened to the children of the workers and peasants. The errors made during that time came from a lack of maturity, of leadership, of Marxist ability to interpret. And all this in conditions of the sabotage of Stalin and Krutchev!

The craving for progress was truly immense in China, but there was a lack of Party and proletariat. The weight of proletarian tradition was almost entirely in the form of the programme communicated by the historic experience of the USSR. This was very insufficient and it explains many errors. The Chinese revolutionaries were efficient and brave in the revolutionary struggle, in the fight against Chang Kai Shek and against Japanese imperialism. But to make the new society, they needed the method of Marxism and the intervention of the masses. Due to the great backwardness and poverty of the peasant masses, those coming to the fore tended to be military types, intellectuals, bourgeois or persons from landowning families. These are the people in charge of China today (1980).

* * *

The Communes:
Greatness and limitations

Mao Tse Tung, Lin Piao, Chang Ching⁹ and all the other revolutionaries created the *Communes* with revolutionary aims and intentions. They wanted to extend the revolution and industry in the countryside. They wanted the peasant to become a proletarian with a communist consciousness. This was the idea behind the Commune. As far as the economy, society and political ability were concerned, the Commune was an immense achievement. This was the idea of Mao, Lin Piao and others. We did not criticise the Communes, but the limitations of the methods used by the Chinese comrades. We recognise that they fought for a communist society. Although hampered by the lack of Party, they tried very hard to build it, and gave humanity excellent examples of communist development, social relations and human relations. At the time of Mao, women, old people and children all participated as equals in the development of Chinese society, and the army participated too. Humanity was trying to build socialism.

The Posadist IV International followed the development of the Communes with immense love and passion. The bureaucrats that Teng represents today existed already. They were opposed to the Communes and wanted them to fail. They were excluded from the political scene for that reason. They sabotaged any measure tending in a socialist direction, and after every failure, they accused the revolution of failing.

The Chinese Revolution had to cope with its particularities. Because there was no Party life, decisions often originated from groups or circles. Chou en-Lai said one day, in the presence of Mao Tse Tung, that schools were places for study and nothing else; and that the army was for military matters and nothing else. But the same day, Lin Piao was saying elsewhere that since the army was to defend Communism, it had to discuss politics; and that since the university was forming communist cadres, it had to have a political life. Here you gauge the lack of Party life, and the failures this was bound to lead to.

⁹ Mao's wife. Minister of Culture under Mao.

The "Great Leap Forward"

The "Great Leap Forward"¹⁰ responded to the wish to advance the revolution. But the lack of a social, Marxist and working class base in the Party did not allow the development of a corresponding intellectual leadership. The "Great Leap Forward" was a very small leap, if any. The desire to advance was great, but the need to defend the revolution from the Soviet bureaucracy was weighing heavily.

The same limitations hampered the "Cultural Revolution"¹¹. That was when the Chinese comrades decided to bring the children of the workers and peasants into the leadership of the Party. They educated the children in the idea of impelling the revolution and its programme; but in that education, they introduced incorrect concepts like "walking with your own feet". Such were the limitations. The revolution does not "walk with its own feet"; it walks with the feet of world experience. Should China be the body today, its feet are the world Workers States. The comrades had no notion of this. They needed more experience. The necessary Marxist life and cadres were missing. To this day, China has never produced a proper History of the Chinese Revolution or a History of the World. The comrades had to go through all this in order to learn.

In communist construction, these are errors of apprenticeship. The important thing is to learn from the errors. The furious battle raging at the moment in China is a struggle between cliques in the Communist Party. The result is that China progresses more in nationalism than in Marxism. But in a Workers State, nationalism is a grave obstacle. It corrodes the theoretical, political and economic norms of the Workers State. It facilitates the reproduction of bureaucratic communist layers tied to landowning and bourgeois apparatuses.

¹⁰ The Great Leap Forward: 1958-61. Economic and social project to collectivise and industrialise the countryside. Although the expropriation of the land was incremental, Mao made enemies in the Party and was accused of causing famine. He responded with the launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1965-66.

¹¹ Cultural Revolution: 1966-68. It started when Lin Piao invited the children and the youth to criticise egoism and arrogance in the Party and in the family. Mao conducted a parallel campaign in the Communist Party against the privileges of an 'elite' composed of engineers, managers, scientists and the like. Red Guards were encouraged to criticise bourgeois habits; some attacked the embassies of imperialist countries in Beijing.

When you have the Marxist method – and still making errors – you can look consciously for support among the workers and the revolutionary experiences of the world. The revolutionaries of Mao started this, but the present Chinese leadership wants to reverse it all.

The “Hundred flowers”

As we said, the Marxist preparation of the Chinese Communist Party was always very weak. With the “Hundred Flowers”¹², bourgeois leaders and Communists were supposed to build Communism in harmony. This very hot potato was soon dropped, however, along with the ‘walking with your own feet’. It is a fact that a revolution must ‘walk’ as part of the world revolution, or at least with the feet of the world revolution. The alternative is not to walk at all. China itself walked with the feet of the world revolution. The *Hundred Flowers* brought to the fore and gave an authority to bourgeois writers who knew less than nothing of the world revolution. The Posadists recommended the promotion of Chinese and world proletarian writers instead. There was no leadership to do this, of course, and there is even less today!

All evidence shows that the leadership of Mao - and the so-called “Gang of Four” - wanted the revolution to advance. But Mao’s team had to contend with a small proletarian base and the constant sabotage of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Chinese Communist Party had a lot of intellectuals, petit-bourgeois persons of landowning or bourgeois origins, individuals whose nationalist ideas ranged from the narrow to the petty.

What stops the Communist parties of the world discussing this?

The Soviets did not intervene as they should have done. They are responsible for much of what drove China into isolation. This began with Stalin who repelled China, obliging it to forge ahead alone.

¹² The Hundred Flowers: 1956-57. False data was given by the Party on agrarian results. Zhou en-Lai wanted to stop the collectivisations, and in the USSR, Krutchev denounced China’s collectivisation drive. In 1957, the Communist Party opened its door to millions of Mao’s opponents. It had to reverse this measure very soon, and in 1958, *the Great Leap Forward* was announced. Half a million were expelled from the Party.

This isolation of China continues today, in many ways (1980). The intervention of the Soviet leaders towards China is still bureaucratic. They should call for a United Front with China! They should offer aid to China and stimulate its economic development - but they don't. The present Chinese leadership uses this to hide the real reason why it opposes the USSR.

The Chinese leaders use the limitations of the USSR to find anti-Soviet allies in the world. There is no Communist Party worthy of the name in China, only an apparatus. The tenuous relation between its policies and the need of the Chinese population proves the fact. The apparatus causes the economy to develop, for a few. Same as under Stalin. But what is to stop the Communist Parties of the world discussing this? They could suggest ideas, programme and policies to help overcome the bureaucratic errors.

We call on the Soviets to intervene! They must look back upon their own experience in building socialism. They have here an opportunity to make a public correction of their own errors! The need for an *anti-capitalist USSR-China United Front* is obvious! Let the Soviet Union give economic, social and political support to the Chinese Workers State! This will produce difficulties, but it will also help in the formation of left currents in the Chinese population. Right now, the Soviets could raise, almost at a stroke, the social, political, programmatic and theoretical level of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Soviet Trade Unions must call on their Chinese counterparts to intervene, and demand from the Chinese government that it lets the Chinese workers have a say. In the Chinese army there must be a discussion also. Let all the problems of economic, social and political development be discussed everywhere in China! We call for a *United Front of all the Workers States*, of the USSR, China and all the "socialist countries" against the capitalist system. We call for all the masses of the Workers States, the world Trade Unions and the Communist parties to intervene with an anti-capitalist programme. This is the most effective preparation against the war which capitalism is preparing.

Marxism
will lessen the dependency
of the Chinese Party on the military

The Teng leadership does not hide what it is. It supported the Shah of Iran, Pinochet in Chile and UNITA¹³ in Angola. It supported murderer Pol Pot who killed two and a half million people in Cambodia. It invaded Vietnam, killing many revolutionaries and others there! Since the external policy of a country is always the continuation of its internal one, these few examples speak volumes about what political life must be like inside China: A political life narrowly nationalistic, to set the nationalist sectors against the revolutionary ones. It is not just against the world that the Chinese nationalists want China to compete, but against the world communist movement and against the Communist development of China! They use their alliance with capitalism politically, to keep the revolution down and attack the Soviet Union.

Teng's gang is only in power because it launched a coup. But this is no guarantee of continued success. We have no doubt that the people of China do not support or agree with it. The rule of this clique can only be transitional.

The lack of a greater economic progress under Mao was only partially due to the counter-revolutionary forces that thwarted him. There was also a deal of naivety on Mao's part when he hoped that so much economic development could be achieved in China in isolation from the Soviet Union. But in isolation, the limitations of the Chinese Communist Party were going to weigh more heavily - particularly considering that the Party was without a structured working-class base and generally dependent on the country's top military. This naivety highlights what happens when the leaders do not think dialectically as representatives of the objective thought of the working class. The Party leaders were military leaders. That was the problem.

¹³ Unita: Broke from the revolutionary liberation movement MPLA in Angola in 1975. To oppose the revolutionary process, it accepted the military support of the United States and Apartheid South Africa.

**Push the bureaucracy aside
without harming
the Workers State**

Those behind the "Peking Trial" want the revolutionary comrades, ideas and programmes out of the way. They want the Chinese people to stop hoping and reasoning as Communists. In their view, the communist aim, and all matters anti-capitalist, should be given up.

In Poland just now, there is some progress towards soviet democracy. In this stage of the Workers State, socialist democracy takes the form of *soviet democracy*. The Polish workers are making themselves heard. In a Workers State, it should be natural that the workers argue, disagree, think and have ideas. They must have this right! They are not only interested in supporting the Workers State. They want a better Workers State! They want to build on their socialist gains. Poland hints at the need for a greater socialist advance of the Workers State. The immense progress of the world revolution, as in Angola, forms part of the reason why the workers of Poland want to intervene. The same goes for the USSR.

There is progress in all the Workers States. The workers, the masses, the ordinary militants and the [true] Communist leaders seek Soviet democracy. They want to be the leadership of the Workers State. Since the time when bureaucracy was formed under Stalin, there have been attempts at soviet forms in all the Workers States. Only in China has there been this retrogression towards bourgeois forms, forced upon the country by a Communist Party leadership.

The "Peking Trial" is a weapon that the Chinese leaders wield to threaten those who oppose their plans and policies. The Teng leadership uses its external policy of alliance with capitalism as a battering ram to force social retrogression inside China.

We appeal to the Communist movement, to the workers movement, to the Trade Unions, to the Communist and Socialist parties, to discuss and reject this trial.

We reject with indignation the loud and insistent calls for 'democratic rights in Poland' on the part of those who have absolutely nothing to say in defence of the Chinese revolutionaries.

In China, the revolutionaries must have the right to speak, and the workers, Trade Unions and general population as well. We ask the Trade Unions of Italy, France and the world to defend this position. The world Communist and Socialist parties should say so too. The militant and Communist cadres and leaders of the world must discuss China. We live in a stage when the masses of the world are trying their hand at building socialism.

The time when the world revolution was in retreat has passed. The bureaucracy that originated with Stalin created a very strong structure, but it is loosening somewhat. The masses are rehearsing the art of leading society. In the Workers States, this causes them to look for ways to push the bureaucracy aside without harming the Workers State.

The events in Poland are a source of great joy, as they started from Trade Unions and factories, impelling forward the Communist base. We know that this is an unfinished process in Poland; but as far as it goes, we call for the same to be happening in China.

J. POSADAS

20/11/80

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About the Author ...

J. Posadas was born in Argentina in 1912 and died in Italy in 1981. He started his activities as a Trade Union leader in the shoe industry. He soon adopted the ideas of Trotsky and joined the IV International. He then developed as a writer, theoretician, political leader and revolutionary organiser.

In view of the process of Peronism and revolutionary nationalism, he created a movement in Argentina and in Latin America based on texts such as: 'Five-Year Plan or the Permanent Revolution' (1947), 'Peronism' (1963) and 'From Nationalism to the Workers State' (1966).

Those who belonged to the leading group of the IV International in those days greeted his ideas with incomprehension. J. Posadas separated himself from them as they were abandoning the Marxist principles needed to analyse the Soviet Union, the Communist parties and various mass parties like the Labour Party. In 1962 he organised the Trotskyist-Posadist IV International.

A flurry of his fundamental texts followed, such as: 'The Construction of the Workers State and from the Workers State to Socialism', 'Partial Regeneration, Historic Re-encounter and the Process of the Permanent Revolution in this Stage', 'The role of the USSR in History', 'The Living Thought of Trotsky' and 'The Revolutionary State'.

In the more general field of Art, Science and Culture, J. Posadas has left many other writings. They incorporate into the Marxist analysis subjects ranging from 'human relations' to 'the Communist future of humanity'. It all forms part of his History of the Human Civilisation which remained unfinished due to his unexpected death.

The works of J. Posadas and the example of his life champion the confidence and security of humanity. As he used to say: "Socialism is not only a necessity of history, but of life itself".

His following last words give food for thought: "Life has no sense without the struggle for Socialism, whatever the consequences".

Editors

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