

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**



**Out with  
Imperialism from  
Malta!  
For a Maltese  
Workers State!**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 150 2nd Friday of January 1972 PRICE 3p

Appeal of the International Secretariat of the IV International 26. 12. 71.

# The Soviet Union, China, all the Workers States must appeal for a United Front of all the Communists, Socialists, Popular, Nationalist, Left Catholic Parties, to smash the criminal arrogance of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam and defeat it militarily at the cost of no matter what effort

The renewed US bombing of North Vietnam is a new expression of the arrogant criminal attitude of Yankee Imperialism. It seeks to compensate the defeat in other places by intimidating in Vietnam, to show the resolution of going towards the war, and to show that it maintains the criminal murderous team of Yankee Imperialism, of the C.I.A., of the Pentagon in cohesion, in order to continue the policy of repression. It does it to prevent it allowing itself to soften or to vacillate, by the world protests, by the defeats which it is suffering in the Plain of Jars, in Laos, in Cambodia, it tries to compensate for the enormous defeatist and pessimistic impressions which are growing in Yankee Imperialism, the social basis which supports it, and the petit bourgeoisie, and all the defeatist sentiment through the defeats which it is suffering through the war of Vietnam, through the revolutionary war which the masses of Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia are carrying forward.

It is a very timid response of Imperialism. Even with this assassination by the hundreds of air raids, it is timid. It is not a response of someone who shows himself to be decided and has security of triumphing. They are criminal responses directed and taking into account that the Soviet Union and China are not going to respond in the same way. There is a semi understanding, there is not an agreement but a semi understanding which Yankee imperialism utilises in its favour bombarding N. Vietnam, counting on not receiving a response on the part of the Workers States.

This criminal action of Yankee Imperialism shows at the same time that it cannot permit, that it cannot put up with any attempt at agreement, any peaceful solution. None of these meetings which they are making in Paris can solve, can improve or lead to an arrangement or an agreement which makes Yankee Imperialism get out. It shows that these meetings between the P.R.G. (Provisional Revolutionary Government) of South Vietnam and Yankee Imperialism which they are doing in Paris are pure comedy. All the declarations of peace, of agreement, of getting out, on the part of Yankee Imperialism, are simply verbal diplomatic manoeuvres for gaining time. It neither has the intention, nor the interest, nor is it convenient to it to retreat from Vietnam. Nevertheless it is possible to make it get out and it is possible to smash it!

Yankee imperialism needs to maintain the world capitalism in cohesion behind it. It must make it felt that capitalism must accompany it, in this criminal war policy in order to prepare it and to unleash, when it can do it, the atomic war. This is one of the conditions and the causes for which it bombards North Vietnam. It intends at the same time to terrorise the masses of North Vietnam, to try to cut the support the solidarity, the alliance, the united front of North Vietnam with Laos and Cambodia and with South Vietnam.

Imperialism has atomic arms to destroy all the Middle East, all the East, all S.E. Asia. And why doesn't it use them? If it doesn't use them it is because it feels, it knows—it has been proved in other cases as in Pakistan—that if it dropped atomic arms on Vietnam, on Laos, or Cambodia, the Soviets would be obliged to respond

with an atomic bomb. Even Vietnam could use atomic arms. It is not Yankee power which allows it to make these bombings. It is the policy which is still of timidity, of a certain agreement with Imperialism which allows imperialism to bombard North Viet-

nam with impunity, counting on not receiving a reply from the Workers States. If imperialism was strong it would drop atomic bombs and flatten all the Middle East, the East and South East Asia. It has just been defeated in Pakistan; it is being defeated in the Middle East, in the East; it has been thrown out of Japan by the masses; it is being surrounded in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. It doesn't have either social, or political support! And it has scarcely any military force. It has atomic military forces, but it is not the only one which has them; the Soviet Union has them, and various Workers States and China also. It is necessary to stop this impunity of Yankee Imperialism. Its desire to maintain its criminal decision with impunity is to maintain its apparatus decided and in a state of constant decision to make criminal and war like

actions. This is the basis of its very great insecurity and fear. If it had security that it was going to win it would have already unleashed the war. When it doubts and has to make small wars as in Vietnam it is because it cannot make the general war. It neither has a base of support in the population in the United States nor does it have solidarity or support from all the capitalist system. The crisis of the capitalist system is immense. One has just seen the devaluation of the dollar. It is the total weakness of yankee imperialism which leads it to make these actions, instead of doing what should interest it, trying to smash and flatten with atomic arms.

The essential objective of Yankee imperialism is to organise the atomic war against the Workers States and the world

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The miners must launch appeals from mass assemblies, to all the working class to use the miners strike as a centre around which to organise the Anti-Capitalist struggle on a national scale

The miners strike is a very powerful expression of the advance of dual power in Britain. It is a struggle which takes an economic form in the absence of a revolutionary marxist leadership, but it expresses a profound sentiment among the miners, of anger and hatred against the government and the capitalist class. If the miners were only motivated by the desire for higher wages, they would not let one of the most productive collieries in South Yorkshire (Goldthorpe-Highgate) burn, they would be very concerned about it as their source of livelihood and would have sent down teams to put the fire out. When they don't do this, and in fact refuse to do it, it shows that they are thinking beyond the mines, they have bigger more important things in mind; they want by their strike to attract the support of all the working class to stimulate the political and trade union organisations of the class to an all out struggle against capitalism. This strike like Ireland, like UCS, or the most recent occupation of Fisher-Bendix where the families of the workers have been invited into the factory and commissions have been elected for security, for hygiene for all the tasks in the factory, shows the existence of a revolutionary current which wants to struggle for power. This is the first conclusion of this strike which must determine all the actions of solidarity by other sectors of the class.

So far none of the leaders of the LP, nor of the TUs have responded to the importance of this strike. They feel that it is going to be hard and long and they see what it signifies, but don't know how to respond. The leadership of the two biggest unions, Jones and Scanlon have said nothing, the left of the LP while in favour is paralysed, and the CP, even though through the columns of the Morning Star it calls for support, calls for the TUC to use its funds to help the miners, sees it as no more than a defensive struggle against the anti-working class

policies of the tory government. The TU leaderships are silent now, not because they are against, but because they feel that this strike has revolutionary implications and they don't know what to do, they haven't the theoretical political preparation to confront this situation. They are leaders used to a situation of disputing a few shillings with capitalism not of organising the forces of the working class in a struggle against the whole system. They see that capitalism is determined, as it was with the postmen's strike, not to give in, is prepared to put up

with any inconvenience in order to defeat a powerful sector of the class. The bourgeois will hold out for any length of time, if they see the miners isolated, but if they see that it is beginning to play a role of attracting and organising other sectors, in a political struggle, then it is likely to yield. The appeal from the miners for solidarity action is important as is the support from the TGWU but is not enough. The leadership of the NUM must realise that it is not just a TU struggle for higher wages; it comes when there is civil war in Ireland, where factories are occupied, where even little Malta feels the confidence to kick British Imperialism out, where a revolutionary process begins in Bangla Desh with the help of the USSR and where US and British Imperialism desperately try to defend what is left of their authority and power with criminal methods. The bombing of North Vietnam and the increase of repression in N. Ireland indicate the way that Imperialism thinks; today it cannot make concessions, it thinks only in terms of repression and war. This is the basis of the attitude of the Tories towards the T.U. or towards the student movement, or even in relation to the recent BBC broadcast on Ireland which it wanted to ban. It wants to impose authori-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

# Socialism cannot be constructed without returning to Marxism

## J. Posadas 20-6-1971

AFTER THE first seven years of the USSR marxism was abandoned by the leadership of the Soviet workers state. Stalin destroyed the instrument that applied, reproduced and continued the application of marxism; the Bolshevik Party. In destroying and strangling the Bolshevik Party he strangled the source of the historic continuity of marxism. Because of this, Trotsky's essential task was to maintain the continuity of marxism, as we do now. Today we have to combine the continuity of marxism with the concrete application so as to work as a mass organism without actually being it. We do not have a mass organism. We do not lead the masses directly. But we influence, for example, Fidel Castro who has to say, "It is necessary to apply reason" "Intelligence is necessary to develop the country, the communist moral is the base of all our struggle and all our revolution" "We understand that communism is a relationship of the consciousness, but material means are needed to achieve it" Where does Fidel Castro get this?

It is the necessary theoretical conception. It is not the concrete interpretation of one or another phase, aspect or feature of the process of the revolution, it is the conception to interpret the world. Without knowledge of the world one cannot have political comprehension. One can have a certain, circumstantial, momentary, unlinked policy without continuity. Because it is the theoretical

### WHY HAS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION BEEN "SUI GENERIS"?

We were the ones who posed the "sui generis" character of the Cuban Revolution. This led to a great discussion and people laughed at Posadas "this bloke who invents all sorts of things." When we said, "The Cuban Revolution is a 'sui generis' revolution and consequently the political revolution in Cuba will be 'sui generis'." All the old leadership of the International laughed. But the Cuban Revolution actually was "sui generis" because it was a revolution of nationalist, protectionist origin that along the way gathered elements of communism, but not communist political consciousness. The masses gave what the leadership did not have in its head, although it had it in its sentiment. What triumphed was the communist sentiment and the impulsion of the masses who gave the consciousness that it was possible to go much further than the capitalist system. Guevara and Castro started the revolution saying, "We want to humanise capitalism." We said "You are not going to humanise anything, all you are going to do is lose time. What it is necessary to do in Cuba is to overthrow the capitalist system." This was in 1959; in this year we wrote, "what it is necessary to do in Cuba is to transform the apparatus of the state." And we posed how to transform it.

But they laughed and said "Yes, you say that because you have never led a revolution; this is what Guevara said to us. And cde. Mi, who was speaking with him said, "What about the Russian Revolution?" "But that was many years ago" "Yes, but it is also many years since Marx wrote CAPITAL, a great many years . . ."

Nevertheless it is a "sui-generis" revolution, for this reason; because the elements that constitute the structure of the Cuban Revolution have bourgeoisie origin and were only gained to communist principles along the way (though not to communist consciousness), it has to have "sui generis" elements. What does "sui generis" mean? It means that there are indecisive elements in its structure that have to be gained. Conse-

quently, at the same time as they are gained they eliminate one of the essential aspects of the political revolution; the bureaucratic structure—although the behaviour remains bureaucratic. Because the masses are gained to the communist conception. Because it was 1959. Then there would be a "sui generis" political revolution. This means that the most insurrectional and bloody aspects of the political revolution can and must be eliminated and it can pass, by the actual leadership, to impel the political revolution. We were the ones who said this in 1959.

When we said this in 1960 in the World Congress of the old International they laughed and said, "What is this 'sui generis'?" Where does this "sui generis" exist?" But it is "sui generis" we replied. How else do you characterise a revolution of non communist origin which along the way was given a communist sense by the masses, and the leadership resisted the communist functioning although it had to take communist measures? In characterising it like this we understand that it was not marxist, but that it had to take from marxism. And we said this. Why did this "sui generis" revolution occur? Because between the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Cuban Revolution of 1959 the continuity of the first seven years of the Russian Revolution had not been developed. The general continuity was broken. It was not a complete rupture: In one of the fundamental, though not decisive, aspects the continuity was maintained—the impulse to the world revolution that was given by the existence of the single workers state. The triumph over Nazism gave the masses of the world a notion of the power, of the capacity, of the base of stimulus and of organisation of the communist moral which was the workers state. All this base was an impulse to the revolution but in itself it did not organise the consciousness and capacity, the organisation of the consciousness of the marxist method.

### THE MARXIST CONCEPTION HAS NOT BEEN APPLIED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES

No workers state is structured in the name of marxism. Because none of these workers states have made the revolution according to the marxist conception of history. Hence the backwardness of the revolution. All the workers states constituted in Central Europe, and even the Chinese workers state, delayed for eight or ten years before acquiring the functioning of a workers state. They were workers states from the beginning, because they nationalised everything, but their functioning according to this was delayed. Like Poland, Hungary, Rumania. There are catholic parties in the government in Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. There are bourgeoisie parties!

They are workers states because the economy is nationalised, because power is in the hands of the Communist Parties, but they act, in part, with sectors linked to the interests of private property. And in China too. Formally there still exists a democratic government of which the widow of Sun Yat Sen forms a part. In 1950 they declared that they were "Socialist States" when in

fact they were workers states in 1948 because virtually everything had been nationalised. In these conditions the leaders of the workers states never applied marxism. The USSR has to return to marxism. The rest of the workers states have to go to marxism for the first time. This is why we say "Some have to return to marxism, and others have to apply marxism." To apply, in consequence, the conception of marxism, in the application of the economy and the planned structure of the economy, which means planning in a centralised way but directing it in a decentralised way, to centralising socially with the soviets in a superior form of economy.

Marxism shows that the best way to develop the economy is by centralised planning. Planning in a centralised way according to the overall interests of the country. In the application one takes account of all the peculiarities and disequilibria that exist in the country and in the world. Then the application is decentralised. Also in the application it is not always best, necessary or

possible to have a centralised accumulation of production in one place. It is done according to what is convenient and necessary. For example, where there are rivers, water, means of transport, good places to harvest prime agricultural goods, there may not always be a labour force with the necessary technical capacity. Then it is necessary to develop it and concentrate it, it is necessary to create it, it is necessary to overcome it. This is what the Soviets did. Do you think that the Soviets moved their hand and it was created? The Soviets were occupied with all this and it was done by workers who up till the previous day were factory labourers, workers who the workers state transformed into communist planners. This signifies that they planned according to the interests of communism—world and national—taking account of the development of the USSR whose essential base is to impel the world socialist revolution. These planners, that until the previous day were factory labourers, took account of this objective. What interested them was not the Soviet masses but the world masses. And if it was better to support Germany instead of the USSR.

This is marxist planning, it is decentralised planning. The bureaucracy does not do it like this because it only takes account of itself. Because it has caste interests and appetites and also because it is stupid. Trotsky said that "amongst the essential features that characterise the bureaucracy are its stupidity, its lack of decision and audacity, because it is always afraid." Whatever impulse it gets from the masses it always wants to leave everything alone. Because it is going to be replaced, and it reacts by saying "lets leave things as they are." It could do this while it was in power and the revolution was stagnating. As the revolution started to move the bureaucracy began to feel itself shaking. Stalin was killed by the progress of history. He was dead before they fired the shot that killed him. Possibly Malenkov killed him or some other. It is not important who it was, Stalin had already been overtaken by history. Because before being assassinated there was already the team that was to follow him. This team was already functioning and to them Stalin was an unpleasant decoration, he was above all, ugly, horrible. He had to be got rid of.

### MARXISM INTERPRETS HISTORY IN ITS ENTIRETY

When we state precisely that it is necessary to turn to marxism it is because this is the instrument that permits the domination of history, to use the forces of history, to be based on them, to coordinate and harmonise them so as to use them on a world and national scale. Marxism is not an instrument for interpreting one or another event. Marxism interprets history in its entirety. When we say "regional marxism" it is not a joke or slander to revolutionary comrades who are not capable of using marxism. We respect every revolutionary in the world with all our affection, all our enthusiasm, our revolutionary fraternity, including some nationalists who have a limited marxist capacity. We see in them the enthusiasm for change in history, and this attracts our will because it is the same will as theirs. What we have is the marxist consciousness of this, and we try to gain them to this consciousness. Marxism has as its historical objective to give confidence and security to those who realise that humanity is the product of the human being. This has formed the consciousness on the base of the organisation of the sentiments, consequently determined by private property, by thousands of years of custom, of adaptation to and organisation of private property with the intention of appropriation. This creates one of the worst customs of history—fear of tomorrow. Because of this there is accumulation. Capitalism accumulates for production, for replacement of capital, for the accumulation of capital, and also because it is

a userer—it has the idiotic mentality to accumulate, accumulate . . . . For example, why have ten houses? He has ten houses! Then he lives pleased with himself that he has ten houses, but he lives enslaved to the ten houses. And he lives thinking that he cannot leave them. It is his life-work defending them!

The process of private property has created a mental structure, determined habits and a determined organisation of the mind and of the sentiment, all of which show how the human being develops according to material functions. They are sensations that are received, they have no material force but appear in the form of insecurity in life which, ultimately, is the fear of tomorrow. Together with the sentiment of property, of protection, of the possessor, is the fear of tomorrow, because of the capacity of someone else to rob them of what is theirs. This creates the conception of life, and of human relationships, of resistance, and diminishes the capacity of the most powerful instrument of humanity, which is the brain. But the brain without the conception—without the instrument to use the brain—is a brain that has a certain capacity, nothing more. Marxism gives the quality to the brain. And marxism is the centralised concentration, the quality of all the process of knowledge of humanity, of practice, of experience, of consolidation of the security that the human being can dispose of nature and dominate it. This is marxism; although it does not respond to all the problems of nature, it responds to

## Public Meeting

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE

The crisis of growth of the revolutionary nationalist movement in the advance towards Workers States, and the construction of Socialism called by:

R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International

at 2.30 p.m. Saturday January 22nd room 6. 39 Long Mill Gate

Manchester 3. Nr. Victoria Station

# Socialism cannot be constructed ...

the essential ones. It gives security to the human being, to organise itself, to dominate nature so that tomorrow we will speak and it will produce whatever it is that we want. We are going to organise nature so as to persuade it. Certainly it is not a thinking brain, it cannot react, it does not have a thinking will, but we can create, impel in it graded sensations that can make nature organise itself according to our will. We are convinced that this is how it is going to be. Once the depth of the cellular structure of the atom has been further penetrated, what forces there are going to be! Then orders will be given by words, we cannot foresee the forms in which this is going to be, but by means of words, varying the grade, form, weight, gravity, colour, to give orders to nature, then it will have to react according to this. Today this is done with electronic cards. Tomorrow we will make a gesture and we will have created a sensitivity in nature that is capable of receiving this. How is it going to be done? We do not know, but it is going to be done.

Marxism is a method of interpretation of history which permits the understanding of social phenomena, gives the security to change history and then to discuss with nature. Today we fight with nature, we struggle against nature. In struggling for food we destroy 90 per cent of nature's resources, be it the earth, the atmosphere, the sun or the planets or any other thing that exists.

## "PUT MARXISM ON ITS FEET"

The working class is not contradictory, it is harmonious. Today it has interior contradictions through the distinct layers that exist, but they are the contradictions of the dialectical process. It is not antagonistic. Because of this the working class is guided by the conscious sectors, by the vanguard. And today the vanguard has 16 Workers states to show it that it is right. The problem then is to "put marxism on its feet." Marx put Hegel "on his feet" because Hegel was "standing on his head." So it is necessary to put marxism on its feet because there are 16 workers states. This is marxism. They do not have their feet on the ground because the bureaucracy has turned them upside down. We have to turn them up again, it is the political revolution.

The process of the political revolution is not the same now as in the epoch of Trotsky. Because the 16 workers states have such a weight, and the revolutionary process in Italy, France, England, Belgium, in Asia, Africa and Latin America help to give confidence, to stimulate, to impel layers of the bureaucracy from the middle down, and some higher sectors, to have confidence in communism, to be regained to communism—some of them, and some others to think about it for the first time. A big sector of the bureaucracy never was communist, it just lived in a workers state. For example this Ota Sik, what has he got to do with communism? On the other hand Kosygin

There is not the application of marxism and, consequently, there is not confidence in humanity. In the application of marxism—the conduct that the marxist comprehension directs—there is confidence in humanity; to elevate the capacity of humanity, to make seen and felt that humanity, that the working class, as representative of humanity in this stage of history because of the historic role of the working class, is capable of organising, constructing and developing socialist society. Not to believe in the working class because we magnanimously judge it capable, but because it has shown that it is capable, that it can do it. Because the working class, as a class, orders harmonies, determines its judgements, its movements, its behaviour according to the objective interests of humanity. Because to work as a class it does not have to work for itself, it has to work according to the future. It cannot work just as itself. In an immediate class struggle, yes it has to work like this—strikes, factory occupations and the taking of power. But in protecting the structure of the economy, the sentiments, progressive measures have to be a function of history and not of itself. And it can do this because its future lies in the abolition of private property. To eliminate private property it must first eliminate from its own thought and conception the egoistic sentiment of individual possession, thus eliminating one of the essential factors that the life of private property has created. Then it eliminates all egoistic, competitive, contradictory interests.

has to have something to do with it, he is a technocrat coming from the Communist Party. Because of this he can play his actual role of "ruler." He does not impose it himself but in the name of the Party. He is a Party man, a Party bureaucrat, but representative of the technocrats. He arose in the USSR not in China. The USSR has the first seven years of the Russian Revolution, it has the most powerful world proletarian revolutionary vanguard in all history. The vanguard that put up with Stalin. It beat Hitler and afterwards settled with Stalin and developed the world revolution. This merits the greatest historic homage, such as no other people could ever have merited! There is no other people like the Soviet people as the proletarian, communist vanguard.

It indicates that marxism is indestructible because the proletarian Bolshevik vanguard was educated in marxism and this powerful marxist conception permitted it to put up with Stalin and see how to organise the forces to overcome the conditions that prevented the development of the USSR. It showed their historical comprehension, faced with Stalin and Hitler they smashed Hitler not Stalin. They had the confidence to develop the workers state. If they had been desperate they would have abandoned it. Instead their action was the base for the destruction of Hitler's army. The siege of Stalingrad was the defeat of Nazism but

because the Soviet working class had demoralised it. Hitler had a suit made to enter Moscow, but he had to change it for a coffin. Then he understood that it was not so easy to do it. It was the working class that imposed it.

The communist parties have never had confidence in the masses, they have always protected them, they have developed the conception of the party of protection. They have no life with the masses. The Bolshevik Party lived with the masses, learned from the masses, there was an interchange of life with the masses, who gave the fresh daily ideas of the force, influence and will of the masses. This will was transferred into the party, fixing and impelling its internal discussions, while the Bolshevik Party gave the proletarian vanguard the scientific capacity to think. But it received from it the unquenchable revolutionary will, which was one of the essential aspects of the scientific elaboration of the Bolshevik Party. It organised, and now it is necessary to organise the most complete organ of all history: The Soviet. This concentrated in itself the aspirations, the functioning and the conclusions and the necessary functions for the development of the economy, of society, of the power of justice and of liberty.

The concept of liberty is not to be pleased with what exists. Liberty is a means for progress to advance. If it is not this, then it is of no use. The bourgeoisie invented liberty because it was necessary for them to live, to fight against the others and to oppose the working class. If liberty does not serve the progress of humanity, liberty for what? Liberty for whom? For Don Juan and the rest? Apart from overcoming injustice liberty also means the power of one, the capacity of one, against the power and capacity of millions who are capable of more than one is. This is marxism. No Communist Party holds and bases itself on this conception. No workers state bases itself on this conception. Instead the masses of Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and the USSR are imposing that there is a move towards this road. This is marxism.

Because of this there is an identity between us and the masses and we are fusing together. The historic re-encounter does not mean that we re-encounter with Bresnev or Ceausescu. The historic re-encounter means a process in which, inevitably, in a short stage, (just how long it will be we cannot define, at least for now, but not long) we will impel the workers states with the world development of the revolution that imposes that the proletarian vanguard intervenes in the Communist Parties. To think, to lead, to pressure, to give confidence to the leaders so they take hold of communism, to really base themselves on communism, and permit then, the extension of the area, of the base of the application of marxism, and to receive the influence of the revolution, of the unequal and combined process, centralised in the progress and content of the revolution. This is the historic re-encounter. It is not wishful thinking, where we just wait

for the leaderships of the Communist Parties to understand. It is a process that starts now and later will partially radicalise the leadership. To understand this process and the degree to which the leadership is influenced is the most difficult thing of all, so as to make no mistakes, no suivism, no prostration, or no sectarianism. Because history is defined and there are two camps. The comrades need to make no other calculation outside of this conclusion.

There are two camps; the camp of counter revolution and the camp of the revolution which is led by the USSR. Don't doubt it! "Led" does not mean that we are going to wait for them to determine the policy, but that ultimately it is the USSR that decides. But in turn the USSR receives the influence of the world revolution. The more the revolution advances, the greater the influence in the USSR, and also the greater the influence on China, Cuba and the rest of the world. This is the historic re-encounter and the partial regeneration. And this will be the first time that marxism will be applied outside the USSR. The Chinese apply "regional marxism." Because of this we have not said that the Chinese are "revisionists," "agents of the mandarins," but that there has been a regional application of marxism. It means that there is still an absence of interior structure to the Party. The Soviets have this. They use it bureaucratically, they degenerate it. They have de-generated the Bolshevik Party. The old Bolshevik Party is not going to regenerate itself, but, in effect, it is going to be recomposed by the world revolution. Why? Because the structure of the world is one. Not because the economy is one. This is certain. This is a general principle. But already this principle has to be accompanied by saying that now there is the world sentiment of the unification of the masses. This already exists. Whatever the military power of the Soviet bureaucracy it is powerless to contain this, because the objective aim of this stage, of this cycle of human history, is to attain human happiness, which is human fraternity. Afterwards those who follow will have another form that is superior to this. That is to say that humanity has reached the stage to pass from poverty and dying from hunger, to overcome hunger. Now it has to pass to the suppression of war, the dispute within itself, then it will create of the mind a superior organ, through human fraternity. Then with this it will do a million things and will overcome the necessity of having to live the daily life of struggle and dispute to be able to live. Tomorrow the conditions of existence will be of incessant progress. Because of this the dialectic will be a backward way to measure progress, because the speed of progress will be so interrupted that one progress will not be completed before another has already begun, like we sometimes do when we begin with one text and end up with a different one that is ten times better. We do this in a very limited form, but this is what we try to do.

J. Posadas 20/6/71

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

# The miners must launch appeals from mass assemblies, to all the working class to use the miners strike as a centre around which to organise the Anti-Capitalist struggle on a national scale

farian methods, curtail democratic liberties and the freedom of the press, because they no longer serve the interests of the capitalist class. The miners leadership, at the level of the pits in the regions, at national level must understand, that the miners strike must either extend itself or it will be beaten.

What is the guarantee that it can be extended? The British working class has shown by all its recent actions that it wants a national struggle against capitalism, that it is trying to find the methods, the programme and the leadership for this. The miners strike can be extended if it bases itself on this national sentiment, and appeals to all the working class and exploited masses to help it, with strikes, occupations, mobilisations in the street, mass assemblies and formation of factory committees. And in order to attract the rest of the class the miners must put themselves forward as a leadership with a programme to solve all the problems which the decay of capitalism causes. That they put forward a workers plan of production, of houses, schools, hospitals, roads

etc. based on the nationalisation of the banks and key industries without compensation and under workers control, calling for the organisation of the general strike with occupations and mass mobilisations to throw out this vicious anti working class government and replace it with a left Labour government which will carry out, under this mass organised pressure, measures which damage the structure of capitalism, makes nationalisations without compensation and under workers control etc., which increase the progress of dual power in favour of the working class. Lawrence Daly has already suggested the use of the strike weapon, the general strike to throw out this government; we completely support this proposal, and appeal to the miners leadership that they make this strike into the centre of organisation of such a struggle. All the forces must be concentrated in this objective. We appeal to the Soviet TUs to intervene in this action as they have done in UCS and Ireland, giving not only financial support but that it makes demonstrations in the USSR of sup-

port, and appeals to the TUs and CPs of all the workers states, and in all the capitalist countries to come to the aid of the miners as an internationalist duty in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

As Posadas has said "Power comes from the factory"; we have seen it in UCS, in the other occupations, now we see it in a sector with such power and tradition as the miners. It is going to impel changes in the leadership and programme in all the TUs and in the LP and CP. The proposals of Benn in the LP, his so-called participation 72, is an expression of the democratisation of the LP, under the pressure of the base which wants to make the LP a useful instrument in the struggle for power. This discussion which Benn has called for, must now be used to discuss the significance of the miners strike, how to help it, how to use it to organise all the forces of the masses to bring down the Tory government. A sector of the LP leadership is going to be horrified at such a discussion, will be opposed to it; so much the

better, for it will be an element of the struggle to expel these people from the LP.

The RWP(T) British section of the IV International appeals to the LP to the CP, to the TUC, to all the unions, to the base and the leadership, to make this miners strike a centre for the organisation of the General strike. We appeal to the miners, to make the most elevated functioning possible during the strike, mass pit head meetings, inviting all the local working class to participate, electing committees to go to factories, docks, power stations, colleges calling for support. The strike must be an active one, not with the miners in their homes but in the streets, in the factories. Above all there must be no important decision made without the consultation and acceptance by the miners in their pit head meetings. This is the appeal we make to convert this strike into a step along the road of the construction of the necessary organisms of the masses in the struggle for power.

11. 1. 1972

# Appeal of the International Secretariat....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
 revolution. An evident example of these intentions of Yankee imperialism is the murder of the civilians which the Pakistanis did. It was around a thousand persons, of technicians, of engineers, of scientists, of specialised workers, all types of technicians and thinkers. They murder them to limit and weaken the creative productive, organisational and economic capacity of the country. To cut the liaison of the intellectuals with the popular masses to impede the creation of a workers state and the economic capacity of the country. This shows what Yankee Imperialism is doing. If it could do what it did in Pakistan, it would do it here as well. In Pakistan the assassin army of Yahya Khan did it, and also Bhutto, with the support of the Indian army, who were in a common agreement to impede the development of a powerful base of development of socialist measures in East Pakistan. This is the measure which yankee imperialism would do if it could do it, but that is what it is going to do any way if it is not stopped immediately.

The response of North Vietnam shows at the same time that they are secure and firm. That they are not intimidated nor do they vacillate or doubt. And at the same time they are preparing an enormous campaign against the war in the United States. The American masses are mobilising once more against the war in Vietnam. It is an echo and the influence of the world revolution.

The situation of the world is immeasurably favourable to the revolution. The communist-socialist alliance is being forged in Italy which is going to attract all the other tendencies linked to the workers movement. Within a little while the unification of the trade union movement will be made, which is an event whose importance is much greater than the business of the election of the president and the chamber of deputies. The trade union centres unified with the workers parties takes in the whole of Italy. The development of the struggles in Europe and all the world advances and progress, as it does also in Latin America, Asia and Africa. And what allows Yankee Imperialism to be able to bomb North Vietnam? What strength do they have to do it? The strength is with the masses of the world, the workers parties, the trade union centres, the workers states united to the masses of the world. This is the force! Because of this capitalism does not feel animated to declare the atomic war. It will try to do it, seek to do it, but in the worst conditions for them.

This new bombing must be the motive, based on the world conditions, on this progress of the revolution, to make appeals to respond to Yankee Imperialism and throw it out of Vietnam. And to pose the bombing of the USA! The Workers States, the USSR, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland, all the Workers States must make an appeal to all the countries of the world, including the capitalist countries, to the trade union centres, to the trade unions, to the workers parties, to the nationalist parties, to the popular mass parties, to expel imperialism from Vietnam. But not to wait for the mobilisations or declarations, but to make actions of war. This is not an action which threatens the war. Imperialism is already making war. And if there is not a rapid response, imperialism is going to try to go further because it is in a constant crisis. It is a favourable moment, completely favourable for the development of the unification of all the workers states, of all the workers parties, and the trade unions for a united action against imperialism. And it must be stopped. If imperialism does not stop bombing and does not get out from South-East Asia, from the Middle East, it is necessary to threaten it and bomb the United States! Bomb the big enterprises of the United States, bomb the big military concentrations, make appeals to the masses of the United States. It is imperialism which is threatening the peace of the world and it must be stopped! It is a criminal attitude, an arrogant one, without any more reason than that they have the military strength to do it. To hide its defeat it is once more bombing a people, and with this, trying to menace the rest of the other peoples of the world so that they yield to the pressure of imperialism. Imperialism is trying to threaten the bourgeoisie of Europe so that it allies itself behind Yankee Imperialism, trying to com-

pensate for the division of world capitalism, the crisis of world capitalism with these actions of war. And meanwhile the masses of the United States are moving against the war in Vietnam. It is necessary to make an appeal to the masses of the United States that Yankee Imperialism is seeking with these actions to hide its defeat and its disintegration. And it is going to launch the atomic war when it is convenient to it. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the world! The duty of the USSR, of China, of the Workers States is to appeal to make the World United Front to overthrow imperialism, even with armed force. Why don't they throw it out by armed struggle? It should unify all the forces of the Workers States, the workers centres, the workers parties to appeal with a world proclamation to all the countries of the world, to all the governments of the world, including the capitalist governments, to finish with the arrogance of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam. And as it has been impossible through all the previous attempts, of discussions, of appeal to pacification, it must be thrown out by force! Pose that it must be thrown out by force.

All this lying diplomacy of agreements, and discussions, it is all a lie! Imperialism continues bombing! It does not yield, it is not interested either in justice, or truth. It is only interested in seeing how to defend the murderous interests of imperialism.

It is necessary to make the workers states intervene with all their atomic arms! It is necessary to appeal to all the capitalist countries of the world so that the masses of these countries exert a pressure on these governments to declare themselves against this attitude of Yankee Imperialism. And it is necessary to unite such mobilisations with the local problems of each country. But in itself, the defence of Vietnam is a base which defends the interests of all the masses of the world. It is necessary to contain Yankee Imperialism! And this criminal action shows that it is ready to act tomorrow to be able to survive. If today before a small power like Vietnam which has a small military force, it employs such a continuity of military actions and expenditure which would be sufficient to feed humanity, it is because it has neither interest or capacity in any peaceful solution by agreement or compensation or division of territory. It is atomic war which it wants. These are small actions which can decide Imperialism to launch the atomic war. It is necessary to stop it now. It is necessary to appeal for a united front of all workers states, for a planning of the workers states with the trade unions of all the world, with the workers parties, the popular, nationalist, Catholic parties of the left to throw out Yankee imperialism from Vietnam. It is necessary to make armed mobilisations in all the countries against the capitalist system and against imperialism, to make resolutions appealing for armed action sending every type of arms, every type of force to Vietnam to smash imperialism. And also to threaten to smash North America. It is not possible any more to go on making accusations and making ironical attacks on the Yanks as do the communist and socialist press. All this is an assassination. But an assassination which can be smashed as was the case in Pakistan. This is the essential line which the worker states must take. It is necessary to appeal now for the smashing of Yankee Imperialism, at the cost even of war. This is going to prevent Yankee Imperialism preparing itself in better conditions to launch the atomic war. This is the issue. They are all actions of the atomic war.

At the same time, this shows the madness of the Chinese policy. In the worst conditions for imperialism it makes an alliance with Yankee Imperialism. And the latter leaned on this to make the policy of massacre in Pakistan, support to a reactionary tendency which saw that they had failed and were defeated. And this reactionary tendency broke up under the effect of the popular development which went towards nationalisation in East Pakistan. Yankee Imperialism has been defeated. The policy of the Chinese has been defeated. Now again the ally of the Chinese makes a bombardment. It shows the madness of the policy of the leadership of the Chinese workers state. It is necessary to make an appeal to the

Chinese workers state to break its policy of alliance with imperialism objectively and subjectively and on the contrary it should appeal for a United Front of all the Workers States to unify themselves, to plan their economy and policy and plan the organisation of production and distribution. And it is necessary to make an appeal to the world worker and revolutionary movement to finish with the capitalist system. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw from this war in Vietnam. It is a most powerful source of support to the U.S. masses who once more are mobilising against Yankee Imperialism.

We appeal to the Soviet Union and to China to discuss among themselves so that they reach agreement to smash Yankee Imperialism. The Yanks show with this example in Vietnam and with the bombardment, that they utilise the Chinese and the Soviets if they can. The Soviet Union must appeal to the Chinese for a public discussion of their differences and for the necessity to unify themselves against Yankee Imperialism and against world capitalism. For this reason, it is necessary to have a public discussion throughout all the world worker movement beginning with a discussion in the Workers States preparing and developing the masses of the Workers States to answer Imperialism arms in hand. There is an essential and powerful base in the Workers States. There has never been a single protest in the Workers States against helping Indo China, the Middle East, Pakistan or Cuba. There has never been a protest from the trade unions in the Workers States. And it has cost thousands of millions of dollars annually—twenty, thirty thousand million dollars. It is all money which comes from the wages of the workers. There has never been any protest from the Workers States. None.

On the other hand in the United States, yes. Now there is a protest against the war and they don't want to know any more about the war in Vietnam. All this shows the consciousness, the capacity, the relations and the conduct of the masses of the Workers States, of the USSR, China, Poland, Cuba. The masses of the capitalist states have no interest in supporting the war of imperialism and capitalism in their countries and protest against it and they call strikes and mobilisations without being at all bothered by the costs which it causes imperialism in the war. The masses of the Workers States say absolutely nothing against the support which they give and support decidedly and consciously all the intervention of the Workers States, Soviet, Chinese, Polish, Cuban. All the social bases, the understanding, the conduct of the masses, show that it is possible to finish with Yankee Imperialism.

This is the appeal which the IV International makes to the masses of the world, to the workers states, to the communist parties, in the cells, this call for the United World Front against Yankee Imperialism with popular civil, political, and armed mobilisations. We appeal for the stopping of imperialism arms in hand! Imperialism must feel the decision of the masses of the world, of the Workers States who, arms in hand, are going to stop imperialism and going to increase the pessimistic and defeatist sentiments of imperialism. Consequently it is going to increase the advantages for the preparation of the world defence of the Workers States, of the communist parties, of the Socialist parties, of the popular parties to unify against the capitalist system and against Yankee Imperialism.

29. 12. 1971  
 International Secretariat  
 of the IV International

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG WE WILL BE PUBLISHING  
 THE ANALYSIS OF COMRADE POSADAS ON THE PROCESS  
 IN BANGLA DESH

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury

properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.

10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms, and the building

and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.

12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.

13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.

14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.

15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.

16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.

17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.

18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the Workers States and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the Workers States and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.

19. For the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.

20. For a workers government.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

**Viva the release of Francisco Colmenares from Lecumberri jail, continue the campaign for the physical safety and release of all the political prisoners in Mexico**

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG FLAG



Viva the  
Soviet  
recognition  
of  
Bangla Desh

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 151 4th Friday of January 1972 PRICE 3p

# For an unlimited General Strike to open the way for the left Labour Government on the Socialist Programme

The decision and confidence of the miners strike is conclusive proof of the will of the vanguard to stimulate all the sectors of the exploited masses and the class organisations to find the means to overthrow capitalism. The confrontations between pickets and police are anticipations of civil war. The united front at the base established between miners, dockers, power workers is a massive stimulus to the development of a general strike, gives an example of decision to all sectors of the class, and helps to impose the will of the vanguard in the trade unions. The resolution of the Merseyside Trades Council calling for a 24 hour general strike in that region, shows the dynamism of the vanguard, its intense desire to unify the class and we appeal to all trades councils, to extend these appeals throughout the country with the object of organising an unlimited general strike on the anti capitalist programme. It is absurd that at this stage there is a lack of unification of the struggles of dockers, engineers, miners. The London dockers have reasserted their programme of nationalisation under workers control. The engineering negotiating structure has collapsed completely, but the AEUW leadership instead of organising the struggle have simply said that various individual plant strikes will be supported, when the objective situation requires a unified general strike not a partialisation of struggles. We appeal to the leaderships and the base of the unions on the basis of the initiative of the miners to stimulate the formation of factory committees and workers area committees, to maintain a consistent functioning with meetings and discussions on all aspects of the present political situation, to stimulate unification around the anti capitalist programme. And in this respect we appeal to the miners, to extend the range of their initiatives, occupying the mines and making the miners areas centres of popular discussion and leaderships, in this way generalising and extending the examples of UCS and Fisher Bendix.

A fundamental role in providing the strike with a clear perspective, and unifying the struggle of the masses has to be played by the left in the Labour Party, by the MPs, by the middle cadres. It is in the political organisation that the masses seek leadership. It is not sufficient for a leadership simply to support the various initiatives of the masses, or even to create parliamentary disturbances, it is necessary to lead with clarity on the basis of anti capitalist programme and methods, and to realise that it is the revolutionary initiatives of the masses outside Parliament, which are decisive in this stage of history. Parliament must certainly be used, but not to attack simply the class enemy in his own sacred precincts, but to speak directly to the class, impelling the petit bourgeois masses giving a clear perspective of action: We appeal to the left in the LP to take the initiative in calling mass meetings, appealing for trade union support for a general strike, and stimulating inner party democracy by calls for the active discussion of marxism throughout the Labour Party, with full right to participate by the Communist Party and the IV International. The right in the LP is on the defensive, how much on the defensive can be seen in Wilsons recent sacking of many of the pro marketeers from leading positions. On the basis of the support of the miners strike the struggle to liquidate the bourgeois wing in the LP has to be continued. It is part of the miners intention to liquidate all this mess, which impedes the proper functioning of their own political organisations.

The miners strike is in the heart of a world and national situation, which advances rapidly towards the revolution-war-revolution. It is paralleled by the intensified repression of imperialism in N. Ireland. There another camp is opened, and more steps taken to prevent demonstrations of the masses, besides efforts to intimidate MPs. like Bernadette Devlin. Civil war is going to be a fact in Britain shortly as British imperialism losing all hope of survival, prepares to bomb the masses. The proletariat senses all this, hence its redoubled determination to take power. The petit bourgeois masses see no perspective in capitalism. They see now only its true face i.e. the united front with the assassins of S. Rhodesia, whose recent murders are accompanied by Smiths gangster language about the "high standards" of western civilisation and the barbarism of the blacks. They see the attempts to dispose of Mintoff. They see the calculated brutality of Imperialism in Northern Ireland, and an economy with massive unemployment geared to war, and with no possibility of expansion. And they see the hideous massacres in Bangla Desh, the criminal arrogance in the renewed bombing of N. Vietnam, the vast new increases in the arms expenditure of Yankee imperialism. When students in universities like Essex and London identify themselves with the miners it is because the alliance between the worker and petit bourgeois masses alone provides a historic perspective compared with the criminal degeneration of the whole capitalist system.

The accumulation of class fury against

capitalism, and class confidence against capitalism is going to increase. All the conditions demand a general strike. And the general strike must be accompanied by FACTORY AND PIT OCCUPATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKERS SECURITY COMMITTEES TO CONFRONT ANY INTIMIDATION BY IMPERIALISM. At the same time this must be accompanied by appeals for continuously functioning factory committees and mass assemblies in the workers areas, and demands for all wages to rise with the cost of living, no factories to be closed down, wholesale reduction of working hours to prevent dismissals, im-

mediate raising of pensions to equal the average working wage, for a workers plan of production involving a whole scheme of public works, particularly in areas of wholesale dereliction i.e. N. Ireland, Scotland etc., massive building of houses etc, nationalisation of banks and key industries, immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, end of internment and release of all political prisoners etc. And all these demands have to be placed within the perspective of a LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME, supported on the mass demonstrations and organisations, as a step towards workers power.

RESOLUTION OF THE P. B. OF THE RWP(T)

## The L.P., C.P. & unions must organise support for the Zimbabwe masses

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International denounces before world and British revolutionary public opinion, the vicious murder of 14 Africans, the wounding and jailing of hundreds more by the Smith regime of Rhodesia, a white racist regime of landowners, merchants, and capitalists linked to imperialism. These actions of the regime are completely in line with the action of world imperialism, the bombing of Vietnam, the brutality of British troops in N. Ireland, trying to terrorise and cower the masses of the world, who are fighting to end all regimes of oppression and repression.

But by the very act of making these massacres in Rhodesia, the ruling class shows its tremendous weakness; they have not been able to intimidate the African masses or cut them off from the influence of the world revolution. The conditions of the masses have not substantially changed since the declaration of UDI, they still dont have the organisations, the political parties in which they can express themselves. But now they feel the influence of action of the masses of the world which is disintegrating Imperialism, the struggle in Vietnam, in the Middle East, the struggles of the Western proletariat, and above all they have been encouraged by the tremendous general strike of the Ovamboland miners of S.W. Africa, which has forced a change in the policy of the government of South Africa, which is going to have important consequences later.

We salute the actions of the Zimbabwe (rhodesian) masses, which has shown their heroism, their culture, and civilisation in these demonstrations, and we appeal for demonstrations and protests to be organised by the TUS, by the Labour Party, by the CP and the student movement. In all the big struggles of the British working class, it is necessary to raise the demand of all support to the African masses to overthrow the Smith regime, to make the agrarian reform, collectivising the land, nationalising the key sectors of the economy. All the organisations of the class must call the Workers States to intervene militarily, economically and socially in Southern Africa, to expel imperialism and capitalism, and help the masses to construct new Workers States.

25. 1. 1972

# The end of the war between India and Pakistan, the accentuation of the disintegration of imperialism and the new demands on the Workers States

J. Posadas 21-12-71

There is a revolutionary process in Bangla Desh. The base of this process are the masses, arms in hand, who are intervening to smash the army, the dictatorship of Yahya Khan. But at the same time they are against the reinstallation of capitalist power. The masses still have not had the opportunity to express themselves, but they have shown their decision to intervene, arms in hand, their will to concentrate arms in hand against what they considered an invasion, which tried to smash the Bengal masses. When they are preoccupied neither by death, nor by epidemics, nor by cholera, nor by 10 million refugees, it is because they have the will to progress, which overcomes all capitalist leadership. Capitalism cannot awaken such a will of triumph. It cannot awaken it, cannot organise, cannot provoke such a will. It is only when there is will of progress, such will of sacrifice as the children of Ireland show. This is the way to measure the will of the masses, how otherwise could we measure it? This is how we measure it. Faced with events which try to smash them, the will of the masses surpasses this and tends to want to triumph, showing that they are disposed to advance and create a Workers State.

Humanity is now living in the epoch of Bangla Desh. Bangla Desh signifies a country devastated by an earthquake, three million dead. Immediately they had elections in which the population should have shown itself beaten, and sought individual solutions as a consequence of the death of three million which meant the impotence the dissaray. This action tended to disintegrate the population, so that everyone looked after himself. It was because of this, the swine Yahya Khan called for election, because he suspected that people would not intervene. But people intervened massively, which indicated that the deaths through the hurricane did not intimidate the masses. They felt the death of 3 million human beings, but they felt that they have to continue. Death did not smash them. Socially death lost, individually it won over three million. But socially death did not communicate, it was not able to communicate desolation, fear or provoke individualist reactions, or the separation of one person from another, but concentrated the will to seek a means of progress in the elections. Of the millions of people who voted, 95% of them pronounced against Yahya Khan. They voted for independence, in order to develop the country. Inevitably the process was going to develop under capitalist forms. While keeping an essentially capitalist character, it was going to take forms which were no longer capitalist. The course of a new revolutionary process was opened. Yahya Khan assassinated a million Pakistanis, which is added to the recent death of the three million due to the storm. This blow was added to the storm to make a pressure on the population, trying to give it a sentiment of impotence, to make it live with a sentiment of incapacity, of lack of means, to make it feel simply like a pawn of history, and not an element, which can decide. This blow tended to push people so that everyone acted on his own account.

There have been 10 million refugees, three million dead in the cyclone, a million dead by assassination, and another million handicapped. But the population launched itself forward with nothing. This indicated the will of triumph, which pushed them to use this affair for their own account. This activity already

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOVIET INTERVENTION

It is necessary to base oneself on this success of the masses of Bangla Desh. Even if there are not immediately organisational conclusions of the Workers State, or tending towards it, the economic measures will have to be directed in every way towards the construction of a Workers State. The revolutionary process has already begun, even if it still needs a leadership, and the organisms of the masses. There are embryonic forms of these. The Awami League is a bourgeois organism. But the mass intervened massively to overthrow Yahya Khan. The decided intervention of the Soviet Union provoked a complete change in the relationship of forces of South East Asia, a complete change. This means that the Soviets give their support to any movement, whatever be its religious or racial origin, which tends to show an anti-imperialist character, and which provokes difficulty for imperialism. This is the change in history. The Soviets are helping, even at the cost of the war! Before they would make an arrangement with the Yanks. Now on the contrary, even if they still partly continue this arrangement, they do not let the Yanks intervene any more.

This situation in Pakistan is going to impel the crisis in the communist parties, inside and outside the Workers States, because this taking of positions of

showed an elevated process of fraternity, of dignity, and of concentration corresponding to the Communist International. This does not come from Pakistan. Pakistan hasn't the means to produce such sentiments in the masses, such qualities. It is because the Workers States are there, because there is the struggle of the masses of France, of Italy, of England, the struggle of the masses of the Middle East, of Latin America, of Asia, of Africa. All these struggles communicate to the masses of Pakistan, who don't have the material means, the assurance for such a conduct and such a behaviour. It is not the political parties which have prepared the masses to behave in this way. Neither Sheik Rahman, nor Bhutto, nor any of them have prepared the population either politically or organisationally.

Nevertheless the masses acted like an organism, which is prepared, which has foreseen. Who has given them this force? It is the radios. Why could the radios transmit it in this way?

When they can do it, and they organise the will of people, it is because they already have the will to organise themselves in this way. There already exists an understanding, a decision, a social preparation, which succeeds in penetrating everywhere. They communicate, give and organise in Pakistan the will which is already existing, but which through lack of material means and organisms has not been expressed there. Nothing more. It is not the will of the people which is lacking.

When the most backward population in the world, as that of Pakistan, unites itself to the most elevated, by organising itself to decide the destiny of the country, it is because there is dual power. This duality exists already, even if the masses still don't have the power. They have not tried to solve their problems each one for himself, but they have intervened to try to weigh and decide as dual power. This is possible, because there is a concentration of will, of action, of thought of humanity, where the most advanced sectors are those which elevate the others, that is to say; the Workers States, the struggle of the masses of France, of Italy, of Latin America, of Africa and Asia.

the Soviets clashes with the French and Italian CPs. Brezhnev does not stop repeating: "I will not be indifferent to any situation, which might be a danger for the construction of socialism". These are declarations, which are addressed to the gallery. But Brezhnev is not able to speak to the gallery any more—since Khrushchev addressed himself to the gallery—now he must address himself to the masses, who are in the process of rising up. Brezhnev is beginning to reason in a partly revolutionary way, but without a revolutionary method. He reasons in order to suppress the capitalist system. With Bangla Desh he has taken a position, where he must confront the war. He must confront it! He confronted the invasion of one country by another, without fear of compromising himself, of internal disruption. The Soviet masses did not doubt for a second! The Soviet masses have an immense education! They are not going to stop at this!

The bureaucracy does not have the initiative, the continuity, the capacity of generalisation, to be able to utilise this situation. The masses are pushing it. There is a new situation in history. We must base ourselves on this, and intervene in the Communist Parties. From this comes our preoccupation to understand the whole of the problem. It is

not a question of one thing or another, it is a question of the whole of the problem.

The masses of the Middle East, of South East Asia, the masses of the world feel this Soviet intervention as a stimulation to intervene, and to make their revolutionary action more profound, or to go towards revolutionary action. These are not only the masses of Pakistan, but also the masses of the Middle East, of Europe and of the Communist Parties. The factors of revolutionary crisis are introduced and develop, because the tendency which, in the Communist Parties, is looking for the way to impel the revolution, is going to feel itself protected, impelled and sustained by the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet intervention is going to be a constant factor in the development of revolutionary tendencies.

This event of Bangla Desh marks a new and favourable ascension of the world development of the revolution, and is going to influence the crisis of growth of the communist parties, is going to force a tendency to push forward the revolutionary programme in the Communist Parties, and rapidly impel movements, backward as far as their origin and their character, as those of Bangla Desh, towards movements of a socialist character.

The measures which Bhutto is taking now of liquidating Yahya Khan means that his tendency is profiting in part from the reaction which exists to get rid of him, and in part from the fact that this

## INTERVENE IN THE CRISIS TO HELP THE WING WHICH WANTS A WORKERS STATE

One must wait to see what organisms are going to be established. At no moment did we say, there was a progress in the structure, that there was a structure superior to the previous one. This progress lies in the will of the masses, in their orientation, in the discussion.

We appeal to the Soviet Union and the CPs to support this process, the progressive role of the USSR does not diminish, but it cannot remain at the stage of the defeat of Yahya Khan's army. It must now proceed to social changes that will justify this war. Otherwise we would not support this process. For what reasons do we support it? Where are the changes? There have been none to date. On the contrary, they are setting up a whole manoeuvre to prevent this happening and the USSR is taking an indirect part in this. The Indians too are taking part in this manoeuvre. The USSR is not directly involved, she has not done anything, nor made a single declaration.

But she has not said "give the victory to the masses, and let the masses decide." The signs that announce that the Soviets are going to make better interventions are the meetings they are now holding in Moscow, this is certain. But it is necessary to pose that the unions, the Soviet masses, the masses in France, in England make an appeal to give power to the masses in Bangla Desh and not to hand it back to Capitalism, be it in East or West Pakistan. It is necessary to achieve social transformations, changes in the regime of property, nationalisations, distribution of the land, collective working of the land, planning of the production under workers control. One must make an appeal to the Workers States to intervene on this line.

There is an open process. The world conditions impel the USSR into giving support to the masses, impelling it to give a superior meaning to a war, which broke out through capitalist interests. How is this meaning expressed? It has not yet been expressed with organisms but rather in the will to triumph. It finds expression in the will to form popular tribunals, workers councils which decide. One must bear in mind the fact that the T.U.s are very weak in East Pakistan.

In this open process the main basis is the will of the masses to participate and decide in the organisms. The masses who have just been half crushed, who have undergone devastations are arising and recovering rapidly, setting out to reconstruct the country. No capitalist atmosphere and perspective can give such a will. There is a crisis, one must intervene in it, one must call for an intervention in the crisis to help the wing which wants to advance towards becoming a Workers State, towards measures of nationalisations, leading towards the

is necessary. And Yahya Khan understands it. They need a government which is capable of competing with Bangla Desh. West Pakistan needs to compete socially with Bangla Desh. The dictatorship has shown that it is worth nothing. Weapons don't only serve to kill, but also to show the uselessness of those who possess them. Yahya Khan passed from the massacre of 1 million people, to not being able to find support in a single sergeant. This guy who used to be so powerful before they liquidated him, killed millions of people by decree. They killed tens, hundreds of thousands of people before being defeated in Bengal. They killed everybody. They killed all the intelligentsia; the doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, all of them people of the left! It was not simply a question of the partisans of Mujibur Rahman. They were people of the left, known as wanting to create a new movement. It is an attitude of direct vengeance.

They forced Yahya Khan to resign instead of coming to an agreement with Bhutto, because they need to compete socially with Bangla Desh, to prevent that a real dual power is organised; a dual power with East Pakistan, and a dual power with the capitalist system. They have tried to contain, to stop, to alleviate the tension in a dispute so as to say: "There is only one Pakistan, but we are going to discuss, we can recognise you". They try to return to a previous stage, when the masses have already realised conquests, which they are not going to go back on.

Workers State. This is the correct position. The attempt to launch an inter-capitalist war has failed. One must criticise the CPs. They are wrong, they took a wrong position from the beginning and are still wrong. One must discuss in the CP how an inter-capitalist war can develop into a socialist revolution. Unite this discussion to the struggle for a united front in every country and at the same time develop a social, economic programme of planning and nationalisations. One must take into consideration these two fundamental points, to change the regime of property, a planning under workers control, related to the needs of the population is necessary. All these points must be included in the programme, what property regime? Who directs it? And above all show the unity between the revolution, the open process in Pakistan and the open process in each country—unite them! Discuss the similarity between these processes and at the same time unite the learning, the experience, which comes from Pakistan and the programme of local demands, discuss in the workers movement about the necessary programme, so that Pakistan develops this revolutionary process into a socialist revolution.

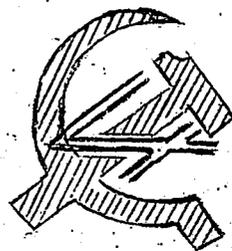
What the masses have already conquered in Bangla Desh, is that of feeling that they are capable of organising the country; of developing rapidly towards a Workers State, even if they begin with a reduced programme. They must not allow the capitalists to retake their places, that the landowners take back their land. It is necessary to decide on a land reform immediately, a programme of agrarian reform for East Pakistan, of nationalisations, expropriations of the big properties, to work them collectively, to make investments to transform the raw materials and develop industry. It is necessary to make this appeal to the Workers States.

West Pakistan threw itself into containing the revolutionary process, which is in process of developing in East Pakistan. In this sense, they can coincide with India, because they have the same fear. But they are at different levels, which prevents them from co-inciding, because the masses prevent them. The intervention of the Soviet Union also prevents any coincidence. The Soviets are forced to show that they have just given support to a progressive movement, and have not made a decision between capitalist powers. They are forced to make this policy, even though they give it a limited scope. They must show that they have come to support, not a capitalist progress but social progress. The social progress means economic measures of agrarian reform, the distribution of the land, the intervention of the masses.

This document will be concluded in the next issue.

# Workers of the World Unite!

# RED FLAG



AVENGE THE MASSACRE IN LONDONDERRY BY THE ORGANISATION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THROW OUT FAULKNER AND HEATH AND IMPOSE A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International denounces with all its revolutionary feeling, the massacre of 13 demonstrators and the wounding of many more at the Civil Rights demonstration in Londonderry last Sunday. This action is in line with the renewed bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. Imperialism, or Smith's massacres of the Zimbabwe masses, and it has the same objectives. British Imperialism hoped with this massacre, (executed by the 'Paras' the most murderous and degenerated sector of the British army sent specially to Londonderry from Belfast to do this task) to terrorise the Irish masses into submission, to pull together the different bourgeois sectors afflicted by doubts and pessimism about the future of British Imperialism, and to intimidate the masses of Britain, to halt the process going towards a general strike. It is no accident that this comes at the time of the miners strike, where the miners have used new methods and are attracting the support of other sectors, where factories are occupied and as a result employers like Fisher-Bendix have to abandon their closure plans, where the students have voted support for the miners and for the IRA. The bourgeoisie see the concentration of all the forces of the working class and exploited petit bourgeoisie against it and try to stop it by this massacre.

But in this stage of the world revolution, where there is Vietnam, where there is the advance of the revolution in the Middle East, where there is the process of the unification of the Trade Unions and political parties of the European workers movement, where the Soviet bureaucracy is forced to intervene more in support and defence of the revolution as in Bangla Desh, the masses receive these influences and are not intimidated. Imperialism has failed in its objectives, it has killed 13 people but it has not terrorised the masses. Immediately after the murders the organisations of the Irish masses issued resolutions of combat. The IRA said they would avenge the deaths by the shooting of more British troops, and more important the political organisations called for the General Strike. This is the response of the Irish masses and we salute it, and all the British Labour movement must support it and extend it to Britain.

This massacre is going to increase the crisis of British Imperialism. All the forces of moderation and conciliation in N. Ireland are going to have to take positions one way or another. The Church which in the past has attacked the 'gunmen' now comes out and denounces the army while the left wing of the Unionist Party threatens to split. It is going to have important consequences in the Labour Party, destroying the bases of conciliation and 'bi-partisanship' which the Wilson leadership still maintains and stimulating the left wing to put forward harder class positions in relation to Ireland. Similarly in the Communist Party it is going to stimulate a whole discussion about the 'British Road to Socialism', the role of the army, the necessity of the independent organisms of the masses, the workers militia, popular tribunals, soviets, the discussion on Lenin's 'State and Revolution', drawing practical conclusions from it. In all the class organisations in Britain and in Ireland, the right wing, conciliatory, pro-capitalist leaderships have received a blow from this massacre.

It is necessary now to organise a class vengeance against the bourgeoisie. We salute the action of Bernadette Devlin in physically attacking Maudling in parliament and above all for her call for a General Strike until the British troops leave Ireland. The British Labour movement, the L.P., the unions, the C.P. and the student movement has to take up this call and extend it throughout Britain linking it to their own struggle for T.U. rights, for wage increases etc. The situation now is entirely favourable for this, with the miners strike already providing a centre.

It is necessary to link together all the movements against capitalism in Britain, the miners strike, the occupations, UCS, the struggle against rent rises, for school milk etc. with the movement in Ireland, extending the General Strike in Ireland to the whole of Britain. And the objectives of this strike, apart from the immediate economic demands, must be the downfall of the Tory government and the imposition of a Left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme, and for Ireland the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the end to internment, and throwing out the Unionist government and its replacement by a popular left government of the workers and anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist organisations based on the T.U.'s the tenant's ctees the factory and area ctees. The British Labour movement must appeal to the British soldiers in Ulster "Don't fire on the masses, form T.U.'s, turn your guns on the officers, otherwise you will be smashed by the Irish and British masses." It is necessary to make an appeal also for the organisation of the workers militia in Ireland based on the T.U.'s and all the organisms of dual power which have developed, to defend against further massacres which Imperialism is preparing. All the organisms of dual power in N. Ireland and the workers political parties must discuss and put forward a programme for Ireland of provision of jobs, of houses, hospitals, and schools, etc. based on the expropriation of the banks and key sectors of the economy, expropriation and collectivisation of the big estates.

In the big factories in Britain it is necessary to organise at once discussions in mass assemblies, condemning this action of British Imperialism, taking resolutions of action through strikes and demonstrations, for the particular factory demands but linking it to the programme for Ireland. As Cde. Posadas the General Secretary of the IV International said, there is no solution for Ireland without the advance of the revolution in Britain. The two processes are one although the forms are different. The Irish struggle could not exist without the unceasing struggle of the British masses, while the struggle in Britain is encouraged by the development in Ireland. Now it is necessary to give an organisational and programmatic form to this unity. The general strike, with the programme of out with the reactionary bourgeois governments of Britain and N. Ireland and their replacement by popular left governments must be the response of the British masses to this crime. At this moment in the British class struggle the miners are playing a vanguard rôle, they have the responsibility and the authority to appeal to the rest of the class to support the Irish masses by strike action, and they must do this from their leadership and from mass meetings in all the mines. All the class, all the exploited masses feel a sense of profound anger against this action but this anger has to be scientifically organised into a national mass action.

This is the appeal we make to the British masses, to the L.P. and C.P. to the trade union and student movements. We also appeal to the world workers movement to make stoppages and discuss and make resolutions of protest. We appeal to the Workers States, the Soviet Union in particular, to the Soviet Communist Party and T.U.'s to help the Irish masses in every way, with appeals, with money, and with arms. In this way the massacre of Londonderry will be transformed into a powerful step forward along the road of the destruction of capitalism and imperialism and the construction of socialism.

Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T) British Section IV International. 31.1.72

THE ENGINEERING STRIKE, THE ADVANCE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE  
AND THE FIGHT FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST LEADERSHIP IN GERMANY

J. Posadas

24.11.71.

The crisis of the engineering industry in Germany has broken out because there is a crisis of the government. They may solve it, but there is a crisis. The engineering workers are on strike against the plan of the government which does not allow for wage increases of more than 4, 5, 6% and the workers ask for 11%. The trade union bureaucracy seeks a solution with 7%. And the management has justified the fact that it does not permit increases of more than 7% because the workers have secured increases <sup>for</sup> now and for later on. But the working class resists.

In this strike Spanish, Greek, Italian and Yugoslav workers have participated. All went on strike. It is the first time that in Germany foreign workers have participated massively in these movements. They have made themselves felt. There have always been sectors who have participated in strikes but a number remained as stragglers, did not participate or did not make a public display of support for the strike. Now yes! These mobilisations are an index of the state of maturity which exists. If not, the foreign workers would not be attracted. They can all be threatened with expulsion.

In the work contract it is not excluded that they can make a strike, but the factory has a thousand ways of throwing them out or giving them a mass of things to do. In other countries such as France, the right to make a strike and other conquests for the migrant workers are achievements which the communists made through the government. Also in the German workers movement the engineering trade union achieved a certain equalisation in the wages of foreign workers and the right to strike. And these trade union leaderships are bureaucratic.

This strike is going to be an impulse, a very great impulse to all the world workers movement of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the United States. Germany is the bastion of the capitalist system, as much as the United States. When in this bastion -- which has 20 thousand million reserve dollars to cure the ulcers of capitalism -- such a mobilisation takes place which attracts all the proletariat, which succeeds in achieving the support of the employees, technicians, engineers, of the executive personnel, which achieves the massive support of the foreign workers, it indicates a very great pressure to advance in the class and revolutionary struggle.

This pressure is expressed very clearly in this Socialist Congress, where the left arranged a new Congress to resolve problems of organisation and to liquidate the power of the right of the party.

This strike did not come as the consequence simply of particular circumstances. It was prepared by all the stimulus which the German engineering masses receive from the strength of the German proletariat and the world. What a stimulus they receive. For this reason the strike is so profound. And the management replies with a lock-out, because they see that the situation is very serious and they feel that if the German engineering workers win, it will act as a link with the rest of the class against them. And they see that it is a very great impulse for the masses which is going to attract the petit bourgeoisie. The Christian democracy is afraid that the triumph of the engineering strike could be an electoral stimulus which will attract the petit bourgeoisie of its own electorate.

Brandt has no interest in this aspect, but is also very much against the strike. It is necessary to realise that the triumph of the engineering strike can secure more votes from the Christian democracy but also increase the class pressure on the Social Democrat party for an anti-capitalist policy which compromises the alliance with the Liberals.

This is a crisis of the government, of German capitalism and also of the Social Democracy. It is necessary to intervene with all possible strength there. The crisis comes from within the Congress of the Social Democratic party but where it expresses itself most profoundly is in the engineering strike, because the workers make the strike at the expense of their own government and against their own government, against the plans of Schiller, Minister in charge of the Economy.

When they make a strike which imperils the action of the government, the policy of Ostpolitik, the policy of "bathers", (1) it is because the crisis is very profound. And the proletariat feels secure. The proof is that the left Social Democracy is making an appeal for a new Congress to resolve the problems of organisation which means to purge the right wing.

Germany enters into a stage of crisis, of intensification of the revolutionary struggle. It indicates that the policy of Willy Brandt seeking support in the Workers States has not given important results. It is against capitalism but not so as to contain the masses. The masses feel themselves stimulated to advance. Willy Brandt seeks to support himself on the Soviets against the Yankees, to be able to develop capitalism and to maintain authority in front of the masses because it comes from the Soviet Union. The masses say "Ah you come from the Soviet Union? This is good. We strike!" The proletariat draws a class conclusion. It shows that the 2,645 votes which the Belgian section won in the recent elections, when the only stood in Charleroi, did not come by chance. It shows a state of public opinion of the proletarian vanguard which attracts the rest of the class.

This situation in Germany means a very great crisis which is also going to influence the East German Workers States, because it is going to impel the proletarian vanguard to feel secure, to seek to support the strikes and to seek the support for the strikes from the other side. In consequence it is going to elevate the relations of the masses within the Workers State and facilitate their weight within the state apparatus.

The strike in Germany has a very great importance. The German proletariat in one of the most stable countries, launched itself against its own party. It is a repetition of the attitude of the proletarian vanguard of Britain which voted against its own party, secure that it was not going to be affected, but that it was going to win tomorrow. This is of very great importance. But in this case it is the German Workers State from the other side which is going to see that the problems are not resolved by Breznev and the policy of "bathers" but that the pressure and mobilisation of the masses will resolve them. This is going to impel the German masses to seek a policy more suitable to them.

If certainly the engineering strike has as an essential motive, the increase in wages, it is also posing the problems of more power in the factory, greater control in the factories. It shows the same attitude as the workers of the United States - a part, not all, of the North American proletariat but a part. The engineering workers take into account their own class interest and not those of capitalism, nor those of the Social Democratic government of Schiller and Willy Brandt. (Although Brandt is not involved directly). The government says that an increase which goes beyond 6% places in danger all the programme of economic stability. The proletariat does not care a damn and they pose as a minimum 11%. They demand 17% and lowered it to 11%. The management wanted to give 4% and went up to 6%. This is to say the workers demand 100% more than the management offers.

When the workers do not take into account the programme of Willy Brandt, it is because the bourgeois programme does not interest them. They see a continuation of what happened in the Social Democrat Congress; a socialist programme. They are recording "we vote for the application of the socialist programme!" If the government does not apply it the workers will. It means; it is necessary to improve the standard of living of the working class. In the Congress, they succeeded in a general way in increasing the taxes on the great enterprises. Schiller did not want to do this, he wanted to be able to maintain the rhythm of the process of accumulation of capital and reinvestments. The workers made the party accept in principle putting a tax on the great enterprises, that is to say capitalism.

In the strike all this process continues. And it is going to express itself in later struggles, in the youth of the Social Democratic party and also the communist party of the East German Workers State. It is going to mean an impulse for the advance of the revolutionary struggles in Germany and also

---

(1) This refers to the informal meeting of Brandt and Breznev on the Baltic coast.

a blow to all the capitalist system, Germany is one of the bases of the world capitalist system. It is necessary to make an appeal to the East German Workers State to support the strike with appeals for demonstrations, meetings, assemblies, wage increases, increases of workers control in the factories, nationalisations, planning of production, with trade union interventions on this base, to discuss to win for the rest of the world proletariat the same conquest from the fight which the East German proletariat has made and to extend this also to the rest of the West German proletariat.

It is necessary to appeal for a discussion which is not a blow "against the Social Democratic government" but at the bourgeois tendency of the Social Democratic government, - as was discussed in the recent Congress - against the bourgeois ministers of the Social Democratic government. This is important although it is not new in the German Social Democratic party. It is necessary to discuss it openly, to pose **IT IS A MEASURE AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS MINISTERS, THE CAPITALIST MINISTERS OR THOSE WHO MAKE THE POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE:** Schiller himself had to say that he was not going "to play the game of high finance". He was obliged to say this before Congress. This is to say that the German Social Democrats made quite a row about this.

It is necessary to insist on this discussion to help the proletarian vanguard push forward such an activity, to have all the support of the left, whether of the Social Democratic party, the communists, the young Liberals, and the Christian Democracy, to give them a perspective of political development, not simply increases of wages but seeing what orientation the government must have, To defend the management and the accumulation of capital, or to defend the workers for the increase of wages? It is necessary to make an appeal for the defence of the wage conquests of the working class, accompanied at the same time with conquests in the factories. Increase power in the factories! Not as they say the "day to day conquests" but control of the factories.

Undoubtedly such an appeal is going to alarm the Liberal ally, but it is going to attract the support of the petit bourgeoisie. There is no doubt about this. It is going to attract the support of the petit bourgeoisie, because in this way it is going to feel understood by the workers movement and it is going to be attracted to demand anti-capitalist measures. The petit bourgeoisie in Germany, as in other capitalist countries, matures in this form. It has to see that the proletariat is capable of having the resolution to confront its own leadership. Then it follows. If not, it doubts. The problem then is to show that the proletariat is capable.

Hence the electoral changes which take place in England, are a product of the activity of the Labour vanguard which has influenced the petit bourgeoisie. The frequent increase of votes of the Labour Party in by-elections is not due to the fact that conditions have worsened under the Conservative government, they are not much worse, but through the resolved attitude of the proletarian vanguard which launches strikes, mobilisations, and holds meetings. The proletariat showed that it is the one which orders and not the government. The proof is that the government still cannot make the anti-trade union law weigh.

The slogan of the Single European Trade Union Centre is not the central agitation and propaganda because it is not the moment for this. Agitation must be to continue full support for the engineering strike. From there it is going towards a superior level. If now we launch the slogan of a Single T.U. centre in Europe, we divert the centre, divert the objective and favour the forces which are opposed to the slogan and which can have a certain echo. But on the other hand, the strike is more difficult to oppose. Support to the strike is the objective. This attracts the bases so that afterwards it is possible to elevate the slogan. It is necessary to make a campaign of general propaganda, without posing at this moment the Single European T.U. Centre. At this moment support for the strike is the point of concentration. This is the tactical end. If the tactical measures do not lead anywhere, where do they lead? What is the objective? Is the objective the strike or the European Trade Union Centre? The European T.U. Centre is a general propaganda. On the other hand the slogan of agitation, the appeals, the discussions, the mobilisations, meetings, demonstrations, strikes must be to support the strike until victory, which then provides a superior basis on which to make the European T.U. Centre with the anti-capitalist programme.

It is necessary to make appeals to the Soviet Union, to the Soviet trade unions, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to make agreements with the German trade unions to support the strike. It is necessary to make a world

campaign of support for the strike of the engineers which is going to be an impulse to the left to defeat the capitalist wing which exists in the union and in the Social Democratic Party. Make an appeal to the Communist Parties of the Workers States and of the capitalist countries and to all the great trade unions to support this strike. Appeal for the United Front in Germany and throughout Europe showing the importance of the strike of the Engineering proletariat which is an immense impulse to the anti-capitalist struggle throughout Europe and the world, an immense impulse.

It is necessary to appeal for a united front in Germany in which our party can launch an activity in support of the strike, of the programme, of the increase of workers control in the enterprises and the application in certain sectors of measures of nationalisation. It is necessary to launch this struggle to support the formation of the left in the Social Democratic party.

24th November 1971. J. Posadas.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



Viva the 24 hour  
strike by the  
Engineering  
Workers in support  
of the miners

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 152 2nd Friday of February 1972 PRICE 3p

## To prepare for the General Strike construct the organisms of dual power, the factory committees, strike committees, workers area committees, to unify the miners strike WITH THE STRUGGLE IN IRELAND

The miners strike is now entering a critical stage. The combativity and confidence of the miners is now even greater than when the strike began, the support from the British working class is complete, and the strike is finding extensive international support. But this in itself is not enough to ensure a victory, for the same existed for the post office workers, but their struggle was defeated. What are still lacking as they were in the post office strike are the constantly functioning strike committees, meeting each day, discussing the progress of the strike, organising the pickets, organising all the local support. These committees would act as a stimulus and support to the left sectors of the leadership of the NUM, and would be able to carry the strike on, if the leadership should capitulate. We appeal to the vanguard, the base, to the middle cadres to push ahead with the construction of these committees in the shortest possible time.

The ruling class is preparing a counter-offensive, using the police, using the Army using all the means at its disposal to break the miners strike, not just because it can't afford to give in from an economic point of view, but above all from a social point of view; the effect on its social authority. Therefore the strike has to be strengthened in order to reply to this. The leadership of the NUM feel that they have a historic responsibility that they are moving towards a situation which has revolutionary implications, and they hesitate; draw back and lose time, allowing the bourgeoisie to organise its forces better. The ruling class hope to be able to win this confrontation due to the weakness of the leadership and the absence of a real organised control over it by the union rank and file.

The miners demonstration of the 6th of Feb. expressed both the strength and the weakness of the miners strike. The fact that it was organised by the LP and that Benn spoke bringing the solidarity of the party was important as an expression of the way in which this strike is stimulating sectors of the LP leadership to take up left positions, and is imposing changes within the LP. The presence of delegations from other workers sectors, expressed the will of the rest of the class to make a conscious use of the miners strike to impel the anti-capitalist struggle, even if the TU leaders from these other sectors only expressed support in a limited way. The delegation of miners from Belgium whose visit was organised by the IV International had a fundamental importance; it is the first expression of active collaboration in a demonstration of British workers and it clearly acted as a tremendous stimulus to the miners, it is an indication of the way in which the struggle has to be fought if it is to be won. But the glaring failure was the failure of Lawrence Daly, with all the force which that meeting represented, to say anything concrete about the development of the strike, without making any appeals to other sectors to extend the miners strike into a general strike. There was an expectation in the meeting that new initiatives would come from Daly, but he spoke for ten minutes and said nothing. The miners shouted "don't sell us out." A priceless opportunity to address and appeal to the workers vanguard, the labour vanguard, the students, was allowed to go past. The miners vanguard must

draw certain conclusions from this meeting: not that Daly is a vicious bureaucrat who is certainly going to betray the miners, but that Daly subjected to pressures from the right of the executive of the NUM, from the TUC, from the right of the LP, from the Coal board and the government, lacking a marxist understanding of the world process of the revolution, not having full confidence in the ability of the miners, is likely to seek conciliation rather than launch the struggle for the general strike, which will have revolutionary implications.

What conclusions have to be drawn by the miners vanguard from the speech of Daly? What organisational measures flow from this conclusion? First and foremost that it is necessary to strengthen the organisation at the base of the union, to make committees as we have stated above. The miners vanguard must base themselves on the experience given by the Irish masses in their struggle against imperialism. The Irish masses have been sustained by the influence of the world revolution and the struggle of the British masses, but how is this influence concretely expressed? It is expressed by all the committees which are functioning in Bogside, in Belfast, in the working class areas, committees which organise the rent and rates strike, which administer justice and the administration of the area. This is the strength of the Irish masses which has permitted them to withstand all the terrorism of British Imperialism; the collective sentiment, the socialist sentiment of the masses expressing itself in organisational forms. This is what the British miners must do making the miners areas into "Bogside" but with a more elevated political functioning where committees involving all the population function and organise all the tasks.

But it is not sufficient for the miners just to copy the experiences of Ulster they must consciously link the two struggles. The objectives of the two struggles are the same even though the form is different, they are part of the advance of the masses in their struggle against capitalism; and capitalism understands the historic importance of both these events. The miners must issue appeals for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, for the end of internment, putting forward a programme of production for Ireland, of house building, of jobs, of provision of education and health services, based on the nationalisation of the

banks and insurance companies and the key industries without compensation and under workers control. This is going to make the strike weigh and influence more the masses of Ireland who will see the direct support of the British proletariat, will see that the proletariat is capable of solving the problems which capitalism cannot and has no interest in solving. They will feel the British proletariat, through the miners, as a leadership of society, and the wide sectors of the exploited Irish masses, who are not in the trade unions, who are non-proletarian sectors, will gain in confidence. It is necessary also to make concrete links, sending delegations of miners to Ireland to make contact with the organisms which have been formed there, exchanging experiences, setting up joint committees, preparing to meet by concerted action, any new offensive of the bourgeoisie either in England against the miners, or in N. Ireland.

Now a state of emergency has been declared which will permit the bourgeoisie to use wide powers to try to break the miners strike. They are going to present the miners, as they did before with the power workers, as the sub-humans condemning old people to die because of a lack of heating. It is all a lie of course; all the time old people are dying in poverty, without the money to buy fuel. The miners must not just say that it is a lie, but show concretely that it is, by themselves organising the distribution of fuel to old people, hospitals, and any other establishments that the miners decide. This will not damage the strike, on the contrary it will have a powerful social effect, attracting more support. But to organise this, there has to be the continuous functioning of committees.

The appeal by the Kent miners leader that everyone should "down tools on the day of the lobby" is very important, and is an attempt by the middle cadres of the Union to substitute for the passivity of the leadership. This appeal has to be supported by all the class to make a 24 hour general strike on Feb. 15 as a means to prepare for the unlimited general strike. The unlimited general strike is still on the agenda, but in the absence of appeals from the miners leadership, the lack of initiative of the other

TU leaders, it has receded a little. It is clear that what is needed is the greater level of organisation, of the base, the factory committees, the strike committees, the workers area committees, mass assemblies, February the 15th the day of the lobby, must be made into a day of mass assemblies, of discussions of the national and international situations, and the election of committees for the organisation of the unlimited general strike.

British imperialism is preparing to repress, it has no other way to confront the advance of the class, be it in Ireland or in Britain. The massacre in Derry is in line with all the actions of British and Yankee imperialism in the last months; the bombing of North Vietnam, the 10 per cent increase in the US military budget, the terrible massacres in Bangla Desh, the shootings of the Zimbabwe masses. US imperialism sees the advance of the revolution, sees that the soviet bureaucracy is forced to intervene to help these revolutionary processes, sees that its army is disintegrating in Vietnam, and the US working class is advancing towards the formation of a class political party. Nixon's visit to China, which still, as Cde Posadas has analysed, is a project which may never be realised, because the pressure of the world revolution on the Chinese leadership may well prevent it, does not alter the counter-revolutionary intentions of US imperialism.

The vanguard must be conscious of this; that capitalism is going to try to solve its problems through repression and war. Londonderry and the increasing police attacks on the miner pickets are indications of what is to come. But in this world situation where there are 16 workers states, 16 revolutionary states, the big struggles of the workers of the USA and Western Europe, capitalism and imperialism cannot be strong. British Imperialism is losing its social base of support, as the petit bourgeoisie is radicalised by the world revolution and the struggle of the British proletariat. Even the Young Conservative conference calls for a political solution to the problems of Ulster, while the Unionist party is on the verge of a split with the formation of a new party,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

### CORRECTION

The headline which appeared above the Editorial in the last edition of Red Flag called for a Left Labour Government on a Socialist programme. This is an imprecise formulation, because "Socialist" can mean as it is used by the right wing sector of the leadership of the Labour Party, no more than the most superficial tinkering with the capitalist system. It is true that the vanguard begins to use socialist with its true meaning, a programme which goes against capitalism, suppressing it and putting superior social and economic forms in its place. We call for a Left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme, a programme of nationalisations without compensation and under workers control. This is precise and unambiguous.

We make a self criticism before the Labour, Communist and T.U. vanguard for the error which occurred in the headline and resolve not to let similar errors go in future.

Continue the campaign for the physical safety and release of  
the political prisoners in Lecumberri jail, Mexico

# From the capitalist war in Pakistan towards the Revolutionary States and the construction of the Workers State

J. Posadas 21-12-71

This is the second part of the document entitled "The end of the war between India and Pakistan, the accentuation of the disintegration of Imperialism and the new demands on the Workers State." This title was devised before the correct title was received from the International Secretariat.

## THE NEED FOR THE IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS STATES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES THE TRADE UNION CENTRES AND ALL THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT WITH A PROGRAMME OF HELP TO STIMULATE REVOLUTIONARY MEASURES IN BANGLA DESH.

The Bangla-Desh masses have already acquired the feeling they are capable of organizing the country, of developing it rapidly, of advancing towards a Workers State, even if they start off on a limited program. The capitalist must not be allowed to settle down again, the landowners to recover their lands. It is necessary to take the immediate decision of an agrarian reform, of a program of agrarian reform in East Pakistan, of nationalisations, of expropriations of the big estates, which will be exploited collectively, of investments to transform the raw material and to develop the industry. This appeal must be made to the Workers States.

West Pakistan has set itself out to contain the revolutionary process, which is advancing in East Pakistan. In this respect they can agree with India, as they share the same fear. But they are at two different levels, which prevents them from agreeing, because the masses are there to prevent them from agreeing. The Soviets' intervention also prevents them from agreeing in any way. The Soviets are compelled to show, they have come to support a progressive movement, and not a sharing out between capitalists. They have to make this policy, even if they give it a limited issue. They must show, that they came, not to support a sharing-out between capitalists, but a social progress. And social progress entails economic measures, such as agrarian reforms, land distribution and the intervention of the masses.

It is necessary to make an appeal to all the communist parties, to the whole of the workers' and revolutionary movement, to all the Trade Union centres, to all the C.P.s of the Workers States, that they launch a world campaign demanding a program of reforms in East Pakistan: distribution of the land to the peasants, exploitation of the land through co-operatives with the financial help of the Soviet Union, economic agreements with the Workers States, collectivisation of the big estates both in East and West Pakistan; a planning of industrial production, the development and transformation of raw materials into industrial material to be consumed in the country itself, a planning which will be of direct advantage to the country; it is necessary to discuss an immediate project to develop the country: disinfection of the water, drinking water, electricity, sanitation equipment, protection against cyclones, against floods and against earthquakes. The essential concern of this program must be protecting the poorest sectors of the population.

The Trade Unions must intervene in the economic, political and social life of the country. It is necessary to organise people's militias, popular tribunals and forms of soviet functioning. As there are no important parties, organisms or trade unions, we cannot decide of an elevated functioning in the mass organisms, but we can imple them to attain this object; with the functioning of organs of dual power, of district and zone commissions, of factory commissions, of school and hospital commissions linking up all sectors of the population to decide on the right policy, on the distribution, and on the measures to be taken. Work should be organized in the form of communes. The whole population must work and build roads, canals, septic tanks and must disinfect the whole country. And at the same time these commissions must have political discussions. They must elect delegates who will make up a government, which will carry out what the population decides in permanent assemblies in the districts, in the zones,

where they work, in the country, in the factories, in the offices etc. The government must represent this will. Revolutionary parties must be organized, whatever their number be, at the one condition that they defend the revolutionary progress in Bangla Desh, and that they express the desire for an independent life in order to achieve this task.

It is also necessary to make an appeal for the unification of the whole of India, including Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan. All these countries must be unified into one country, by the centralized planning of the economy, and thus find a solution to the problems of languages, of nationalities, of culture, seeking to simplify, and to concentrate them instead of multiplying them, and increasing the differences. A whole campaign of education should be launched to show that cultural and religious differences are due to the absence of a centralized functioning at economic, cultural and revolutionary levels. If humanity tends to concentrate on science, why not here? Some people say: "Science is a whole, art is a whole" ...but "There are many religions." Why? Why must there be many religions? What must above all be discussed are the preoccupations of the masses, and not God, Mahomet, Christ or Siva. One must seek to discuss the organization of all cultural problems; and show that they are the consequence of the capitalist system's organization. It is capitalism, which has bred such a culture, such religious beliefs and divisions. A campaign must be made in relation to this. But it must be coupled with a huge work to centralize the production, of training, of commune-functioning, of development; everybody should intervene in the production, in the instructions, in the sharing-out, so as to clear away the mysteries of the economy, and the mysterious relationships between nature and society; and this is going to suppress the mysteries of religion and the religious divisions. The Workers States must intervene in all this. Those are the measures it is necessary to take.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the constitution of one single State between India, Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan. One must demand from the Workers States that they intervene and help economically West Pakistan with food, clothes, conveniences, housing, construction of bridges and roads, and the drying up of swamps. The whole population should intervene and be sure to get food. All the population must intervene, participate in the plan constitute itself in communes, so as to grow and produce what is necessary to their subsistence and to make tools. But the commune is a backward form of organization, when the Workers State are rich enough to make the commune unnecessary. It is no longer necessary to go through such an antique and inflexible stage; the Workers States must give their help, and this includes the Chinese. Instead of going through a stage of organisation in communes, the Soviets must give all their help, and they must pay the most elevated and sustained form of attention to Bangla-Desh. The communist parties must have the pre-occupation of such an activity, and so must the nationalist revolutionary parties.

One must criticize all the moslem movements, which are going to try and exploit the religion of the arabic world against the development of the revolution in Bangla-Desh. One must demand the withdrawal of the Indian troops, but let all the popular militias keep their arms in Bangla-Desh. It is necessary to maintain these forms of militias. It has been

reported that the militias have surrendered their arms. Lies. One can also see how very few arms the Indians gave. They were just as concerned as Yahya Khan, with not giving arms to the population. Those miserable wretches of Indian military left their arms in the

hands of those who had just assassinated thousands of people, whereas they took them away from the population. They went on killing. They did this with a class interest. This miserable and murderous attitude of the Hindus must be condemned.

## THE MASSACRE BY CAPITALISM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS IN BANGLA DESH IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE MURDEROUS BEHAVIOUR OF IMPERIALISM IN PREPARATION FOR THE WAR.

It is necessary to set up popular tribunals, to judge all the murderers and wretches, who murdered all the intellectuals—500 in their reports, but in reality certainly 1000. They selected all the intellectuals and then murdered them! Just the same behaviour as the nazis had! How can we remain silent over this? No, everything must be brought out into broad daylight. This was the reason why the Hindus did not come into Dacca! There was an agreement between the Indians and the Pakistanis, to have all these revolutionary intellectuals murdered, so as to prevent the masses from intervening. One must demand that the masses intervene! That they set up popular tribunals! Workers' councils and workers' committees to nationalize the main sources of production! It is not possible to permit such things! It was a collective murder! Imperialism is showing through this attitude that in the next war it will seek to murder all the revolutionary leaderships! It is not going to be interested in the public good! But it is going to try to murder!

It is necessary to draw from this experience a conclusion on the behaviour of capitalism. Capitalism will seek to destroy human intelligence, all the cadres, the leaders, the teams which will construct the new society, and more particularly the leaderships of the workers' movement, and the political and revolutionary leaderships of the proletariat. One must denounce all this and set up immediately popular tribunals to condemn all these murderers. The Indian army must retire and leave all the arms in the hands of the popular militias. The Soviet Union must guarantee this measure, and all the Workers States give their help immediately. It is the best investment they can and must make. All the Communist Parties must give their support to this measure, they must make appeals to the world workers and revolutionary movement to condemn, to sanction and to penalize all these murders.

It is necessary to open a discussion in the world revolutionary movement to show that the leaderships in the Communist Parties have been incapable of understanding this process, and have only considered it as an inter-capitalist war.

What was the position of the Communist Party? It did not foresee the course of history; it remained detached from it. It does not rely, it does not take advantage, and it does not base itself on the contradictions of the capitalist system, on the inter-capitalist antagonisms to develop the revolution. This is what Lenin and Trotsky did; this is what we, the Posadists, do: we base ourselves on this quarrel to develop the revolution. These events are mobilizing the masses, millions of workers, of peasants, of students, of military men, and are launching them in the struggle. And on the way, they are influenced by revolutionary ideas, by the revolutionary positions and process. We base ourselves on this process of influence, and not on a process of passivity and stillness. And from this basis the conclusions are glaringly obvious.

It is necessary to discuss why the Communist Parties have had an erroneous policy in Pakistan, why they are not making a self-criticism. Their policy was "Peace." ... "Out with the army" and we said "Out with the armies. No. Support the revolution. Transform the war into a revolutionary war. Appeal to the Soviet army to support this process; appeal to India also; "The Communist Party was saying "we want peace". We want peace, but who is going to make peace triumph. Capitalism can't. Therefore we have to use the forces aroused by the controversy, by the conflict, by the contradictions, by the competition between capitalists to develop them into a revolutionary war and into a socialist revolution. The communists took a position of disengagement and from there analysed the situation. We are not de-

tached, all our interest lies in the triumph of the revolution.

But if the revolution does not burst out yet, if it has not yet opened out in Bangla-Desh it is bound to make its effects felt elsewhere. The blows were dealt at East Pakistan; But it is in West Pakistan that its effects are felt. The measures taken by Bhutto, which of all evidence are against the capitalist system, help him to protect himself against the influence of Bangla-Desh. The youth in Dacca does not want to surrender the arms it has, even in exchange for promises. "We have triumphed with these arms and we are going to advance further with these arms." They are keeping their arms. They wanted to set up immediately popular tribunals and to kill all the wretches in West Pakistan. The Pakistanis assassinated 500 intellectuals in Dacca, doctors and technicians. They had them liquidated. They behaved as the nazis did, and tomorrow during the atomic war they will behave in the same way. They will liquidate the organized intellectuals.

But in West Pakistan, they have been compelled to take measures, which affect the structure and the functioning of the capitalist regime. Bhutto even speaks of forming militias and of taking socialist measures. He does this because Bangla-Desh has a huge influence. He tries to contain this influence, to give new justifications to the unity and to maintain his power. Why didn't they take these measures before. Bhutto himself was part of Yahya Khan's government, which wanted to win the war and to crush Bangla-Desh. It is the same Bhutto. Why has he changed. What was it that impelled him to do it. It is the revolutionary impulse and stimulus of the Bangla-Desh masses. Effective revolutionary measures have not yet been taken, but great changes are in preparation in Pakistan.

Bangla-Desh has immediate reciprocal effects on the other Pakistan. Now Bhutto and his government try to contain these consequences and to bring themselves up to date. They once tried to answer by assassinating, by killing a million people, but in spite of all this they were driven out. As Bhutto has a certain interest in the development of the interior market, he must fight against a whole medieval structure, and can take these measures.

In Pakistan it is the masses, who, arms  
CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Editorial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
left of centre, opposed to all the repressive policies in Ulster. These are barometers of the deep social crisis of Imperialism which at the same time show how favourable the conditions are for the anti-capitalist struggle.

It is necessary to put an end to this period of repression, stagnation, unemployment which the capitalist system has caused. How to come out of this stage and enter the next more advanced one on the road to workers power? It is by means of the unlimited general strike, to get rid of this government, and replace it with a left labour Government on an anti-capitalist programme, a government which will bring back the troops from Ireland, close the internment camps, give all support to the workers and popular movement to finish with the Faulkner regime. But to make this general strike, and to form a basis of active support for the left labour government, ensuring that it carries out the anti-capitalist programme it is necessary to push ahead with the construction of the organisms of dual power; the workers area committees, the factory committees, the strike committees, mass assemblies etc., with proletarian democracy and political discussions. This is the immediate urgent task.

## From the Capitalist War . . .

in hand, represent the popular will. This is democracy. The other democracy, is represented by Bhutto, who first stood at the side of Yahya Khan, to kill and to massacre the masses of Bangla-Desh. Now Bhutto seeks an agreement, because the masses of Bangla-Desh have trumped over all those he had sent, and because their influence is starting to impell the masses in West Pakistan. Bhutto is taking rapid and hastened measures without any previous preparation. Once the prime minister of a murderous government, in which he pulled the trigger, he is now making reforms. The fire which advanced towards him was very hot and he tried to stifle it. This was why he accepted to become prime minister; he continued making war, and threatened to make an alliance with imperialism and with the Chinese to crush the course of the revolutionary process in East Pakistan. He failed. Where does democracy stand? On the side of those who used to say; "Out with the foreign armies." or on the side of those, who said "Transform the war of capitalist origins into a socialist and revolutionary war." It is the latter which expresses democracy, because it is concerned with the needs of the exploited masses.

East Pakistan is having a decisive effect on West Pakistan. Bhutto was part of the government which assassinated millions of people. And he used to approve this policy. He was the prime minister of a murderous government. For eight years he was the prime minister of such a government. He came to Yahya Khan's government to carry out these assassinations, and to defend his caste interests. But he had to change on the way. He was compelled to change. Who compelled him to change. It is the action of the masses, who advance in their will to establish a popular government; a popular government means: a program of nationalisations, the sharing-out of land, the elimination of capitalism, taking-hold of the land, and suppressing all those murderers, of the Malik type. They must be liquidated, not out of revenge, but to make the necessary cleaning-up. They were all of them murderers. Bhutto supported all the murders in East Pakistan. Then why is he changing now, so quickly, on the way? He's get-

ting rid of all the filth he used to carry yesterday. Why? He is doing all this so suddenly; without any discussions, without any reasoning and without any political life. Why? because the fire is catching up with him. Because the masses in West Pakistan, witness what is going on in East Pakistan, and are going to want to do the same. In 1965 this kind of attitude was already taking shape. It was to check this process that they made the coup in 1965.

The communists have no understanding of this course of history. They do not understand that it is possible to impell the contradictions between capitalist countries, between semi-colonials, which have certain basis that go against capitalism, and that it is possible to make these bases weigh, as in Pakistan, and to give them the forms of a popular revolution on a socialist basis. In this first stage Bangla-Desh proclaimed a socialist program, with socialist measures and objectives; now they are hiding all this. They seek to make all the bourgeois tendencies weigh against the tendencies of the class.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the Workers States, so that they intervene to impell the socialist move, which expressed itself at the beginning of the war, because it is in that direction that the masses in Pakistan intervened. One must set up a program of social and economic transformations, of nationalizations, of planning of the production; one must organize workers' councils, distribute the land, organize socialist co-operatives, have the guarantee that the State will buy the production, and obtain help, fertilizers and a technical assistance; the big estates must be expropriated; they must be exploited collectively; plan the production through a process of transformation of the raw material for local consumption; structure the communes, appeal to the Workers States, that they intervene; plan the society and give it an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy. This program had been partially put forward in Bangla-Desh. Then India came and stifled it, as a conclusion to the agreement they made with the Yankees and with Pakistan. It is not the USSR who put a check to this program.

only going to change titles of the books and prevent the bourgeois from listening to Mozart and Beethoven and from eating in luxurious restaurants. This new cultural revolution is an integral part of the political revolution. The Chinese see that the Soviet bureaucracy has at the moment a policy which leads it inexorably to seek alliances with the revolution. The Chinese bureaucracy feels threatened. Hence the virulence of their reaction. They react with virulence because of the threats it feels. The Chinese break, all of a sudden, with all the teams who yesterday were their allies. They hastened to make this interview with Nixon. They seek an international support for their home policy. As they do not find this support in the revolution, they look for it in imperialism. This shows how this bureaucratic team feels deeply, seriously

threatened, not only at the home policy level, but also at an international level, by the policy which the Soviet bureaucracy is forced to follow.

The reactionary attitude of the Chinese has favoured the Soviet bureaucracy, in the conflict in which they were opposed. Moreover the Soviet bureaucracy has an attitude much closer to the necessity, although it still remains bureaucratic and incomplete. However, it is necessary to pose that such a policy cannot be carried on any further. China and the Soviet Union—two Workers' States—are to the eyes of the masses in conflict. This is a blow dealt at the revolutionary unity of the masses of the world, and the possibility to influence the north-American masses—because this situation enables Nixon to maintain a political authority over the petit bourgeoisie.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN BANGLA DESH SHOWS THE NEED FOR A WORLD UNITED FRONT OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES TO SMASH CAPITALISM.

The Soviets must appeal to the Chinese government and Communist Party to discuss publicly on the problems of Pakistan and on the way to resolve them.

They must—as the IV International has suggested impel a public discussion to support East Pakistan, popular militias and the programme which we defend in this text. On this basis it is necessary to discuss. It is necessary to appeal for a public and world discussion showing that it is bureaucratic interest which determines the position of the Chinese and in part of the soviets. Thus the soviets should make an appeal to all the masses of the world. On the other hand the soviets have used the reactionary policy and counter revolutionary policy of the Chinese to benefit from the political dispute with the Chinese, not to elevate the world communist movement objectively to make it weigh in the capitalist world. Certainly in a very attenuated form the leadership of the soviet communist party also deserves our criticisms because it has not made such criticisms and must now make such appeals. It is necessary to appeal to the Chinese communist party, to the Chinese masses, to the communist masses of the world, to the masses without a party to discuss the experience of Pakistan, showing that whatever the problems of culture, backwardness, languages, geography, national independence which capitalism cannot resolve through the means of private property, capitalist policy, capitalist concentration, can be resolved via planning, via socialist measures. It is on this basis that it is necessary to appeal to the Chinese to discuss and to make a WORLD UNITED FRONT OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES with unconditional support to every revolutionary movement in whatever part of the world. Whatever movement in which the masses revolt against capitalism, against imperialism, support it unconditionally with every type of economic, military, material aid! As they do with Vietnam. This is the appeal which it is necessary to make and this is the discussion for which we appeal in the world communist movement.

The masses of Bangla Desh show; this is our programme. What programme? Distribution of the land to the peasants, anti imperialist policy, support to the anti imperialist struggle, planning or a beginning of planning on the anti capitalist programme. We cannot be neutral before this, nor submit ourselves to formal speculations on demo-

cratic rights or on the rights of a country or the struggle against the war. We are against the war when it has capitalist ends. But we are for the war when it develops into a socialist revolution. The false position of the communist parties stems from a false conception, an absence of marxist criterion. On the other hand they apply criterions of adaptation, determined by regional interest the bureaucratic interest of each party. This goes against the progress of history and the revolution, because there is a progress of the masses of Pakistan who on the basis of an inter capitalist war develop it into the socialist revolution. Then it was contained and blocked but the will of the masses was to intervene with this. Hence such a programme. They are seeking how to smash the tendency which is trying to liquidate the programme.

It is necessary to demand of the workers states and the communist parties that they support this tendency with a public discussion, assemblies, demonstrations throughout East Bengal with an appeal to West Bengal to make an anti imperialist and anti capitalist programme, as was formulated in the beginning in East Pakistan, with the direct intervention of the masses in assemblies, demonstrations, meetings, to nationalise, plan the economy, hand over the land to the peasants, develop in the form of co-operatives, the great agrarian properties, plan production, nationalisation of the banks, development under workers control, and a full political life of all the masses with the effect of developing the formation of the political organisation of the masses and the trade unions; intervention of the trade unions, peasants, workers, professional workers, organisation of popular militias. The forces who defended East Pakistan were not the Indian army, but the militias. Without the will of the masses of East Pakistan, the Indian army could not have won. It was the will of the masses who endured a million assassinations, the assassination of a thousand engineers, part of the professional team of East Pakistan. This was allowed by the Indians, because it was the essential base of the formation of the revolutionary party. It is necessary to denounce this and to appeal for the settlement of accounts, that the masses establish tribunals to hang the assassins and apply the programme which we propose.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

### THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY POLICY OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN BANGLA DESH AND THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

It is absolutely necessary to criticise the Chinese. They are leading a counter-revolutionary policy. One must show that this policy is erroneous and appeal to all the Workers States for a discussion. One cannot talk of the problems in Pakistan, without putting forward the necessity for a public discussion in the world communist movement, on the Sino-Soviet divergences. These divergences are the result of a bureaucratic conception, of a bureaucratic life led until today, because of regional interests, and which prevented both Workers States from agreeing to support a process, which advances from the conditions of a capitalist regime towards a revolutionary process.

The policy of the Chinese Communist Party is going to be condemned by the whole world communist movement. This policy tends to express the interests of a political bureaucratic layer, which is afraid of the world course of the revolution, and seeks a refuge in national interests. The Chinese C.P. is compelled to support Vietnam, Korea, but it does this as much through geographical interests as revolutionary interests. In supporting Vietnam, the Soviets support more revolutionary interests than geographical interests.

They help ten times more than the Chinese. The policy of the Chinese tends to separate the world interest of the revolution from their own interests as a state. They do not consider the Workers State, but the "State", as having its own interests. In the United Nations the Chinese have developed a reformist policy of adaptation to the capitalist system.

The Soviets' policy is nearer to the necessity. They intervene in an inter-capitalist conflict by supporting a sector which has impelled the process, a movement which has liquidated the previous power of military dictatorship, which represented partially the land-owners and Yankee imperialism. The Soviet policy has enabled the intervention of the masses; and the masses are now going to prevent any attempt at restoring the previous regime's policy. The popular intervention of the masses is now going to introduce a form of guerrilla, some form of popular power, of dual power.

The masses have smashed the dictatorship, which had assassinated a million people, so as not to yield the power to those who had won the elections with 90% of the votes. The Chinese supported these assassins. They stood next to the Yankees against a popular government which sought to expell capitalism. Bengal is a disorganized country. One must organize it, and this is not possible with a capitalist structure. A dual power is going to be established inevitably, from the very start.

The Chinese support Yankee imperialism and Yahya Khan who are against this. They are not preoccupied with the objective process of the revolution, but only with their own interests. They defend bureaucratic reactionary interests, they defend Stalin and the interests of a bureaucratic state. Their interests are reactionary. And their policy is counter-revolutionary in relation to Pakistan. The Chinese oppose militarily the progress of the masses' struggle in Bangla-Desh, where the masses tend to establish their own organisms to solve their problems; who was going to solve these problems, if not the masses? Were these problems going to be solved through a war or through Yahya Khan's policy and dictatorship? The struggle took this form, for there was no real revolutionary organisms. One had the war as a situation that was going to impell the revolution towards a better form starting from the present situation. In the absence of organisms of a previous organization, of important trade-unions, of popular organisms of functioning, this form of struggle was the most favourable to compete with the capitalist system. The Chinese opposed this struggle and supported Yahya Khan's dictatorship under the pretext of respecting neighbourly relations and the borders. This is all lies! The borders are the same as before. The Chinese defend reactionary interests when they give this support to Pakistan, and counter-revolutionary interests when they support militarily Yahya Khan. They are ready to support the counter-revolution in order to support their own interests as a reactionary bureaucracy.

The Chinese bureaucracy realizes it is going to have to face in a very short time a cultural revolution, which is not

### Resolution in support of the political prisoners in Lecumberri

#### LABOUR M.P.s

**DENOUNCE ASSASSINATION PROFESSOR BARRARIA THREATS TORTURE POLITICAL PRISONERS LECUMBERRI, APPEAL TO YOU GUARANTEE PHYSICAL SAFETY RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS MEXICO. SIGNED LORD FENNER BROCKWAY and LABOUR M.P.s ARTHUR LATHAM, BOB EDWARDS, SID BIDWELL, FRANK ALLAUN, ALBERT BOOTH.**

#### MANCHESTER BAKERS UNION

That the MANCHESTER District Board of the Bakers Union deplores the acts of terrorism employed against the communists, trotskysts, socialists and trade unionists by the police "falcons" in Lecumberri prison in Mexico. We deplore the assassination already carried out and the obvious intention to assassinate more of these political prisoners. We demand the release of all political prisoners in Lecumberri.

#### L.P.Y.S. BEDFORD

We, the Bedford Labour Party Young Socialists, denounce the assassination of Professor Pablo Alvarado Barraria in the prison of Lecumberri and the provocations directed against the political prisoners. We also demand the immediate physical safety and release of all Communists, Trotskyists, Trade Union militants, Revolutionary Nationalists, Students and Intellectuals now imprisoned in Lecumberri.

#### L.P.Y.S. GOOLE

A similar telegram was also sent by Goole L.P.Y.S. and the Mineworker International.

#### HARROW ANGELA DAVIS DEFENCE COMMITTEE

We the Harrow Angela Davis Defence Committee denounce the intimidation of the Communist and other political prisoners in Lecumberri and we demand their immediate release.

# From the Capitalist War . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

It is necessary to discuss in the communist movement the false policy, the counter revolutionary policy of the Chinese, to show that such conduct is going to push them inevitably to the side of imperialism, when there is a movement as in East Pakistan which on the basis of an inter capitalist dispute can develop into the socialist revolution. This is the discussion which it is necessary to develop, to demand of the world communist movement a common planning to intervene in all this process which is going to be repeated, in Latin America, or Africa. What matters is not the origin of the war but how to transform it into the socialist revolution.

It is necessary to discuss a process which begins on the basis of the inter capitalist contradictions and develops into a revolutionary movement. Lenin intervened in such a process. Lenin inaugurated this stage in history. The Commune of Paris also. The

Commune was such a situation, a war, a defeat of French capitalism and the comrades said "you are defeated but we, no"! The experience has existed for some time. The origin of the conflict is of no account. What is important is how to develop it. Then the slogan is not to withdraw, for the troops to go, but to intervene to develop the revolution. There is the strategy and the tactic. This comes from the epoch of the Commune, from the I International. This is the strategy and the tactic. This is the policy of peace. The essential basis of the policy of peace is to smash those who provoke the war, to deprive those of power who provoke the war. There is no other way to achieve peace. This is the policy of Lenin, the policy which it is necessary to follow. This has to be discussed in the world communist movement the workers states have to agree to plan among themselves economically, socially, politically to push forward such a policy.

ships which learn on route the revolutionary solution, the socialist solution. East Bengal is advancing and leaping by stages. All this is going to be expressed in the Arab world. The visits of Gretchko to Syria, Iraq, Somalia takes place because they are preparing themselves for the war. It is not a courtesy visit or only one of political support. This is all included. It is to make the Yanks feel that they are not going to do as they want, that the soviets are going to stop them.

The process in Bangla Desh is going to be the norm in the development of wars and revolutions in the backward countries.

It is necessary to intervene in the process of West Pakistan which is one of the most powerful bases for a very elevated revolutionary impulse. It is not necessary to take it as one more struggle but as an example of the will, of the decision of the masses who show revolutionary dispositions and resolutions of a very elevated order in spite of the very backward conditions of life, economically and socially. The state of spirit of humanity is such that it takes any event as a means of progressing to change the economic and social structures of the country and to intervene as a leadership in the form of militias, of popular tribunals of political leadership.

That was the level which it was possible to attain, a level more elevated than Indira Ghandi or even the Soviets. However the soviets show that they push and impel progress through movements of this nature. They were limited by their interest in not confronting the Yanks directly; however they did confront them. The Yanks were the ones who were defeated.

The masses of the world have seen that the Yanks were conquered in Bangla Desh. It is humanity which has conquered the Yanks in Vietnam and extends this victory now to Bangla Desh. Tomorrow it will do this everywhere. The masses of the world transmit among themselves; communicate among themselves directly the revolutionary will. That as a result shows the weakness of imperialism and the power of the revolution, although the will might not have arms or material means. This power can show itself under whatever form: soviet aid, military or political position of the Soviets.

intervention of the Indians. The latter defend their own interests but for that reason they have to contain, Yahya Khan and prevent a greater deterioration. All the plans of Imperialism are defeated by the masses in Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and equally in Pakistan.

Ten million refugees meant a terrible weight for India. Indira Ghandi sent them back from fear that they would make the revolution in India. These ten millions are a constant ferment of social dissolution of capitalist power. These people are going to find in every way the means to live.

We reiterate that the norm, the fundamental conclusion of Bangla Desh is that the masses, the ten million refugees have not felt themselves to be disorganised, destroyed and have on the contrary sought to weigh, ten million refugees who do not possess the means to live and have to feel themselves content with the single fact of living, have not weighed on the rest of the population as negative elements, destroyers, demoralisers but as elements to stimulate combat. The Yanks and the stupid Yahya Khan counted on a feeling of defeat of the masses, they believed that the masses are going to remain quiet. The soviets did not think in this way. It is a good index of the fact that the soviets seek to understand better the movement of the masses. Indira Ghandi acted under the pressure of the soviets, without them she would have done nothing of what she has done.

It is necessary to make an appeal for a discussion throughout the world workers movement, communist, left catholic, left nationalist; the workers states must weigh and decide in the development of the movements of these countries, in the organisation of the programme and the activity. It is necessary to discuss in the world revolutionary and workers movement the application of a programme of aid and development of these countries. It is necessary to discuss the consequences of the war of Bangla Desh; a war can begin from an inter capitalist dispute and develop into a socialist revolution. It is the intervention of the masses which gives a social content to the conditions which exist to develop this struggle, under the form of revolution-war-socialist revolution.

J. POSADAS, 21.12.71.

## BANGLA DESH IS A NEW TENDENCY IN HISTORY. The DEVELOPMENT OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS IN BACKWARD COUNTRIES WILL POSE THESE NEW FORMS.

These new tendencies in history do not change the course, the tendency of the permanent revolution but confirms it. It has another form of presentation, as was Torres. Now there is this process in which the soviets intervene in a war of the capitalist countries. Being an inter capitalist war the base of one or other has sectors which were not capitalist, leaderships and objectives which were not capitalist. It has annulled the essential factor of the strictly reactionary counter revolutionary war. This capitalist war contained a process which en route is going to express itself. It is a new tendency in history. The soviets intervened in Finland and Poland in 1940. But they did not do this. They did not raise the masses to power. They impelled bourgeois tendencies, and they confronted the peasants in Finland.

Here, no. The soviets stimulated the defeat of the structure of the capitalist system. This process is not finished. But it advances on the road. It is a new tendency in history. They are obliged to stimulate new leaderships in history. This is the most important aspect in the history of Pakistan. This is

going to have an influence on all South East Asia, because it provides the norms and the line on how problems are to be resolved. It is necessary to expropriate and centralise the economy, private property resolves nothing. Hunger and misery continue as before. This is going to be discussed, in Iraq, in all the Arab world. The influence of the Muslim sectors of Pakistan is not going to be continuously Muslim. It is going to discuss throughout the Arab World. There are sectors as in Algeria which criticise the intervention of the troops. But within a little time, criticism is going to be silent and support will emerge.

It is necessary to intervene in East Pakistan. It is a new tendency in history. It is not an organic tendency which bases itself on centralised principles and movements. Hence it expresses itself in this way. The world revolution orders itself because it is giving principles, knowledge, orientations, verification of the advance of the process of the Revolution. Then the movements accumulate, centralise elevate the revolutionary capacity of the masses, of leader-

EXTRACTS OF A RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. WHICH WAS WIDELY DISTRIBUTED INCLUDING AT THE VAUXHALL FACTORY AT LUTON

## Avenge the massacre in Londonderry by the organisation of the General Strike to throw out Faulkner and Heath and impose a Left Labour Government on an Anti-Capitalist Programme

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International denounces with all its revolutionary feeling, the massacre of 13 demonstrators and the wounding of many more at the Civil Rights demonstration in Londonderry last Sunday. This action is in line with the renewed bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. Imperialism, or Smith's massacres of the Zimbabwe masses and it has the same objectives. British Imperialism hoped with this massacre, (executed by the 'Paras' the most murderous and degenerated sector of the British army sent specially to Londonderry from Belfast to do this task) to terrorise the Irish masses into submission, to pull together the different bourgeois sectors afflicted by doubts and pessimism about the future of British Imperialism, and to intimidate the masses of Britain, to halt the process going towards a general strike. It is no accident that this comes at the time of the miners strike, where the miners have used new methods and are attracting the support of

other sectors, where factories are occupied and as a result employers like Fisher-Bendix have to abandon their closure plans, where the students have voted support for the miners and for the IRA. The bourgeoisie see the concentration of all the forces of the working class and exploited petit bourgeoisie against it and try to stop it by this massacre.

But in this stage of the world revolution, where there is Vietnam, where there is the advance of the revolution in the Middle East, where there is the process of the unification of the Trade Unions and political parties of the European workers movement, where the Soviet bureaucracy is forced to intervene more in support and defence of the revolution as in Bangla Desh, the masses receive these influences and are not intimidated. Imperialism has failed in its objectives, it has killed 13 people but it has not terrorised the masses. Immediately after the murders the organisations of the Irish masses issued resolutions of combat. The IRA said they would avenge the deaths

by the shooting of more British troops, and more important the political organisations called for the General Strike. This is the response of the Irish masses and we salute it, and all the British Labour movement must support it and extend it to Britain.

This massacre is going to increase the crisis of British Imperialism. All the forces of moderation and conciliation in N. Ireland are going to have to take positions one way or another. The Church which in the past has attacked the "gunmen" now comes out and denounces the army while the left wing of the Unionist Party threatens to split. It is going to have important consequences in the Labour Party, destroying the bases of conciliation and "bi-partisanship" which the Wilson leadership still maintains and stimulating the left wing to put forward harder class positions in relation to Ireland. Similarly in the Communist Party it is going to stimulate a whole discussion about the "British Road to Socialism," the role of the army, the necessity of the independent organisms of the masses, the workers militia, popular tribunals, soviets, the discussion on Lenin's "State and Revolution," drawing practical conclusions from it. In all the class organisations in Britain and in Ireland, the right wing, conciliatory, pro-capitalist leaderships have received a blow from this massacre.

It is necessary now to organise a class vengeance against the bourgeoisie. We salute the action of Bernadette Devlin in physically attacking Maudling in parliament and above all for her call for a General Strike until the British troops leave Ireland. The British Labour movement, the L.P., the unions, the C.P. and the student movement has to take up this call and extend it throughout Britain linking it to their own struggle for T.U. Rights, for wage increases etc. The situation now is entirely favourable for this, with the miners strike already providing a centre.

It is necessary to link together all the movements against capitalism in Britain, the miners strike, the occupations, UCS, the struggle against rent rises, for school milk etc. with the movement in Ireland, extending the General Strike in Ireland to the whole of Britain. And the objectives of this strike, apart from the immediate economic demands, must be the downfall of the Tory government and the imposition of a Left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme, and for Ireland the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the end to internment, and throwing out the Unionist government and its replacement by a popular left government of the workers and anti-imperialist organisations based on the T.U.'s the tenant's committees the factory and area committees. The British Labour movement must appeal to the British soldiers in Ulster "Don't fire on the masses, form T.U.'s turn your guns on the officers, otherwise you will be smashed by the Irish and British masses." It is necessary to make an appeal also for the organisation of the workers militia in Ireland based on the T.U.'s and all the organisms of dual power which have developed, to defend against further massacres which Imperialism is preparing. All the organisms of dual power in N. Ireland and the workers political parties must discuss and put forward a programme for Ireland of provision of jobs, of houses, hospitals, and schools, etc. based on the expropriation of the banks and key sectors of the economy, expropriation and collectivisation of the big estates.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

## Manchester

PARTY CENTRE

WE INVITE SYMPATHISERS, LABOUR AND COMMUNIST PARTY MILITANTS, TRADE UNIONISTS AND STUDENTS, TO CALL THERE BETWEEN THE TIMES LISTED BELOW, FOR DISCUSSION AND TO OBTAIN OUR DOCUMENTS.

THE CENTRE WILL BE OPEN

Monday 4 pm to 9 pm, Wednesday 2 pm to 5 pm, Friday 5 pm to 8 pm  
THE ADDRESS IS:

ROOM 6, 39 LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER, 3.

Near Victoria Station

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 153 4th Friday of February 1972 PRICE 3p

Page 2:

The elections in  
Uruguay & the devel-  
opment of the class  
and revolutionary  
struggle —  
1-12-71 J. Posadas

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

## The rebellion of Northern Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership & the struggle for Socialism in Britain 6-2-72

### INTRODUCTION

We salute with all our revolutionary passion this fundamental intervention by Cde Posadas on the significance of the confrontation in Londonderry and the orientation for the revolutionary vanguard in both Britain and Ireland.

The massacre in Londonderry was the organised response of British imperialism to a situation, which has passed way beyond its control. And the result has been nothing but progress for the revolution in Ireland, and encouragement for the vanguard in this country to take power. In the same way the massive scale of the massacres in Bangla Desh did not deter or discourage the masses. On the contrary it was imperialism which sustained defeat. As Posadas says N. Ireland is a Vietnam for British imperialism. And the victory of Bangla Desh sustained directly by the intervention of the Soviet Union has had a direct influence in Ireland, encouraging the development of all the anti imperialist and anti capitalist currents.

The principle weakness in struggle of the British and Irish proletariat to liquidate imperialism is the tendency for this struggle to be waged in separation. Posadas has always affirmed that the struggle of the Irish masses would not have been possible, but for the persistent fight of the British proletariat to overthrow Capitalism. What is required is a common programme to unify the struggle. As yet there is no fundamental recognition in the existing organisations in either country of the need for a common centralised struggle. Ireland cannot

be united and socialist, independently of the overthrow of imperialism in its "home base". This has to be recognised and acted upon by the workers organisations in Britain and Ireland.

The limitations of the present leaderships were all shown in relation to Londonderry and the recent miners strike. Both situations demanded an elevated response, the launching of a general strike with the object of replacing the Tory government with a Labour government free from its right wing and with a programme, which includes the immediate withdrawal of British troops, release of all political prisoners, end of internment etc. This is not to deny that occasional appeals or general support may not be given by one or other organisation, but there is no existing leadership which sees the unified nature of the struggle, and the need for consistent appeals for the application of the anti capitalist programme.

Without question there is a growing consciousness of the need for marxism in the various Irish organisations in the "official" and "provisional" sectors of the IRA, the Peoples Democracy, Civil Rights, in the trade unions and the labour and communist parties, but still no full consciousness of the actual level of the world revolution, the fundamental role played by the process of partial regeneration in the Workers States, the imminence of the final encounter. Hence the element of separateness, hence a failure to see that neither emphasis on the social struggle of the Irish masses or the "military" aspects of the struggle are sufficient, or can substitute for

repeated appeals to the British proletariat and their organisations. The line of "separation" is due in part to underrating the spirit and capacity of the British masses, and seeing only the ineptitude of the conservative leaderships.

In this respect we sharply criticise the ineffectual response to the Irish revolution of the Left in the Labour Party. Nothing of any importance has been done apart from general condemnations. There is still a sector which sees direct rule from Westminster as a reform!! All this present absence of dynamism, absence of programmatic response is due to years of political mediocrity, isolation from marxism, submission to the requirements of one of the most monstrous apparatuses in the world. But this is not the true spirit of the British masses, who would respond to a campaign of meetings, resolutions, general strike action at the correct moment in relation to Ireland, if this were organised by a determined conscious leadership. To continue to confine activity to Parliament as these Labour MPs are doing, is to show an utter misunderstanding of the level of the struggle.

We appeal to the LPs, Trade Unions and CPs of both Britain and Ireland, the SDLP, both wings of the IRA, the Peoples Democracy, the Civil Rights movement etc. to base themselves on the document of cde. Posadas, to adopt the

line of a united front of all these organisations on the basis of the anti capitalist programme, placing emphasis on the need for the extension of the functioning of the independent organisms of the Irish masses—one of the historic gains of the struggle in the last period—for a workers plan of production, for the nationalisation of all key industries under workers control, for the expropriation of the land, and its development under collective methods, with the perspective of a workers and small farmers government, a united socialist Ireland etc.

And we make an especial appeal to the Irish MPs at Westminster to Bernadette Devlin, MacManus etc. to direct themselves consistently at the revolutionary vanguard, at the Labour Party continuously using Parliament as a tribune to address the British masses on every issue, to impel the new middle cadres in the LP who will form the new leadership. In this way basing themselves on the line of Posadas, they can play a historic role in accelerating the fusion of the struggles of the British and Irish masses. Out with British troops. Release all political prisoners. An end to internment.

Long Live the revolutionary struggles of the British and Irish masses for a socialist Britain and Ireland within the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. Viva Posadas.

## The labour vanguard must discuss the conclusions of the miners strike in order to impel the expulsion of the Right Wing from the Labour Party

*This massive victory of the English masses through the miners strike is going to profoundly affect the course and tempo of the class struggle in Britain throughout the next period. A new phase is marked in the revolutionary ascent of the masses and the rapid decline and disintegration of the British capitalist system, it's effects reinforce the world relationship of forces that made this possible, they impel the security and consciousness of the European and world proletariat and stimulate the process towards an increasingly useful intervention of the Workers States and Communist Parties in the world revolution. The Labour and Communist vanguard must consider these conclusions so as to see how to advance further.*

This settlement, that the miners may or may not accept, it is not clear yet, is a very important social blow against the bourgeoisie; it has to conciliate with the power of the masses. In this strike the miners advanced as far as was possible with the present level of trade union leadership only because they had the security, combativity and consciousness that comes from the whole world revolution, the advance of the revolution and the disintegration of capitalism. The masses in this country in the present stage do not have the organisms or the marxist revolutionary leadership to advance in a more conscious and organic form, but they have the favourable situation to advance that the world process determines. Hence the process takes the form of strikes, the level of trade union demands, in spite of the anti capitalist sentiment and consciousness of the vanguard that makes it a funda-

mental blow against capitalism. The settlement was the lesser evil for capitalism because to make a hard confrontation with the miners would have precipitated the general strike and their own ultimate downfall. On the other hand to conciliate and pay up means opening the door to more massive wage demands and struggles. It is in the general line of imperialism to choose the military tactic of confrontation, as it does in Vietnam and Northern Ireland, because it has no social, economic or political support or solutions, but in this case it buys time because the workers are united and are attracting petty bourgeois sectors who were previously the prime source of fascist and strike breaking gangs, as in 1926. The whole of the masses intervened to support the miners in one way or another. The feeling of capitalism was clearly shown by the re-

Everybody intervenes in the demonstrations in Ireland. British Imperialism is besieged, besieged from inside. There is "interior entrism" and an internal siege.

In the Newry demonstration of today there must have been a whole quantity of people to whom it never occurred to do such a thing in their lives before. And 50,000 people went. Such a quantity have mobilised! It is the world effect of the revolution which has succeeded in producing such a demonstration, which tore to pieces such an apparatus of repression. It was a nazi apparatus. A whole apparatus as in Vietnam; planes, helicopters, assault cars, tanks. All of it was organised to intimidate and kill as they already killed. And yet 50 thousand go. Who put them all in contact? It is not an organisation which puts them in contact, but the world revolution, the decision of the masses in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in Africa which puts all these people in contact. It is not the leadership, neither Bernadette Devlin, nor the other leaders, it is not them. Without doubt they exert an important function, their intervention has an important effect. But who puts 50,000 people in contact? It is the will to want to impose, by means of struggle. It is world dual power. This demonstration is an expression of this. The tanks are there and the children go on walking around as if there was nothing there, without worrying, as tranquil as they could be.

The demonstration of today in Ireland is very important. It is a people who since a year ago don't have any religious problems. It continues to have religious problems, but now they are secondary. Now the essential problems are social. More than the religious problems, there are social problems. And the social problem is "Who commands here." And more than "who commands here" is "go to the devil."

The masses are going to feel this demonstration as an immense triumph. There have been demonstrations in support of the Irish masses in Australia and in the United States. It shows the world coordination of the revolution, the authority which the world process of the revolution which has no leadership, has. But it has directives; "It is necessary to change this. The people have to lead. We are against going on being terrorised. We want freedom. But freedom means solving the economic problems, resolving the problems of society, and resolving the prob-

lem so that non-one wants to oppress anyone else. This is in the sentiment of people. Now it is in the sentiment of all the people and this is why the children are incorporated. There are children of 5 years old! All these jokes which were made against the trotskysts saying "They are exaggerating, a child of 5 years old cannot be..." Now there you have it! And the old people of 100 years old. They go back to when they were younger, they renew their energies. This is the revolution.

In Ireland it is not just a question that sectors are frightened by the Irish children. There are these sectors which feel inferior and the Irish child feels powerful because he sees the world. It is not the local relation of forces which determines such a brave behaviour of the Irish children, and the fear of the British military, but that the army feels demoralised, made inferior. It is a whole process of disintegration of the morale

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

# The elections in Uruguay and the development of the class & revolutionary struggle

J. Posadas

1-12-71

The elections in Uruguay have shown two things; first of all that the process in this country is not mature enough to win electorally, but that it may be achieved in the course of time; and also that the pressure of the masses has been huge, because the official score of 280,000 votes for the Frente Amplio, is huge. Up till today, the opposition has at best collected 70,000 votes. Today, the votes have quadrupled. No movement in the world has ever achieved such a feat. None. Apart from the revolution, nobody is capable of such achievement. Only the revolutionary tradition and struggle can make such results possible, can enable the acquisition of such an electoral force, when we consider that socially it is ten times stronger. No other movement can do this, least of all the bourgeoisie. What can it offer to multiply its votes by four? An increase in salaries, a promise of work? It has nothing to give. With the bourgeoisie, everything is turned into lies, including the elections which were a fraud.

The bourgeois press itself recognizes and denounces the fraudulent character of these elections. A number of ballot boxes have entirely disappeared, others were fixed beforehand. It is quite certain that the Colorados were the losers, and that the Frente Amplio collected far more votes than announced. Without asserting that it might have won, we say ten thousand votes were stolen from it. This is another demonstration of the bourgeoisie's weakness; how it has nothing to give, how it survives through lies and frauds.

The bourgeoisie can offer nothing, it can't offer a better life, more elevated relationships, the respect of peoples rights, justice, a real democracy. The electoral fraud is a demonstration of this. The revolution succeeded in quadrupling its votes, because the masses saw in the centre, that the Frente Amplio embodied, a possibility of obtaining what the bourgeoisie was incapable of giving them. This is what happened with the Popular Union in Chile, which went from 36% to 50% of the votes, a result which represents a social triumph ten times bigger. In Chile, moreover, it was a presidential election, not a legislative one, which signifies a much deeper social division.

The forces of the opposition are four times stronger from the electoral point of view, but again socially they are ten times more superior. The bourgeoisie is well aware of this, when it ends its editorial with the statement. "this announces great social struggles". Why? Why do they write this if it is the bourgeois parties who have won these elections? Two bourgeois candidates triumph with 70% to 75% of the votes. Then what sort of triumph is this, if they now have to prepare themselves for the confrontation of "great social struggles?"

Here lies the real meaning of these elections. The votes are far from representing the social will and the 280,000 to 300,000 votes for the Frente Amplio reflect a huge will to struggle, which is rapidly going to attract, and lead the rest of the population to seek a solution outside the electoral framework.

## 300,000 VOTES: A TRIUMPH FOR THE FRENTE AMPLIO IN URUGUAY

This social base, because of its strength, shows the capacity it has to attract the rest of the exploited population. This triumph of the "Frente Amplio" has been obtained in less than eight months. At the beginning, the communists even stood against it, because they based themselves on an analysis established in relation to an electoral perspective and to its conclusions. The analysis was not related to the necessity of organising a movement capable of smashing the monopolism of the bourgeois parties, which would give a perspective to attract the exploited masses. The C.P. did not know how to act; it did not know where to go, nor did it know it was possible to approach another non-bourgeois movement, which although it was non-communist, was of a popular nature. Such a movement was going to enable the smashing of the monopoly, and to stimulate a future elevation. It was in this sense that from the very beginning, our arguments went against the communists.

It was necessary to create the conditions, to find the means to make use of the process so as to attract hundreds of thousands of people, workers, peasants, office workers, petit bourgeoisie. It was necessary to draw them into the electoral struggle, to pull them away from the bourgeois policy, and to attract them to the workers' camp. It was easy to see that this was possible by observing the

The Frente Amplio will remain a pole of attraction for a fraction of the population, which will be at least 20% more than the number of votes which it received. Only the revolution has the capacity to do this. Apart from the revolution, no movement can have such a capacity of social attraction. The revolution attracts socially, because it alone can respond to all the problems, no capitalist government can do this. We are the only organisation to have the preoccupation for this type of analysis.

Contrary to what some have said, the problems today in Uruguay, after these elections, cannot be expressed in terms of armed struggle. The time has not yet come for the armed struggle in Uruguay. On the contrary, it is now the time for the Frente Amplio, which must act as such. If it does not respond, then the trade unions, the Communist Party, the P.O.R.(T) The Uruguayan Section of the IV International, the socialists must act as a united front of the class. This slogan, which our party has put forward — mainly in relation to the C.P. — before the elections, bears today all its significance. A United Class Front inside the Frente Amplio; this is what must be done.

The Frente Amplio must pursue its intervention, and show that the 280,000 to 300,000 votes it obtained, signify a huge powerful social basis, capable of attracting all the rest of the population. Therefore the trade union activity after these results, must aim for the conquest of organs of dual power. One can't turn to the armed struggle now, that is to say after an election in which the anti-capitalist opposition was a minority. One must show how the basis which supported it, electorally, can bring about infinitely more, socially. It is this basis that must be won, through the trade union struggle, in the districts, on the thousands of issues that exist. These are the reasons that necessitate a united front of political agitation to seize in the streets what the laws will never give. This is how the armed struggle must be prepared.

degree of trade union struggle, the stoppages of work, the demonstrations and particularly Liber Arce's funeral day, the constant agitation over Vietnam, against imperialism, for Cuba, for Chile whose triumph had aroused a huge echo. All this showed that the conditions existed to attract electorally a social basis, to keep it away from all capitalist influences. This is what happened. This is the significance of those 300,000 votes.

The fact that the anti-capitalist opposition went from 70,000 votes for the communists, and socialists, to 300,000 votes, indicates that quite an important class movement is breaking from its dependence on the bourgeoisie. This is going to weigh on the other sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie, workers, office workers, military men, who still expect a solution to their problems. When there is such a shift of votes from one election to the next, when such a social basis is snatched away from the bourgeoisie, it is because the situation has matured, the reasons for this are not national, they are international. It is the world situation that expressed itself in these elections and particularly Chile.

These results show that the defeat of Torres in Bolivia has provoked no disaffection, no capitulation. The masses were neither afraid nor terrorised. They understood that it was a defeat brought about by a lack of capacity to organise the struggle. If it had been a defeat pro-

voked by the incapacity of the masses and by the superiority of capitalism, the social effects on Uruguay would have been important. Nothing of the sort happened. The counter-revolutionary attempts were defeated in Chile and in Peru. In Argentina, Lanusse has to flirt with ideas that bring him nearer to the left, the same in Brazil. And now in Uruguay the left obtains such an electoral support! One must realise that in the past, the communist and the socialists never gained more than 2% to 4% from one election to the other. In 25 years they went from 30,000 to 60,000. And today, they go from 70,000 to 300,000 votes! All these votes were not communist, but they went to the communists. Besides we are convinced—although we do not have concrete figures at hand—that the communists increased their number of votes.

We do not know, at the time we are writing this resolution, the number of votes obtained by our party, the P.O.R.(T) the Uruguayan Section of the IV International. Independently of the number of votes we collected, the intervention of our section has already shown that the proletarian vanguard seeks to concentrate itself, to impel sectors of the workers' movement, which it does not yet control. To do this it needs ideas, a programmatic orientation, which cannot be found in the communists. Did the communists not base themselves on

## CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE TO THE VICTORY

Seregni's declaration on the day after the elections is important. He made the following statement quite rightly; "You can't make a revolution in eight months — which was the amount of time we had to triumph; we are going to continue the struggle to victory. A revolution on the march cannot stop half-way. We are going to advance." This optimistic feeling has nothing to do with elections. It has been produced by the behaviour of the people.

The role played by our party was to clarify things. We intervened as an agitator to elevate the consciousness, to organise revolutionary preoccupations thus producing a huge effect inside the Front. In this sense Seregni's declaration follows the line given by our Party, and not the C.P.'s line.

Whereas the communists still made everything depend on electoral results, our Party was appealing for a class front, that is to say an intervention in the elections coupled with the organisation of the activity outside the elections to seize all the conquests needed by the masses. It proposed a programme outside the elections, and made an appeal to maintain the independent activity of the class. All this is going to find a great echo, as part of the process going on in the whole of Latin America, which is influenced by the world revolution and particularly by the campaign of the world masses to overthrow Yankee Imperialism.

The defeat expresses itself in Vietnam, with the desertion of soldiers, in their way of voting "with their feet". The soldiers in Vietnam also vote with their hands and fists, to kill the reactionary officers, to win others and to desert with them. Therefore it is not a reaction against officers as such, but against the reactionary ones, for some of the soldiers now go as far as to denounce the massacres ordered by imperialism, and to demand the demotion of some high ranking officers, to oppose the plan of systematic assassination in villages where before they even shout "Hands up everybody."

By voting for the Frente Amplio, the masses have voted for a programme of opposition to capitalism, of nationalisation, of agrarian reforms, of bank nationalisations, of the monopoly of foreign

## THE ACTION OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND THE CLASS FRONT

To exercise this influence, it needed the authority given by an independent class action. If the C.P. has accepted the united class front with us, it would have obtained far more votes than it did, and so would the Frente Amplio. At least 50,000 more votes. One must condemn the refusal of such a united front. The elections in Uruguay moved to the left.

The votes for Ferreira Aldunate are

and make references all along the campaign to Artigas? Now Artigas has nothing to do with the present situation.

The masses vote without thinking of Artigas; but they thought of Vietnam, Cuba, Chile, the Bolivian masses, the general strikes in Argentina. This is what impelled them to vote. The communists did not make a campaign tending to elevate the revolutionary level of the masses electoral behaviour. And if in spite of this they gave their support to the Frente Amplio, it is because they are influenced by the world revolution and by the activity of our party. The masses voted neither for passivity nor for Artigas, but for the struggle on a revolutionary programme.

If the Frente Amplio had launched a campaign that was more focussed on the revolutionary objectives, it would have exercised an even wider attraction. The proof of this is that Ferreira Aldunate, candidate for the Blanco Party, in order to collect votes, had to run as a reformer who wanted to reform partially the structure of the capitalist policy. He did not mention a change in the economic structure, but political changes, which show that to attract the petit bourgeoisie, one must make this kind of policy. He obtained 390,000 votes, whereas Bordaberry, whom they present as the winning candidate, only got 320,000 votes.

trade. If the programme still remains limited it nevertheless proposes a series of anti-capitalist measures, which, if applied, inevitably lead to a series of other measures to make them efficient. It is a programme, which was supported massively by 300,000 votes, because of measures that are close to Huerta Grande and La Falda. Even if they are bourgeois nationalist programmes, they affect the structure of the capitalist system. This is why neither Peronism, Peron nor the bourgeois Peronist leaders claim this programme, which would bind their hands. To apply this programme, would inevitably lead them to go against capitalists.

One must consider the conclusions of these elections in Uruguay, as an example of the Trotskyist activity. We did not intervene to win votes, but as a "public good" of history. Our party made a class agitation, by linking up the electoral campaign with the class anti-capitalist programme, developing the capacity to show in what way it was an anti-capitalist programme. People voted for this programme, and this explains why Seregni made such a declaration. He did not say "we have lost these elections, we must wait for the next time." No. He said "This revolution advances." If he had felt that the defeat came from too openly left-wing declarations, then he would have made the opposite declaration. He understands that the huge number of votes obtained for his name (a number which surpasses the number of votes obtained by Ferreira Aldunate) signifies a strong shift to the left.

Capitalism is scared stiff. The masses aren't, this is where the defeat of capitalism lies. It is an election against the capitalist system; and this is expressed as much by the votes for the Frente Amplio as by the votes for Ferreira Aldunate. It is the first time in history that the masses feel attracted to smash the capitalist monopoly, to vote for a programme that goes beyond its limits, beyond the political issues, beyond the programme of parties who defend the capitalist system. It is in this perspective, that one must measure the influence of our action, of our party, which intervened consciously, seeking to influence on the basis of a revolutionary programme and not to obtain votes.

neither on the right nor in favour of capitalism. If you add his votes to the votes of the Frente Amplio, the number represents nearly half the electorate. One must reckon with this. It shows the capacity it can still have. It is an experience of an organism combining a series of petit bourgeois tendencies coming from capitalist parties with the workers parties, and finding in such a short time a huge echo, exercising a

# The elections in Uruguay . . .

huge influence. One can elevate this experience much more by carrying on the struggle for the Frente Amplio's programme.

One must make an appeal to the trade unions, so that they go on playing the role they had during the electoral campaign. One must impel the struggle through the trade unions with a programme which elevates the participation of the masses, and the organisation of the united trade union-party front (the parties of the Frente Amplio) including our party. This is the way to obtain what the electoral line could not bring about.

The Frente Amplio must neither stop nor consider itself as defeated. There has been no failure. The masses who voted for Ferreira Aldunate and for a series of other candidates have been far from voting in support of the capitalist system. They sought in this way to solve the crisis, the unemployment, the high cost of living. It is now they realise this was not the right way. For this reason the Frente Amplio must carry on its campaign, its actions, and must also organise a class front. The masses will also seek in their trade unions, in the united front in the workers parties what they could not seize electorally.

The masses did not vote for a government which increases the cost of living and unemployment, which represses democratic freedom. They vote to solve these problems, and thought this was the right way. But at the same time, and for the first time in history a front is created to smash the monopoly of the capitalist parties. All this is going to have an impact in the following period. The masses are witnessing for the first time the existence of a powerful front capable of attracting them and leading them on. They did not see just a tiny communist party, but a powerful front which is going to go on being a pole of great attraction for the petit bourgeoisie, for the peasant masses and for the proletariat.

These elections show the degree of

depth and importance of the crisis of structures in the capitalist system. Hence their ambiguity and their fraud, which now appears in broad day light. This explains the slowness in the counting of the votes. The crisis is between the bourgeois candidates and the system as the masses see it. There is no possibility for the government settling in, whatever its tendency, to continue with a policy of repression. It would be absurd. The 300,000 votes for the Frente Amplio are going to weigh with all their force, as they were not able to do before. Today, it is possible because the monopoly of the two bourgeois parties has been smashed.

The P.O.R.(T) has developed a most important role, to educate and to elevate the consciousness of the masses, to show that the solution did not lie in electoral results; that the elections were only a means of agitation and propaganda, and that it was necessary to continue the class action. Hence its appeal to make a class front to maintain the programme and to struggle for its application through non-electoral means.

The turn over of such a number of votes in favour of the opposition to the governments capitalist policy is a result of the advances and development of the world revolution, which found an electoral expression there. The masses were attracted by the agitation, the propaganda, the world struggle against the capitalist regime. This was one of the fundamental bases for the triumph of the Frente Amplio. It did not win the presidential elections, but it gained a huge authority on the masses. This is the result of the campaign launched in Uruguay as much as the struggle of the world masses, particularly the masses of Chile, of Peru, the agitation of the masses in Columbia, in Venezuela, in Mexico, in France, in Italy, in the Scandinavian countries, in the United States, and the opposition to the war in Vietnam. The progress of the masses, the struggle in the rest of the world has a weight too, it influences the masses of Uruguay

to feel the need to organise themselves in a class party.

The strength of the opposition to the capitalist system increased enormously in these elections. This is an irreplaceable basis for the organisation of the proletarian vanguard's authority, and for its capacity to attract the rest of the exploited population in this country. It is with such a perspective that the Frente Amplio must carry on the struggle for the programme which it constituted itself and which it must deepen; nationalisations, workers control, planning of the economy and of the production. It must be prepared to confront directly all tendencies, the agents of imperialism and of the oligarchy, and all those who want to make of the government the administrator of cows and land owners. All these tendencies must be opposed completely, and an unyielding campaign must be launched. Nobody cares who the winning candidate will be, one must stand against him.

The struggle doesn't end with the electoral results. No! The struggle goes on. The electoral campaign was only a means. Nothing more. A means to attract a little more than the trade unions did. Now it is necessary to carry on the struggle seeking to make the united front with all the workers parties, the sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie, with the trade unions, on an anti-imperialist programme, with anti-capitalist measures.

Our party has been the main instrument for this, the most conscious organiser of this understanding. It is going to carry on the struggle in this way.

The capitalist system has just undergone a defeat in Uruguay. One of the bourgeois candidates has won electorally, but socially the system has lost. Three hundred thousand votes—jumping from 70,000 to 300,000 for the first time in history—means the social force has at least quadrupled. Indeed the social attraction is far more powerful than the parliamentary power. The petit bourgeois sectors who thought they might find the solution to problems of unemployment and to the cost of living, by voting for a capitalist government, are going to be faced with the incapacity and the impossibility of such a government to solve these problems. Because of this they are going to turn to the social struggle for a solution. A vote of 70,000 for the Communist Party and for the Socialist Party is one thing; another thing is the 300,000 votes that went to a movement grouping not only communists and socialists but also Trotskyists, petit bourgeoisie and peasants etc.

It is on these conclusions that our party must appeal for the continuation of the struggle in the trade unions and in the political field; and this struggle will be fundamentally extra-parliamentary.

J. Posadas 1 . 12. 71;

and Ireland, in the latter it takes a more overtly military form. **THERE MUST BE ORGANIC FUSION BETWEEN THE STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND ORGANISED ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.** The English proletariat has seen the Derry massacre and the police on the Birmingham pickets and is drawing its own conclusions.

The strike is probably more or less over and the economic gains are a victory, but they will not survive long under inflation, there is massive unemployment, lack of housing, industrial stagnation, how can the economy advance? Only under the form of central planning according to the needs of the masses, of nationalised property under workers control. This is the basis for the Anti Capitalist Programme. Workers area committees, factory committees, street committees like in Northern Ireland, all have to be formed on the basis of this struggle, the struggle for a leadership that will advance with the masses, supporting itself on their mobilisation and fight, and the

theoretical and organisational intervention of the IV International. All the pits must be kept working as before the strike, **NOT ONE MINER TO LOSE HIS JOB.** The crisis coming now in the Labour Party is comparable to that in the French CP after the French May of 1968, it is a crisis where new tendencies will appear, there will be internal fights. We appeal to the middle cadres and left MPs to intervene here in order to **DESTROY THE RIGHT WING SECTOR AND ITS APPARATUS, TO IMPOSE PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY, TO ADVANCE AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT.** There is a world situation of dual power, there are elements of dual power in Britain, there is dual power in the British workers movement. New sectors are already moving into the struggle at the level achieved by the miners, they must link themselves to the struggle in Ireland, the struggle for the expulsion of the Labour pro capitalists, the defeat of the Tories, and the struggle for the anti capitalist programme.

21-2-72

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

### THE LABOUR VANGUARD MUST DISCUSS THE CONCLUSIONS

action at the stock exchange to the Court of Enquiry report; first confidence fell in dismay at the size of the settlement, then it rose as awareness grew that further mobilisation in the miners strike could be avoided. The reaction of the government had also been shown in the way that it brought the Common Market debate forward (when there was no need for this, it could have been left for weeks) so as to try to give some confidence that capitalism has an economic future, even at the risk of defeat and the fall of the government. The Tories try to show that there is a perspective for capitalist development in Britain, it is a lie!

The feeling of the British working class was shown in every demonstration, in every mobilisation the shout was "Tories Out!" and the mobilisation and active support from the trade union movement had the same intention, to defeat the Tories, and from there to advance through the working class's own political organisms, the Labour and Communist Parties. The demonstration in the picket at Birmingham was the most elevated expression of this when thousands of engineering workers intervened against the police in support of the mineworkers in a confrontation that had aspects of civil war, and the police lost. These pickets are tremendously important because they are a new experience of the world proletariat, they are an organism empirically created by the masses to substitute for the lack of independent class organisms, base committees, mass assemblies, and the pickets were used not just to prevent men and materials from being moved but to forge links with other key sectors such as the Longbridge car workers on the basis of active support and solidarity action and a political interchange of ideas. But the support came not only from other key sectors of the working class but also from the petty bourgeoisie, the students who gave an active support with money and sleeping quarters for the flying-pickets, and on a world scale from trade union sources in the Chinese (through Radio Peking) and Soviet Workers States, the Egyptian food workers, the Northern Ireland Civil Right Association etc. The interventions from the Workers States are of particular importance because they represent the full force of the world workers movement, and they intervene now (particularly the USSR) with a certain support for the revolution, because the revolution and the structure of the Workers State imposes this, in spite of the bureaucracy. It is this process of partial regeneration of the Workers States that is fundamental, as Posadas has re-

peatedly stressed, in the analysis of the world relationship of forces that permit the exact analysis of a particular country.

The Labour Party has played an abysmal role in this strike. No sector of the Labour Party took the initiative to lead, launching appeals for the General Strike to throw out the Tories, appealing for solidarity action and support throughout the world, particularly in the Workers States, linking the struggle to the struggle of the Irish masses, organising new sectors to form the basis for a new Labour government with the eventual expulsion of the right wing Labour leadership. The LP opposed the Emergency Powers Act and made no great attempt to break the strike as it would have in the past, which shows that the proletariat is weighing more now within its Party, but this is to blow with the wind, not to lead the struggle. The miners MPs responded passionately and violently, but by no means at the required level, no appeals for the General Strike, no programmatic leadership, no appeals for real support. All the appeals for the General Strike came from the base. It is important to see that the Labour Left did not intervene at a significantly more useful level than the traitor and agent of the bourgeoisie, Wilson. The various leftists in the PLP are not freeing themselves of the careerism and reformist betrayal that has dogged the whole life of the Labour Party. However the masses will not abandon this class instrument, they will oblige it to advance to eventually become their revolutionary instrument for the taking of power. The base, the middle cadres, honest elements in the present parliamentary leadership must deepen the fight against the old right wing sector of Wilson, Callaghan, etc and their gigantic bureaucratic apparatus. **DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMMEDIATE EXPULSION OF THE RIGHT WING BY BASING ONESELF ON THE MINERS STRIKE.** This has to be achieved for the imposition of a left Labour Government on an anticapitalist programme and the further development towards workers power and socialism.

The Labour and Communist Parties do not explain the unity between the miners strike and the struggle in Ireland. Is it coincidence that the conscious murder of 13 demonstrators by British imperialism comes at the time of the miners strike? No, it is the response from imperialism to try to intimidate the Irish and the English masses. The English workers see that they too will have to face the soldiers soon. The process throughout Britain is united, only the forms in which it appears, differ between England

## World Trotskyist Press

**ALGERIA:** Revolution Socialiste, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

**Die Arbeiderrijd,** organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**BRAZIL:** Frente Operaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** Lucha Obrera, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquimbo 291. Talcahuano (Chile).

**CUBA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

**ECUADOR:** Lucha Comunista, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Fernando Salas, 3726 Quito.

**FRANCE:** Lutte Communiste, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

**GREECE:** Kommunistikipali, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**GERMANY:** Arbeiter Stimme, organ of the German militants of the IV International. Ricarda Kruck, 6 Frankfurt/Main, Heiderheimer Landstr. 181.

**ITALY:** Lotta Operaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**MEXICO:** Voz Obrera, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Oscar Fernandez Bruno, Adm. de Correos No. 9, Mexico D.F.

**MIDDLE EAST:** Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

**PERU:** Voz Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** Lucha Obrera, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine. (Write to the Belgian, French or Italian addresses).

**URUGUAY:** Frente Obrero, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Montevideo. Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

### PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

**Cuarta International,** organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International. Clandestine.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Clandestine.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

**Rivista Marxista Europea (In Italian),** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059 - 00153 Roma (Ostiense)—Italy.

**Revue Marxiste Europeane (In French),** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc Hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, 100 BD Bertrand, Charleroi, Belgium.

**European Marxist Review (In English),** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2. England.

# The rebellion in Northern Ireland . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
of all of these people which is going to increase because the problems of religion are going to be combined and these are not going to be resolved with unification, which is a swindle by this shameless Wilson. The problem is the social solution. It is the problem which already in the Congress of the British Communist Party has been posed as a "social solution."

This is of very great importance because one of the bases which gave a structure to the capitalist system, which gave it security was the organisation of a base of military structure, of conquest of dominion. Thus it gave security to capitalism for its invasion, investment of capital, invasion of colonies, internal struggles, it gave it a certain moral base. Now all this comes down. They feel that they have to fight in the suburbs and they are being thrown out. It is a complete interior disintegration. Such an action of the Irish masses is completely disproportionate, although historically it is in proportion. It is done through the action of the British proletariat and the British proletariat does it because of what is happening in the world, while the Labour Party is begging in Parliament. It is completely absurd. It is outside all sense. Parliament has nothing to do with the social relations; because of this it is necessary to take power.

We appeal to the British proletariat so that it intervenes in this struggle. Our British section must appeal to the British proletariat to join this struggle. To join it with a programme of social demands, for civil and democratic rights. It is necessary to see that the solution is the taking of power, the socialist solution of all the problems of England and Ireland with a programme of nationalisations, planning of the economy, workers control. It is necessary to make these appeals and unite this struggle to the struggle of the masses of Britain. It is necessary to show the fear and the weakness of imperialism which has to send, according to them, 7,000 policemen against the demonstration of Newry. In reality it must be

## IRELAND IS A VIETNAM

As in Vietnam, in Ireland it is going towards a revolutionary process. There are a combativity, forms of protest and of struggle of all the population united; thus already it is united to socialist measures. Not the whole, but there are already all the conditions to unite the struggle to socialist measures. One must see that the bourgeoisie are still there. They are all there. It cannot be an ordered process. There is no leadership, there is a conflict between the Workers States. There is not a fixed norm. There is not an eloquent norm for the construction of socialism. There is a discussion on how socialism is constructed. People are against capitalism and therefore they do this. Thus there is still mixed together the intentions of groups and individuals who come from a previous education, mixed with the decision to go to socialism. Everything is mixed up together, it cannot be independent.

The attitude which British imperialism took in Ireland, the savage and murderous repression which it has made, brings to the light a procedure which puts the proletariat on guard. This procedure with the Irish masses shows to the British proletariat "It is going to do it to me tomorrow." And it is preparing the British proletariat to foresee this reaction of British imperialism and it teaches it that tomorrow it is going to have to confront the British army, not parliament and voting. The Irish masses are hurrying the class struggle up. They are concentrating the class struggle. And the British proletarian vanguard is seeing this. The petit bourgeoisie also.

There is a movement in which all the sectors of the population are combining. But already the tendency which dominates has to escape the control of the bourgeoisie. There have been massive very great movements. The bourgeoisie have already lost control of this. It is no longer the bourgeoisie who lead. It is the popular layers; the petit bourgeoisie, the workers, who have intervened in the struggle of the Labour party, in the trade union movement which give life and orientation to this process. It is not the bourgeoisie which has unified 50-100 thousand people. This is impossible. It is the socialist tendencies of the IRA which feel supplied with confidence and impelled by the world process of the advance of the socialist revolution and fundamentally by Bangla Desh. They feel directly impelled by this. And it is from here that the resistance, the orientation to confront the British army with such decision, comes. It is an army of occupation. It is the same occupation which they did in South Yemen and they were thrown out of South Yemen. Thus it is necessary to help make an internal clarification of the movement so as to support the wing which consciously seeks socialism and a programme in order to

double that. Fourteen thousand must have been there.

There is no solution for Northern Ireland in itself, as Ireland. Wilson proposes the unification of Ireland. But also the right wing proposes this, but under their leadership. What Wilson proposes is simply to hide the problem, to put off trying to find a solution. It is no longer a question of problems which they can resolve as in the beginning. The solution is not the unification of Ireland, nor religious rights. The existing antagonisms and contradictions in Ireland North and South, those between England and Ireland have already developed beyond all this. Class antagonisms have developed no longer are they religious antagonisms. The type of struggle, the grade of struggle, shows that it is not a religious opposition, but that they are social antagonisms. Because of this the socialist solution is raised in the Irish Parliament and because of this there is civil war. It is a Vietnam! What difference is there between Vietnam and Ireland? only the magnitude of the war. The significance is the same, the relations of war are the same. Northern Ireland is occupied by the army, British imperialism is the occupier, the population feels occupied. British imperialism can be on its own with a permanent occupation as in Vietnam. No longer is it a problem of catholic and protestants, nor of religious rights, but they are going to see that there is a problem which imperialism cannot resolve, of work, of rights, of wages, of conditions of life. Because of this all the population is out, they all come out into the streets. The child of 6 years old devotes himself to the guerrilla struggle. Boys of 12, of 14, of 16 years old develop as and spend their youth as guerrillas. This does not have a solution either a parliamentary one, nor one of unification. It is the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party which comes out to save the face of British imperialism and it failed. British imperialism failed! And the Labour party is going to try to weigh as the Labour party to save the face of British imperialism.

unify all Ireland and to extend it to a socialist unification with the struggle of the masses of England. Thus it is necessary to call for a struggle in common for a socialist unification of the countries of the English language. A socialist unification of all the struggles of the masses of Britain and Ireland. It is necessary to make a programme for this.

The discussions' objective is religious liberty, but also the problems of work, wages and houses. It is all combined. Who can resolve this problem? From the capitalist point of view, there is no way to resolve this problem. No bourgeois nationalist movement can resolve anything. What economic measures can it take? In order to advance, the economy has to be nationalised, it has to be planned. These are measures that do not correspond to capitalism.

What are the Irish bourgeoisie going to propose in the face of the central power of English imperialism? An independent economy? They would die, they would be drowned. To make an economy that is independent of imperialism it is necessary to nationalise and to become united to England. There are no longer any capitalist ways to resolve the problem, there are only socialist ways. Because of this Wilson is desperately trying to make concessions because he sees that the influence is coming to the English workers movement, the Labour proletariat. Because of this he tries to stop, always to stop. And he is running around, settling things and at the same time drawing electoral advantage. Trying to contain the movement. But the movement has already reached such a height that, although they are now managing to contain it because of the lack of leadership, they have already made an experience of resolution and unification and they see that they are the ones that can resolve the problems. They are intervening, they can resolve and there is no capitalist solution. They see that the problem of religious liberty is united to the problem of the structure of the economy of the country, of who leads the country politically. This is all united. And they are seeing it. And the catholics are seeing that they are going to God and that God says "If there is no other solution, take power... Unite with the Protestants and we will all protest together..."

It is the bourgeoisie that wants to give it a religious character. The bourgeois leadership wants to maintain the religious character. The masses are still after religious liberty, but they surpass it. They have already surpassed it! This is already on a new plane. Now the problem is to unify in the socialist form.

The Irish movement came before Bangla Desh, but Bangla Desh has given it an impulse. They are new tendencies in history. Bangla Desh is a new tendency in history,

that came from nothing, from nothing!!... The will of the masses shows that it is now more than the simple objective of small solutions of work, wage increases or whatever. It is clear that to have such a will to struggle and to face the murders that the army has made, and bury their dead, there must be motives of centralisation, of organisation for new mobilisations which indicate that their objective is the same as Bangla Desh. The same as the masses of the Middle East. The same as the masses of Vietnam. They want to impose what they consider to be the truth. They are still not clear on the programme because the English proletariat does not help them. The English proletariat cannot help them. So they go along at a walking pace, making socialist,

## MAKE A PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON IRELAND

So make a public discussion showing that the concessions that are going to be imposed—the government is going to have to yield some concessions to try to calm things down—are completely insufficient for the necessity and consciousness that the masses already have. They are not attracted only by the necessity of getting houses or work. But the Irish masses already have the consciousness that they can go much further. They can make infinitely greater conquests. And pass by, surpass the bourgeois leadership which wants to limit it to the religious problem, the problem of work, the problem of houses or a series of improvements. They want to go much further! There is a very important evolution in the sentiment of the Irish masses. It is necessary to appeal to the English proletariat to help them. To make one whole movement. Because the bourgeoisie keeps the English workers movement and the Irish workers movement separate. And the attitude of this agent of the bourgeoisie, Wilson, is to prevent the Labour Party coming out and taking a Party position on this. They have made no proposition or declaration. There has been no meetings in support of Ireland. Instead they are negotiating. And they use it as a political means of gaining advantage over the Conservative government, nothing more.

The Labour leadership is not interested, but the Labour masses are. And this movement in Ireland coincides with the dock strike and the miners strike. Other strikes are near. An elevation of the sentiment of struggle that indicates that a very profound class decision is close. It is not simply the dock or coal workers struggling at the same time for wage increases or better working conditions but for an imposition of dual power. It is dual power that they are making on the Clyde. It is not simply wage improvements. Who is leading? Who is determining what it is necessary to do? Who determines the process of work organisation? Is it Capitalism or the workers? Who determines the process? The workers are demanding nationalisation. They are advancing much further than this simple demand. Which means that the process is advancing, on the Clyde too. So it is necessary to unify all these movements; the coal, docks and the other strikes. The car workers and bakers, the strikes that are to come. It is necessary to unify them on the Socialist Programme of nationalisations, of planning of production, of production on the basis of nationalisations under workers control, of the struggle for the Workers and Peasants Government. To unify and to appeal to the CP to intervene. And the IV International must intervene with this programme.

Make a public discussion in all the workers movement on the crisis in Ireland, which shows the weakness of English capitalism. This murder they are making of the Irish workers, of the Irish masses is preparing the ground for the same massacre of the

but still not programmatic, declarations, because there is no one to lead. No one to organise. It is necessary to appeal to the tendencies of the Communist Party, the left tendency of the Labour Party to help the Irish masses to the unification on the Socialist Programme. To appeal to the Protestant workers, Catholic workers, the Protestant and Catholic petty bourgeoisie to unite themselves on the Socialist Programme. And to appeal to the English proletariat, to the middle and poor petty bourgeoisie to unify themselves on the Socialist Programme. And to appeal to them in the name of the real progress of England. This is England's progress, which the will of the masses represents.

English workers. They are going to do the same. There are preparations for a Vietnam. At the same time, this shows that every serious conflict between the proletariat and capitalism leads to a Vietnam. It all leads to a Vietnam! Because imperialism no longer has the social means, the economic means, the political means to contain, direct or deviate. It does not have them! It does not have the means to contain. For example it has to use the troops now in Ireland. And it does this and murders; the proletariat feels the massacre with grief. It is not weakened, it does not stay terrorised or intimidated, it continues the struggle. And the English proletariat is seeing that this is going to happen to it too. And it is preparing to respond in the form of civil war. They are actions of civil war, localised in Ireland, but which already express the nature of the social struggle which is coming immediately in England. Otherwise such things would not happen. When, instead of making concessions, English imperialism has to make such a repression and makes a mobilisation like Hitler did (this is the same attitude as that of the Nazi army of occupation) it is because it feels that it has to intimidate the English proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. To try to frighten it. And the result is just the opposite. In the full repression of Ireland comes the coal strike. The coal strike goes on, and extends itself. And they surround the power stations, give out leaflets etc.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the Labour Party, to the Labour left, that it intervenes appealing for a joint mobilisation, preparing a General Strike in support of the Irish masses. And at the same time giving a programme for the Irish masses, of socialist unification of Ireland on the basis of nationalisations, planning of production under workers control, a Workers and Peasants Government. And to appeal to the English masses to do the same in unification with the Irish masses. This is the appeal that it is necessary to make now. Appeal to the English Workers movement, the communist movement, to all the Communist Parties of the world to give this support and appeal. Appeal to the USSR and all the Workers States to make such appeals.

International Secretariat, IV International

6-2-72

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637.

## NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

The following telegram was sent to the Mexican Government by

- 1) National Union of Iraq Students in Great Britain and Ireland,
- 2) Yemeni Students Union in Great Britain and Ireland

Condemn intention to assassinate Trotskyists, Nationalists, Communists, Trade Unionist Prisoners Lecumberri. Demand their physical safety and release.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



#### CONTENTS:

"THE TRIP OF BREZNEV TO YUGO-  
SLAVIA AND THE ASCENT OF THE POLIT-  
ICAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS  
STATES."

J. Posadas 25. 9. 1971 — Page 2

LEAFLET ON THE ASSASSINATION OF THE  
MAOIST MILITANT IN RENAULT.

— Page 3

UNIFY THE STRUGGLES OF THE BRITISH  
AND IRISH MASSES

— Page 4

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 154 2nd Fr.day of March 1972 PRICE 3p

## EDITORIAL

# For a revolutionary Marxist leader- ship in the Labour Party and Trade Unions

The massive victory of the miners strike, which is the victory of the whole working class, has delivered a blow at the Heath government, from which it is not going to recover. It is a victory, which further undermined what little authority this Tory government had, and it is going to act as an encouragement to other sectors of the working class. Already, the Engineering Workers are preparing a national strike for a large wage increase, longer holidays, and a 35 hour working week. Despite the refusal of the national leadership of the AUEW to call a strike, shop stewards in Sheffield and Manchester are calling mass meetings in the next days to mobilise the engineering workers in these areas. During the whole course of the miners strike, the possibility existed for its extension into a general strike, to throw out the Tory government, and a national strike of engineering workers has even greater possibilities, because it would take place in even more favourable conditions.

The capitulation of the Government to the miners in the final settlement of a 21% wage increase, was an attempt to buy a little time for capitalism, but it is a manoeuvre which has no hope of success, because the miners strike produced a qualitative advance in the class struggle, in the class methods: the pickets. The confidence, which comes from the whole world revolution, enabled the miners, in the course of the strike, to create what were embryonically, organisms of dual power, which, not only decided how much coal should be moved and where, not only closed power stations, but also, attracted and organised sectors of the working class and petty bourgeois masses.

The miners recognised that it was impossible to advance the struggle further with the present leadership of the Trade Unions and Labour Party, which were neither prepared, nor capable of generalising the miners struggle; this is why the overwhelming majority voted for the settlement. The pickets were created as a means to overcome this lack of a national leadership, by incorporating and discussing with the workers vanguard and other sectors of the population across the whole country. The struggles which will appear in the next period, will start at the level which the miners reached, the pickets are already an experience, and a gain of the entire working class; the engineering workers, the dockers, the railwaymen, all of which are preparing strikes, are going to adopt and extend this form of organisation and these methods.

The granting of 35 millions to UCS can be seen in the same light as the miners pay settlement—an attempt by British capitalism to buy a little time.—To give such a massive sum to UCS, is about as close to nationalisation as the present government is likely to go, and it is a demonstration of the weakness of British capitalism in front of the European bourgeoisie. The logic of the whole policy of the Tory government was to try to act as a centre, to give confidence to all European capitalism. Now, the European bourgeoisie sees the capitulation of the Tories in front of

the miners, the UCS workers, and it sees its own working class encouraged by what has happened in Britain. The miners received the support of the workers in all the European countries—as UCS has and in all this support, this solidarity was the consciousness of the

unity of the workers struggle. It was shown in the intervention of the Belgium miners from Zwartberg, and in a letter sent by Swedish miners, which expressed the sentiment of the entire European working class in saying: "If you win, then, it is a victory for us!" It is only the limitations of the leaderships of the trade unions and workers parties, which has prevented this objective united front of the European workers finding a concrete organisational form.

All European capitalism was prepared to follow the Tories in launching repressive measures against the masses—the assassination of the young Maoist Pierre Overney, outside Renault was part of this—as are the anti-communist statements of Tommasini in France—but now, it can have little confidence in such a policy. Of course, the European bourgeoisie are going to act in a repressive way, but if it has not been prevented completely, it is going to be limited.

If British capitalism displays its weakness, it also prepares to launch a repression against the masses. Indeed, it is its very weakness, which prompts it to offer the only answer it has to the demands of the masses—repression—

The recent speech of Heath was a very clear statement of this intention, when Tory leaders talk of 'defending our way of life' it only has one meaning: at this time, it means the intention to use the same methods against the masses in this country as are being used against the masses of N. Ireland. In defending itself, British capitalism has the full support of the right of the Labour Party leadership, with Wilson and co. agreeing with the legislation, which was passed in Parliament to set the seal of the bourgeois law on the terrorism of British imperialism in Ireland. The debates, the arguments over the EEC, are nothing but shadow boxing, and when it comes to fundamental issues, like the defence of British imperialism the right wing of the LP shows that it is not only in agreement with, but completely structured into the capitalist system.

It was this issue of legalising the terrorism of British Imperialism in Northern Ireland, which also brought into sharp relief the nature of the parliamentary 'left' of the Labour Party which supported this measure, and it was only Bernadette Devlin who raised a voice in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Reformism, opportunism and the tactic of struggle for workers power. J. Posadas 25-9-71

The revolutionary party can be opportunist. It can be so in one event or another, but it cannot be called reformist simply for that reason. On the other hand reformism is opportunism. The principle of reformism is opportunism, but in such a way that opportunism is not used but reformism. That is to say reformism does not utilise situations to give a leap as does opportunism, but it advances gradually by penetration. Its conception of progress, of policy, of objective, is to advance, making conquests, hoping that the accumulation of conquests will lead to a social transformation and also that the conquests that it makes are more important than the taking of power. This is the reformist conception which annuls every revolutionary policy. In this way, it is also opportunist.

On the other hand opportunism can form part of a revolutionary conception, that is to say, of conception of transformation of society, a violent transformation, but if opportunism does not employ the revolutionary policy.

It is the same conception as wanting to base oneself on circumstances, on the moment, independently of the revolutionary objective, preparation and conclusions. Hence all opportunist policy ends inevitably in adaptation, with ultra leftism, in sectarianism. It finishes inevitably in this way, because it is not a revolutionary policy. Reformism bases itself on a parliamentary conception of adaptation to the capitalist system. Opportunism is circumstantial, thus there is a reformist opportunism. For example, to have a minister in the capitalist government forms part of reformism. On the other hand the French and Italian communist parties try to support themselves by penetration on the difficulties and disintegration of the capitalist system. This is left opportunism. They try to use the difficulties of capitalism to advance but not to occupy simply posts in the government but to change the government and to establish a

communist government. The socialists do not want this. The socialists want one, two or three socialist ministers. The communist parties support themselves on the extreme weakness of capitalism and replace the revolutionary policy with the policy of penetration. Then it is necessary to show to the communist parties that it is necessary to promote a revolutionary policy, that the policy of the soviet bureaucracy, although being prejudicial to the capitalist system, prolongs its life. This is the basic issue. It is enough to see the attitude of the socialist party. They were the ministers of the assassins of Algeria. The communists were the sustainers of this policy. Now the communists are the supporters of freedom for the colonies. This is the line of "penetration."

It is necessary to show the crisis of the capitalist system, its disintegration and the causes the objectives, the limitation of the policy of penetration of the soviet bureaucracy and of this concrete phase of the tactic of unification of Europe, of concessions in the problems of armaments, of Berlin; limitations which mean pursuing very limited objectives at the cost of the progress

of the revolution. The vanguard feels this and tries to respond. On this it is necessary to intervene because even though this policy is one of penetration and one which prolongs the existence of the capitalist system, it does not stabilise capitalism. The internal contradictions of the capitalist system intensifies themselves and are expressed in a global form in the crisis of the dollar.

The capitalist system cannot lower its costs in spite of the very great advances of technique and science, this takes place in a situation, in a process of internal contradictions, of antagonisms with the workers states and the revolution which does not aid the possibility of maintaining an equilibrium. The capitalist system is in a constantly unfavourable situation. The soviet bureaucracy wants to use this with a form of penetration, which means to supply the capitalist regime, not to ally with it as before. But to do this, it acts at the expense of a revolutionary policy and allows capitalism as a consequence to survive longer and to prepare the atomic war. But in each country taken concretely the crisis of capitalism is unequal and there is the possibility of taking power in England, France, Italy, partly in Belgium and in Latin America. And the communist parties do not struggle for power so they enter into contradiction with the masses. Above all it is necessary to develop the new leaderships, the revolutionary tendencies, to make them intervene and to stimulate to advance in the revolutionary policy the cadres who will be the basis of the new leadership or mass movement; communist party, trade union, etc.

J. Posadas, 25/9/71.

Viva the release of the 33 political prisoners in Mexico!  
Viva the revolutionary struggles of the Mexican masses!

# The trip of Breznev to Yugoslavia and the ascent of the political revolution in the Workers State

J. Posadas 25-9-1971

The visit of Breznev to Tito is part of an offensive of the soviet bureaucracy to reach an agreement with all the workers states and in part with those who are in opposition to and whose bureaucracy functions independently of Moscow. Being in consequence closer to an alliance or relations with the capitalist system, they are for the same reason, a source of agreement or of manoeuvre for the Chinese. Breznev has gone forward to finish with the two things. He wants to deprive the Chinese bureaucrats of a base of support, of speculation and of manoeuvre in their struggle against the soviet bureaucracy. But he is seeking at the same time to reach very great agreements with the workers states more strictly connected with imperialism, with the object of enfeebling their alliance or conciliation with it and drawing them closer to the soviet bureaucracy. But to do this, he has moreover to yield to the needs of these states. This expresses the fact that the soviet bureaucracy needs to structure, organise and elevate its instruments of combat and above all the united front to confront the capitalist system. But even if it does this in the gradual way of "penetration," it has to progress in such a front.

This new agreement with the Yugoslavs has no economic aim. It does not deal with the problems of frontiers. Its object is a front against the capitalist system and the two speeches of Breznev have been in this respect very clear. He has said and repeated

## AN AGREEMENT AGAINST CAPITALISM AND AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE CHINESE

The difference is very great in relation to all the other agreements. It is not a question either of problems of frontiers or of commercial problems but of the objective of the united front against the capitalist system. The agreement does not interest only each country directly, does not seek any more to maintain the hegemony of the soviet bureaucracy or to emphasise the divergencies, the differences, but seeks to pose an alliance against imperialism. It is not a simple recommendation but an agreement against the capitalist system. This is not declared expressly, but it is implicit.

Breznev has declared "We have come to seek with Comrade Tito an agreement against imperialist aggression, against imperialism for the defence and the unity of the countries of the socialist system." He speaks of bloc against bloc which has a very great effect on the capitalist system on the one side, and the Chinese on the other. This visit of Breznev is in addition addressed to weigh in the internal struggle of the latter. This is not a new matter for the struggle with the Chinese existed before, but he is making use of the situation to intervene again there.

On the way even, he deepened his intervention. I believe that he did not have at the beginning the intention to go so far. The visit of Breznev had been announced twenty-five days previously, and it was only a few days before his departure that the crisis of the Chinese broke out. It was then independent of the visit of Breznev. It is not impossible that the crisis broke out to block this visit and the influence that it was going to exercise on the left wing of the Chinese. The importance is that the crisis broke out, independently of whether it was provoked by the right, the centre or

## TO UNIFY THE SOCIALIST CAMP

To realise their policy of the unification of Europe, the Soviet bureaucracy was obliged to eliminate the backward Stalinists, from a dead past, showing that it sought for an agreement with other sectors. This can be seen in the fact that the new secretary of the party of the DDR, Honnecker, is in full agreement with the soviet bureaucracy. There is furthermore the agreement which they have reached with capitalist Germany in which there is an implicit recognition of the East German workers state. If that is the least evil for capitalism, it is above all a concession from which great profit can be drawn.

Also it is necessary to take this trip of Breznev as part of the policy of the soviet bureaucracy to have to do it on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy. They do not do it in defence of commercial interests. No! But in the name of the socialist camp against the imperialist system. All that is going to have great consequences and this is the reason why Breznev is going to speak in the factories. This is the way in which it is necessary to analyse this visit. It means that within the USSR there are groups, tendencies, including those within the bureaucracy, which seek to advance in an understanding of the history of the world, of the confrontation with imperialism with infinitely less fear than before.

This visit of Breznev is part of the whole process of inter-bureaucratic struggle with the Chinese, but also an elaboration, and advance in the policy of the soviet bureaucracy. But without going beyond the limits of "penetration," the policy is anti-capitalist. That is why it is necessary to take

"What we have come to seek, is an agreement against imperialism, against the war; against aggression the threat and oppression of imperialism, and this means defence of all the peoples oppressed by it."

the left. We are not able to know exactly because we do not have the information to see precisely.

It is evident that Breznev also utilised his intervention to produce at the same time an effect which would stimulate the left wing of the Chinese in its struggle against the agreement with Nixon. This has a profound significance. A month and a half ago, Chou En Lai declared in the course of his stay in North Vietnam that "he would defend Vietnam intransigently." He did not do this so much to threaten imperialism, as to win authority in China itself, to justify the changes to the right which they are in process of operating. He thus wished to show that they had not abandoned Vietnam, to win political authority whilst then maintaining the invitation to Nixon.

The trip of Breznev is part of a policy which seeks to weigh on Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and on the rest of the CPs of the world, presenting the Soviet leadership as the champions of the unity of the workers states. It is also a means of weighing in China through the left. All that is part of the inter-bureaucratic struggle but the objective does not remain any less—the unification of the workers states. Whatever might be the immediate reason, the central objective, the principal need is that. The excuse can have been the visit of Nixon to China but that does not take away anything from the necessity to make such a policy and this is the reason for which it was done. The attitude of Breznev is not a mere expedient; he did not appear suddenly to reply to the policy of the Chinese by travelling to Yugoslavia. All that was already in his head from the moment that they eliminated Ulbricht.

this visit as part of an activity of the soviet bureaucracy seeking to increase its links with the world worker and revolutionary movement. As we said in the article of Bratislava—and three years after, this is fully confirmed—"the soviet bureaucracy seeks to link itself with the world proletariat, in a way which is certainly one based on "penetration," but this is what it is seeking." The proof is the agreement today with Tito.

All that appears clearly with the speech of Breznev justifying his trip, putting it as he did, in the perspective of the socialist camp against the imperialist camp and not with the object of an agreement against the Chinese. He did not even speak of the latter, but he saw however the Chinese as much as Imperialism. He saw that clearly when he said, "We call for a struggle against imperialism which is our enemy." He is against imperialism but also against the present policy of the Chinese. This is how it is necessary to understand and place the speech. It is part of the process of partial regeneration.

It is necessary to orientate our sections to see the trip of Breznev, his activity, as a part of this process of elevation of the political objectives of the soviet bureaucracy, favourable to the revolution. This is not a revolutionary policy but one of positions favourable to the revolution. To attract Tito into the camp of the workers state, to break his links with Imperialism, to confront the policy of the Chinese, is to favour the revolution. At the same moment there is the agreement of the Spanish CP with the Roumanians which is very inter-

esting (see article previously published in Red Flag by Posadas on the recent proposals of the Spanish CP). The problem of

the open discussion of all the problems with all the revolutionary tendencies and currents is posed there.

## UNITED WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

This activity of Breznev means equally the existence of an interior struggle in the USSR against the technocracy and the sectors linked to the domination of the economic apparatus. This is going to have repercussions inevitably favourable and important to the development of communism. In Latin America, the CPs intervene more and more on left positions. There is a visible attempt to go to the left. More important the example of the Chilean Socialist party which also goes towards the left; Altamarino and Toha (Minister of the Interior) speak like people of the left, and in this concrete case and not only in general, this is very important. The reference which Altamarino made of Trotsky is an indication that a whole sector wants to orientate itself on the basis of Trotsky.

Breznev makes such an activity to the extent that he is in process of organising in the world a current which is still without a solid base. He is not there as function of the local interests of the soviet bureaucracy. He is not able in effect to resolve any problem without resolving the problem of the world. That is why we say that the "structure of the workers state imposes itself."

There is no soviet or Chinese solution. The Chinese are idiots. For the workers states the solution is to smash capitalism and to develop themselves as workers states. There is no other solution. They can procrastinate, or fetter the process, but the solution is this.

That is why the bureaucracy is ceaselessly disconcerted, finding itself constantly in front of a working class which demands the smashing of capitalism of it. This is why we have given importance to the letter of Breznev to Gierak, saying: "Pay attention! Such a letter is not addressed to a character in process of studying to become a bureaucrat. On the contrary."

We call upon Breznev to address himself to the world workers movement appealing for an anti-imperialist united front. This is a fundamental conclusion. For a single workers centre! Workers united front, peasants, communist parties, socialist parties, national left Christian democrats! World united front against imperialism! It is for that also that we appeal to the Chinese.

J. Posadas, 25/9/71.

## Brazil

### VIVA THE LIBERATION OF CLAUDIO VASCONCELLOS AND OF TULLO VIGEVANI

It is with an immense revolutionary joy that we salute the liberation in Brazil of our comrades Claudio Vasconcellos Calvacanti and Tullo Vigevani, militants of the Brazil Section of the IV International. Arrested with ten other comrades, one and a half years ago, Claudio Vasconcellos has been savagely tortured, and then condemned to eleven years of prison.

Their early release is a great victory for the world campaign for the liberation of all political and trade union prisoners in Brazil; but it is also a great victory, which we salute, for the unceasing struggle of the Brazilian masses against the military dictatorship, against imperialism and against capitalism. This struggle is decomposing the repressive apparatus and at the same time re-enforcing the nationalist revolutionary tendency and the trade union and political organisations of the Brazilian masses.

We demand the liberation of all the political and trade union militants who are still in prison.

We appeal to the British workers movement to continue its solidarity campaign with the struggle of the Brazilian masses, with the militants in prison, to demand and to impose their liberation, the stopping of all tortures, arrests and repression.

## NEW BULLETINS ABOUT TO BE PRODUCED :

The Partial Regeneration, The Historic Re-encounter, The Crisis of the Dollar, The Development of the IV International and the process of the Permanent Revolution in this stage:

J. Posadas 27. 8. 1971 — 15p.

Socialism cannot be constructed without returning to Marxism :

J. Posadas 20. 6. 1971

The Crisis of the Capitalism System, Automation and the Construction of Socialism :

J. Posadas 20. 8. 1971 — 10p.

Obtainable from :

Fourth International Publications  
24, Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

DECLARATION OF THE RENAULT FRACTION OF THE P.C.R.(T) FRENCH SECTION OF THE IVth INTERNATIONAL ON THE ASSASSINATION OF A MAOIST MILITANT IN RENAULT

# Mobilise the workers' forces to expel the repression corps from the factory!

A worker—a maoist worker—has been assassinated at the doors of the Renault-Billancourt factory by a chief of the police of the Management (the Regie) in plain clothes. It is not just a simple incident in the course of a fight, but a crime prepared and carried out with the objective of intimidating, of paralysing the centre of initiatives of the vanguard represented by the workers of Renault.

The murderer of Pierre Overney was armed by a campaign of strength which seeks to create the conditions for a stronger government, "harder" against the working class, and against the exploited masses. If there is inside Renault—as in other big factories—a corps of armed police, it is in view of very concrete plans of civil war for which big capital is preparing. This crime has been prepared during these last days by the appeals of Tomasini, to wage a war against the communists, by the declaration of Grossman: "We are not going to stand for the law of the hooligan here", by the direct intervention of the C.D.R. (corps of defence of the republic) and of the Minister of the Interior in the organisation of armed groups inside the factories.

The murderer felt strong with the support of those, who on the very same day were ejecting workers from the occupied factories of Penarroya.

We condemn this crime. We express our indignation in front of the assassination of a militant, who was fighting for his ideas and convictions. This indignation, this condemnation of the criminal methods of the management, of the government, of the U.D.R. are unanimously shared by all the workers in Renault.

The overwhelming majority of the workers do not share the methods and the ideas of the maoists, neither do we. But this assassination does not only seek to repress a group, which is losing its authority in the whole of France, but is against the worker's movement as a whole, is an attempt to create a climate of terror, of insecurity and of division.

It is for this reason that we condemn the first position taken by G. Marchais, by the Renault section of the French C.P., by the leadership of the trade unions C.G.T. and F.O. These declarations, as they are reported in the "Humanite" of the 26th, do not even make a reference to the fact that a militant is dead, nor to the responsibility of the management and the CBR in the existence of armed forces inside the factory. They reject the responsibility on the maoists, presenting them as the agents of Marcellin.

This signifies that these leaderships are completely overwhelmed by the events, and only know how to act in the function of old bureaucratic frame-works. Does an agent of Marcellin get himself shot down to serve his boss better? This is what the communist militant, outraged by the propaganda of their leaderships, are asking themselves.

For Sylvain, in the factory "everything is calm", as he said in his declarations on the radio. "Nothing abnormal is going on!" "it is only external groups, which come and sow disorder!"

Would the management have armed police in civil clothes, walking about in-

side the factory, when everything is calm? A few days ago, the leaders of the management unilaterally broke the discussions with the trade unions for the renewal of the agreements of the factory. It decided to impose its point of view. It sacks workers. It has just put some hundred workers from the Machine Tools at the disposition of the Personnel Service. It develops at the same time, and clearly the eyes of everyone a repressive corps inside the factory.

Even if—for all these trade unions—for the group of Sylvain in particular—all these measures do not oblige them to organise a serious mobilisation, even if for these leaderships "everything is calm", a deep sentiment of discontent, of indignation, of revolt rumbles in the workshops, in the base and among the militants of the C.G.T. and the P.C.F. as in other currents in the factory. It is the same sentiment which breaks out everywhere in France through factory occupation, the taking of hostages, which—as in La Palice—were done by actual militants and leaders of the C.G.T. The same sentiment found an expression in the miners' strike in Great Britain. The British Government also assassinated in cold blood in Ireland; it also assassinated in cold blood militants from the strike pickets. The response of the working class was not that of fear, but on the contrary, a reinforcement of its struggle, and it is the miners who triumphed over the assassins.

The leadership of the C.G.T. and of the P.C.F. in Renault, faced with this crime, do not revolt against the criminals, they do not appeal for a general mobilisation to dissolve the repressive corps inside the factory, but they turn themselves against the victims. This is exactly what the bourgeoisie is after: to support itself on the fear of the trade union leadership, and make them retreat. The declaration of the leadership of the management to cover the crime committed by one of their agents, seeks to put in evidence the interests which it can have in common with the trade union leaderships. In its communication, it tries to show that the management is the victim of exactly the same methods as the leaderships of the trade unions. A few days ago, the management refused to discuss with these same trade unions. Yesterday, it was announcing, that work was no longer available for 103 workers of the R.M.O. Now it seeks to find a support for the right-wing, conservative attitude taken by Sylvain in this affair.

We do not share the methods of the Maoists; nor their political opinions. As a resolution of the I. S. of the IV International analyses: "they are feverish eruptions, which do not correspond to any necessity, for otherwise they would have learnt the proletarian respect of discipline. They appear as groups, which pass above the proletariat with a tendency to despise the trade union action. They are feverish eruptions starting from an idealisation of oneself, as a small group wanting to take the place of the constructed organisations constituted by the class". But "these groups are the product of a social ambience, which elevates itself, and claims its will for power. Insofar as this necessity is not responded to these groups detach themselves from this ambience. They are desperate groups

which want to react against the passivity of the P.C.F." These methods as the cde. Posadas has analysed do not impel the working class, they do not organise it, and it is for this reason that these groups remain isolated and develop acts of exasperation.

The deep discontent, the deep indignation, which this crime provokes among the workers, the deep will to bring about changes, the refusal to accept coolly the liquidation of the machine-tools, of the D.M.O., where the increase in the speed, the elevation in the police measures taken in the factory, demand from the leadership, that it be at the level of the workers' will. It is necessary, today, to launch a united front mobilisation of all the trade unions, of all the workers political parties and tendencies in the factory to liquidate all the repression corps in the factory.

The workers, the young people, the communist militants of the C.G.T. and of the C.F.D.T., the socialists want a leadership capable of being at the level of the tasks. The leaderships, which re-

treat faced with the bosses' terrorism, which find that everything is "calm", which make a front with the management to reject the responsibility on the victims, can no longer maintain themselves at the head of the most important of the most decisive trade union organisation, which the working class has given itself: the C.G.T.

We appeal to all the communist militants of the C.G.T., to the youth that they demand a public discussion in general meetings, in the cells, in the trade unions, a discussion of these events, and that they demand a changing of position from their leadership. If these leaderships are not capable of rectifying themselves, let them give up their position in favour of the forces which in the C.G.T. and in the P.C.F. want to advance. To the criminal blow dealt by the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to respond by the mobilisation in united front of all the workers organisations.

27 February 1972

**Viva the release on bail of Angela Davis which is a victory for the world Communist Vanguard.**  
**Continue the campaign for her complete freedom.**

## World Trotskyist Press

**ALGERIA: Revolution Socialiste**, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA: Voz Proletaria**, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM: La Lutte Ouvriere**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

**Die Arbeiderrijd**, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA: Lucha Obrera**, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Arce, Casilla 644 Oruro. (Bolivia).

**BRAZIL: Frente Operaria**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE: Lucha Obrera**, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquimbo 291. Talcahuano (Chile).

**CUBA: Voz Proletaria**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

**ECUADOR: Lucha Comunista**, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Fernando Salas, 3726 Quito.

**FRANCE: Lutte Communiste**, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

**GREECE: Kommunistikipali**, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**GERMANY: Arbeiter Stimme**, organ of the German militants of the IV International. Ricarda Kruck, 6 Frankfurt/Main, Heiderheimer Landstr. 181.

**ITALY: Lotta Operaria**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**MEXICO: Voz Obrera**, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Oscar Fernandez Bruno, Adm. de Correos No. 9, Mexico D.F.

**MIDDLE EAST: Bulletins in Arabic and Persian** of militants of the International.

**PERU: Voz Obrera**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN: Lucha Obrera**, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine. (Write to the Belgian, French or Italian addresses).

**URUGUAY: Frente Obrero**, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Montevideo. Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

### PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

**Cuarta Internacional**, Organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana**, Organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana**, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Clandestine.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana**, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

**Marxist Review in Arabic**, organ of the Arab Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. (Obtainable from the address of the British Section).

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana**, reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.

**Revista Marxista Latino-Americana**, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

**Rivista Marxista Europea** (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059-00153 Roma (Ostiense)—Italy.

**Revue Marxiste Europeane** (In French), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc'Hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, 100 BD Bertrand, Charleroi, Belgium.

**European Marxist Review** (In English) organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2. England.

## PUBLIC MEETING

At 7.30 pm on Wednesday 22nd. March 1972

at

AEU House, Dunstable Rd., Luton

ON THE QUESTION OF THE NECESSITY FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

# Unify the struggles of the British and Irish masses

The Derry massacre, the recent explosions in Ireland, show the depth of the crisis of British Imperialism how it cannot govern except through repression and provocations. "It does not govern as capitalism" as Cde Posadas analyses but through the army, because "it does not have the authority to make itself accepted as a socially acceptable leadership" and when it loses the army it uses the police. The same situation exists in the Renault factory in France and in Brazil. They have no other way of asserting themselves as they cannot gain the populations but on the contrary they lose sectors who used to serve them in the past. For this reason they had to make this massacre in Derry to maintain the bourgeoisie in Ireland and in all Europe to give it security, to rally all sectors of Capitalism in preparation for the war, for the final settlement of the accounts, for the indiscriminate attack against all sectors of the population.

For this, it is necessary to respond with the unification of the revolutionary sectors in Ireland, in the IRA, the SDLP, the CP, the Civil Rights movement, the Irish LPs, McManus and Devlin, on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme of nationalisations under workers control, expropriation of the land, occupations of factories, the development of the experience of street committees into organised soviets, into organised instruments of dual power. The response of the Irish masses to the repression of British Imperialism by going on the Newry march with the participation of the masses of Southern Ireland, children, workers, old people shows the maturity of the conditions for this programme.

The terroristic actions like the Aldershot incident do not serve a purpose. We do not condemn it as it was done with revolutionary anti-imperialist objectives, but it did not serve to organise the struggle to throw out the troops and capitalism from N.Ireland. On the other hand the street committees organise the population, and further more attract sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to the revolution and hence weaken the bases of support for the bourgeoisie. Since they will see that the masses in the same way as in the factory committee of UCS, solve all the problems that face the popula-

tion. The miners, the workers vanguard, took the initiative to form the mass and flying pickets to link and organise all the sectors of the population for power. For this reason they had a social effect which frightened the bourgeoisie.

On this basis we appeal to all the revolutionary sectors to develop the anti-capitalist programme, starting from the programme of nationalisations of the major industries adopted by the last conference of the Irish LP and by the official and provisional IRA, to organise and construct the organisms of dual power to organise the population in preparation for the further repressions of Imperialism. For this it is necessary to organise the street committees towards becoming local soviets going from discussing and resolving the problems of cleaning the streets from the damage inflicted by the troops, the rent strikes, the barricades, of the education of the children and their incorporation in the struggle, to construct organisms which dispute the political power of British Imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie. The children in Newry have already demonstrated their will to do that. Also the recent election of the official IRA to the executive of the Civil Rights movement shows the maturity of the conditions for the application and the extension of the marxist programme of the official IRA. It is these organisms that help to organise the population, elevate their political life, and thus help to besiege Capitalism socially, to remove all its points of support, help to organise the population in a way that will minimise all the damage that the war policy of imperialism will inflict on the masses.

The question of Ireland, as the IS analysed in the text "the rebellion of N. Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership and the struggle for Socialism in Britain" is not the question of the unification of Ireland, but to see that the rebellion of the Irish masses gains its strength and security from the struggle of the world workers movement, from the world collapse of Imperialism and the advance of the Workers states. Otherwise how can the Irish masses, by themselves, confront British Imperialism? It is due to the fact the "Humanity has defeated Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam" as Posadas analyses, which is due to the ele-

vation of the communist sentiment of the masses. The world masses "seek to unify themselves" to construct fraternal relationships to eliminate repression and oppression. The masses of Ireland act on this basis. For this reason it is necessary to unify the struggle of the Irish masses in an organised way with the struggle of the British working class, with the world Revolution, with the process of the Partial regeneration in the World communist movement.

The discussions to install a Soviet Embassy in the Republic and the money that the Soviet Union sent to the Irish Trade Unions is an aspect of the world policy of the Soviet bureaucracy in which it tries to seek contact with the masses. It does not do it in revolutionary way through appealing for the soviets, but in a "penetrative" way as defined by Posadas. i.e. it uses the apparatuses. It uses the weakness of capitalism it uses the fact that capitalism cannot support itself in Ireland (as shown by its present repressive policy against the IRA while they used to let them meet freely) to besiege capitalism, in preparation for its elimination. This is what they do when they send Migs to Egypt, and now to South Yemen. They are organising virtually the entire industry of Bangladesh before Yankee Imperialism can step in. This is what Posadas defines as "a new tendency in History" where it is the Soviet Union which has the initiative. The initiative does not rest with Imperialism but the Soviet Union intervenes before imperialism to organise the forces to besiege it. This is not due to the intentions of the bureaucracy, but due to the mobilisations of the forces of the partial regeneration the mobilisations of the Soviet Proletariat which imposes its decision to send money to the Irish TUs.

For this reason we think it necessary to look at the presence of the Soviet Trade mission and the possibility of the installation of a Soviet Embassy in the Republic in this way. Also the role of both the Irish CPs. Although they do not have a tremendous weight, they are a continuation of the Workers States. And the masses respect them on this basis. Further more it is necessary to take into account the influence of the process of partial regeneration on

them, as shown by the support that the N.I. CP gave to the soviet functioning of the Street Committees. This is new to the Irish CP.

The IV International has analysed, that the solution of the problem of Ireland lies in the struggle of the whole of the British masses. Since the process in Ireland is a concentrated expression of the force of the British working class. For this reason we appeal to all the revolutionary sectors in N.I. to link organically with the process in Britain, to act as a basis of support for the left tendency in the LP and the TUs. The conditions are mature for this, since the LP for the first time has formally come out condemning the policy of the Yanks in Vietnam & has supported the struggle of the revolutionary movement in Africa. Wedgwood Benn recently in the Yorkshire regional conference of the LP called for the organisation of the LP in the factory. This and the programme "Participation 72" are symptoms of the intervention of the British workers vanguard to reorganise the life of the LP since "Participation 72" calls for the constant political life in the TUs and LP Branches to intervene to formulate a programme for the LP. Here lies the solution to the Irish masses, to intervene impelling the left to impose an anti capitalist programme in the LP, ensuring the return of the left labour Government on an anti-capitalist programme. This will ensure the overthrow of the Tories, and hence a big blow to the bourgeoisie in Europe, since British capitalism has tried to use its electoral triumph to give strength to European capitalism.

These are the means to fight and weaken British Imperialism, to expel the troops from Ireland.

We appeal to all the revolutionary Irish Forces to discuss with the British section of the IV International all these problems, to discuss and understand the behaviour of the Workers States, the difference between the conduct of the Chinese and the Soviet Bureaucracy, to discuss the text of the International Secretariat on Ireland, to discuss the text of Posadas on the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the LP.

Viva the struggle of the Irish masses to overthrow Heath, Lynch and Faulkner.

EDITORIAL Continued from page 1.

## For a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the Labour Party and Trade Unions

opposition. It was a disgusting display by a sector of the parliamentary Labour Party, which beyond verbal expression of support did nothing during the miners strike; and does nothing to support the Northern Irish masses. The Parliamentary left of the LP has shown itself in the past to be weak and vacillating, and now it demonstrates how much it is in collusion with the pro-capitalist right of the LP leadership.

It is true, of course, that the left of the Labour Party gives a distant expression of the struggle of the masses centralised in the Labour Party, but the Parliamentary left does not represent the Labour Party and, since the struggle is not in Parliament these MPs are more and more isolated from the reality of the life and struggle of the masses. The reality is the Miners Strike, the pickets, the struggle in Northern Ireland, in Vietnam, in the Middle East and, fundamentally, in the process of partial regeneration in the Soviet Union. The leadership of the Labour Party is completely remote from all this, they neither feel it, nor understand it. It is the working class which feels the weight and encouragement of the world revolutionary process as it advances its revolutionary struggle and revolutionary class methods.

The elevation of the struggle, and the methods of the class in Northern Ireland, in the miners strike, UCS, etc., which is expressed in the recent announcement by shop stewards at the HF Ward factory in Birmingham, that the factory was now 'Occupied and running under workers control,' does not negate the necessity to transform the Labour Party into an instrument of revolutionary action and to expel the right wing as the first step. This is the task in which the workers vanguard are already engaged, and it is no coincidence that a Labour Party factory branch has been created by Birmingham Engineering Workers, who

also intervened in a one day strike of 40,000—and 10,000 supporting the miners pickets—during the miners strike.

The factory branch is one method by which the weight of the workers vanguard in the factories can be transmitted into the Labour Party, and which allows the left in the Labour Party to base itself on the workers.

The discussion on factory branches which develops within the Labour Party is important, because it shows that a sector of the left in the Labour Party, tries to open the Party to the intervention of the working class. However, for the left in the Labour Party, to play a role in transforming the Labour Party, it has to go further than this, by basing itself on the revolutionary methods of the class, putting forward an anti-capitalist programme, by stimulating the creation of organisms of dual power, factory committees, workers district committees, etc. The process must be not one of discussion inside the apparatus, but of discussion in mass meetings, open to all the working class and petit bourgeois masses. Above all, the left in the Labour Party and Trade Unions, must base itself on—and extend its links with—the world revolution.

What accelerates the process in the Labour Party, is the increasing tempo of the world revolution, and the increasing intervention of the Soviet Union, in a way which is much more favourable to the revolution. The Soviet intervention in support of Bangla Desh, will stimulate the world revolution in the same way as its intervention in support of Egypt, of the Vietnamese masses has done.

Despite the fact that they have invited Nixon to Moscow, the Soviet leadership has been forced to treat Nixon's visit to China very coldly. Their attitude is closer to that of the Chinese masses who expressed only hostility, and the North Vietnamese and North Koreans

who condemned it, than it is to the Chinese leadership. It is true that the visit shows the weakness of Yankee imperialism, and it has created a panic in all the reactionary regimes in Asia, which are propped up by Yankee imperialism. However, Yankee imperialism still continues to bomb N. Vietnam, it still prepares to launch the war, and the policy of the Chinese leadership is against the interest of the Chinese Workers State and the world revolution. The Soviet Union has in the last period tended to make appeals to the Chinese masses, rather than to simply attack Chou En Lai, and Mao, and—limitedly—to support the idea of a world united anti-imperialist United Front.

This process of partial regeneration—as Posadas has analysed—in the Soviet Workers State is reflected in all the communist parties, and the fact that the 'Morning Star', in opposing the Nixon visit, said that the Chinese leadership should call for World United anti-imperialist action instead, shows that the British Communist Party is no exception. The communist militants have a weight in the working class in this country, but the CPGB has no future in competition with the Labour Party; the role it can play, basing itself in the authority of the Soviet Workers State, is in impelling the process in the Labour Party.

The fundamental centre of the crisis of the Labour Party, which is partly a crisis of growth and partly of dissolution, stems from the fact that the vanguard centres all its concern on the LP, tries to intervene in it, and the leadership is incapable and unwilling to respond to this. The result is a situation of dual power in the LP—and the TUs—which parallels the conditions of dual power on a world scale. In these conditions the workers vanguard, CP militants, and TU militants must make an open discussion on changing not only the leadership, but the whole structure of the LP. This means a discussion on class revolutionary methods, the imposition of proletarian democracy in the factories, with all

delegates subject to instant recall, and with all decisions to be taken at mass meetings—the construction of organisms of dual power, the necessity to unify the struggles of the British and Irish masses, with the formulation of an anti-capitalist programme with nationalisations under workers control, and without compensation. This discussion demands Marxism, the Marxism of today, which is contained in the documents of Cde. J. Posadas and the IV International, and essentially the right of tendency in the LP for the CP and the IV International.

7. 3. 72

### NEW PUBLICATION OF THE SECTION

#### A RESOLUTION BY THE P. B. ON THE BALANCE OF THE MINERS STRIKE

Price 5p from  
Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn St., London W.C.2.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



VIVA THE RELEASE OF ADOLFO GILLY,  
OSCAR FERNANDEZ BRUNO AND FRAN-  
CISCO LUNA.

THE R.W.P.(T) SALUTES AND THANKS ALL  
THOSE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED OUR  
CAMPAIGN AND COMRADE POSADAS  
ORGANISER OF THE CAMPAIGN.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 155 4th Friday of March 1972 PRICE 3p

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T)

## Organise the answer to the repressive actions of the Tory Government

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British section of the IV International, denounces the latest repressive measures of the British bourgeoisie, of searching the homes of certain militants of "International Socialism" with the excuse that they were looking for evidence to connect these militants with the Aldershot bombing. It is a complete lie! They are doing it to try to intimidate the vanguard in the unions in the LP and the CP, and also in the student movement and the left wing groups. We do not support the political positions of the IS group who are capitulators from trotskism, but we defend their right, as that of any other left group, to function freely and without intimidation.

The bourgeoisie have made this move against IS because they know it has no authority in the workers movement and that for this reason there will be no important repercussions. But what they have done today with IS they will do tomorrow with Trade Union militants, militants in the Labour Party and the Communist Party. The extension of the Irish repression to Britain has begun. The banning of the Anti-Internment league rally in Trafalgar Square is part of the same policy; Where are these people who are going to turn out in their thousands to make clashes with the demonstrators? They don't exist, this is only a very transparent excuse of the bourgeoisie.

But if the bourgeoisie begins to repress it does it from a position of weakness not of strength. They can, at most, profit initially from the passivity of the TU and LP and CP leaderships, but they cannot gain any real lasting advantage. But if the working class mobilises now, makes strikes and demonstrations, demands an end to all such action, the repeal of all laws which sanction them, the opening up of Trafalgar Square to any demonstration of the left, they can ensure that not even a temporary advantage is gained, and at the same time will accelerate the formation of committees of dual power in the factories, in the workers areas, stimulate the discussion on the class nature of the state in the political organisations of the class, and stimulate the advance of the left in the LP which understands that the final decision is not in parliament, but outside it, and that the structure of the LP must be made adequate for the task of organising the smashing of this state, and replacing it with the workers state. In this way, this repressive action of the Capitalist class will be converted into political and organisational advantage for the working class.

## The declaration of Bilak and the process of the political revolu- tion in the Workers States

J. POSADAS 13. 2. 72

Extracts from "Le Monde"

On October the 21, 1971, M. Vasil Bilak, member of presidium and of the secretariat of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, in charge of relationships with other parties, presented, to the Central Committee, behind closed doors, a report dealing with "certain international questions". We are publishing passages of this declaration, which came to us, and which are dedicated to the policy of other communist parties.

M. Bilak is notoriously pro-Soviet. In January 1968, he succeeded of M. Dubcek—named first secretary of the Czechoslovakian CP—at the head of the Slovak Party. After the invasion—accused of "collaboration"—he was obliged to yield his position to M. Husak, but after the fall of M. Dubcek he was "rehabilitated". He then became one of the principle leaders, and saw that the normalised party recognised the rightful character of the Soviet intervention. He even affirms that the troops of the Warsaw Pact had answered a call for help from the Czechoslovakian militants. By criticising the positions of several brother parties, M. Bilak probably expresses the thoughts of the Kremlin leaders.

"The positions of the leadership of the CP and of the socialist republic of Rumania on a number of important international policy problems," declared M. Bilak, "alarms not only the members of the party, but each of our citizens who cherish socialism. The proof of this is given by the numerous questions put forward in international and public meetings of the party, on the character of these attitudes. This is understandable. (...)

"The essential reason for these divergences between communist and workers parties, among which is ours, and the leadership of the Rumanian CP is the tendency it has to oppose the national-

ist interests of Rumania to the internationalist obligations derived from this country belonging to the socialist community. It would like to create a situation where Rumania could draw unilateral advantages from the co-operation between socialist countries, and at the same time not feel bound to the collective engagements the Rumanian, Socialist Republic derived by belonging to the Warsaw Pact.

"Faced with the demands concerning the re-enforcement of the unity of the socialist countries, and the deepening of the socialist integration, the Rumanian leadership stresses the principles of non-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## The significance of the Bilak document

In this text of Posadas which we publish there isn't expressed the view of a small sectarian group which identifies the development of the revolution with its own development. The text of the speech of Bilak, with its significance but also with its limitations, is an integral part of the document.

This speech of Bilak is a public intervention, directed to the Communist parties of all the world: it is an intervention on the problem of the construction of Socialism seen in one of its most concrete and most fundamental aspects—the unification of all the Communist forces on a world scale, beginning with the Workers' States. One of the greatest limits of this discussion is the clandestine way in which it is waged. For the first time theoretical formulations appear which are quite new for the communist movement: like the characterisation of the policy of some of the Workers' States as being determined by "regional interests;" this definition is a Posadist one, but obviously it is not a matter of copyright of definitions but rather of ideological rigour: characterisations like this one don't come out just like that, suddenly, they are the dialectical conclusion to a profound and continued analysis of the world situation, of the forces that determine in the process of the revolution, and using them like that without saying where they come from, without saying who originated them, means not using all the forces that exist in such a fundamental debate, this means utilizing elements of Marxism without making use of the Marxist method. When comrade Posadas intervenes on this aspect of the speech of Bilak, he does it in order to give an impulse to the discussion already developing, giving a beautiful example of the application of Marxism.

The Editorial Board

## EDITORIAL

## The tasks after the miners' strike

After the victory of the miners strike, which was an enormous blow to the social, political and economic authority of the Tories, after the huge economic concessions they have had to make over U.C.S., and faced with sectors of the bourgeoisie who rather than use the Industrial Relations Act conciliate with the TU's, the capitalist class both here and in Ireland take desperate measures against all the working class and the left to try to terrorise and intimidate the masses and to try to maintain some form of authority in front of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. The dawn raids on homes of the left by the police, the banning of Irish demonstrations from Trafalgar Square, the arresting of MPs. are examples of this. While in N. Ireland the Unionist Vanguard movement begins to mobilise publicly with para-military demonstrations and the practice of terror bombing by the right intensifies. The vicious speech of Craig when he referred to "liquidating" the opposition are part of this same process.

The bourgeoisie is in a state of frenzy because they don't have any solution to the crisis of the system which they created, and hence they act in this way. On the one hand they make some concessions and on the other trying to terrorise. They are going to try to carry out a policy of repression but it is doomed to failure before it begins. The social base of the bourgeoisie daily diminishes, the petit bourgeoisie which in a previous period supported it, now joins the miners in their pickets, demonstrates against the repression in N. Ireland.

The ruling class profits from the fact that there is no leadership in the Working class here or in Ireland with a marxist understanding of the tasks it is necessary to do. There is no leadership which is prepared to lead the struggle from the stage of the economic demands, to the direct confrontation with capitalism and to the downfall of the Tories. There is no leadership, be it in the LP the CP or the TU's which is prepared to see the necessity of linking the struggles over wages, hours and conditions of work to the struggle in Ireland and the necessity to mobilise to throw out the Tories and to replace them with a Labour govern-

ment with the right wing eliminated; and which will implement the Anti Capitalist programme.

But undeterred by this absence of Leadership the working class is constructing a new one, in its daily activities. In the Labour Party constituency branches, among the Labour counsellors, in the trade union movement, in the Communist Party and in the tenants committees there are militants preparing themselves to lead this struggle in the coming stage. And at the same time the class is impelling where possible—as in the case of the miners—and overcoming—as in the case of the engineers—their leaderships and going forward to confront capitalism in massive actions. The spirit of the miners is a constant stimulus to all the class and their new wage demand shows their utter contempt for the capitalist system, while the determination of the engineers to get their wage increases despite the role of their leadership in failing to organise any unified action shows the confidence they feel in that they can overcome any obstacle which stands in their way. Now only a few months since the occupation of UCS this method of action is acceptable and

used by the working class.

Faced with no organising initiative coming from their leadership we make an appeal to the engineers to call mass meetings of all their members in all the factories, to discuss how to overcome the lack of an organising centre in their campaign for wage increases, to discuss how to make links with other engineering workers in other factories, so as to co-ordinate their struggle, how to make links with the local population, make links with the tenants committees, so that they don't struggle alone with each factory isolated, but that they overcome the lack of an organising centre. It is necessary to discuss in all the factories all the problems which confront the masses today, the rising cost of living, the lack of good housing the poor educational system, the rising expense of public transport, the civil war in Ireland, so that the demands made by the engineers are not only linked to their own specific requirements but are linked to the rest of the exploited population. Above all they must see their struggle as the same as the struggle of the masses in N. Ireland, and must include demands such as the immediate withdrawal of British troops from N. Ireland, and the end of internment, in any programme which they produce.

All the world revolutionary process goes against any new initiatives of the right. On a world scale it is the Workers States and world communist Parties which see the necessity of common action, particularly the Soviet Union which has called for the formation of a new Cominform. This is going to provoke a great deal of discussion in all the Workers States and CPs and is

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The declaration of Bilak and the process of the political revolution in the Workers States

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

interference and of sovereignty, concepts outside any class spirit; it talks of the indispensable limitation of the influence of the Warsaw Pact on the socialist countries, etc... It refuses to talk of a struggle against the opportunist, deviationists, against revisionism, and nationalism in the world communist movement. It even proclaims that the delegation of the Rumanian CP signed, not without reserves, the document of the 1969 Moscow Conference, and that this conference contributed to the unity of the world communist movement.

"In the party's ideological work, everything national is judged in a very slightly critical way, and is the object of praise, be it the history of Rumania, or the literary creation, and the arts in general; they even talk of the extraordinary qualities of the Rumanian people. Even if, showing the greatest understanding, we wish to tolerate certain particularities, even though they are incomprehensible to us—we cannot be expected to close our eyes to the fact that in relation to its foreign policy, the leadership of the Rumanian CP adopts an attitude directed against the interests of the socialist community and, in the end, against the very interests of the Rumanian people.

"Although, according to the usual practice, the socialist countries inform each other mutually of the important measures in relation to the foreign policy, the Rumanian Socialist Republic not only has done nothing of the sort but, moreover, does not even keep to a common action in questions concerning the interests of all the members of the Warsaw Pact. The position of the Rumanian leadership on the Czechoslovakian events, giving their full support to the right-wing forces, is sufficiently well known; this leadership still persists today in its opinions.

"The trip made by the comrade N. Ceausescu to the Chinese Peoples Republic has aroused a great alarm not only in our party and in our Republic, but also in other socialist countries, and in the progressive milieu of the whole world. Even the bourgeois press has called this trip a demonstration against the USSR, and against the whole Warsaw Pact.

"The Rumanian delegation—as it is testified by the communique they signed in China—not only passed in silence over the attacks made by the Chinese representatives against the USSR, the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon, but also accepted praises—as affirmed by the Chinese—for "the courage of the Rumanian Socialist Republic in its resistance to the pressure of a great power."

"This attitude of the Rumanian leaders, which is not founded on a class spirit, is also testified by the fact that they identify themselves with the thesis on the indispensable unification of the States, small and middle sized, in the struggle against the so-called super powers, which in the Chinese dictionary implies above all to the Soviet Union. This is a painful paradox: they give themselves the objective of uniting in the struggle against the main support of socialism—the Soviet Union—even countries such as Portugal, the fascist Spain of Franco, and Saudi Arabia, where a semi-feudal, semi-slave regime exists.

"Quite obviously there is in the Sino-Rumanian communique no mention made of the indispensable unification of the world socialist system. The Chinese leadership has used the Rumanian delegation's visit to achieve its own nationalist and anti-Soviet objectives. However, the Rumanian and Chinese coming together has a temporary and scarcely stable character, because the pretensions for hegemony of the Chinese leadership and the limited national objectives of the Rumanian CP are logically in contradiction; not mentioning Rumania's objective needs, which, without a co-operation with the countries of the Comecon, would quite evidently find themselves in a situation without solution.

In another part of his report, M. Bilak congratulated himself on the improvement of the socialist countries' relationships with Yugoslavia and expressed the hope he drew from this for the future.

"But," he added, "we must take into

account the reality; there exists in this country forces, which are not interested in the socialist perspective of Yugoslavia nor by an improvement of its relationships with the countries, forming the essential nucleus of world socialism.

"The influence of the working class on the formation of the Yugoslavian policy is weak, and many attempts to change this state of things have not, to this day, been crowned with success. There are some serious problems, even in what concerns the unity of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, and of its role as a leadership in society. The leadership of the Communist League of Yugoslavia does not have in its hand neither the written press nor the spoken press.

"In its international relationships, Yugoslavia still keeps to the position of so-called non-commitment, even if this policy estranges it from the socialist community and from the international communist movement.

"We do not want to interfere with the Yugoslavian affairs, but we do concern ourselves with the re-enforcement in this country of the socialist principles, and with its leadership to express itself according to the principles of marxism-leninism. On the basis of our experience, we say frankly to the Yugoslavian representatives that, in the hard class struggle, the warning and the prayers addressed to the enemies of socialism are not efficient, and that inconsistencies and abandoning the positions of marxism-leninism are always paid for at very high prices."

M. Bilak also stated that "the absolute majority of the brother parties support today's policy of the Czechoslovakian CP", especially as "our experience of the struggle against opportunism, helps them efficiently in the struggle against opportunism in their own ranks."

"In certain brother parties there was expressed the opinion that they could not revise their incorrect positions taken on the 1968 events of Czechoslovakia, without dealing a blow to their unity, and without weakening their authority on the population. Life demonstrates, however, that exactly the opposite happens. The brother parties, who, from the very beginning took a clearly internationalist position, or who revised their first unilateral position on the events of Czechoslovakia, have re-enforced their own ranks and their links with the working class, and with the workers of their country. Today there only remain a few parties, which still make reserves in relation to the line of our party. This is essentially the case of the CPs of Australia, of Great Britain, of Spain and also on a certain number of problems, the Italian CP.

"Although we have been noticing for quite a long time now, certain centrifugal tendencies in the Italian CP's policy, we have sought not to complicate our mutual relationships. It is for this reason that we have suggested more than once to the leadership of this party to concentrate particularly on the questions which unite us, that is to say on the struggle against our common class enemy. Our kindness, however, has not met with much echo. On the contrary, the Italian CP's press has published the point of views of eminent officials of the Italian CP, which sometimes took against our party and of open interference with our internal affairs.

"The fact that some CPs still do not understand what actually happened in our party and in our country, also has deeper reasons, due to different opinions on a number of questions concerning the programme, the strategy and the tactics of the world communist movement. This is why we must be patient so that life and time confirms that the truth is on our side."

In relation to the emotion aroused in Czechoslovakia by the execution of the communists in Sudan, M. Bilak judged it was useful to precise that these "noble reactions" demonstrated a lack of knowledge of the situation.

"It would not have been wise to willfully abandon positions acquired with some difficulty in Sudan or elsewhere. We would only have made the game of imperialism, which would be glad to see us lose the possibility of influencing coming events by breaking our contacts with the progressive forces, decided to

carry forward their righteous struggle. Moreover, there were in the Sudanese events factors, which it is impossible to talk of publicly," said M. Bilak.

These "factors" are obviously the "errors" made by the leadership of the Sudanese party. The "group" around Mahgoub, also moving towards sectarian positions, was wrong in criticising the revolutionary democratic regime of the "progressive officers of Nemeiry" who had brought down a regime representing "feudals and the big bourgeoisie". Another part of the leadership, favourable to a complete co-operation with Nemeiry, rejected the methods of the general secretary, and provoked a split inside the party. Mahgoub, after escaping from prison, "began to prepare a military coup, of which neither we, nor the other brother parties knew anything about", precised M. Bilak. He esteemed that the putsch was badly prepared, had neither the support of the masses nor of the army. Moreover, the negative attitude of the general secretary of the Sudanese CP in relation to the project of a Federation of Arab Republics, won him the hostility of Egypt and of Libya, and aided the game of the pro-Americans. Now, in M. Bilak's opinion, it is necessary to help the Sudanese comrades to recognise their errors and to act differently.

(End of the report in "Le Monde" 12th February 1972)

From "La Vanguardia Espanola"

"... One of the greatest errors of Gierk is that of having shown a position of toleration with respect to the Catholic Church, a clear symptom of weakness. The Polish party is criticised for its lack of energy in the agrarian policy (Lack of collectivisation of agriculture). Bilak is not convinced that Gierk will succeed in solving the problems of the Polish economy, which could lead to a new "explosion" (as that of the port workers in December 1969)."

(End of the version in "La Vanguardia Espanola" of the 17 of February 72 which is the end of the resume of the press reports of Bilak to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP.)

This report of Bilak to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, according to what they say, was made in October. It only appears now because the Czechoslovak Communist Party has given it to the press in an indirect, hidden camouflaged form. The analysis, the critical judgement which it makes is in the name of a tendency, of a leadership which seeks to make the Communist parties more homogeneous in order to take power. It is not just a criticism on one or another aspect. No. It is a tendency which seeks to make the Communist Parties homogeneous in order to go towards power. The article is directed to the interior of the Communist Parties to reanimate the struggle of tendencies, in order to oppose the tendencies of the right and of the centre with political arguments, and to help them to understand the process of the nationalist movements. This is new in the world communist movement. They have never before been preoccupied with this process, while now they are preoccupied to understand.

Before this, eight months ago, the Soviet Bureaucracy through radio Moscow, openly criticised the CP of Argentina for not having understood "The nationalist process of Peronism" and "Having served the oligarchy and imperialism." It was a direct criticism of the CP of Argentina. When they reiterate such critical judgements—as in this report of Bilak—which electorally are compromising statements, when they risk their electoral interest it is because they seek political effects superior to an electoral result, even if not immediately. It seeks to put the world Communist Movement in order so that it understands what is happening in the world; the revolutionary state, the nationalist movement, the historic and concrete extent of the nationalist movement. No communist movement understands it, they are not prepared to understand it, they have not been educated in this comprehension. Now, in an impetuous, hasty form they have to understand it. As no communist party has the pre-occupation, the preparation and the quality to understand it, Moscow is trying to intervene in an indirect form through the Czechoslovakian CP to elevate the internal struggle in the CP's so as to understand this process.

The Soviets do not propose to carry forward a revolutionary struggle or an open factional struggle, but certainly they want to stimulate the CP's to understand this process. It is a stimulus which is directed to combat a whole conservative apparatus of the CP's and it seeks to understand how to utilise the forces of this stage of history which are not those of any other stage. No longer is it the nationalism of any previous stage. It is a nationalism which has differences among itself, between one country

From Corriere della Sera.

"From new information received today in Vienna, it states that Bilak had formulated a negative judgement also with respect to Hungary, Poland, and East Germany, where the Communist parties are more or less foreign to the fundamental principles of Marxism Leninism."

"In Hungary, according to Bilak, they have committed the same errors which the Czechoslovak leaders committed in 66 and 67; the Hungarian economic reforms will have the same political consequences as the "little reforms" which were realised during the last period of the dictatorship of Novotny in Prague. The economic mechanism would escape the control of the party setting in motion centrifugal forces which, with time, would put the very leadership of the party in difficulties. The fall of Novotny and the election of Dubcek had been provoked, according to Bilak, by a series of analogous errors to those which Kadar and his collaborators were committing now. Bilak had said to the plenum that the 'Hungarian Brothers' had been informed of this Czech point of view."

"Bilak announced himself to be sceptical also in relation to the efforts of the Polish leader Gierk to better the standard of living in the country. In the judgement of the Czech leader, the Polish regime would tend to too much complacency in relation to the church and this was a symptom of 'weakness.' Bilak afterwards manifested 'grave reserve' on the importance given by Gierk to the factory committees after his meeting with the workers of the shipyards of the Baltic. The relative autonomy given to these committees could result in 'a situation of anarcho-syndicalism' objectively in contradiction with the leadership which Gierk wanted to secure. From these there could emerge new conflicts and the regime would be weakened later."

"Finally, referring to Eastern Germany, Bilak said that it would need twenty years to allow the political and economic apparatus of the German Democratic republic to recuperate from the consequences of the 'sclerotic management' of Walter Ulbricht."

End of the version in "Corriere della Sera" of the 14 February, 72.

and another, in relation to the forces which make it up, through its relation with the masses but when it acquires a certain vigor and representation, it doesn't have any other way out than to go towards the destruction of the capitalist regime and to take anti-capitalist measures. This is what the Soviets are trying to make the CP's understand. The CP's who do not and cannot understand. And also to break the conservative, national, regional local interest of each Communist Party.

...Because of this the qualification which the Soviets are making of the Chinese leadership is important—which is the first time that they make this qualification—of having a "national interest." It is the first time that they have done it. The only ones who have made this qualification has been the IV International in the VIII World Congress and in the texts of Posadas. Outside ourselves no one has qualified this "national interest." When the Soviets make this qualification and pose to the Rumanians "You support the Chinese who have a national interest," it is because they are seeking to understand and to stimulate the Communist Parties to base themselves on the comprehension of the world process of the revolution. This has a direct effect against the conservative communist parties, which is practically 100 per cent of them. And in it is going to have an effect also in Moscow.

When they are obliged to make this policy it is to maintain the cohesion of the world Communist movement, and to seek unification in order to give stability to the necessity

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

of the unification and relation of the world Communist movement, and they cannot do it with lies. They have to situate themselves in real concrete and historic necessities. The structure reached by the revolution prevents them manoeuvring with bureaucratic national and regionalist measures. They cannot do it, even though they want to, they cannot do it. It is excluded because the structure reached by the revolution surpasses them completely, it is a whole world process. ...

In Argentina, Lanusse who came from the centre linked to the right—not the right but the centre linked to the right—has just been in Ecuador and he has just brought out a declaration in which he poses the "elimination of ideological frontiers" and they have recognised the Chinese Workers State. Lanusse recognises the Chinese Workers State! It is a concession which he has to make to the nationalist wing so that the nationalists don't do it directly, he does it to try to contain the process. This shows the structure which history has reached. It is not a question of one country or another but history in its whole which is dominated by the Workers States, the development of the world revolution and the pressure of countries which are going towards the socialist revolution.

The Soviets see themselves facing the necessity to understand this process. Bangladesh is an expression of this, and joined with Bangladesh, in part is the strike of the British miners. Not through the trade union economic interest which its leadership tries to give it, but through the impulse which such a strike means, the origin of such a strike, the encouragement which signifies that it doesn't come from economic interests. They are social, historic interests infinitely superior to all the economic conquests which are being sought. It is part of this world process.

Moscow has to intervene to try to put in order the Communist Parties which are backward, they are "colonial parties," of the colonial epoch. They do not respond to this necessity. Because of this there comes the criticism, published for the first time, of the Communist Parties of Italy, or France, of Sudan, of the big Communist Parties. It is the first time that they make such criticisms public which is directed to respond and to affirm one of the most demanding necessities of the progress of humanity; THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

The unity of the world Communist movement is the essential element of the progress of history. More important than all atomic arms and all the scientific advances is the unity of the Communist movement. This is what it is necessary to pose. We were the only ones who posed this. From six years ago this was posed in all the texts of Posadas THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK OF HISTORY IS THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. Because of this the different countries, of Argentina, of Uruguay, of Chile, of Italy, of France, the Communist leaders who polemised with us when they receive sharp severe criticisms of ours, fraternal criticisms, in the discussion they say, "Yes, Yes we know that you criticise for progress. Your criticisms are to progress, to impel."

It is the first time that the Soviets make such a criticism of the Communist parties. They have never done it before, never have they put themselves in a position to confront the Communist Parties in a direct form. Never! There have been attempts to Breznev, in the two world meetings of the Communist parties, made in Moscow, but very faintly. Now it is directly; "the objective is the unity of the Communist movement to finish with capitalism." This is the objective which they pose. It is taken from all our documents, from all our orientations, and directed to the Communist Parties. This is the objective of such a report of Bilak.

The bourgeoisie do not publish this because their journalists have managed to get hold of it, but because the Soviets have sought the way to make it public. From such a report, the conclusion is a whole anti-capitalist line. It doesn't call for conciliation with the capitalist system. It is a whole anti-capitalist line, "the unity of the Communist movement to construct socialism." Without doubt it is the interest of the Soviets, but historically it is not the interest of the Soviet bureaucracy although directly, it is their interest which needs the unity of the Communist movement, because they have to construct a new world and they cannot do it on their own.

In all our texts, and particularly in the last cadre schools of the International, we posed why the bureaucracy cannot reproduce itself. The structure of history has reached such a level that it escapes from the control of the bureaucracy, it bypasses it, and the bureaucracy cannot control nor dominate it. And the Soviets see themselves obliged to face the construction of a new world; socialism. How to do it. With whom, what policy, what programme, what instrument? They feel that they don't have a party. They have to renovate the Communist Parties, liquidate the old conservative leaderships and they don't know how to do it. They

are frightened.

The Soviets through this report of Bilak are impelling the CP's to take power. In whose name? Because of this the Communist leaders fear our intervention, they are conscious that we are in a minority, but a minority which has a quality which by itself has an immense quantity because it is based on the comprehension of the necessity of the process of history. They fear this, and because of this no accused communist party has responded to this report of Bilak; they all know it but none of them say anything about it! When the Soviets make it public it is because they want to have a direct effect on the Communist Parties, and this is a help to us. Such a discussion is not a chance thing or an incident or a crisis of the Czechoslovak party in which one tendency gives this report to the press. No. No. It is directed to struggle, to intervene directly in the Communist Party, to encourage and stimulate tendencies which are seeking to go towards the power and to understand the process of history.

The Soviet bureaucracy isn't right in everything which it says. The problems of Czechoslovakia and of the Soviet Union cannot be explained as they have done it. The logical explanation has to begin by posing why do these events happen, what origin do they have, why was there Stalin, why isn't it possible to discuss publicly, why isn't it discussed in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union? If you appeal to the Communist Parties to understand, Soviet comrades, why don't we discuss Czechoslovakia publicly, why don't you make assemblies, meetings, cell meetings, soviet meetings. Why don't we discuss?

The Soviet bureaucracy, in a bureaucratic form, tries to respond to the necessity of progress. But what is underlined is not the bureaucratic form, but that it must respond to progress. Because before it was always bureaucratic against progress, now it is bureaucratic for progress. Which indicates the internal changes which the structure reached by the revolution imposed on the Soviet bureaucracy. In the texts of J. Posadas "The article of Ponomariov and the historic and concrete function of Trotskyism as a consistent continuation of Marxism." 26.12.71, we posed how it is necessary to discuss how it is necessary to explain history. The Communist militant sees, that Stalinism lasted for 30 years and recently it finished. Why? Who threw out Stalin? He is no longer in history or in the dictionary, he has been totally eliminated. The Communist militant asks "Well, and what happened, why is there no Communist International, why does each communist party carry forward its personal policy, its local policy, why?" The Soviets try to combat the national policy of the Communist Parties but they don't explain why they carry this policy forward. And this is what the Communist movement wants to know why do they carry this policy forward? We polemise with Ponomariov in this text and at the same time we give the method to discuss, we say how to discuss. We didn't discuss any old thing, but how it is necessary to discuss.

The level reached by the world Communist movement demands a form of dialectical discussion, as has always been the necessity, to respond to the problems of before and of now, but which now are more concentrated, without forgetting or hiding or ignoring the past. Not to live in the past, but seeing how to act now. We give a norm to the Communists of how it is necessary to discuss. And they are obliged to discuss in this way even if they do it bureaucratically. Because of this we say "they work as a Communist International without the policy and without the objectives of a Communist International." But when they are obliged to utilise bureaucratically, methods which are necessary for the stimulus to the revolution, the one who gains is the ascent of the revolution and not the bureaucratic method. The Soviets are stimulating this. They are not proposing to stimulate Trotskyism, but this discussion on Czechoslovakia is a support for Trotskyism in all the world directly. In all the world.

This criticism by the Soviet Bureaucracy to the other Communist Parties is still a bureaucratic criticism, but with necessary objectives and orientations. It is not completely just, not just in the structure which they give to the criticism, but the road which they are taking is the necessary one; "It is necessary to unite the world Communist movement, it is necessary to discuss each country in agreement with the common interest of the construction of socialism." Thus they pose "It is not necessary to take the regional interest into account, but the total interest of the world." These are the principles of Marxism we agree. But with what programme, what policy, what tactic, what organism. This is what is going to be discussed. They do not pose either policy, or tactic, programme or organisms. But this is what is going to be discussed. And this report of Bilak favours this discussion even though they pose the problem in a general way, bureaucratically, trying to evade how it should be posed, how it should be discussed.

sed. But they don't propose to do it as a consequence of theoretical elaboration and understanding.

The essential condition is that the nationalist movement, whatever minimum level it starts from, if it has the support of the masses, is transformed in its own movement. Before reaching social-economic objectives, an internal transformation comes about which is impelled by the world development of the revolution. The world effects of the revolution are every time more centralised than the individual conquests of each country, or of each Communist Party. More and more the world conquest of the revolution develops in all the world and succeeds in influencing other countries, from Czechoslovakia up to Bangla Desh. Each one advances and advances and has more and more direct effects, while the Communist Parties are insensible to this. The Soviets are sensitive to it, they are forced to be sensitive but the Communist parties are not they are backward!

An essential part of the world revolution is the crisis of the Communist Parties. This is part of the world revolution. New leaderships are needed who will face up to the taking of power. These communist parties are not going to take power, they are frightened of it and they evade it and as a result the development of the internal struggles within the Communist Parties increase. There are very profound struggles which do not appear on the surface, but they are frightened because they are all people who have lived in the apparatus, with parliamentary conceptions and policy. And now they are going to face the taking of power, they want to take power, to go towards power but they are uncertain, they doubt. They give a long perspective before the revolution. They do not profit from the opportunity, the favourable conditions of this stage because they don't have the method, they don't have Marxism, they don't have a party prepared for this. Moscow has a dilemma. Because for Moscow it is a question of the problem of the atomic war with Yankee imperialism, a question of the final settlement of accounts. Thus there is a clash between Moscow and the CPs. In this clash the one who is right in this problem is Moscow. But neither Moscow, nor the Communist Parties pose what programme, what policy, to make. Much the closest one to this, is the Communist party of the Soviet Union because it must face up to the problems of immediately eliminating capitalism. It tries to gain time. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union also makes quite a profound "penetrative" policy which is its policy with Willy Brandt and the European Security pact. But at the same time as it makes this policy it supports Bangla Desh, it impels the Communist movement in the Middle East, it strengthens Iraq and it stimulates Iraq to make a criticism of the Communist Parties for not having understood the nationalist movement, it intervenes in the Communist Party of Lebanon to impel the rest of the parties of the Middle East, and "AL GOUMHURIA" of Egypt for the first time make a very great eulogy of the Communist Party of Lebanon which is very important, and poses that with this action the CP of Lebanon strengthens and develops the unity of all the anti-imperialist movement. This is the first time that the Egyptians do this.

The communist parties do not understand this. They are seeking to eliminate capitalism, but they don't know how to organise, they don't want to organise. They have a very great internal struggle in them. The British Communist Party does not understand the process or the significance of the miners strike. The strike of the British miners is the struggle for power! The objective of the leadership is wage increase, but the impulse, which determined this movement is not the wage increase. They are making the miners strike in the worst conditions for the masses, with the conservative government, with the anti-strike law, with a bureaucracy which opposes the strike, and yet they make such a strike! There is an economic crisis, all the conditions are against the workers. Then why do they make the strike, where does the stimulus come from. From the world process of the revolution! They have carried on the strike for more than a month, and the importance of this miners strike is that it is not only against British Imperialism but against the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, it is going to dynamise and influence in the internal relations of the Labour Party. It is going to influence it internally, move it to the left, going to impel left tendencies, which are going to adopt a conduct like that of the proletarian electorate in England, which didn't vote so as not to elect the bourgeois leadership of the LP in the last elections, and now it makes a strike like this. It is to show this is the road, and it has direct effects.

The strike of the English miners is a consequence, a result of the direct influence of the world process of the revolution, whose objectives, whose consequences, bypass the economic interest. It

is going to mean a very great influence to the left wing of the Labour workers movement, of the TU and of the Party, animating it to fight for revolutionary positions. Already there are the consequences within the Labour Movement united to the Irish movement.

The mobilisation of the masses of Ireland is also a result of this. There is a new Vietnam developing in Britain. IT IS A NEW FORM OF VIETNAM. Vietnam means a constant state of war, in which the masses do not retreat, do not yield. They do not yield either to the leadership, or to capitalism. This is Vietnam. The form of the struggle can be armed, military or political. But the Vietnam of Britain can no longer go back. IT CAN NO LONGER RETREAT. Already more the British masses, be it through the mobilisations of Ireland, be it through the mobilisation of the miners, are expressing a very profound state of resolution, which will have its effects on the Labour Party.

The British Communist Party doesn't understand anything of this process. Up to now it believed that it was a counselor, a protector of the masses. It hoped to be the leadership of the masses. We have posed to the Communist Party of Britain, "This is not your function, you will never be the leadership of the masses of England. Certainly, the leadership of the masses of England is going to be Communist, but afterwards. Now it is necessary to help the Labour Masses to take power, to organise the revolutionary leadership, this is your function." We posed this for the first time in the history of Britain. And the Soviets say to the British Communists "What is the function of the British Communist Party?" They say the same thing to the communists of Belgium. It has been Moscow who has posed this about the function of the British and Belgian communist parties, their function of support and help for the development of the revolutionary tendency within the Socialist Party and the TU's to take power. This is the function of the Communist Party of both countries. In neither of these two countries does the Communist Party have the perspective of leading the revolution, leading the taking of power and representing the masses. It doesn't have the capacity nor the historic time, nor the means to do it. Because the mass movement has developed outside them.

The Soviets need to understand this process, and because of this they publish this discussion on Czechoslovakia. It directs itself to criticising the CP's so that they react. The criticism of the Sudanese CP is the most beautiful. We were the only ones who did this.\* We were the only ones who at the same time as we made a homage to the secretary of the Communist Party for his personal valour, his dignity as a communist militant, criticised him politically, politically he was mistaken. We were the only ones who posed this. At the same time as we rendered homage to his political dignity we condemned him politically. It was a political error to die as a third prisoner. No, he should have died shouting "Viva Communism" not in silence. He should have died condemning the capitalist system, died appealing for the taking of power. And the Soviets, through Bilak now criticise the Sudanese Communist Party for not having understood the nationalist movement, "Not having supported the coup of Neumeri, and the progressive officers". They make the same analysis as we did. Moscow criticises them for not understanding the movement. Where do the Soviets get their arguments from, because they didn't make them before? Nor did Ponomariov in the criticism which he made to us. They are very superficial criticisms, which he makes. Ponomariov is on the right of Breznev, he is not the left of the Soviet leadership.

When the Soviets make this criticism of the Sudanese CP it is because they are seeking to understand and to stimulate the communist parties. It is a criticism, which can be generalised to all the world communist movement. And this report and discussion of Bilak is from October, not from now. The communist parties have hidden all this. Nevertheless the relationship of the Communist Parties from October up to now, has got closer to us. Among these Communist Parties is the Mexican CP, in which among the most important events is that this CP is in crisis, and they have thrown out Siqueiros. The Soviets are against Siqueiros, they have expelled him. And this same party, which has expelled Siqueiros, proposes the rehabilitation in the Soviet Union of Zinoviev, Kameney and Trotsky. It has asked that the Soviet Union rehabilitates them.

(\*). The Nationalist revolution, the permanent revolution, and the experiences in Sudan. J. Posadas. I. 8. 71.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The declaration of Bilak and the process....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Moscow doesn't seek to advance the Trotskyist movement, but it seeks to advance, for in order to advance, it finds that the Communist Parties are no use, none of them are any use. They all have regional interests, all of them. The attack, which Bilak macks of the Rumanians and of the Yugoslavs, and the accusation, which the Soviets make to the Rumanians in relation to its alliance with the Chinese, and in relation to its the Communist Parties, particularly to "national interests" is directed to all those of France and of Italy, to attack and eliminate all the nationalist interests. It is not done through a theoretical dispute, but by a programmatic dispute, so that they have to give a theoretical explanation. The Soviets are trying to impel a programme. "What interests are there? The national regional interest, or the world construction of socialism?" The Soviet bureaucracy feels itself obliged to attack the national interest, because it cannot solve by itself the problems of the world, without uniting itself to the world Communist movement. It alone cannot resolve, and at the same time this is going to have effects in the Soviet Union.

Because of this we give a very great importance to the publication of the discussion in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Even if the discussion is already four months old it is not antiquated, it is up to date. All the Communist Parties are in the same situation, which Bilak criticises. Each one has regional and nationalist interest. In all of them the tradition, the consistency, the continuity of revolutionary experiences of marxist thinking, of marxist life is lacking. None of them have it. Moscow needs this, but in its turn it doesn't live in Moscow either. When the Soviet bureaucracy feels obliged to criticise the Communist Parties it doesn't stay there, it is going to rebound in Moscow. Immediately it is going to rebound in Moscow. IT SIGNIFIES A STAGE OF THE PROCESS OF THE PARTIAL REGENERATION.

The text of Bilak is a confirmation of the partial regeneration, it shows how they are obliged to pass to a more advanced stage of the partial regeneration, to discuss the problems of communism in a theoretical form, with a limitation on the bureaucracy, which has to be careful for itself, its power, its post of leadership, and it is frightened. But it has to incite a theoretical discussion, and all theoretical discussion goes against them. It is not possible to discuss theoretically wanting to limit the scope. No. Opening up a theoretical discussion is going to go against them. And we have the texts to do this, and it is necessary to prepare ourselves.

This attitude of Bilak forms part of a process, which is the announcement of the type of intervention, which the Soviet bureaucracy is going to make. The Soviet bureaucracy is going to go much

further, much further. In the measure that the necessity of the war harasses it, it is going to go much further, much further. Thus as the bureaucracy reached the stage of invading Poland, now it is going to invade the Communist Parties who ever they may be. It is not going to respect private property, and with a just right it is going to intervene in all the Communist Parties, and also it is going to call for rebellion. They are going to appeal for the taking of power. If it intervened in Poland and Finland nobody is going to suggest that they don't do it in other Communist Parties also. Because the interest of the Soviet bureaucracy to survive obliges it to defend the objective interests of the Workers State.

Moscow is going to intervene as it is also in the world revolution. Did it intervene or not in the Middle East? Moreover, the Soviets have already declared: everything that happens in the Mediterranean interests them, everything that happens in Europe interests them. The Soviets are not going to allow the Yankees to do whatever they want. Even in the question of Greece and Cyprus the Soviets have said: "Eh, watch what you are doing there", it stopped the Yanks who wanted to intervene. Because of this the Yanks had to change and make an agreement with Papadopoulos, and all these shameless types. The Soviets cannot be indifferent, they have to intervene. And they have the strength to intervene, and they are decided to intervene. While conciliating they are decided to intervene.

The changes in Moscow of the partial regeneration are determined by the course of the world ascent of the revolution. It is not the theoretical and political understanding of the Soviet bureaucracy, which produces the partial regeneration. This comes later. What produces the partial regeneration is that the course of the process reaches a very elevated magnitude, the development of the economy, of technique and of science, the social development of the masses is very great. And the social development signifies the political capacity of the masses, the revolutionary cultural capacity, the world development of the revolution, which acts so that Bangladesh tends towards becoming a Workers State, and that the Awami Party of Butto in West Pakistan comes out with a revolutionary programme against him. From where does the force of these small countries come, who don't have anything to eat, who have just been laid waste and smashed. This forces comes from the world influence, from the confidence, which the world course of the revolution gives. This process takes away the basis of bureaucratic support. Because of this the bureaucracy doesn't reproduce itself to sustain itself, because no longer is this its epoch. No longer can it govern bureaucratically. It is necessary to plan on the basis of marxism. The development of technique, of the economy, of science, the revolutionary understanding of the masses, the

world development of the revolution, which smashes countries such as Pakistan, oblige a conscious application of the method. No longer is it in the brutal forms as it was in the epoch of Stalin when he didn't have any competitors, didn't have to take account of anyone. He had smashed the proletariat, and broken the Communist Party, and at that moment the world revolution was in retreat. It is not like this now, now the world revolution is in ascent, ascent, ascent, and in the Awami Party there emerges a communist movement. These are the causes for which the bureaucracy is obliged to change, otherwise it would be dislodged. It is its self defence, which makes it change. But, making the changes, produces consequently, certain modifications, within its own interior. And among the modifications is that one wing, which is a part of them, acquires a confidence in communism. And it feeds and stimulates within its own movement (in layers who are not bureaucratically submitted, even if they have a bureaucratic origin) to progress in the Communist perspective, and to seek the understanding of the process. And as part of this they understand the need for the unification of all the countries which are Workers States.

At the same time, as the change is bureaucratic, as it is not a product of a communist life, of socialist democracy, nor of the marxist programme, it doesn't have either the policy or the programme, which responds to this need for the unification of the communist world. There is a vacuum between the necessity, which is expressed and the programme to reach it. Already this is in discussion.

Because of this our texts become more and more necessary, and they take our texts, because they don't have an explanation for this, they don't have the continuity of marxism, to explain. They are going to discuss all these problems very soon. They want to avoid the problems, but they cannot advance in the construction of socialism without posing all these problems. How to unify the Communist Parties? How to Unify the Workers States? How to unify all the Communist Parties, Workers States and revolutionary movements of the capitalist countries. On what basis, what programme, what policy, what objectives, what structure? What interior life? They have to go back to the epoch of Lenin.

Humanity never abandons the conquests it has made, and which have shown themselves to be bases for the progress of history. And humanity did not abandon Lenin, because Lenin signifies the Communist International, and the Bolshevik Party. And humanity has to go back to this. Even if they try to evade it, to leave it on one side, trying to substitute for it by improvisations, with the strength of the struggles of the masses, even the force of the masses, the great power of the masses cannot replace Lenin. Lenin means programme, and policy, and bolshevik organisation to construct socialism. And it has to

go back to this. This explains our authority even being a small group, which they could smash easily. And why don't they smash us?

The Communist Party needs us, because this is the way the process is. We are indispensable. There is nothing indispensable in history; agreed. But we are indispensable in this stage, for this moment. If we were eliminated the course of influence in the Communist movement would decay. This preparation which we are making, this preoccupation, this scientific severity in the study of the programme, of the theory, of the strict functioning, the disciplined functioning of the party, in which it is necessary to study all the texts, to make them better, to make the letters better, the reports better, to make more comrades intervene, to develop new comrades, to have the marxist understanding of this process, as we analyse it; all this is what it is necessary to do.

It is not like this in the Communist Party. It is absurd, completely absurd, that they don't have a review, which explains why there is the Sino-Soviet dispute, or why there is nationalism in Sudan, in Pakistan. How is it explained that the Communists and the Socialists have gone to the government in Chile, but they still have to take the power. There isn't any explanation from the communists, and they have to explain all this.

This explanation signifies a crisis in the Communist Parties, as there is in Chile. In Chile there is a crisis in the Communist Party, a very important crisis. There are in all the CPs. They are not visible crises, they don't come to light, but they are crises of growth in which they have to face the struggle for power, and they have neither programme, nor policy, nor tradition, nor party. They are not prepared for this, because they do not understand the process of history. We have to develop ourselves in this stage in order to intervene.

The analysis of the criticism, which Bilak makes of the CPs is fundamental to understand the thinking of the Soviet bureaucracy, the internal struggles, in which there is the understanding and decision to intervene, mixed up with, combined with the policy of "penetration" with imperialism, the existence now of an uncontrollable tendency of ascent towards the taking of power.

This report of Bilak has directly emerged from the need of the partial regeneration. Directed by the Soviet bureaucracy, which is the one which has the power, this partial regeneration is very limitedly expressed. The force which impels them is infinitely superior to the very limited positions, which the Soviet bureaucracy adopts. But when they feel forced to adopt this position it is because the potential possibilities are immense, and one of the means of this power is our capacity to write, to make texts, to orientate and to intervene. This is our strength.

J. Posadas 13. 2. 72

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

going to have an effect also in all the Social Democratic parties who up to now haven't felt the unified weight of the Workers States weighing against imperialism. This discussion over the Cominform is a step forward in the same process which is analysed in the document of Cde. Posadas published in this issue of the Red Flag on the speech of Bilak. In the world communist movement there is a searching for marxism, to see how to advance, to see how best to confront imperialism on a world scale, seeing the necessity to unify, to link all the Workers states and Communist parties into a world anti-imperialist united front. Whilst in the Camp of Imperialism each country is on its own, each leader of a capitalist country seeing no stable centre thinks only to defend his own capitalist system in front of the masses and the workers states and hence we see Pompidou, ignoring the problems it may cause the Tories, declaring a referendum on the question of Britain's entry into the EEC hours before he leaves to talk with Heath, who has a constant pressure on him both from the opposition and a large sector of his own party to call a referendum or General Election on the question of entry into the EEC.

Also on the question of Ireland the Tories are divided, one sector wanting direct rule, one supporting Faulkner, another supporting the Vanguard movement. The mammoth delay over announcing Heath's new 'political initiative' for N. Ireland is an

indication of the internal crisis and disagreements which are present in the Tory party. There is no capitalist solution to the Irish problem, as the IS of the IV International said on the resolution "The Rebellion of Northern Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership and the struggle for Socialism in Britain" the only solution to the problems of the masses is for the socialist unification of all of Ireland with Britain.

Faced with the new moves of the right towards intimidation; how is the working class, the exploited petit bourgeoisie, the students etc to respond. It is ultimatum to simply call for the arming of the workers, and for workers militias. Certainly this is on the agenda now in N. Ireland, but here the stage is different. It is only possible to respond by working to construct the organisations which will impel the struggle for the formation of the new leadership in the LP and TU's. The "Flying Pickets" of the miners were one such organism, as were the committees and the IR constant functioning in the Fisher Bendix occupation, and the tenants committees are another. The tenants committees which connect the working class with the petit bourgeoisie, which incorporate the housewives, the retired and the children are going to be important organisations in the coming period in the battle to be waged against the "Fair Rents" policy of the Tories. This is also a struggle which is stimulating a sector of the Labour Party which up to now hasn't been in the forefront of any struggle; in the Labour councillors. In various parts of the country they have refused either to operate or to co-operate with the operating of this policy

which which the Tories are trying to bring in. This is raising a great discussion in the L.P. on the methods to adopt to confront this law. We appeal for the organisation of tenants committees where all members of the families can intervene, to organise rent strikes, to refuse to pay any increases, to organise the running of the estates and blocks of flats by the tenants committees, and to link up with local factories, colleges etc. to include all the population in this battle.

There is a very rich situation in the LP where all the conditions favour the advance of the left. The speech of Jenkins is an indication of this, he speaks because he feels that the right is weak and has to be defended. His offensive has no historic perspective, it finds some support among the Tories, but none among his LP supporters who did not defend him. He and the rest of the bourgeois tendency in the LP will be supported by the Tories while the revolutionary tendency at the base of the LP and TU's and CP will be giving confidence to the middle cadres and the left in the leadership to advance towards the expulsion of Jenkins and all the right wing. Jenkins speech, the new occupations, the necessity to respond to the Vanguard movement, the new pay demand of the miners, the campaign against "Fair Rents," the new proposal for the setting up of the Cominform, must all be discussed in the TU and LP movement. There must be discussions organised in the TU branch meetings, in the LP constituency parties, in the Trades Councils, in the Communist Party, amongst the student movement. It is the lack of Marxist discussion in the LP which favours the right. A discussion on any of the

problems which we have mentioned will necessitate posing the solution to them, how can this solution be achieved, what are the methods needed to achieve them. All the solutions are possible, but not within the LP as it functions and is constructed at the moment. There must be a completely free exchange of ideas in the Labour movement. We appeal for the opening up of the Labour Party so that anyone who supports the anti-capitalist struggle, anybody who wants to convert the LP into an adequate instrument for the struggle for workers power, anyone who supports Clause 4, can intervene in the meetings of the party, can stimulate a discussion in the party, can intervene with the objective of giving confidence and a base for the revolutionary tendency in it to advance, and can speed up the process of the expulsion of the right wing from the LP. We appeal to the LP vanguard to impose this, allowing us, the Trotskyist-Posadists to intervene with the documents of Posadas and the IV International, introducing the Marxist discussion on Ireland, Bangla-Desh, the Process in the Workers States, on all the problems, so as to prepare the conditions for a change of structure in the LP.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

# The crisis of the bourgeois leadership in Egypt and the organisation of the leadership to defeat imperialism, Israel and to construct socialism

(ON PAGE 3)

J. POSADAS 9. 2. 72

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



SALUTE TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUT-  
IONARY MASSES FOR THE OFFENSIVE  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM WHICH IS A GIG-  
ANTIC IMPULSE FOR THE WORLD RE-  
VOLUTION.

P. B. Resolution, 11. 4. 72

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 156 2nd Friday of April 1972 PRICE 3p

## The construction of a new leadership in the L.P. cannot be achieved without the intervention of Marxism. Unify the struggles of the British and Irish masses

The renewed offensive against Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam is a decisive step on the road to the final encounter between the Workers States, the world masses and Imperialism. It is an offensive reflecting the strength and confidence of the Workers States, their readiness to confront Imperialism, their growing unification, despite the reactionary attempts of a sector of the Chinese leadership, to make an arrangement with Yankee Imperialism at the expense of the world revolution. This blow at world Imperialism further weakens the alliances and authority of the latter, not least of all in Britain, where the forces of Capitalism find no respite in their struggles with the British and Irish masses, and further facilitates the centralisation of the masses around their parties and unions, to impel the process towards the taking of power.

The force of the world revolution, and the process of partial regeneration of the Workers States perpetually renews the will to struggle of the British masses, accelerates the decomposition, and despair of the ruling cliques. The growing intervention of the Workers States headed by the Soviet Union in the world revolution is a fundamental support for the British and Irish masses. The new alliance between Iraq and the Soviet Union, the statement of Kosygin that the Soviet Union will do all in its power to aid the Arab countries, to achieve "full sovereignty" over their natural resources, the close ties established with the revolutionary state of Bangla. Desh, the interventions of the Soviet leadership via Bilak, for example stressing the priority of internationalism over all national and regional interests, all tend to harmonise, in part at least, the course of the world revolution, and give greater security to the British and Irish masses.

The civil war in Ireland has brought the revolution onto the doorsteps of British Imperialism. And the abandonment of Stormont in favour of direct rule shows at the same time the weakening of Imperialism, and on the other hand a more direct concentration of power within Imperialism, meaning essentially the armed forces. The decomposition of Unionism, its fragmentation is a victory of the Irish proletariat and petit bourgeois masses on the basis of support of the world revolution and the British masses. Sectors of the Unionist leadership, utilising the absence of an authoritative revolutionary leadership over sectors of the Protestant working class, organised a strike cum lock out in the interests of re-establishing Stor-

mont. But such a crisis, and such a mobilisation acts as an objective blow at the unification of the interests of imperialism. An opportunity to intervene massively in this crisis was missed by the existing organisations in Ireland. The Official and Provisional IRA rejected the humbug of "reconciliation", which goes along with "Direct Rule", and ordered the continuation of the military fight, but they and the other Irish LPs and Trade Unions should have taken the opportunity to mobilise the masses in strike actions, posed a superior functioning of the organisms of the masses, and intervened with the anti-Capitalist programme, and explanations among the Protestant working class. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions did nothing save appeal to workers not to strike. Nevertheless the "Direct Rule" are going to pose, are already posing the need for a superior strategy and understanding of the objective situation. The actions of the SDLP and the Civil Right movement either welcoming the changes or passively calling off marches, demonstrate the need for superior leadership, programme and methods, linking the struggle in Ireland with that in Britain. The fact that the Provisional IRA feels increasingly the need to discuss with the masses is shown by their appeals for a general elections in free Derry, and their discussions with the various existing organisms there.

Whitelaw hopes by utilising a lack of comprehension among certain sectors and releasing a few prisoners, to veil the intentions of Imperialism, but illusions cannot last long. British Imperialism has no intention of leaving the scene. The massacre in Derry shows its true face, and

more and more the intensification of the civil war will lead to the understanding that only by the closest links with the British working class in particular, will it be possible to throw out British Imperialism from Ireland and Britain, and establish socialism in both countries. And as part of the elevation of the struggle, it is essential that all the forces of the revolution unite in Ireland around a programme, which emphasises the need for the organisation of factory and workers area committees, which can discuss everything, which are the source of political and social decision, and become the bases for a Soviet functioning. Already the "no go areas" show the enormous possibilities for a popular functioning, but not one which responds simply to immediate organisational problems, but deals with all the political and cultural problems. And coupled with this there has to go not simply general appeals for the overthrow of British Imperialism, but a specific programme of demands, which respond to the needs of the masses—all wages to rise with the cost of living, all the profits of automation to the masses, nationalisations under workers control without compensation, seizure of the large estates, collective farming integrating the small farmers, expropriation of the food monopolies, for a workers plan of production embracing all the needs of the masses, for popular education controlled by workers, teachers and students, for the establishment of workers militias based on the trade unions, and the popular committees. The demands for the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of British troops, the establishment of basic democratic rights have to be linked with such a comprehensive social programme of transitional demands, not simply minimal economic demands. The call for such policies would have a tremendous effect in Britain—and the rest of Europe, and accelerate the overthrow of capitalism on a continental scale.

Certainly the problem of the fusion of the struggles of the British and Irish masses is intimately connected with the problem also of a new leadership in the British Labour Party. This is now of a paramount urgency in every respect. The

gap between the level of the workers vanguard in the factories, the desires of all the masses, and the type of leadership proffered at the moment in the Labour Party is enormous. The "Left" LP leadership was a dead loss at the time of the miners strike, and in the most recent period the parliamentary left in the LP has shown all its stupefying limitations by actually applauding the policy of direct rule, and declaring it to be an initiative for peace! Parliamentary cretinism has reached its zenith just prior to the phase when all the real decisions are extra parliamentary. It is the absence of an effective marxist left which limits the struggles in Britain, and in part at least delays the development of a consistent marxist leadership in Ireland also. The workers vanguard is using its industrial weight to stimulate the struggle for a new leadership in the LP. The wave of occupations in the North-West shows the desire for a revolutionary policy, for an end to the policy of limited strike actions. And it has been done in the face of an immensely reluctant engineering leadership, which has sought to avoid a national strike at all costs, and simply put up with guerrilla strikes. The bulk of the trade union leadership is not prepared for this stage, it belongs to a previous epoch of conciliation, and now it finds itself in the stage for the struggle for power. The miners strike showed again that a "trade union" leadership was not sufficient for this stage, and a period is necessary to allow a new leadership to mature.

New leaderships are necessary both in the LP and the TUs. And the more exacerbated the actual process, the more intense the polarisation of class forces, the more the pressure for this leadership will increase. Marxism is essential in this. The general process of change to the left continues in the LP, but remains very limited. It is significant that Hayward is now the general secretary of the LP, defeating a pro-marketeer. He has appealed to the trade unions for support in trying the dynamise the functioning of the Labour Party. But when he speaks of ideas he speaks of preferring the methodist to the marxist tradition.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Chile: develop the organism for the intervention of the masses, nationalisations and planning, to pass from a Revolutionary State to a Workers State

(ON PAGE 2)

J. POSADAS 9. 2. 72

# Chile: develop the organism for the intervention of the masses, nationalisations and planning, to pass from a Revolutionary State to a Workers State

J. Posadas 9. 2. 72

Although most of the criticisms that the MIR make of the Chilean government are valid, they are not all so, because the MIR is without any programme. It makes appeals for the mobilisations of the masses, but they empirical appeals. In certain aspects it is necessary to mobilise, but to call for mobilisations for the sake of it, at any time is not correct. It is one thing to mobilise against the Capitalist regime, but another to mobilise against a revolutionary state, which already has the basis to become a Workers State. It is not possible to carry out both kinds of mobilisations, because the one tends to overthrow the power, whereas the other can impel, make advance the power. Therefore it is not possible to call the mobilisations which the MIR are calling for, because they lead to a direct clash with the revolutionary state. With the Capitalist regime there is an antagonism, here no! The MIR accuses the Chilean government of having the same police as existed under the capitalist system. This is true, but the political leadership is not the same, it is a revolutionary leadership. For this reason it is necessary to base ourselves on it in order to carry out the necessary internal changes, and such transformations as will come later.

It's absurd that the Chilean revolutionary state, with all the forces that it has, should continue to rely on parliamentary elections and on the financial, juridical and police apparatus of the capitalist system. The whole of the Chilean population should hold public discussions, wherehouses, factories, areas, poblaciones callampas (shanty towns), peasants, army, everyone can intervene. For a full discussion, showing the superiority of nationalised property, making comparisons, and demonstrating that capitalism still has power in its hands, and that the elections cannot decide on everything, in as much as sectors vote who are not representative of the will of the masses, and it's important to weigh socially not electorally. To begin with, in Chile the vote is given at the age of 21, which means 3 years lost to the proletariat and the peasantry. But even so, the proletariat still cannot impose itself, even with the electoral majority. It can win elections, but not carry out any internal social transformations. It must gradually win a base in order to impose itself by force, because capitalism won't leave without a struggle. Capitalism in Chile still maintains its law system, banks, army, police structure and private property. All this must be transformed, and this can't be done by means of parliamentary elections. Elections must be utilised as a means of gaining a sufficient force, which they already have, in order to take over and transform.

It's necessary to make a constant and uninterrupted campaign of agitation throughout the country, to demonstrate the superiority of nationalised property, of a planned economy, and the progress which this signifies. Showing, not only the progress in Chile, since the popular unity government, because this has been a limited progress, but all the great advances in the Workers States, in China, Cuba and the Soviet Union. To show, how in 20 years China has been completely transformed, hunger and poverty eliminated, and everybody incorporated into the social life, even the fleas! Showing, with examples, the progress possible through nationalised property and a planned economy. It's necessary to organise a university in the streets to show how capitalism is responsible for all that, which has to be destroyed, selfishness, the selfish mentality and the selfish conception of capitalism. It is not true that capitalism is a superior system! Where is its superiority? Which is superior—a democracy, in which all the masses discuss, and decide how to develop the economy for the benefit of everybody—or a small nucleus of agents of the bosses, who decide whether to invest or not, depending on their own interests, and who appropriate half of the production for their own profit. All this must be shown, clearly and openly in a university, which should be called the university for the construction of socialism. The programme of this university should be to construct socialism and to do this means using marxism. The MIR should carry out this task! In this case it is necessary to mobilise the workers and peasants, making appeals to the government, and not clashing with it. Saying "We agree with you, we want to mobilise, it's necessary to mobilise". This is what the bolsheviks did when, in the middle of the civil war, when the cossacks were attacking, the anarchists wanted to make a republic. They made appeals to the population, and proposed giving them a commune, a republic, giving them the possibility of organising a republic. But the anarch-

ists didn't want to know, they preferred to act independantly, and destroy all authority. And the Bolsheviki were obliged to repress them.

They had to, because the anarchists were favouring the Whites, and eventually allied themselves with the Whites. But for a whole stage the Bolsheviki appealed for the anarchists to collaborate with them, saying "later, we will discuss everything, but now this is what it's necessary to discuss."

It is clear that there must be discussions in order to influence the leadership. To have an influence in the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and in the Workers Centre (T.U. federation). To impel them to unite, to make a single party, as we have proposed in our texts, on the necessity of the single party.(1)

This is how it's necessary to intervene, appealing for mobilisations, but explaining that we are not mobilising against a government, which is an enemy, but want to persuade the government. To persuade the Communist Party, Socialist Party, the Workers Centre, and all the forces, which can be influenced. What purpose does it have organising a movement against the government? To carry out a counter revolution? Mobilisations are an important means of exerting pressure, we are not against them. But how are they to be used, in an antagonistic way, or as a means of persuading through the pressure of a mobilisation, making sure that it is done as a function of the whole progress. It is not, as the government says, that the mobilisations give justification for the counter revolution. No! The counter revolution finds any justification, any excuse to act. The principle motivation is that it feels its power being taken away from it. The problem isn't that the mobilisations give the reaction possibility of developing, and therefore it's necessary to wait for the government to decide. No! The MIR has the right to exert pressure, the right to show its will, desire and policy. But it can't do it how and when it likes, and in such a way as to separate it from the rest, from the SUTCH and the workers parties. WE WILL DISCUSS WITH THEM. WE ARE WILLING TO DO THIS.

Mobilising means acting as the Bolsheviki did in 27, 28, when they demonstrated against Stalin. Demonstrations drawing attention to a problem and waiting, making one, two, three demonstrations, calling for everything to be discussed publicly. We don't obtain immediate results, the results will come later. For this reason there must be discussion now, in Chile, on what road to take, for both the Communist and Socialist Party to discuss this. The parliamentary road is a long one, and allows Capitalism time to organise. Instead it's necessary to gain the petit bourgeoisie, now. How can this be done? If the petit bourgeoisie was able to see the proletariat and its parties (the CP and SP) decisive, they would be won over, would be attracted. They don't yet see this. There is a sector of the petit bourgeoisie, which will never be gained, the bourgeois women, who descended into streets banging saucepans, but the poor and middle sectors can be gained, the army and police as well. In order to do this, though, a mobilisation is required, with, for example, mass demonstrations, area committees, in the poblaciones and in the factories.

In Chile they are discussing, politically, theoretically and organisationally discussing the phase of how to pass from revolutionary state to Worker State. As

in the discussion, where they said that it's possible to advance without violence, that the revolution isn't necessary, and that the war isn't inevitable. These are discussions within the framework of passing from revolutionary state to Worker State. We must intervene in this. In Chile they will advance directly to a form of Workers State, with very advanced measures towards socialism, because of the big tradition of struggle in Chile, which will allow this. Therefore it's necessary to intervene with many texts.

The masses need and want a theoretical and political orientation. These are the problems which they are discussing, the same problems posed by the MIR, about the heterogeneity of the government (radicals, democrats, social democrats, christian democrats, socialists, communists, trotskysts). All currents. They accept our proposal for a single party. It's ridiculous having different worker parties, there must be a single party maintaining the most elevated internal life. When things come to such a pass it's because there is already the power, despite this the bourgeoisie, oligarchy and imperialism still have the parliamentary majority. This is a farce, a lie, this is not democracy, but a sham. A democracy is where the will of the masses is respected. When they are the ones who constructs the basis of human life? Is it the parasitic bourgeois, who does nothing, but is entitled to vote? or is it the workers, who are the ones who determine production?

There must be discussion on the passage from the present stage of revolutionary state to the Worker State. To do this a public discussion is necessary. There are no precedents of how to pass from revolutionary state to Worker State, because it is a new stage in history. New, not because it didn't exist before, but because of the conditions in the structure reached by the development of 14 Workers States, by the struggle against Imperialism that feels itself up against the wall, the constant loss of economic and social domination

by Capitalism, creating this situation whereby the revolutionary state can originate. Because, today, there are no revolutionary leaderships which can go directly towards a Workers State, this intermediary situation is produced. There must be discussion on how to pass from revolutionary state to Worker State, but there are no precedents. There are no texts, discussions, congresses, no communist international, which can explain how the CPs and the masses in Europe (Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, etc) have advanced towards Workers States. There isn't even any literature on all this. In the Communist movement there are no precedents, there is no tradition. They have left marxism on one side, and now are obliged to look for it again, in order to understand the economical process. And they discover that they know nothing, that they have nothing. Therefore it's necessary to intervene on how to build a Worker State, helping in the construction of a Workers State, leading very intense political lives, reading, discussing, and learning how to organise the Workers State, and the passage from revolutionary state to Worker State. To be able to understand this stage, but not in order to wait until this phase is produced as a natural result of the maturation of the world process, because there can be a regression, a stagnation. To discuss, helping the development of organisms, which can allow the full intervention of the masses, calling for nationalisations of all capitalist property, and for a planned economy in the country, so as to pass from revolutionary state to Workers State based on the mobilisations of the masses.

J. POSADAS 9. 2. 72

(1) The independence of the trade unions, the Socialist and Communist Parties, and the development of the Chilean revolutionary state into a Worker State. J. Posadas, 10. 8. 71. and in earlier letters of J. Posadas and of the International Secretariat to the Chilean Section.

## World Trotskyist Press

**ALGERIA:** *Revolucion Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

**Die Arbeiderrijd**, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Arce, Casilla 644 Oruro. (Bolivia).

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquimbo 291. Talcahuano (Chile).

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

**ECUADOR:** *Lucha Comunista*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Fernando Salas, 3726 Quito.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

**GREECE:** *Kommunistikipali*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**GERMANY:** *Arbeiter Stimme*, organ of the German militants of the IV International. Ricarda Kruck, 6 Frankfurt/Main, Heiderheimer Landstr. 181.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**MIDDLE EAST:** Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine. (Write to the Belgian, French or Italian addresses).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Montevideo. Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

### PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

*Cuarta Internacional*, Organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, Organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Clandestine.

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

*Marxist Review in Arabic*, organ of the Arab Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. (Obtainable from the address of the British Section).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

*Rivista Marxista Europea* (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059-00153 Roma (Ostiense)—Italy.

*Revue Marxiste Europeane* (In French), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc'Hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, 100 BD Bertrand, Charleroi, Belgium.

# The crisis of the bourgeois leadership in Egypt and the organisation of the leadership to defeat imperialism, Israel and to construct Socialism

J. Posadas 9. 2. 72

This process in the Middle East shows also a new phase in the development of the revolution in the revolutionary states in the Arab countries. In the course of advancing, a very great number of contradictions have accumulated, which the bourgeoisie has not been able to control, cannot resolve, in front of which it does not have the social authority, or economic material, or military means. It has to resolve them, and the masses want to advance. It sees that imperialism does not support it, and how can it settle things now? The big bourgeoisie wants the status quo, it wants things to remain the same, because what interests it, is the internal market, while the masses want to expel imperialism, to throw it out of Egypt, to expel Israel, to recover everything; not just to see that the Suez Canal resumes functioning again as the leadership wants (which means the shipping of oil supplies, a step which favours imperialism), but to reconquer the land taken from them, and to chase out imperialism. The bourgeoisie does not possess the authority, or the strength, or the means to do this. It sought to ally itself with imperialism and it failed. It sought to do this up to the last minute. It sought to do this and it failed, and now it is in the hands of the Soviets. And the behaviour of the Soviets shows, that they are exerting a pressure to increase their weight within Egypt; to increase their internal weight means changes, which may give greater freedom to the workers movement and the Communist Party.

The problem of the Middle East is the rabid persecution of the communist movement. It is a rabid persecution, now, because before the communists were legal in Egypt, in Syria, and functioned well. In the Lebanon also. The communists have collected the harvest of previous errors, the product of their bureaucratic policy, their lack of marxist understanding. And now they are paying the consequences. It's not a question only of the errors of the communists, because now they want to correct themselves. But also it concerns the policy of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, who want to profit from this to ferment nationalism and religious sentiment among the masses. All this has come to an end. Imperialism does not have the strength to sustain itself. It is not possible to support both Israel and the Egyptians. And the Egyptian bourgeoisie, the "Muslim brothers" (who are no longer brothers, are always more divided) do not have the strength. And the Soviets feel themselves to be capable of advancing.

Now it is advancing on this path of retaking the initiative in the Middle East. But all this also comes through the will of the masses. If the masses had been beaten down, this would not have happened. It is necessary to consider that Al Ghadafi is the one who opposes himself most violently to this pressure. He expresses the limitations of bourgeois nationalism, revolutionary nationalism which still remains within the bourgeois framework—with some, but very tenuous—anti-capitalist measures. This shows that Muslim nationalism is already in process of being liquidated. These are the last phases of the struggle against Muslim nationalism, a struggle which is waged on a world scale, not in the Middle East. On a world scale, because it is the world relations with imperialism, with Israel, with the USSR, which determines. On a world scale it is not a question either of the Middle East or of the Arab problem, but of the relation of forces, which are being orientated, and impelled towards the final settlement of accounts. All of which shows what is happening in the Middle East.

It is the world process of the revolution which stimulates, and gives an impulse to the Egyptian masses, particularly after Bangla Desh, which stimulates them to advance, and which is one of the aspects of the will of the masses, even if it is still not expressed externally in action. But the fact that the bourgeois nationalists act to contain and repress, indicates that they feel that underneath, in the thought of the masses, there is a desire for mobilisation, and a progress stimulated by the mobilisation and the victory of Bangla Desh. And the movement of the masses of Ireland is the same. It is part of the world influence of the revolution, which includes all this. It is necessary to see Egypt as part of the world process of the revolution, not as a process which begins and ends in itself. This explains the reasons for a series of progresses of revolutions like those of Bangla Desh, which do not have an internal origin, but an external one, although based on internal conditions. This is one of the most important consequences of the world process of the revolution.

The attitude of the Soviets is not due to the fact that they have taken the initiative on their own decision, but to the fact that the conditions were already prepared. The fact is that there was Nasser. And Nasser was a Bonapartist centre within the Muslim nationalist revolution in Egypt. This showed that there was already a powerful base of support. And one of the consequences which will be seen, will be expressed in the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt, in which there are a hundred great landed proprietors. Of three hundred and sixty deputies, there are one hundred great proprietors. They will eliminate all this. And besides they will give greater trade union liberty. The Soviets support themselves—do well to support themselves—on the development, and the will to struggle of the masses. It is necessary to profit from everything!

For a united front against imperialism, to expel Israel, and an appeal to the Israeli masses. Israel is full of strikes. And it is necessary to say "like you, like you also, we want to live better, we want to finish with the war, we want to live in peace, we want to work, we want to develop life, we want to overthrow capitalism, which is responsible for all this". It is necessary to appeal to the Israeli masses.

The Soviets are developing to maintain a base of military and social support. It is an imbecilic action of the "extremists", the Chinese to attack the Soviets. It is true that the Soviets are seeking military support and defending bureaucratic interests, but they are giving an impulse to measures, which damage and inflict blows on imperialism. It is a blow against imperialism, and capitalism. Indubitably the Soviets are resisting in order not to continue the war, seeking how to exhaust imperialism and Israel, but at the same time they seek to prevent Sadat gaining an enormous authority, which he then will seek to utilise against the USSR. Then the Soviets correctly are seeking to impose a government, which allows the taking of anti-capitalist measures. It is necessary to recognise that they are doing this. It is not a question of overthrowing the government of Sadat, but of organising a political mobilisation with discussions, proposals to push forward a government which answers to this necessity. It is on this path that the problem of the relation with Sadat will be breached, and in every case to overthrow him if necessary. The overthrow of Sadat is not the central point to have as the objective, but it is necessary to carry forward the demands to mobilise the masses, to show that the war against Israel is united to the internal struggle for the nationalisation of production, for the planning of production, for a plan for the development of the economy, which takes account of the Suez Canal, and the industrialisation of Egypt on the basis of the alliance with the Workers States, with the USSR, with Poland, with Czechoslovakia, China and the rest of the Workers States.

The strike, which took place a little while ago in Helwan, in Egypt, mobilised and stimulated an important sector of the students, to advance into struggle themselves. A sector of the right inter-

vened to seek to counterbalance them, introducing demands, which were favourable to the right, whilst another very important sector of students intervened to support the socialist democratic demands, or revolutionary democratic demands. These intervened to contain the right. The problem is that there is no leadership, no party. It is necessary to demand the independence of the workers movement, and the purging of the party of the Arab Socialist Union, which is a swindle. It is necessary to show that it is a question of a party, in which the bourgeoisie is represented. A class party is necessary, class party with revolutionary demands; nationalisation, planning, of production, workers control, independence of the trade unions, a plan of production, which takes account of the interests of the masses. And to make a plan in relation to Israel, to expel it with the forces prepared, to prepare an uprising throughout the Middle East with an agreement of all the Arab countries on the basis of the anti-imperialist anti-capitalist programme, and to make immediately a plan of actions to expel Israel, to reconquer all the lands which Israel has taken, and unify all the Arab countries on the basis of the nationalisation of property, planning of the economy, of production, of workers control, for the formation of Soviets, the construction of a form of Soviet functioning; and to make an appeal to the workers movement of the whole world to support this struggle, and to ally with it, to make an appeal to break this movement of class conciliation, which is the party of the Arab Socialist Union, and to make on the contrary a revolutionary party on the basis of a revolutionary anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme.

It is necessary to unite the problem of the struggle against Israel to the problem of the internal struggle against the Arab bourgeoisie. The Arab bourgeoisie finds itself henceforth without a base to be able to continue to resist the masses. It has sought to utilise the Soviets, to support itself on them, and it has failed. The trip of Sadat to Moscow shows this. And at the same time, it shows that the Soviets have sufficient influence in the army, and that a sector of the army supports them, impelled by military interests. But at the same time there are no military interests unconnected with social problems, from the level of the

economy. And now an influential sector of the army must be sufficient affected in sentiment from the fact that it is not a question only of the struggle against Israel, but against imperialism, and also against the bourgeoisie who are negotiating, with Dayan. All the declarations of Dayan, like those of a proprietor, come from the fact that he knows that he has an alliance with the Arab bourgeoisie. Thus it was a sector of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which in the 1967 war paralysed the air defence and allowed the Israeli to bombard. Twice! It means that the bourgeoisie allowed the defeat of Egypt in front of the development of the revolution. It is necessary to make an appeal to the proletariat to call upon the peasant masses to unify themselves into a single movement with an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme, and on this base to prepare the liquidation of Israel in a revolutionary war. But also on the basis of an appeal to the Israeli masses to take power themselves in Israel, and then to have self-determination, a living together, to make a socialist planning of the Israeli economy with all the rest of the Arab countries. Then it will not be any more the Israel of now, but of the exploited masses; workers, peasants, poor petit bourgeoisie of Israel, and also the Palestinian masses; including in all this Palestine, because the problem for the Arab masses, and in consequence for Egypt, is Israel but also Jordan, the assassin king Hussein, who is the representative of imperialism, as also of the Arab bourgeoisie, and also of Israel, because he contains and assassinates the masses.

This shows the necessity to carry forward the fight, supporting the fedayeen, but transforming their movement into a revolutionary movement, which appeals to the Arab masses, and to the Israeli masses to overthrow capitalism. And it is necessary to make an appeal to the Arab masses to unify themselves against imperialism and against capitalism on the basis of the expropriation of all of capitalism, nationalisation, planning of production, and the development of the economy of the country, planning on the basis of the alliance, and the agreement with the Workers States, to make an appeal to the Workers States, to the trade unions, to the communist parties, of the capitalist countries to intervene to help the Arab masses.

J. POSADAS

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ions in the LP! This only confirms again the unimaginative, insularity of apparatus thinking. The LP can only be transformed on the basis of marxism and a deep link in daily life with the worker masses. And this demands inevitably a struggle with those forces in the LP, the Wilsons, the Callaghans, the Jenkins, who represent only capitalism. The objective has to be their expulsion. But this can only be done on the basis of a dynamic intervention by trades councils, trades unions and factory committees, where the masses can intervene directly in meetings to impel the Labour Party and free it from the inertia imposed by the present parliamentary party, intervening to demand the expulsion of pro-capitalist MPs, and the substitution of those submitted to the will of the masses, and securing the right for the CP and the IV International to act as tendencies within the LP.

In this process the role of the marxist forces that exist in this country is fundamental. That wing of the CP which bases itself on the connection with the Soviet Union is of particular importance. It can, on the basis of a united front with the IV International, studying the documents of Posadas inject marxism into both the trade unions, and the LP. Leaning on the growing weight of the Workers States it is possible to do this. Apart from ourselves, and this sector of the CP there is no one else to carry out this task.

The new leaderships, which are neces-

sary in both Ireland and Britain, are going to develop en route. They are going to be created in a process of either civil war or incipient civil war. They are going to develop in a rapid rhythm. All over the world there is an extension of the conditions for civil war—Turkey, with a military take over, Argentina with the riots in Mendoza, Italy with the constant talk of an attempted fascist coup. The Tory regime lives in a state of fear and instability. Ireland and the Common Market cause splits in their ranks. The defeat inflicted by the miners strike has further sapped the authority of Capitalism in the eyes of the petit bourgeoisie. It is in this framework of rapid changes, of rifts in the American bourgeoisie, of the decomposition of British Capitalism, of a profound search by the masses for new leaderships with clear perspectives, that it is necessary to struggle for the anti-Capitalist programme, nationalisations under workers control, without compensation, all the fruits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living, for a workers plan of production, the organisation of factory committees, immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland etc, preparation for the imposition of a Left Labour government, backed by general strikes, and the mobilisation of the masses in their independent committees that will impose this programme. Out with the capitalist apparatus in the Labour Party. For the United Front of the British and Irish masses to overthrow capitalism.

# Balance of the 11th National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists

The 11th National Conference of the L.P.Y.S. must be judged within the context of the development of the world revolution in this stage, the anti-Capitalist struggles of the masses throughout the world, and the advance of the political revolution in the Workers States. When making a balance of this conference it is imperative that it be drawn in the light of these developments, so as to see to what extent has the L.P.Y.S. and its leadership based itself on the forces of the revolution, which exist today.

The fundamental problem, which confronts humanity in this stage of history is its lack of leadership, not just any leadership, but a revolutionary Marxist leadership, which will be capable of measuring up to the tasks of the taking of power, and constructing the Workers State. At this stage in Britain this leadership must be developed in the Labour Party. The proletarian vanguard sees the LP as a centre, and through their organisms, such as the Trades

Councils and the Trade Unions, as well as in their actions during the latest period of strikes and occupations, they are directly and indirectly posing the necessity for the LP, to respond to the situation—and the LP is unable to do this. The LP left has not been capable of organising itself to expel the right, and transform the LP into an instrument of the masses. The forces to do this exist, but they are not being utilised by the LP left, nor the L.P.Y.S. The solution

to the problem of the overthrow of capitalism cannot lie in Parliament. The possibility of the LP, having the right to recall their MP's, as was posed in the Conference, is not going in itself, to allow the transformation of the LP, nor the taking of power. It has been proven again and again that the capitalist state cannot be used by the masses to take power, the masses must have an independent functioning in their own organisms, in order to take power from the hands of Capitalism. The Allende committees in Chile have been a very clear expression of this, because these organisms have continued functioning, and have actively implemented measures such as the seizure of the land by the peasants, they have allowed the Popular Unity government to continue to exist. This conclusion should have been drawn in the discussion on Chile.

In order that the L.P.Y.S. can realise its potential in impelling the development of the new leadership in the LP, it must develop on the basis of understanding the forces of the world revolution. Without this understanding it will be totally unable to break away from the social-democratic functioning of the LP, a functioning, which is still able to impose itself on the L.P.Y.S. despite its program, and the very large number of revolutionaries in the L.P.Y.S.

At the conference this year there was a considerable amount of informal and formal discussion of the problems of the world revolution, a great pre-occupation to dominate and find the solution to these problems, was shown, by what is clearly a large sector of the base of "Militant" and the L.P.Y.S. in general. What it is necessary to do, is to consolidate this pre-occupation into a general study and discussion of the problems of the world revolution, utilising the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas.

The positions put forward by the "Militant" group at the Conference on the IRA and the NLF of South Vietnam show the lack of perspective of Militant. Both the IRA and the NLF (even though they are quite dissimilar organisations) are organisations which, though limited from a programmatic point of view, favour and advance the interests of the revolution. The L.P.Y.S. must acknowledge this and give critical support to them.

The discussion on the general strike again showed this lack of perspective of "Militant". To say that a general strike would result in a defeat for the working class, is to completely ignore the whole force of the world revolution. A general strike may not result in the taking of power, but this would not be a setback for the working class. The working class utilises all the mobilisations it makes, in order to develop its own instruments of struggle, despite the limitations of the T.U. leaderships. This was shown in the appearance of the mass pickets, and the flying pickets during the miners strike.

In this situation it is possible for the

L.P.Y.S. to play a fundamental role in the struggle to transform the LP into a really useful instrument in the struggle for power. The L.P.Y.S. has a program, which can be an enormous gain in this struggle. What is necessary is that the L.P.Y.S. functions as a revolutionary organisation. This functioning can only be achieved by the full utilisation of Marxism in the Y.S., and through this, formulating what the exact role of the Y.S. is going to be in the development of a revolutionary leadership in Britain.

Both the IV International and "Chartist" had an influence and authority at the conference, which awes completely disproportionate to the actual numbers of comrades of the IV International, and "Chartist" who attended. This was, because the ideas put forward by the IV International and "Chartist" respond more closely to the necessities posed by the struggle, than those of "Militant" or the right wing sectors in the L.P.Y.S. (This does not mean that we agree with all the positions of "Chartist".)

The role the Y.S. can play in the transformation of the LP is not going to depend on the Y.S. being able to have a massive organic weight within the LP. The organic force, which the Y.S. has is quite sufficient. What is necessary is that the Y.S. intervenes politically in the LP, giving the basis for the advance and development of the left sectors in the LP. The Y.S., is not doing this now, because it has not yet developed sufficient political force. The revolutionary current in the Y.S. still hasn't succeeded in developing as a revolutionary leadership in the Labour movement in general. The Y.S. branches must have a far more developed political life, where all the problems of the revolutionary movement are discussed in real depth. "Left" must become a centre to discuss the problems of how the Y.S. is going to advance, developing didactically and exhaustively the precise objectives that it has in the development of the revolutionary movement in Britain.

The R.W.P.(T) salutes this conference of the L.P.Y.S., and appeals for the Y.S. to discuss all the problems confronting it in this stage, in order to overcome its limitations, and play its fullest possible role. We appeal for a full study and discussion of the texts of Posadas, the continuator of marxism in this epoch, which are a fundamental necessity for the understanding of the development of the world revolution in this stage.

12. 4. 72

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

## RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE R.W.P.(T).

### Salute to the revolutionary Vietnamese masses for their offensive against imperialism which is a gigantic impulse for the World Revolution

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International salutes the revolutionary masses of South Vietnam, of the North Vietnamese Workers State, the NLF, the Communist Party and the leadership of North Vietnam, for the present offensive, which is defeating Imperialism and its puppets in South Vietnam.

This offensive is going to act as a stimulus to all the revolutionary currents in the CPs and the Workers States, who want to unify against Imperialism, want to confront it bloc against bloc eliminating all the differences, which have no historic basis, between the Workers States. At the same time it is a blow at all the conciliatory sectors, the pro-Capitalist sectors, the sectors like Chou-en-Lai, who base themselves on a regionalist backward conception; all these are going to feel threatened by this offensive. This action is an aggressive response of the North Vietnamese Workers State, encouraged by the Soviet Union, to all the provocations, threats and war preparations of US Imperialism. It is what the masses of Vietnam have wanted to do before, but only now they find a response in the leaderships. It is a part of the process of Partial Regeneration, coming as it does after the speech of Bilak, where he posed the necessity for the unity of the world communist movement, after the editorial in Nam Dhan, after the new experience in history! Bangla Desh.

In Bangla Desh the Soviet Union intervened in an inter-Capitalist dispute, to impel the revolutionary forces, prevented the intervention of US Imperialism, quickly intervened with loans, sent delegations of the Soviet Trade Unions to the newly established state, which in the space of a few months took measures of nationalisation, which damage mortally the functioning and structure of capitalism in the country, and thus passed to become a revolutionary state. Now Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny send their salutes to North Vietnam, while US Imperialism complains that 80% of the equipment of the attacking forces has been supplied by the Soviet Union. As Cde. Posadas has said, now the bureaucracy acts for the revolution, not against it; it is forced to by the pressure of the world revolution, and Soviet masses, who receive this pressure.

We salute the message of solidarity, which Lawrence Daly, and other Trade Union leaders have sent to North Vietnam, but is insufficient. It is necessary to make meetings in the factories, in the trade union branches, in the Labour Party and Communist Party branches to discuss the significance of this offensive, and send resolutions of support. Such a discussion is going to weaken the right wing in the workers organisation, particularly in the Labour Party, at a moment, when the right is in crisis, and resigning from its positions of leadership. The left in the LP must utilise the force, which this offensive represents, to push forward the task of expelling the right, and constructing a new revolutionary leadership in the LP.

VIVA THE OFFENSIVE OF THE VIETCONG AND NORTH  
VIETNAMESE WORKERS STATE!  
OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM THE WHOLE OF INDO-  
CHINA!

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS OF THE SECTION: —

THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, AUTOMATION AND THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM— J. POSADAS 20. 8. 71

SOCIALISM CANNOT BE CONSTRUCTED WITHOUT RETURNING  
TO MARXISM— J. POSADAS 20. 6. 71

THE TRIAL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA OF THE SUPPOSED "TROTSKY-  
ISTS", TROTSKYISM, THE IV INTERNATIONAL, THE POLITICAL  
AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF  
SOCIALISM— J. POSADAS 24. 2. 71

All available—price 5p.—from:

IV International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**



Viva the continuing offensive of the

NLF and North Vietnamese

Workers State to throw

Imperialism out of Vietnam

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 157 4th Friday of April 1972 PRICE 3p

# For a discussion in the factories, in the trade unions and workers parties to organise the opposition to the Industrial Relations Act

## Resolution of the political bureau of the R.W.P.(T) British Section IV International

The application of the Industrial Relations Act against the TGWU, and against the work to rule of the railwaymen marks a new stage in the advance towards civil war in the country. The capitalist class applies the act, in spite of all the risks, and in the worst possible conditions for them, to try to maintain its internal cohesion, to impede the development of defeatist currents within itself. From a social point of view, even more than from an economic one, it cannot afford to allow another victory like that of the miners, and so it tries to take what profit it can from the lack of preparation of the workers leadership to impose the hard line. It shows that capitalism, as in Italy and France is preparing to reply to the masses as it is already doing in Ireland, with repression and armed force. And for this reason once more all the bourgeoisie of Europe are following with anxiety the outcome of this latest confrontation between the Tory government and the British working class.

But this is 1972 in a world where there is Vietnam, where there is the struggle in Ireland, where there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, where as an expression of the process of partial regeneration the Soviet Union intervenes to help the establishment of Bangladesh, where it arms and stimulates the offensive of the Vietcong, and the North Vietnamese Workers State to throw US Imperialism and its puppet regime out of South Vietnam. This is the world situation, in which the Tory government using its parliamentary majority tries to impose the Industrial Relations Act. But as its parliamentary majority is not an expression of a social majority, because it was elected after the massive abstention of the Labour vanguard, it isn't going to be able to impose a hard line. It has the laws, the courts, the army and the police to do it, but these are not the elements which decide. What decides is the social authority of the ruling class, the authority over the middle layers of society, and its own confidence, and internal cohesion. And this it clearly doesn't have. Its disagreements over Ireland, over the Common Market, over whether to make concessions or apply repression, all express the disintegration of the British bourgeoisie in front of the advance of the world revolution, and the revolution in Britain and Ireland.

In the few days since the invoking of the law one thing has become absolutely clear; the masses are not going to accept it, are not going to be intimidated into stopping their struggle. But on the contrary, this is going to serve as a stimulus to the elevation of the political level of the struggle. Every big strike is going to challenge the authority of the government. The trade union leadership will be intimidated, as the railway leadership has been in the last days, because it never bargained for this type of confrontation, and it is not prepared for it either politically, theoretically or from the point of view of its own militant construction. Even though other trade union leadership are likely to react more firmly than Sidney Green and company, none of them can be expected to organise the struggle at the level the situation demands, and so the trade union militants, the militants of the L.P. and C.P. must begin the organisation of the struggle against this law and the capitalist government, which passed it, by massive class actions, strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations leading towards a general strike, without waiting for the leadership.

Thus this action of the government is going to stimulate the advance of left currents in the T.U.'s, L.P. and C.P. The workers affected by the law have shown their contempt for it. The dockers of Liverpool continue to block the Heaton hauliers in spite of the court increasing the fine on the TGWU from 5,000 to £55,000, in spite of all the appeals of Jack Jones. The Southern Railwaymen responded to the provocation of the management by walking out, after the court had ruled that they must work normally, while several union branches and the Conference of the A.U.E.W.

have called to the Transport Workers Union not to pay the fine. The opposition to these laws, is going to be made a centre around which the working class is going to concentrate to express all its anti-capitalist hatred, overcome the limitations and timidity of its leadership, put itself in contact with the petit bourgeoisie, and show itself capable of defeating the reactionary and repressive measures of the capitalist government. It is expressing the same sentiment as the Irish masses, who maintain the free areas, the same as the Vietnamese masses, expressing that they want a change of regime and end to the arrogance and barbarity of the capitalist system.

All those leaderships in the T.U.'s now who feel insecure, who are conciliators in a situation, which allows no more conciliation, all those who do not feel impelled to respond to the combative sentiment of the base whatever the cost, are going to tend to move aside, leaving the field clear for the advance of those who are more genuine representatives of the class. Thus this act is going to act much more as a blow against the apparatus of the trade union than at the base. Already Feather has acknowledged

this when he said; "This act lets loose the militants and catches the moderates, it is a lovely piece of legislation for the ultra-left." When the TUC leadership says that the unions should go into the Industrial Relation Court to plead their case, it shows that it is preparing to try to resist the capitalist law on the capitalists own legal grounds: and this is doomed to failure. The only way to resist the law, to defeat it and to pass to a more elevated level of struggle, is by mobilising all the anti-capitalist feeling which exists in the country, by class actions. This is what permitted the miners to win, and this is what has to be done from this moment. There must be discussion in all the factories, in mass meetings to discuss how to respond to this attack on the working class, to discuss the weak response, which the unions and workers parties have given, and to draw the organisational conclusions from this, and to discuss how to help the Liverpool dockers, who are showing the way to defeat this act.

We appeal for immediate mass assemblies in the factories, making the factories function as organisms of the class, which substitute for the lack of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# The atomic war which imperialism is preparing is the world triumph of the Socialist Revolution

J. Posadas 15-8-71

There are communist comrades who declare "It is necessary to avoid the atomic war, it is necessary to demonstrate that it can be avoided". But what it is necessary to demonstrate is not the inevitability of the atomic war, but how to prevent capitalism defending itself, when it is about to be thrown out. This is what has to be demonstrated. Nothing more. Marx analysed and proved that "No regime abandons history without using all the means at its disposal to defend itself". There is no other example in history which contradicts this. None. The human organism also does not abandon life without having used all the means at its disposal to survive. The human organism does not renounce life without having made before the greatest efforts to survive. The human organism is not conscious. The capacity to think gives to it a part of consciousness, but not completely, because still its functioning is determined by nature, for which our consciousness is not yet a substitute. In human society yes, it has succeeded completely. Capitalism will not abandon history, will not allow the revolution to advance in such a way as to suffocate it, without first defending itself.

This is what it is necessary to discuss. It is not possible to discuss in the abstract. Capitalism can defend itself, and will defend itself, because it is not a problem either of good will or of understanding, or of sentiment, or of fear. Capitalism is afraid. One sector abandons the camp of the atomic war to contain it. But this is not the capitalist system, it is simply a sector. As a system capitalism is preparing the atomic war.

How does this express itself? In a centralised form; all science, literature, the technical capacity of capitalism is

directed to the preparation of atomic arms. For what? It is the atomic war! What are they doing on the moon? It is part of the preparation for the atomic war.

We must explain to the communists, not in the abstract as they say; "is it possible or is it not possible." We must explain concretely what is the historic attitude of the classes, and the attitude of the classes, and the attitude, precise and concrete of this capitalism, in which technique, science, the economy, society, literature are all directed to demonstrate the necessity that capitalism con-

times to live, preparing in the meantime, the technical capacity for the atomic war. At the same time the fear of capitalism disappearing, causes splits within it. But the sector, which wants to withdraw, which seeks to negotiate with the Soviets is not the sector which decides. What decides is the one, which has the possibility of using atomic arms.

In the course of the full discussion of European unity, of friendship with the USSR, the French have launched another atomic bomb. The British in Belfast, with their massacres, show that not only do they not abandon their historic function, but they do not intend to abandon even Ireland. The Yanks are massacring in Vietnam. If they withdraw from Latin America, for example, it is because they do not have the strength to support themselves, they withdraw not because they have decided to allow the atomic war to be lost, but to re-order their strategy—as can be seen in the fact, that they continue to dedicate their budget above all to the war, atomic arms continue to exist, the search for the atomic war continues, and the world repression continues. If the world repression of Imperialism is reduced, it is because it does not have the strength to carry out that policy.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The relations of society and the human being with nature and life under capitalism and socialism

J. Posadas 7-12-71

The questions that you ask, comrade, indicate a very individualist insecurity. What you are preoccupied with, is to know why you are living, what your future will be like, and the reasons for the couple. This is an unnecessary and individualist preoccupation, and your selfishness goes to the point that you are preoccupied with, what your future will be like. How can one have such a preoccupation? Your question is out of all logic. Tomorrow there will be more to do than has ever been done to this day. We still have ten thousand centuries before us to start understanding better what there is to understand.

The more the human being advances in the understanding of its relationships, the more it seeks to enlarge its objectives. On this subject you have all my texts, the texts of Marx, of Engels, of Lenin and of Trotsky. When on the earth there will be nothing left to conquer, when everything will be resolved, when it no longer will be necessary to kill one another and to fight to live, then we will be able to go on other planets, to elevate the existence, and to see that the human capacity is entirely dedicated to increase as much as possible the production of nature by persuading it. Today you have a series of good texts, which pose all that. When I say "we are going to make nature conscious", I am not referring to our consciousness, because nature cannot think, but I mean the system in which we are going to put nature. A system, which corresponds to the thought, so that it acts in harmony, with what is convenient for the human being, and not any more acting in the empirical manner in which it has been organised. Doesn't that make a lot of tasks to realize?

I did not say the couple was going to disappear tomorrow or after tomorrow; what I said was that as long as life lasts the couple is going to be necessary, just as children are going to be. Socialism is not going to eliminate the couple; what it is going to be eliminated is the child as property of the father and the mother. The socialist society is going to preoccupy itself with all the children, and elevate as much as possible the maternal and paternal sentiments, but from a social point of view. That is to say not from the father's and mother's point of view against the others. Socialism is not going to signify that the woman is going to sleep with anybody, and have children from anybody. However, it is going to suppress the imposition of marriage. And it is through a cultural elevation that the woman is going to feel the need and the dignity of having children in a conscious way, and not to satisfy her own tastes, but to satisfy the needs of human reproduction. She will not seek to satisfy her sexual needs in their less important aspect, which is individual satisfaction, or the pleasure produced by sexual intercourse. She will seek the mental pleasure given by sexual intercourse with the aim of human reproduction. Such is the mentality which humanity is going to attain tomorrow. Which in no way eliminates the couple and the children. This does not suppress them in any way. Just as the union of two human beings to have children is not going to be eliminated. But already the child will no longer depend on the parents, but on the education given by the society, on its development, and on the elevation of the collective sentiments of this society. This will be socialism. If you have not studied this, it is because you were not preoccupied with seeing this. You should have preoccupied yourself with many other things, because otherwise you would have found an answer in all the texts I wrote, in the conversations and in the discussions.

In the future it will be possible to verify everything that is going on in the universe, and to be able to do this thousands and thousands of years will be necessary. To go in the universe. To transform the time we need to live, to eat, to develop the rhythm for all the activities. What today demands four hours will only take a few seconds tomorrow. All that exists will be transformed quickly in function of what is useful. Every moment will be able to elevate itself so as to transform itself in matter. Movement will be equal to matter. Think of all the things we have to do!

The way you think is a human way of thinking, but it is selfish and above all individualist. It is a human individualism, which thinks in view of today. Why do you say: "Today we are fight-

ing, but tomorrow what will we do?" You think in a way, which diminishes your capacity of action, which encourages a whole individualist and selfish background. You do not understand that the human being will always be struggling for progress, and to progress. Today progress signifies the overthrow of capitalism. What will progress mean tomorrow? The domination of nature. And to achieve this we will need hundreds and hundreds of years. We will have to transform nature so as to make it conscious and obedient. Transform the sun, the submission to the planetary system. Start communicating with the life in the other planets. Elevate the human relationships so that any human effort, any moment is determined by progress—any movement!

The conception of the couple and of the children, as you express, it is the conception of today, which originates in the private property. It is quite obvious that we have to live in this way still for many years. But for what reasons build a couple in this way? Why live in a house cut from the others? I once posed: "Houses will be eliminated". Why should we live in this way? All this is a private conception, which was developed by private capitalism. I have a conception of morals. For me a moral is the base of the existence. It is for this reason that I will stand in history as an individual who was consciously capable of impulsing the human capacity to think, to organise, to act. This means a moral at all levels. Sexual moral, economic moral, a moral for food, for sleep, and for getting up in the mornings. To live for the progress of humanity. Do everything that leads to the concentration of the attention and the preoccupation for progress: to be honest and to be just. Such will be the whole of humanity tomorrow. Humanity seeks to meet with itself. This means that it seeks to concentrate all its capacity of action on the united front of all the noble sentiments, which cannot yet be used. This is why it seeks a meeting with itself. These noble sentiments are the fact of 80% of humanity; the other are bourgeois, which have no sentiments at all.

The human progress is endless, absolutely endless. Lenin poses in "Materialism and empiricism" that: "The unique absolute truth is that human progress is endless." The more we discover, the more we discover, that there is more to discover.

Tomorrow all the family will be an infinitely superior family. It is absurd to think that the affection of the father and mother is going to be eliminated. Only it will not be applied to one, but to all. Our birth is due to two persons in particular, but I feel myself personally as the son of all women. There are not directly mothers, but mothers of the human being. The selfish affection of mothers has been created by the capitalist system in order to exploit the mother. This is going to disappear and be replaced by the affective maternal and social sentiment. This is going to develop itself undoubtedly, it is inevitable. It is quite obvious that the couple is necessary, and so is the sexual satisfaction, but contrary to today, it will be sought in an ordered way. Today the sexual satisfaction is corrupted. Man and woman seek such a satisfaction guided by a selfish, brutal and animal-like sentiment. It is a way of living. In many cases the woman seeks to defend herself against the man, of attacking him and of competing with him. Under socialism all this won't make sense. Why do this? For what reason? Nobody will feel attracted to do this. The sexual need will not be felt for other reasons than reproduction. Then one will seek a companion in view of this function. The sentiment of human race will be infinitely more elevated than today.

Today, except for the poor part of humanity, which does it with a sentiment of affection in view of reproduct-

ion, the sexual act is a corrupted, immoral act, which seeks the satisfaction in itself. The person which does this is an idiot. Socialism is going to give the human couple, and the human family forms, which will be infinitely superior. All those who argue that socialism means selling women, the elimination of children and of parents are imbeciles. On the contrary, socialism is going to signify more elevated forms of life, which will be entirely human affection. In the same way as one person will no longer have two pairs of shoes, when only one is needed, nobody will want to accumulate. Why accumulate? In the same way nobody will seek individual sexual satisfaction, and the satisfaction of smoking and drinking. All this is going to go to the devil. Of course we will go on drinking wine, and eating such and such good food, but in the most natural way. Not as today, where drinking and smoking are used as intoxication.

All my last texts show that increasing preoccupation I have with the way socialism is going to try—and achieve—to dominate nature and to make it conscious. One will not be able to give it a consciousness, but one will be able to make it act in a conscious way. We are going to try to make it act through our means, and in this way to make it function in a conscious way. We are going to discover the way to do this. Already today we have discoveries and functioning of atoms, the utilisation of anti-matter—force, which to this day has not been used.—One will have to see how this energy can be used. It is also in this way that children will feel that the whole of humanity is their parents; this will announce the conception of the human being, of the human race, it will be the most elevated form of affection, of love for the human race, and the permanent seeking to advance. Then we will see. It is at this point that the problems will be resolved: WHERE DO WE COME FROM? WHERE ARE WE GOING? AND DURING THIS TIME WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO? But then these question will be totally devoid of religious immaterial sentiment, and will be posed in function of a dialectical materialist sentiment. THE MATERIALIST DIALECTICAL SENTIMENT. Humanity will no longer fear to say where it comes from, and is going to discover, what was the first human being, how did he start? As all this is still mysterious today, religion can still draw profit from it.

One we will be advanced in the knowledge of nature and of the universe—it is for this reason we go on the moon and on Venus to discover where we come from—we are going to discover that human beings exist on other planets, and we are going to ask them: "How are you getting on? What is happening? Why did you take such a long time discovering this and this?" Just as we are going to put an end to the division of people originating from the development of the system in the form of private property, in the same way we are going to put an end to the division of planets, we are going to all agree, to see how we are going to use life for the best. Life is going to be elevated. We are going to put an end to the stupidity of having to fight to live. Then it will be over with all wars, with all discussions and disputes. The discussion will have the aim of advancing of progressing. One will discuss to find the best way to live, and not for the sake of quarrelling. This is going to create in humanity a sentiment of progress, where each word pronounced and each action achieved will aim at progress.

On the other hand capitalism, which develops through trade, signifies competition. Any action is competing. This sentiment of competition weighs at all levels, on all aspects of life. There exists a whole relation of competition. This explains why the conscience is divided between the necessity to progress, the sentiment of humanity, and of fraternity, and the sentiment of competition, of individual interest, which arises from capitalism and from the system of private property.

There is no mystery whatever in all this. Tomorrow the world will not pose: "Why struggle in the future?" Everybody is going to live as I do, that is to say in a necessary form. We already have the immense joy of seeing how humanity ad-

vances today. It seeks to find an agreement with itself. How can we not see how communist leaders are in the process of elevating themselves and have good intentions, whereas they used to be frightened, because of a lack of marxist preparation. Today they feel animated to advance in marxism, they also seek an agreement with themselves, that is to say with us. All this is logic. They have to seek this agreement, hence our criticism to the leftist groups, who act in a prejudiced way, individual and subjective way. As for us we are sure of the future, we have no insecurity and no doubts.

You ask yourself the question to know what humanity will be preoccupied with tomorrow. Tomorrow humanity is going to be preoccupied with its progress, with the elimination of all internal disputes and also of its disputes with nature. What is the significance of such a dispute with nature? That we are subjected to its laws, to the sun, to the air, to the rain, that we are dependant on all this. This dispute is going to end. All that demands today time and energy, tomorrow is going to be achieved in a few seconds; we are going to have the capacity of concentrating the atoms, the molecules, the tissues, and the cells, and then use them so that they act in a concentrated manner. What today needs sun, time to mature for its formation, maturing and structuring and gestation, will be done tomorrow in a concentrated form.

Humanity advances towards the domination of nature. But first we must dominate society, we must no longer have to fight to live. But then it will be possible to dedicate all the energies, and all the attention to elevate the relationship of humanity with nature. Today the human intelligence only dedicates itself to it for a minute fraction. All the rest is dedicated to fighting, to going on strike, to make wars, revolutions and to compete. When all this is going to be eliminated, then we will be able to dedicate ourselves to nature. Without increasing the means we have, the capacity of action towards nature will be hundreds of thousands times more elevated. Moreover we are going to find in the relationships nature-cosmos an energy in dissolution, in movement, in fragments with which we will be able to put ourselves in contact, with the aim of utilising it.

When I say "that the human couple is going to modify itself" what does it mean? What is it we call the human couple? Even whilst fighting for the revolution, the human couple still lives motivated by the whole previous education, by an understanding of life and by an organic construction received previously; it must change. We must give it time. This explains why your thought is a selfish thought, that of a human being of today; you think as one thinks today, in a selfish way. It is not individual selfishness. Of course, there is an aspect of individualism in it, but in fact it is the human being who thinks "And what about tomorrow, what will we do then?" The human being will have an infinite number of reasons to progress. To progress each time more and more. Those who will come after us will see how to organise the existence. Among other things, for instance, how not to die. This will not be a selfish attitude, but a domination of nature. Today our death is in relation to nature. When tomorrow we will see that nature has in front of it millions and millions of years, then we, too will have these millions of years.

The nature from which we come still commands. But on the other hand, the same does not go for society, because it is we who makes it. And for this reason we can change it. In the course of these transformations of society, we are going to acquire more means and knowledge of what nature is, and thereby construct the instruments, which are going to enable us to act on nature. This is going to enable us to dominate nature completely and persuade it. This is how the problem of death is going to be posed tomorrow. For this reason today we say: "Individually death wins, but socially it loses, because socially life is continued and each time we live longer." Today, for instance, the average life chance is 70, 68, 65 years old. Even the workers live

CONTINUED OVER

# The atomic war which imperialism is preparing . . .

## J. Posadas 15-8-71

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

because the revolution is stronger, and the lack of confidence, fear, pessimism are introduced in the ranks of Imperialism and divides its concentrated forces. It divides them! The various sectors fight among themselves, hoping to see more clearly, or to win time, or take up a different position, or seek to continue to go on shooting. But there is a sector, which wants, which is conscious, that it is necessary to launch the atomic war, which is the CIA. Hence changes come, but the CIA remains unalterable. The CIA and the Pentagon, the two together are the two organisms with the same interest, the same boss. Hence it is necessary to demonstrate to the communists, how it might prove impossible to prevent Imperialism from using the atomic war to defend itself.

There is only one way of preventing it, to make the revolution, and to take power. If it was possible to make the revolution, and to take power without leading to atomic war, it would be simple, and we would have done it. The communists would already have done it. If the communists do not take power, it is because they fear, precisely the atomic reaction of Imperialism. But with the policy, which they are making, they are giving breathing space to Imperialism, to arm itself with more atomic weapons. Why don't they take power in Italy and France? If they took power what could happen? NATO would come. They would send aeroplanes, and ships. Also in Vietnam it sent them, and now they return—those who can return, the others fall. Imperialism is ready to intervene at any moment in which it can, to contain the revolution. If it does not intervene more, it is because the revolution contains it. Now Imperialism can put up with things once, twice, five, ten, twenty times, but there are limits to this. One way to measure the limit is the internal crisis of American capitalism. This shows the maximum level of the crisis. But also the greatest crisis, like this present crisis, which expresses itself in the trip of Nixon to China, does not diminish in any way the atomic programme, the atomic armaments, the atomic strategy. Why does it do this? If it was ready to renounce atomic war, or could stop itself, this would be seen then in American investments in armaments, which would diminish, and in interior changes in the United States, in a policy, which would show, effectively that Imperialism has abandoned the atomic war. Only workers power can do this. The Imperialists say "yes, I am not going to launch the war, I do not want it, I am against, the atomic war is a barbarism." And meanwhile they prepare the atomic war. One of the essential arguments, which prevents Imperialism from launching the atomic war is their fear of disappearing, above all, because it sees Soviet superiority, and secondly, because it thinks: and after the atomic war, what then? Will capitalism survive? The masses of the United States have demonstrated now that in the war they will smash capitalism. This introduces, and deepens pessimism in the American ruling class, in American Imperialism. It increases also the pessimism in the sect-

ors, who depend on, or believe they depend on, or believe they can live on a continuation of the alliance, or of competition, or of co-existence with the Workers States. The other sectors are those who determine, are those who invest in the war. 70% of the American economy depends on the war apparatus. And the American war apparatus is not only constituted of atomic arms, it is the whole world strategy, the trips to the moon, the American fleet in the world, the economic aid, the support to the counter revolution. All this together is their programme. If the Americans were ready to renounce atomic war, it would mean that they would accept a competition with the Workers State. And it is clear they do not accept; Chile is a small country, which has little strength, it has to confront the Americans, and now they deprive it of credits, and sabotage commercial enterprises. Peru and Bolivia are small countries, Yankee Imperialism tries to subdue and crush them, to prevent them giving an example, and they develop with measures towards Workers States. Thus it is necessary to discuss.

How does the state of mind of Yankee Imperialism express itself? Its consciousness and readiness for the future shows itself in the measures which it takes. What is the greatest concern of American Imperialism? Atomic preparation. How is this expressed? In the fact that the greatest expenditure of the budget of the United States, the greater part of the scientific capacity of the United States is entirely dedicated to war preparation. The trip to the moon has nothing to do with discovery or with knowledge of the origin of the moon. They go to study the origin of the moon; but what do they gain from this? Immediately in a perspective of 10-20-30 and 40 years what importance has the moon for the economy and production? It has no importance. But the expenditures amount to milliards of dollars. Why do they go there now? They go there to study what military utilisation they can make of the moon to sustain American Imperialism. There are no other fundamental interests apart from this. There are other secondary interests—secondary today, tomorrow they will be decisive—among them the search for an answer to the question of this society, of the earth, on the nature and the origin of the moon, and this then implies the question; from where do we come, where do we go, and in the meantime what do we do? Well, the communist comrades must answer this. Let them show that this is not the case.

The Americans have easily spent 25000 million dollars studying the moon, and about 70,000 millions in Vietnam. It is sufficient to eliminate hunger and misery in the world, and to inaugurate plans of industrial production in each backward country. Why not do it? And why don't they also do it in the United States? There is an increase in investments and in production, but who consumes?

The devaluation of the dollar is a direct result of the situation of crisis in the United States, determined by the fact, that they cannot increase internal consumption.

The capital, which Yankee Imperialism has, and which it can invest, it cannot invest internally. Hence it seeks to export more, not to increase internal consumption. If American Imperialism felt itself secure, it would increase internal consumption. It would invest for consumption on the internal market. If on the other hand, it is concerned more to increase export and to impede imports, as it is doing with the tax of 10% after devaluation of the dollar, which does not come from present conditions, it is because it does not have the strength, the conditions, the social capacity to increase consumption in the United States in proportion, to the extent of its needs for investment and profit, because it needs to increase profit as a function of the expenditure in Vietnam, which is a completely unproductive expense. And it sees that socially in the United States the revolution has already begun. It has begun in the form in which it could begin in the objective situation, the concrete present situation; resistance of the masses to the plans of the war of American Imperialism. This is the way in which the revolution begins.

Imperialism seeks to win time. If it had been able to launch the war it would have done so. If it had been able to crush the revolution it would have done it. It tried to smash Cuba, and the result is that the existence of Cuba influences the whole of Latin America. If it had been able to smash Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, it would have done it. The result is that they have to leave it, and they are seeking the way to withdraw without being seen. The North American people is against the war. In the North American Army, they are publishing sixty journals, all against the war! The soldiers refuse to fight, and they consult among themselves on whether or not to obey orders. Groups of soldiers pass directly over to the Vietnamese as "prisoners"! They go to the other side, go there and desert. The Americans see all this, they realise that they have no possibility of resolving the problem, nor of making economic competition, nor social competition. Hence they prepare the war. Otherwise it would be an inert regime. The affirmation that "no regime leaves history without resorting to all means to remain" means that Imperialism is the result of the functioning of the capitalist system. It is not only the result of the mentality of one, four, five, fifteen people. The capitalist system has created these types, and these types now create, and develop the capitalist system, whose life depends on all this. The capitalists dominate the economy, are the ones who decide. The others are accessory elements.

It is now clearer that the "McNamara business" is part of an internal struggle, it does not reduce in any way their weakness. Evidently the policy of Nixon conflicts in a series of cases with the small group of generals who determine, conflicts directly with them, because Nixon tries to survive. The generals have their hands ready to press the button, because they are those who represent with more realism than Nixon the capitalist system. It is to them that the Soviets at times address themselves, seeking to deepen the division between diverse sectors. They have success for a

day or a week, but this does not determine the course of the process. The capitalist system cannot abandon the scene without resorting to all possible measures to survive. The communists believe that one thing is Belfast, another Chile; and the Middle East is something else. They act as if the human sentiment of capitalism was against all these massacres. It was not against the bombing of Hiroshima, nor against those of Vietnam, the Middle East, or against repression in Belfast. It is necessary to record that at Pearl Harbour, it destroyed a fleet to justify the war.

The Kennedy sector was 60% for the atomic war, for the invasion of Cuba. Now it is for the liberty of Cuba, and to postpone the atomic war, not to eliminate it. To postpone it! This shows the crisis, which exists within American Imperialism, the fear, and in an indirect form, the enormous power of the North American masses, who without a party, without a revolutionary trade union have introduced a very great development of pessimism into American Imperialism, and have attracted the support of the proletarian masses, still not organised. Even if not organised, they've attracted their support. Without the sympathy, without the indirect support, and at times, direct support of the North American worker masses, the petit bourgeoisie would not have the decision thus to confront American Imperialism. The petit bourgeoisie are representatives of the power of the American proletariat, who still have not animated themselves to intervene. A series of movements, of blows, impels them to intervene, in such a way that it seems to happen by surprise. Just as every general strike, in the form, is spontaneous.

It is necessary to discuss with the communists, arguing. Why the atomic war?

This does not mean desiring to make the war so that Imperialism may disappear, but to see reality. When there is an illness, an infection, we say: "there is illness, infection?" We cannot conceal it. It is necessary to diagnose in order

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

NEW PUBLICATION  
OF THE SECTION

A RESOLUTION BY THE P. B.  
ON THE  
BALANCE OF THE  
MINERS STRIKE

Price 5p from  
Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn St., London W.C.2.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2  
longer. At the end of the century we will be able to reach an average of 90 years old, at least.

All this signifies that once nature is dominated, we can make it change. Today we are still submitted to it. Nature does not know what it does, it cannot think, and has no consciousness. Her relationship are those of her coming to the world, but tomorrow we are going to be able to say: "Why are things this way?" Today this is not yet possible, because first we must dominate society, and then only dedicate ourselves to nature.

Then the problem of death will no longer exist as such; it will not be posed in terms of anguish, but as a consequence: we use a thing, and it wears away, and we must use another one. Why? Because things are like this, because nature still has more strength than we have in this respect, but not for all other aspects. This is why we must first of all resolve the social problem, eliminate the class-struggle, eliminate capitalism, eliminate the bureaucracy, make the world a whole. Then the human capacity is going to elevate itself: millions of tim-

es, with the same means as we have today. Then humanity will do what the Soviets are just beginning to do: go on other planets, and see what is happening there. Already the Soviets are now posing: that if one does prove that life exists on Mars, then it will be possible to envisage the relationships with human beings in a rational way. They do not talk of human beings, because they may take another form, because life can have another form. They talk of rational beings on another planet. All this confirms absolutely what I have posed.

Your preoccupations are unjust, for there is no reason for you to have them. In the first place you have texts, which exist; secondly with a small amount of cultural preoccupation on your behalf, you could find the solutions. On the other hand you seek a refuge in an individualist attitude. Even if it is not expressed in an individualist way, it is individualist. You appear as afraid with a sentiment of introversion, instead of turning yourself towards the world, of seeing how we progress, how humanity progresses. It is in this way that consciousness can base itself on the progress of humanity,

and see that there is no fear of death but, that one goes, and another comes. Your preoccupation reflects a whole individualistic selfishness. If you had an objective preoccupation of impelling, you would not feel like this. You would preoccupy yourself with how we advanced, how we progress. Your attitude conceals a background of selfish and conservative sentiments on the whole, otherwise you would not say these things; humanity is not preoccupied with all this.

Humanity struggles, progresses and advances, it does not preoccupy itself with knowing what is going to happen tomorrow. It feels that tomorrow there is going to be another society, in which it will be able to decide with science and technique, and envisage the way to act. Today nature imposes. Tomorrow it will not work the same way, it is us who are going to impose. The problem is not that "death can be victorious over us, can triumph". NO! The problem is still the one of lack of means, of insufficient relationships, and also that nature still has more forces than we have. (although even that is relative) It is relative in the

sense that it can still dispose individually of each one of us, but socially it can no longer.

Therefore the problem is not of tomorrow's security. We are sure of what tomorrow is going to be like. Today nature still has more forces than we have, but it is a relative force. It is this way that the human being has the force to go to Venus, to Mars, already it feels capable. He begins to dominate the planetary system, the physical planetary system. And if already he does this, it is that he is invincible. But today we must resolve the problems on the earth, i.e. the society. And it is quite certain that we can do it, whereas we can only resolve partially the problems of nature. The sentiments that we must create and elaborate are confidence, and the assurance that we can resolve everything. It is not possible to lack assurance, to be afraid, because that means conservatism and individualism. It is not possible to be preoccupied with death. If one dies the others remain, for progress never stops.

J. POSADAS 7 December 1971

# Salute of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of IV International to the South Yemeni masses, Government, and the N.L.F. on the smashing of the imperialism inspired invasion

TEXT DELIVERED TO THE EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF SOUTH YEMEN

In the name of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International, we salute with tremendous revolutionary joy, the South Yemeni government, the N.L.F., and the Yemeni masses on the defeat of the Imperialist inspired invasion by N. Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Imperialism has tried to overthrow the revolutionary government of S. Yemen, and has been defeated. The role played by the South Yemeni masses, organised as they are, in armed militias, has been crucial in this action. This is an historical lesson to be drawn by all the Revolutionary States such as Chile, Bangladesh, Tanzania etc. While advances are being made in these countries through nationalisations and expropriation of Imperialism, there is an increasing threat of either an imperialist attack, or an imperialist inspired coup, and the answer to these dangers is the organisation of the masses, the arming of the masses; only in this way can the defeat of these attacks be assured.

We salute the comrades of South Yemen on the organisation of these militias, which have proved that they are the most effective means of defence of S. Yemen, which must be developed so that eventually they replace the structure of the professional army. We salute the

existence of all the local popular councils and the important role, which they play, but these too must be developed so that they become the sovereign body of the country, functioning as the soviets did in the first seven years of the Soviet Union, functioning in a political way,

discussing all the problems, and applying the conclusions directly. This does not eliminate the function of the N.L.F., but the N.L.F. has to elevate its political function to form itself into a marxist party with a bolshevik functioning, which intervenes in the soviets, leading them by giving the best ideas, the best proposals. This is the way forward to attract all the masses, and to utilise all the forces of the masses. We appeal to the cadres of the N.L.F. to read and discuss the documents of J. Posadas on the construction of the Workers States, and from the Workers State to Socialism.

We also hear with great joy of the latest nationalisations in S. Yemen of the hotels and cinemas. The superiority of the nationalised economy has been illustrated on numerous occasions. N. Vietnam facing a constant bombardment over years and years has maintained a great economic advance. N. Korea after being razed to the ground in the Korean war has surpassed its previous economic level, because of the structure of the economy, and the Soviet Union in 50 years has come from being a backward semi-colonial country to the most powerful in the world. Imperialism has actively under-developed the so-called third world, and the way to advance is only possible through the nationalised economy, no capitalist solution is possible. And to take a non-capitalist road it is necessary to make links with the Workers States. We salute all the agreements which S. Yemen has made for economic and military aid from the Workers States, but it is necessary to go further in this sense, taking the 15 year agreement between the USSR and Iraq as an example.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union to send its air force, its armed forces to defend S. Yemen. Today the Workers States intervene differently than in the past, they still intervene bureaucratically, but now it is a policy, which favours the world revolution. Bangladesh is an expression of this, where they intervened directly against US Imperialism. It is necessary to call on all the Workers States to send all types of aid, specialised personnel, doctors, technicians, engineers etc. for now it is pos-

sible to accept this aid without in any way being submitted to the limited or bureaucratic policy of the leaderships of the Workers States.

But the best way to protect the South Yemen revolution is to develop the revolution throughout the Middle East, and particularly in the Gulf. It is not just a question of supporting guerrilla groups, but of making appeals to the oil proletariats of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, for example giving a programme of nationalisations under workers control. It is necessary to appeal to all the masses of Saudi Arabia, and of Jordan to overthrow the Imperialist puppets of Faisal and Hussein, and to do as they have done in South Yemen. But the masses of the Gulf must feel more the weight of S. Yemen as a revolutionary force, they must see the intervention of the masses, the proletarian democratic functioning of the organisms of the masses, the independence of the TU's, an intense political life of the masses. All this has to be developed in S. Yemen.

The N.L.F. must appeal to the workers movement, the communist, socialist and labour parties, to the left christian democrats, to the trade unions of Western Europe, to make strikes, occupation and demonstrations in the event of a new attack on S. Yemen. Make an appeal to the western workers movement to struggle for the expropriation of the big imperialist oil industries without compensation under workers control as a concrete measure of support to the Arab masses, and also as a fundamental blow at the structure of capitalist in the metropolitan countries.

This is the appeal, which we launch to the leadership, and to the masses of S. Yemen, at the same time as we express all our revolutionary solidarity and our joy at seeing the smashing of the Imperialist inspired invasion.

Viva the defeat of the Imperialist invasion.

Viva the advance of South Yemen towards a Workers State.

Political Bureau of the  
Revolutionary Workers Party  
(Trotskyist) British Section of the  
IV International

18. 4. 71

## The atomic war . . . .

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

to intervene. And to diagnose it, is necessary to see reality, not to hide it, not to fear it, nor to believe that to see it, means to inaugurate a disaster. But it is necessary to see it. We do not want the war in Vietnam, but there is the crisis in the Middle East, but there is the crisis in the Middle East, and they kill, and they assassinate. Then it is necessary to see it.

Fundamentally, when the communists say "we can avoid the nuclear war" it expresses a fear, an historic fear, a feeling of smallness. To admit that the atomic war is inevitable, makes them feel small in front of forces, which surpass them. This happens, because they were not prepared for this task. If they were prepared, they would see it, and say "No, it is coming". But as they are not prepared, they do not know what will happen tomorrow, and they are afraid, afraid of confronting a future which they do not know. It is a continuation of the fear, which in all the struggles against the capitalist system, is determined by not knowing, what will happen tomorrow, because there is not a party, there is not a programme, there is not a preparation, there is not a discipline, there is not the organisation to confront the capitalist system. But there is the organisation to dispute power with the capitalist system through parliament. Then this is the way in which they reason. The Soviets are losing their fear somewhat, because they are forced to, and they see concretely the preparation of the war. As they are the ones who have the power, and the answer to the war depends on them, then they have to see it. It is not a logical, social reasoning, but a reasoning that is overwhelmingly military, because they have a social fear of marxist reasoning. They do not reason in a marxist way. When they say "the atomic war is the end of Imperialism", it is because they admit the possibility of the atomic war. The single fact of admitting the possibility means, that they recognise the existence of the causes which lead to it. What are they? How can they be analysed? What is the behaviour of Imperialism? What is the significance of the present crisis of the dollar? Is it a destruction of the capitalist system? Is it a product of bad financial calculation, or of a bad exchange system? What does it mean? In part they say it "It is the war in Vietnam". Good, and why does Imperialism run this risk? The money which sustains the basis of the capitalist system runs this risk? Why such a risk? And why does the world capitalist system accept it? All the capitalist countries are committed to the dollar, because they know that the fall of Yankee Imperialism is the fall of them all. Hence they allow this game of the North American currency, not for Yankee economic industrial power, which it does not have in the same proportion as before. It has atomic power, but from the economic and industrial point of view its power is not in the same proportion. It is true that they have to devalue the dollar to compete with the Germans, with the English, with the French. But

they have to devalue it, because of the expenses caused by the war in Vietnam.

It is necessary to give many arguments, to argue. The communists see that capitalism makes the war, but they think they can prevent it. But not because they believe it, but because they do not see another force. If they saw an organised force, directed systematically to take power, they would lose the fear of seeing reality as it is. On the other hand they conceal it, and base themselves on a perverse human sentiment of capitalism, not on a human solid, fraternal feeling. Capitalism has human sentiments, but perverse ones. Then it is necessary to see reality as it is. The mentality and the perverse sentiment of capitalism is the result of its relations to property. Its life is this. They do not know how to make another. Take a bourgeois away from his function of possessing money, and he remains an idiot. Take the administrators and all these people away from their functions and they do not understand anything, know nothing. All these "executives" are people to execute! All! They are all complete idiots. They cannot see the world outside. This ambience. Never in the history of humanity has there been a regime (not even in the feudal epoch, which did not have the technique of today) so mediocre and so backward as capitalism. If one makes the comparison with technique and science, one sees that they can reach the moon, examine it, seeking to find out about its origins, they are not afraid of landing on the moon, but they are incapable of foreseeing what will happen tomorrow here on earth. Hence they land on the moon. The Americans are incapable of foreseeing what will happen tomorrow. These in Vietnam expected: "We invade, and in a few months we will liquidate everything." They do not know what will happen tomorrow, because they have the desperation to win the war, and to continue to conquer as capitalism. And who guarantees this? The North American masses have already demonstrated that neither before, during or after the war will they sustain it. Imperialism is decrepit! It is a handful of American generals who control the destiny of the capitalist system. Just a handful of generals! This cannot be decided only in the United States, it is true. But the survival of the capitalist system is decided in the military plans of American Imperialism. The American military plans are the ones which decide.

But it is necessary to speak with these comrades, arguing well, showing that our policy is not passive. We do not sit down to await the atomic war, but we do not expect anything from the policy of the Soviets, which tries to divide capitalism in such a way, as to make it impotent, weakening it so that it cannot make the atomic war. It is necessary to insist: it is a handful of generals who direct, and determine the behaviour and the life of the world capitalist system, a handful of generals who lead. If the opinion of these generals was "we are losing the war, let us get out", they would be killed, pulled out, and others would be put in. Do not doubt that this is the case.

J. POSADAS 15 August 1971.

## EDITORIAL

political life in the TU's and workers parties, for assemblies in all the places of work, and in the colleges, and universities to discuss how to beat this law, how to defend the assets of the trade unions, and how to get rid of the Tory government, and impose a Labour government that will respond to the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses. There must be no payment of the £55,000 fine on the TGWU and no confiscation of union assets, the worker must see to this by organising defence committees to protect the union buildings, preventing the entry of bailiffs or policemen. If, during their strike, the miners supported by the engineering workers, were able to prevent anyone going into the great coke depot at Saltly in spite of a large force of police, they will certainly be able to protect unions buildings. Not a pencil to be confiscated by the government, no union official to be disciplined, not a penny of union funds to be touched; strikes, demonstrations, occupations, defence committees for this end.

In all the discussion in the factories and in the class organisations, the feeble response of the Labour left has to be discussed. The parliamentary left over Ireland, over the miners strike, and now over this N.I.R.C. ruling (Callaghan has said it is the law of the land and must be obeyed), have supported the right and done nothing. The parliamentary left of the LP is so insular, and reformist that they can see no alternative to capitalist laws, while the masses in Britain and Ireland are showing that they can make their own rules and laws, and impose them in their own class interest.

The struggle to defeat this law has to be linked with the struggle for a programme of demands to satisfy the needs of the masses. It is necessary to organise a general strike not just against these laws, but for all profits of automation

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

to the workers, no factories to be closed, a 35 hour week in all industries, a workers plan of production based on the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the key sectors of the economy, linking this to the demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops and the end of internment in Ireland. This is the way the working class is going to attract the non-proletarian exploited masses, who will see the working class as a leadership, and will follow it. This is going to impel the advance of the new leadership in the LP coming from the factories, from the middle layers in the LP and the TU's. The CP has to throw all its forces into helping the organisation of this General Strike, seeing its role as that of helping the British masses to construct their new leadership in the LP and TU's to take power.

The R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International appeals to the Labour, Communist and TU vanguard to support massively the one day general strike on May 1st, called by several TU organisations, making it with mass demonstrations, mass assemblies to prepare the organisation, and to formulate a programme for an unlimited general strike to throw out the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government, and to stimulate the formation of a new left leadership in the Labour Party, so that the next Labour government will base itself on the working class, and advance in the destruction of capitalist system.

25. 4. 72

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**



We salute the liberation of Quang Tri.  
Strikes, demonstrations, mobilisations  
to respond to the criminal actions  
of U.S. imperialism in preparation  
for the war

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 158 2nd Friday of May 1972 PRICE 3p

# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY

## Of the International Secretariat of the IV International

- TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD, WORKERS, PEASANTS, CLERKS.
- TO THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS STATES, OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES, OF THE LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.
- TO THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST CURRENTS AND MOVEMENTS.
- TO THE HEROIC MASSES OF VIETNAM.
- TO THE CHILDREN, THE OLD PEOPLE, THE WOMEN AND THE YOUTH.
- TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF ALL THE WORLD.

This stage of the history of humanity is dominated by the world course of the development of the socialist revolution. The whole of humanity seeks progress, seeks to free itself from oppression, to eliminate terror, war, hunger, misery, unemployment, disputes between human beings. All of humanity is included in this world process of the socialist revolution. All the progress of humanity is characterised and determined by the world course of the socialist revolution.

The whole progress of all the countries of the world, from the most backward to the most advanced, has a direct link and relation with the world force of the socialist revolution. Be it in science, or in technique, but above all in all the social, political and scientific conclusions.

All the backward countries, which are progressing, which base themselves on mass mobilisations, so as to have contact with, and develop the mass movement, assume the character of an anti-capitalist revolution, acquire forms, and movements close to the Workers States. From the most backward countries, Bangladesh, Indo China, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Latin America, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, the struggle of the masses acquires the form of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolution. They acquire social, economic forms, structures of property, eliminating or seeking to eliminate private property, passing to collective property, to nationalisations, to the planning of the economy, and the monopoly of foreign trade. These are forms, which are the basis of the development towards the Workers State, and the construction of socialism. This is what dominates this stage of history. All the sentiment of the masses of the world, of the children, of the women, of the old people, of the youth, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, professionals, technicians, scientists, soldiers, who until yesterday were the servants of the capitalist apparatus, are gained, impelled, encouraged, by the course of progress, determined by the development, and the world ascent of the socialist revolution. This gives the notion and the guide of history. It is the course of thinking, of culture, of science, of technique, of sentiment and of fraternal relations between human beings, determined by the world development of the socialist revolution.

Never in any other previous stage, has there been such a world process of fraternity, of solidarity, of mobilisations of the masses in defence of revolutions, of prisoners, of political detainees, from all currents. Never before has there been such a movement of solidarity against capitalist threats, repression and terror. Never before has humanity shown itself so dedicated and unified, whatever be its means, and whatever the situation of the country, in defence of progress, of the democratic rights of the masses, of the fight to progress of the masses of the world, of all the militants, of all the currents, and tendencies, who fight for the progress of humanity from the left catholics, up to the communists, trotskysts, the socialists, and the nation-

alist revolutionaries. Never has there been such a movement of solidarity, fraternity and unification of this movement of history.

Joined with this objective progress is the progress of the Workers State, the technical, scientific, social, economic, and political progress. There is an immense progress. There is an immense progress of the Workers State, which sends satellites and space platforms to the moon, substituting for the direct work of the human being a mechanical-scientific work produced for the human being. The Soviet space vehicles sent to the moon, to Venus, and to Mars, the scientific capacity of the Workers States, shows the powerful and decisive superiority of the Workers States, of the forms of nationalised property, of the planning of the economy and the monopoly of foreign trade. Thus, they demonstrate their superiority over the capitalist system, drawing with them, attracting, and organising the mobilisations of the masses towards new revolutions to eliminate the capitalist system. This marks the course of history.

The Soviet Union announced for the First of May the launching of a new space platform with a crew, which would stay in space for a month. This shows the great technical and scientific superiority of the Workers States. In only 54 years of existence, the Soviet Union, through nationalised property, through the monopoly of foreign trade and the planning of production, has surpassed the whole of the capitalist system, after several thousand years of the existence of private property, and practically 200 years of the existence of the capitalist regime. But the capitalist regime came, continuing private property. While the Workers State inaugurated a new stage in history, with a new form of property. This shows the immense superiority of the Workers State, which is what attracts and determines this course of history.

The masses of the world mobilise, nourished and stimulated by the socialist revolution. New countries coming from nothing, with no tradition, with no economic antecedents, no social or political force, like Bangladesh, emerge from being submerged by floods with 3,000,000 assassinated by the army and the mercenary troops of Pakistan, emerge from the floods, the hurricanes, from extreme brutality and from the war, constructing the bases for a revolutionary state towards a Workers State. The capitalist system shows itself impotent to maintain under private property, the development of the struggles of the masses and of the revolution. Constantly, countries emerge from economic backwardness, pass to being revolutionary states, who impose structures on the economy, and on society, which advances on the basis of the nationalisation of property, to certain form of planning, establishing economic and social structures, which prevent capitalism from having any opportunity or means to retreat. This gives an enormous impulse to the world revolution.

The masses of the world take initiative

of every nature, disputing power with capitalism; There is a gigantic development of world dual power. The masses of Europe and in part of Latin America, are establishing organs of power in the factories. The process of occupations of the factories is developed, constantly increasing their political significance, because they dispute the power of capitalism. In Italy, the factory councils are once again developing, preparing the organs of proletarian power. This world development of dual power as in France, Italy, England, Mexico, is expressed in the development of organs of dual

power, which dispute, and compete with capitalism's function in society.

The masses of the world, in all the capitalist countries are developing the trade union movement with powerful strikes, powerful mass mobilisations, powerful movements which, starting from demands for democratic or religious rights, as in Northern Ireland, pass to mobilisations of a social and socialist character. The mobilisations of the masses of the Middle East, of Libya, of Iraq, of Syria, of Egypt, advance in the process of overcoming the backwardness

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Press communique on the disappearance of the  
Brazilian Revolutionaries

## Demand guarantees for the physical safety of Claudio Cavalcanti, M. Campos, A. Sa. Ferreira, Jose and Rui.

We call the attention of world progressive public opinion to a new attempt against the most elementary democratic freedoms, and against the most fundamental rights of man, carried out probably by a sector of the police force, or by the infamous "death squadron" within the framework of repressive and criminal action by the most reactionary forces of Brazilian capitalism. Five people, some of whom had been previously sentenced by the Brazilian military regime for political reasons, have disappeared, and we have serious reason to fear for their lives. They are, Claudio Vasconcellos Cavalcanti, militant of the Brazilian Section of the IV International, 30 years old, sentenced in 1965 to eight years imprisonment for his political activity in the North East of Brazil, arrested on the 22nd July 1970, severely tortured, and kept in Tiradentes prison until the 22nd December 1971, when he was discharged, after an appeal. Also Martinho Campos, 30 years old and Aybore Sa Ferreira, 34 years old, both sentenced to eight years of imprisonment in the same trial as Claudio Vasconcellos Cavalcanti; and furthermore two friends of theirs, Rui and Jose, whose surnames we do not know, both 27 years old, originally from the state of Santa Catalina. All these five people disappeared on the 8th of April.

Martinho Campos and Rui were arrested that day, and there has been no news about the other three since that date. Twenty days after their disappearance neither the military tribunal (Auditorio Mili-

tar) of Pernambuco, where the first three concerned received their eight years sentence, or of San Paulo, where they were arrested or disappeared, seemed to know of their fate.

Both police and army have refused to give any information to the families. There are grave reasons to fear for the physical safety and lives of these militants.

As has been shown by many episodes of this kind, and how it has even been said by numerous exponents of political repression, in Brazil a "second prison" doesn't exist, which is to say, anyone who is arrested for the second time is killed.

It is therefore necessary to have an urgent mobilisation of all the workers and democratic movement to prevent the murder of these militants, sending telegrams of protest to the Government and Ministry of Justice of Brazil. Contacting M.P.'s, and lawyers who can demand information about these militants and take the necessary steps in order to prevent their murder.

We appeal to Labour M.P.'s, trade unionists, to the militants and leadership of the Labour Party and Communist Party, the student movement, democratic lawyers, progressive intellectuals to demand, of the Brazilian government, information about these militants and guarantees of their physical safety.

8. 5. 72

The addresses are:  
Brazilian Embassy, 32 Green  
Street, London, W.1.  
President Medici, Government  
House, Brazilia, Brazil.

# Manifesto of the 1st of May

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

of Muslim Nationalism, to acquire and implement revolutionary nationalism, and pass to the function of revolutionary states, in order to pass to being Workers States. This is the course, which shows the economic, social, and political progress of history.

The concentrated power of the world process of self-solidarity, self support of the masses, between the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, and the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world, is expressed concentratedly in Vietnam. In Vietnam, humanity is defeating Yankee imperialism, the assassin attempt of Yankee imperialism, which wants to contain the development of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of Vietnam to liberate themselves from Imperialism, and develop the Workers State towards socialism. The masses of Vietnam receive the world solidarity of the proletariat, of the peasant masses, of the technicians, of the clerical workers, of the scientists of all the world, who are impelling the Workers State to sustain Vietnam. It is a world circuit, which manacles Yankee Imperialism and keeps it a prisoner of the world revolution. It is Imperialism, which is surrounded by the world development of the Socialist Revolution. In Vietnam the power of the struggles of the masses of the world, in each country, and in its entirety, impedes capitalism from being able to centralise itself, make itself homogeneous, and concentrate itself in a single leadership, to be able to confront the world development of the socialist revolution. It is becoming more and more visible that the whole of the forces are developing towards the final settlement of accounts, between the world development of the socialist revolution, the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, and the capitalist system.

From all this, the essential example, which concentrates the impulse, and the world support of the revolution, and which in itself, impels the revolution, is Vietnam. The offensive of the masses of Vietnam, is a powerful example of the capacity, of the conviction, the force which the socialist revolution gives. The unshakable resolution of the masses of Vietnam to defend the conquests of the socialist revolution, to defeat Imperialism, to attract the masses of South East Asia, in the struggle against Imperialism, concentrates the will and the initiative of all the masses of the world, to smash Imperialism and all the capitalist system.

This is the initiative of the masses of the world, which is impelling the revolution, which is introducing into the Communist Parties, the Socialist Parties, the Left Catholic movements, and in the Workers States, the need to impel the policy of the world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front. This is the initiative of the masses in all the world, which impels the revolution, which impels progress in those places such as Bangladesh, the Middle East, Vietnam, where the women, the men, children, and old people are mobilising. This is a powerful example of the fact that already there is a socialist consciousness of the masses of the world, disposed to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system, and construct socialism. This is the characteristic of this stage of history.

The progress of humanity is determined by the progress of the socialist revolution, which is realised by the will of the masses of the world to impel progress, overthrowing the capitalist system, so as to finish with hunger, war, misery, unemployment and finish with Imperialist and Capitalist wars. Imperialism prepares for the atomic war, but is obliged to retreat continually, as this is releasing its capacity for military action, for when it makes the atomic war. It is the most powerful example demonstrated in this stage of history. Joined with this, there is the world unification of the masses, the objective and concrete united front, which the masses of the world realise in their world support, in their world mobilisations, in defence of the liberty of political prisoners, as Angela Davis, as the Trotskyist prisoners in Mexico, the revolutionaries of Spain, of Greece, of all parts of the world. The mobilisations of the masses contain the sinister intentions of capitalism to assassinate the revolutionaries, the democratic militants, who fight against the capitalist system, and seek to impel to communicate and stimulate the development of anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles.

As never before in this stage of history, there is a process of trade union unification, a tendency of centralisation

of the struggle of the masses, and the impulse to unify in an anti-capitalist programme as in Italy, France, England, Germany, Latin America, Asia and Africa.

As never before, in this stage of history, there is a combined process of history of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, of all the Workers States joined with the struggle of the masses of the world. It is the initiative of the masses, the structure reached by the development of the Workers States, which impels the leaderships of the Communist Parties and the governments of the Workers States, to impel and support the development of the struggle of the masses against Imperialism. There is a process of united world front between the development of the Workers States, with the objective development of the world revolution. A process which is still not programmed, not established by a common leadership and front.

This progress of the revolution corners Imperialism and leads it to desperation. It pushes it into constant and permanent crises. The social crisis of the capitalist system is more important than its economic crisis. The crisis of the dollar demonstrates the internal crisis of the capitalist system, the internal struggle between themselves, which prevents its co-ordination and concentrating itself under a single command. In spite of the attempts of capitalism, the struggle of the masses of the world, the development of the Workers States, the structure of the technical, scientific, social, economic and military development of the Workers States, leads these to unify themselves, to seek a unified centralisation with the struggle of the masses of the world. This is the fundamental factor, which promotes the crisis of the capitalist system, which forces it to make the fundamental antagonist-

ic and historical competition between the world capitalist system and the Workers States and the world revolution.

This is the fundamental struggle, which there is in this stage, jointly with the intercapitalist struggle, which there is in this, which constantly weakens the capitalist system. This crisis of capitalism is expressed economically, socially and politically. No mass movement, of countries which mobilise, acquire the capitalist form, or go back to the capitalist system, but they acquire forms, which rapidly tend to surpass the capitalist system. This is the socialist influence of the development of the revolution.

In the Workers States there is a process of partial regeneration; impelled by and obliged to be submitted to the progress of the world revolution, the Workers States have reached the economic, social, political and scientific structure, which imposes on them a co-ordination, planning, and impels them to advance with a considerable economic, social and scientific progress. This marks the progress of history. Meanwhile the capitalist system makes a debate in a constant political, economic, and social crisis. There is not any capitalist country, which has political and social stability. Even with a certain economic stability on the part of the great capitalist countries of Europe, the United States, and Japan, they live constantly pressurised by the struggle of the masses. In the United States, gigantic mobilisations of the masses in defence of Vietnam are being prepared. Even the struggle in the Senate of the United States is a clear and concrete expression of the crisis of the capitalist system. The majority of the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives, pose the withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam, through fear of confronting the masses of the United States. They re-

fect the electoral and parliamentary necessity, seeking the support of the population, which is against the war in Vietnam.

The mobilisations of the American students against the war in Vietnam, the world mobilisations against the war in Vietnam, influence the masses of the United States, and the parliamentarians who feel the vacuum, which exists in relation to support for Vietnam in the USA. It is a whole world process of activity of organised movements, even without a conscious mass leadership, against Yankee imperialism, against the capitalist system.

This is how it is necessary to consider this First of May. While the masses of the world advance in their organisms, in the united class front, in the class conquests, in Europe, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, North America, imperialism is blockaded and disintegrates internally. While humanity defeats imperialism in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Laos, the masses of the United States, representing this world process of the socialist revolution, make stoppages, make strikes, meetings, in defence of Vietnam.

It is on these conditions, that it is necessary to proceed from the First of May, for a programme in common of a United Front of all the Workers Parties, of all the Workers States, of all the workers centres, of all the Trade Unions, of all the nationalist and left Catholic movements, to make a world anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist United Front.

Starting from the demanding and imperious necessity for the unification of all the workers parties, it is necessary to make a public discussion before the masses of the world, of all the Workers States, to consider the Sino-Soviet differences, and determine the unification

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## EDITORIAL

# The conclusion of the victory of the Vietnamese masses is the necessity to organise a massive class offensive in Britain

**Vietnam, Vietnam, this was the preoccupation of the masses of the world this May Day. In their thoughts, and in their actions they were united to the men, women, children and old people of Vietnam, who are launching such a beautiful offensive, liberating new areas of the country, and dealing a further blow to the social and political authority of U.S. Imperialism. From the demonstration of millions in Moscow, where Podgorny made a firm attack on the role of U.S. Imperialism throughout S.E. Asia, despite the fact that this could damage Nixon's visit to Moscow, to some of the demonstrations in this country, where "victory to the Vietcong" was one of the main slogans, Vietnam showed that it encouraged, impelled and organised the world struggle of the masses, as is stressed in the 1st May Manifesto. Throughout the electoral campaign in Italy, during all the discussions over the referendum in France, and in the enormous demonstrations of the German workers in defence of the policy of "Ostpolitik" of Brandt, Vietnam was present and felt by the working class. There is an objective unification of the world masses, who although not united in the necessary centralising organisation i.e. a Mass Communist International, nevertheless daily overcome this deficit in their actions, which as the struggle of the Vietnamese are directed towards the downfall of capitalism, imperialism, and all forms of oppression and repression.**

There is a Vietnam in Britain. It takes a different form, but the content is the same; to get rid of the capitalist Tory government, and all the policies which it tries to put into force, the Industrial Relations Act, the Fair Rents Policy, the repression in N. Ireland, etc. The increase in the demonstrations on May Day shows that the working class is using every means at its disposal to attack the Tory government. The strikes were openly political, against the Industrial Relations Act; the dockers, for instance, with their national strike show that they are not going to be confined to the "legal" actions, which their union is taking, but are acting as a vanguard for the rest of the working class. Despite many calls for a return to work by their union leaders, despite their union being fined £55,000, because of their industrial action, they continue with this. Where does their confidence to act in this way come from, certainly not from the leaderships of the TU's or the LP in this country, no, it comes from the world advance of the revolution, the struggle in Vietnam, the struggle in Ireland, the strikes and demonstrations of the German working class.

The whole of the working class is discussing the problem, that it has a trade union leadership, which is not capable of leading the struggle, which

the class now faces. The fight to get rid of the Tory government, and to bring back a Labour government pledged to an anti-capitalist programme. With the Industrial Relations Act every strike, even though it may begin with an economic claim, immediately becomes political. Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon, two TU leaders of the left, have shown that they are not capable of answering to the situation, and have been criticised again and again by the rank and file and middle cadres of their unions. The Industrial Relations Act is making a sharp differentiation throughout all the unions and the LP (Daly, of the N.U.M. publicly criticises the capitulation of the T.U.C. and T.G.W.U.), between those leaders who move within the legal framework of the act, and those that are prepared to break the law and support the workers in their strikes, occupations etc. It has changed the role of the union leaders from one of negotiating with capitalism for a few shillings, to organising an all out fight against it; and they are not prepared for it. But a new leadership is developing at the base and in the middle cadres who want to make an offensive against the capitalist class. And the TU leadership must respond to the pressure from the base, so as to compete with this leadership. Hence we see such bureau-

crats as Sydney Greene holding out as long as possible, because he knows that if he tries to conciliate the railway men will strike.

Just as Nixon responds in Vietnam with a hard line of bombing the civilians and trying to cut off Haiphong harbour, so the Tories here try to repress the masses. We can be confident that they will for instance attempt to enter the free areas in Derry. It is necessary to discuss this in all the workers movement. The only way to protect the free areas is to extend the struggle, to give it a programmatic base, to attract the protestant working class in Belfast; simply using the arms of the I.R.A. and civilian barricades will not stop the forces of repression entering. Bloody Sunday showed this.

It is necessary to discuss in the Labour and Communist Party, in the trade unions, in the factories and places of work how to organise a unified offensive, the world conditions are favourable for this, we must draw the conclusions of the offensive on the Vietnamese masses. If after being at war for over 20 years a small nation like Vietnam can launch such an offensive against the enormous military weight of US Imperialism, then in this country it is possible to overthrow the Tories, and their capitalist government. It is necessary to discuss in the factories and places of work, how to unify the struggles, not waiting for the official leaderships, if they respond, good. But in any case constructing the organisms in the factories, sending delegations to discuss with the dockers, with the occupied factories in Manchester, discussing with the railway workers, using the L.P. C.P. and T.U. branches to continue these discussions incorporating the whole of the population. In this way a massive class offensive, leading to the general strike, can be organised to finish with this government, to impel new left leadership in the LP on the anti-capitalist programme, and to impel a left Labour government, which will base itself on all the strikes, demonstrations, and occupations, to advance in the destruction of capitalism.

# Resolution of the Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International. To the leadership and masses of the Revolutionary State of Bangladesh on the recent Nationalisations

The R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International, salutes the measures of nationalisation of jute, sugar, textiles, banks and insurance companies, which have recently been taken by the Bangladesh government. This is the road which, combined with the alliance with the USSR, and the other Workers States, combined with the formation of organisms, in which the masses can discuss and resolve in all the problem, is going to permit Bangladesh to come out of the stage of brutal under-development, which Imperialism, and the local landlords and capitalists have subjected her.

As the document of J. Posadas (From the capitalist war in Pakistan towards the Revolutionary State and the construction of the Workers State, (21. 12. 71) analysed, Bangladesh represents a new tendency in history. The basis of the revolutionary process in Bangladesh, was and still is, the intervention of the masses, arms in hand, to smash the dictatorship of Yahya Khan, and also to prevent the re-installation of capitalist power. In spite of the cyclone, in spite of the massacres, the disease and poverty the masses intervene showing their disposition to construct a Workers State. And Brezhnev, because he has an interest in the suppression of the capitalist system, the expulsion of Imperialism from the area, has an interest in finding and organising points of support in the world in order to confront imperialism, intervenes in a war between two capitalist countries, stimulating the defeat of the structure of the capitalist system.

The visits of the Soviet Trade Union delegation to Dacca, and the continuing economic and material aid from the USSR, have served as a constant stimulus to the left forces in Bangladesh, to those forces who want to take a non-capitalist road. In the space of a few months the structure of a revolutionary state, a state of transition towards a Workers State has been established. We the Trotskyists Posadists greet this triumph for the whole world masses with all our revolutionary fraternal sentiment.

However, we must at the same time say that these measures are still insufficient. It is only necessary to look at the USSR, at China, North Vietnam, Korea, Cuba and the other Workers States to see that they have passed from feudalism, wretchedness, poverty and ignorance, because they have completely expropriated imperialism, feudalism, and the local bourgeoisie, and developed on the basis of nationalised property. This is the conclusion, which the leadership of Bangladesh must draw; neither British imperialism nor the French, nor any

other capitalist power has the slightest interest in the development of Bangladesh, or the well being of its people, none of them. If British Imperialism has expressed sympathy it is only because it hopes to profit from the situation, and it also wants to maintain its property, but above all, because it is trying to maintain a link with the right wing pro-capitalist sectors in Bangla Desh government, to try to be able, using these forces, to contain the process going towards a Workers State.

All the key sectors of the economy have to be nationalised without compensation and under workers control. Nationalise the British tea plantations, the steel works, the cement works, all the building industry, all the finances, make a state monopoly of foreign trade, so as to be able to go forward to solve the most pressing problems immediately. Build safe hygienic homes with running water and electricity, schools, and hospitals, make a plan of production and construction to satisfy the immediate needs of the masses. It is necessary to appeal to the USSR for help in this. The Soviet Union, which is capable of sending automatic probes to the moon, to Mars and Venus, must use its scientific skill to stop the floods, to foresee and prevent cyclones, earthquakes etc. to put an end to the situation, where humanity can still be struck tremendously damaging blows by nature.

One of the central problems for a country such as Bangladesh is the question of the land. The big landowners are the most reactionary sectors, those most opposed to the progress of the masses; they must be expropriated. As a first step it is necessary to give the land to the peasantry, and then to rapidly proceed (for there is already the historical experience in the USSR, in China, in Vietnam to do it, and the consciousness of the peasantry permits it) to collectivisation and the formation of socialist co-operatives. The experiences of China must be studied, to see how the communes have transformed China, how

the initiative and creative capacity of the masses has been utilised and developed. In the communes the masses make transformers, so the communes can have electricity, have made tractors, using one tractor as a model, casting and machining each piece, patterning it on the original. And this has been done by the masses of China, while the leadership of Chou-En-Lai has been allying with Nixon, and supporting the murderous policy of Yahya Khan. The internal development of China is in contradiction with the reactionary policy of the leadership, and within a short time this certainly is going to be resolved. There is no historic perspective for the policy of the Chinese leadership. The experiences of the Chinese masses must be applied in Bangla Desh.

And in order that Bangla Desh advances rapidly towards a Workers State, without crisis, periods of stagnation, or partial retreats, the masses have to be able to intervene politically. There must be the formation of popular organisms, the workers militia, the popular tribunals to try all the murdering swine, who carried out the policy of Yahya Khan, the trade unions must be permitted to function freely, and there must be Soviet type organisms with an intense political life. This is how it is explained in the document of Cde. Posadas in answer to the speech of the Soviet CP leader Ponomarev (The article of Ponomarev and the historical concrete function of Trotskyism as the consistent continuator of marxism 26. 12. 71). "...In the revolutionary States we demand an intense political life of the masses, which must have trade union rights, rights for petit bourgeois, student, university organisations, every type of professional, peasant, farm worker, small and middle proprietors organisations. Without this intervention, without this participation of the masses the state suffers, because it has nowhere to support itself, and therefore supports itself on its own apparatus. Then the rhythm of the economy and the society advances very little. Even advancing a lot compared to capitalism, it advances little compared to what it could do by reason of its own nature. The non-intervention of the masses, leaves the plans, the direction of the plans, and the execution of the plans in the hands of a whole administrative technical planning apparatus, which is bureaucratic. And the bureaucrat does

not have a capacity of vision, he does not unite the internal production, the internal relation of the development of the economy with the world and with the revolution. It does not interest him, does not concern him..."

We appeal to the leadership, to the middle cadres of the party and trade unions, to the workers, peasants, and students, in Bangladesh to apply these conclusions so as to build a Workers State. It is necessary to unite closer with the Workers States, economically, militarily and politically, to appeal to the workers and revolutionary movement of the world to support Bangladesh, to publicise its advances, and the problems calling for a public discussion on them in the world workers movement. It is necessary to make plans of production, in a centralised way for the whole country, but leaving the application of the plan to the local organisms of the masses, giving all the necessary financial and material help.

We appeal for the publication and study by the Revolutionary Nationalist leadership, by the trade unions and the student and popular organisations in Bangladesh, of the texts of J. Posadas General Secretary of the IV International, on Bangladesh, on the Revolutionary State and on the construction of the Workers State, and the Workers State to Socialism. These texts are the necessary theoretical and political basis for the scientific progress of Bangladesh towards Socialism.

In this way Bangladesh, which is supported already by the world advance of the revolution, by the Vietcong offensive in Vietnam, by the partial regeneration of the Workers States and Communist Parties, by all the successes of the world masses, will advance rapidly with the least problems to the establishment of a Workers State.

Viva the heroic masses of Bangladesh. Viva the support given by the USSR, which as an expression of the partial regeneration of the Workers States has stimulated the destruction of the structure of capitalism in Bangladesh. Forward to the Workers States, based on the functioning of mass organisms which discuss, resolve and execute.

Political Bureau of the  
Revolutionary Workers Party  
(Trotskyist)  
British Section IV International

## Manifesto 1st May....

of China and the Soviet Union, and the rest of the Workers States, planning the economy, the policy, the military development, with the effect of uniting them with the world conscious process of the revolution, of establishing a United Front with the revolutionary states, with the world course of the revolution, with the trade unions, and organisations of the masses of the world, the socialists, the communists, the trotskysts, the left Catholics and the nationalists, for a common programme and policy to smash what remains of the capitalist system.

The return to Soviet democracy in all the Workers States, the independence of the Trade Unions, from the state apparatus, the development of the life of the masses in assemblies, conferences, meetings of the workers movement, of the communist parties of the Workers States, the cell functioning of the party on the basis of the programme of the extension of the world socialist revolution, will exert one of the most powerful influences to help the masses of the United States organise themselves in a mass revolutionary marxist party to smash yankee imperialism and unify with the rest of the world to construct socialism.

It is necessary to be based on the factory councils of Italy, which imply a powerful development of the will of the masses to take power, which is what determines the course of history. The very great deficit on this First of May, which it is necessary to overcome, is the difference between the Workers States. It is necessary to unify all the Workers States, all the Communist Parties, in an anti-capitalist United Front. And a united front, with all the organisations of the masses and the workers centres of the world, with the Socialist, the Communist Parties, the

Left Catholic movement, with the Trotskyists, the revolutionary nationalists against the war of capitalism, and for the progress of humanity through putting the economy, technique, science, culture at the service of humanity, against the war, against misery, against unemployment, against the capitalist system, which leads to all these consequences.

The world support for the struggle of the masses of Vietnam, is a centre of concentration of the revolutionary will of the masses of the world, against imperialism and capitalism. This influence is expressed in the United States in the mobilisation of the students, of the youth, and of the masses of the United States, against the war in Vietnam, and in the interior crisis of imperialism, expressed in the opposition of the Senate to continue the aggression in Vietnam, posing the withdrawal of the troops.

It is necessary to call to the masses of the United States to organise themselves into a Marxist Party, based on the Trade Unions with an anti-capitalist programme of expropriation of capitalism, the struggle to throw imperialism out of Vietnam and all the world.

Out with Imperialism from Vietnam! Unite the struggle of the masses of Indo-China against imperialism, to the struggle of the masses in every country, to overthrow the capitalist system. This First of May, shows the will of the masses of the world, starting from the most backward places of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, to Europe and the United States, to unify themselves in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the capitalist system. It is from this consideration that this First of May must start, with the essential appeal which it is necessary to make. The Sino-Soviet dispute must stop,

and all the Workers States must unify themselves. All the world workers, and revolutionary movements, the workers parties, the Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists, the Left Catholic movement, and the revolutionary nationalist movements, all the workers and trade union centres of the world, must be unified in a single front to smash imperialism and the capitalist system, to expel it from Vietnam, and threaten it, and carry on the war in the United States itself, to destroy the factories, and all the war arms, and all the military means, which they have at their disposal, if they do not cease the invasion of Vietnam. This it is necessary to do, through the mobilisations of the masses. Imperialism prepares the war in the worst conditions for it in history, because the masses of the world are besieging it as in Vietnam. It is necessary to start from this conclusion.

In this stage of history, the women, the children, the old people of the world are intervening with the greatest devotion, revolutionary decision and resolution of history. The Children of Vietnam, like the Children of Bangla Desh, are occupying themselves with organising society. It shows how the children are already incorporated in the revolution, and it is the same with the old and the women. And, outstanding in this process, is the magnificent behaviour of the Youth, which is one of the essential basis of development of the revolution. In the Workers States, and in the capitalist countries, and in the revolutionary states, the Youth are unified in the programme of the struggle against imperialism. Capitalism does not succeed in gaining any social base of support. It has failed in all its attempts, and will fail in all its attempts to organise fascist bands to smash the masses. They organise them, but they do not have any echo. The masses do not allow themselves to be attracted and intimidated, but respond by smashing them. The revolution advances, and new

countries advance towards revolutionary states, and the revolutionary states towards Workers States, and towards the socialist economy. It is from these conditions that it is necessary to start on this First of May, to organise the anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist United Front.

In the Workers States, there is a process of a certain partial regeneration, of progress in the internal life, in the programme, in the struggles, and the United Front of the Workers States, with the revolutionary struggles of the masses.

It is necessary to make this united world front conscious in a programme which starts from the great advance of the struggle of the masses, expressed in the factory councils in Italy, of the German masses, with the recent big strikes, of the English masses with the recent strikes, of the struggle of the masses of Northern Ireland, of the great conquest of Bangladesh, which passes from an inter-capitalist war, to a war which gives a state, which is going towards a revolutionary state, and towards a Workers State; from the heroic resolution of the masses of Vietnam, which demonstrates to the masses of the world their historic social heroism. The masses of Vietnam base themselves on the world solidarity of the masses, who with their struggles in every capitalist country, detain and impede capitalism from unifying itself, so as to be able to launch itself against the masses of Vietnam, and it having any success against the world revolution.

On this basis, it is necessary to call for a public discussion to resolve, and solve the differences between the Workers States on the basis of a programme of the world socialist revolution, on the basis of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle, to call for the United World anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist United Front, and unconditional support to the revolution in all parts of the world.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# Balance of the April 29th discussion between the C.P. and "Left Groups"

The meeting called by the Communist Party with a selection of left groups on April 29 was a striking example of the transformation taking place in the international world communist movement. It forms part of the process characterised by Cde Posadas as the process of partial regeneration in the Workers States, and the historic re-encounter, whereby the various bureaucracies are obliged to modify their behaviour under the joint pressures of the advance of the world socialist revolution, and the soviet proletariat in particular, advancing towards the political revolution. Faced with the process leading to the final encounter, the leadership of the CPSU in particular seeks ways to modify the policies of the communist parties within the Workers States i.e. Breznev's letter to Gierak emphasising the need to make concessions to the workers, the need for human fraternity and the fundamental importance of proletarian internationalism. And they are forced to impel the Communist Parties of the world, large and small to adopt policies which tend to abandon conciliation with capitalism, and tend to pose the socialist alternative to the policies of capitalism. Hence Berlinguer poses the need for the left government in Italy with statements, which show a combative and contemptuous spirit in front of fascism, and impel a profounder intervention of the masses, and the French CP poses a more advanced programme as the alternative to the decomposition of capitalism. The CPSU has sharply criticised the Argentinian Communist Party for having misunderstood the Peronista movement by calling it fascist, and isolating itself from the forces of revolutionary nationalism.

The statements made by Ponomarev, Secretary to the CC. CPSU, are particularly close to the analysis of the world situation made by Posadas, and they place the emphasis no longer on peaceful co-existence, but on the need to develop the anti-imperialist front. In the report of Bilak, a leader of the Czechoslovakian CP, the emphasis is placed on the need for proletarian internationalism, criticising those who are concerned only with their national roads to socialism. The British Communist Party is inevitably involved in this process of change, and its best sectors are seeking ideas to explain the world and national situation, which can no longer be satisfied with simplistic conciliatory explanations, or the cruder version of anti-sovietism, linked with the mistaken line of the British CP in relation for example to Czechoslovakia. On the one hand, the CPs are in need of political ideas, and on the other, they also begin to feel a greater confidence in the world process, and are no longer afraid to discuss, particularly with the left groups (i.e. recent articles in Morning Star on this subject).

In the April 29 meeting, the CP represented by a speaker of the YCL made

a good contribution to the discussion of the forces determining the world situation today, emphasising the favourable balance of forces, the line of the anti-imperialist world united front, and criticising the left groups for their hopeless pessimism. He pointed out that the policies of Toryism were not stemming from a position of strength, but from a position of weakness. On this level the intervention of the CP was good and contrasted with the groups who based themselves on hostility to the CPSU and in the country, on a melancholy view of the state of consciousness of the British working class. On the other hand the CP is hamstrung by the acrobatics necessary to defend the "British Road to Socialism" and also by limitations in their understanding of their own role. This was particularly evident in the group discussions, in the afternoon.

Certainly in at least one group, there were prolonged attacks on the CP, denunciations on the failure to take power in 1968 in France, the tendency to label the forces of international communism as "Stalinist". The effect of this type of criticism is purely destructive, and

stems fundamentally from the fact that ideologically the "left groups" apply the categories of yesterday's Trotskyism to an entirely different situation. It is absurd to approach the international communist movement, as though it were simply a repetition of Stalinism. Trotskyism today is represented by the documents of Posadas. It is outside all reason and all objectivity to ignore these fundamental contributions, and go on repeating aspects of Trotsky's writings on the subject of "Stalinism" as though they were sufficient for the world as it is today.

In particular instances the left groups had clearly some legitimate criticisms particularly for example in relation to policies of the CP, which tend to limit more dynamic action i.e. in relation to the student movement, UCS etc. where although the CP finds support it tends to contain the possibilities for initiatives and not elevate the methods and programmes for struggle.

As regards the British situation itself, the discussion was vitiated by lack of comprehension of the role of the LP. The groups must elevate their understanding in this respect, otherwise their desire to impel the revolutionary process remains wasted, and in this respect the CP particularly has to preoccupy itself more with ways and means to impel the formation of a new leadership in the LP AS THE CENTRE OF ITS CLASS OBLIGATIONS, and abandon the conception that the great increase in size of the CP is the key to the overthrow of British capitalism. The role of the small British CP can only be to impel a marxist wing in the Labour Party. Certainly the authority of the CP as the extension of the Soviet Union can play an enormous role, but there must be an end to competing with the LP. The Soviet Union is certainly going to weigh in this process, the statement of Breznev, hailing the victory of the miners and the visit of the delegation of the CPSU to this country are examples of this.

The Posadist-Trotskyists intervened in the discussions, putting forward the conceptions of partial regeneration, and trying to elevate discussion beyond the level of destructive criticisms of the Communist Party and misunderstandings

of the role of the LP. Interventions were made on a whole series of issues, such as the statements of Ponomarev and Bilak, the changes in the French and Italian Communist Parties, the role of revolutionary nationalism etc. Undoubtedly these were in many cases new arguments for the various tendencies at this meeting, and in the time allotted it was not possible to expand all the various aspects of discussion that had been raised, but the comrades of the British Section of the IV International found a good and interested reception, not least from many who were not committed to the groups or the CP. Comrades were invited to speak at CP branches. The intervention was a great success from the point of view of stimulating a greater political understanding of the world and national process, and the necessity to impel marxism into the Labour Party, and the need for the CP not only to base itself on the favourable relationship of world forces, but to learn from the experience of Posadas, the IV International, and to develop more adequate programme and methods to meet the demands of the world and national situation. Further meetings of this type are going to facilitate the advance of marxism within the LP, and the unification of all the anti-capitalist forces in this country.

**Stop Press  
22 Revolutionary  
militants  
arrested  
in Brazil,  
demand their  
immediate  
release**

## Manifesto of the 1st of May

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

for mobilisations, and revolutionary struggles of all the masses of all the countries, which want to advance in the progress against the capitalist system.

Call for the World United Front, to make a programme of economic, social, political development, based on the factory councils, based on the development of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, supported on the countries which have already reached the revolutionary state in order to advance towards Workers States, with an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme, based on the participation of all the masses in the form of factory councils, workers area councils, soviets, development of proletarian democracy, development of the function of the great Trade Unions.

The process of unification of the big trade unions advances in a preponderant and decided form. As much in France, as in Italy, in Germany, in England, the Trade Unions are developing an immense function. All this rebounds on the masses of the United States, who are organising in big Trade Unions, but still cannot mobilise. It is necessary to help the American masses with the experience, with the example of the Workers States in the form of a public discussion in all the Trade Unions, of all the problems of society, which will impel the masses of the United States to organise their Marxist Party based on the Trade Union, against the capitalist system.

It is necessary to incorporate, on this First of May, the masses of the United States, in a conscious form, from the students up to the workers, to organise them in a struggle against the capitalist system. Because of this, Nixon wants to gain time, with his visit to China, with the effect of passing over this electoral stage, so as to be able to prepare for the war afterwards. This is the objective of this trip to China.

An appeal is necessary to all the

Workers States, to all the Revolutionary States, to all the workers and revolutionary parties, to all the revolutionary movements of the world for unification, for a world unification, which is the most fundamental task. For a programme of world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle based on the alliance with the Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist Parties, with the IVth. International, with the nationalist revolutionary movements, with the Left Catholics, to develop the world force of the socialist revolution, which is the most effective way of confronting the atomic war which the capitalist system is preparing and is going to launch.

This course of history shows that it is dominated by the world course of the socialist revolution, by the destruction and the disintegration of the capitalist system. It is necessary to progress, preparing the forces to confront the atomic war, which the capitalist system is preparing. It is on this basis that the IVth. International calls on the Workers States and the Communist Parties to unify themselves, to seek a unification of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist fight, which is the most imperious need of history, and to call to the rest of the workers movement. Socialist, Trotskyist, Communist, Left Catholic and revolutionary nationalists, to the great Trade Union Centres, and the Trade Unions of all the world, for a world united anti-imperialist front, to develop the struggle to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system.

For a gigantic world mobilisation of the masses united to the struggle in each country to expel Yankee Imperialism from Vietnam!

For the formation and development of Left Governments with the programme of nationalisation of the economy, planning of production, to advance towards Workers and Peasants Governments, based on the expropriation of capitalism, on the planning of the economy and the monopoly of foreign trade.

For the formation of social and electoral United Fronts, with the intervention of the Working Class with the programme of expropriation of capitalism, the planning of production, proletarian democracy, which is the necessary democracy that makes the masses intervene fully in the economy and in society.

For the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist United Front of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to advance towards the Soviet Socialist States of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

It is necessary to appeal for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe against the programme of the European Common Market. The Common Market is a measure of the centralisation of the Capitalist system to prepare the military unification of capitalism and to confront the masses of the world. It is necessary to appeal for the formation of the Soviet Socialist Workers States of Europe, which is the necessary instrument for the progress of Europe.

It is necessary to make mobilisations, strikes, meetings, and demonstrations in defence of the masses of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. These mobilisations are necessary, including those within the general struggle of the masses to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system. It is necessary to make all the mass mobilisations, under the form of the United Class Front, like the French referendum with the "no" vote against the European Common Market, the centralised organisation of the capitalist system.

VIVA THE HEROIC MASSES OF VIETNAM, WHICH REPRESENT THE HISTORIC WILL OF THE MASSES OF THE WORLD TO CONSTRUCT SOCIALISM, AND WHICH DO NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE BEATEN BY THE ASSASSIN WAR, WHICH YANKEE IMPERIALISM IS WAGING!

VIVA THE WORLD UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKERS STATES, OF THE COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST, TROTSKYIST PARTIES, OF THE NATIONAL-

IST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND LEFT CATHOLIC MOVEMENTS TO SMASH WHAT REMAINS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

VIVA THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES OF BANGLA DESH!

VIVA THE HEROIC ACTION OF INTERVENTION OF THE CHILDREN, OF THE WOMEN, OF THE OLD PEOPLE IN THIS REVOLUTIONARY WORLD STRUGGLE!

VIVA THE SOVIET UNION, VIVA CHINA, VIVA CUBA, POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ALL THE WORKERS STATES!

VIVA THE REVOLUTIONARY STATES OF PERU, CHILE, ALGERIA ON THE ROAD TOWARDS WORKERS STATES!

VIVA THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT BETWEEN THE WORKERS STATES WITH THE REST OF THE WORKERS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT!

VIVA THE UNITED FRONT AND THE UNIFICATION OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN A POWERFUL WORLD UNITED FRONT TO THROW DOWN WHAT REMAINS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

VIVA THE PLANNING IN COMMON OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES, ECONOMICALLY, SOCIALLY AND MILITARILY!  
MANIFESTO OF THE 1st. OF MAY 1972, OF THE INTERNATIONAL

SECRETARIAT OF THE  
IV. INTERNATIONAL.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG  
FLAG**

Resolution of the International Secretariat of the  
IV International

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
THE 'NO' IN THE REFERENDUM,  
THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS,  
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM  
AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE SOCIALIST  
SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

13 APRIL 72

PAGE 2

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 159 4th Friday of May 1972 PRICE 3p

## Out with US imperialism from Vietnam – out with British imperialism from Ireland

The Tory government's continued attacks on the Trade Unions through the 'industrial relations' courts have proved as futile as all the other methods which imperialism is using to attack the masses on a world scale. It has as little success in this direction as it has in Northern Ireland, or as Yankee Imperialism has in Vietnam. All the attack on the trade unions has done is to destroy the role of the trade union bureaucracy as 'go betweens', and to create a situation of direct confrontation between the government and the vanguard of the working class. The dockers who, whilst preparing to launch a national strike, continue to ignore court orders, threats of legal penalties—and the advice of their trade union leadership—are acting as a vanguard, consciously trying to impel new mobilisations of the class; mobilisations, which will start from a higher level than that reached by the miners strike. The dockers' actions are an indication of the preparation for a massive intervention of the class with all the confidence gained from the victories of the last period, and with all the confidence of the actions and victories of the masses on a world scale.

The working class in this country—and all the other sectors of the exploited masses—is receiving an enormous impulse from the offensive of the Vietnamese masses and from the defeats, which they are inflicting on Yankee imperialism. The demonstrations on May Day in this country—as in the rest of the world—were dominated by slogans calling for full support for the Vietnamese masses, for an end to the bombing by Yankee imperialism, and for the expulsion of Yankee imperialism from Vietnam. The UCS shop stewards sent a letter of protest to the American Embassy, and demonstrated against the war in Vietnam; in Liverpool 150 building workers invaded the American Consulate protesting against the bombing, the Vauxhall shop stewards in Luton sent a resolution of protest to the American Embassy and the Embassy has been picketed constantly by London print workers, students of many nationalities, intellectuals, artists, wives of Labour MP's and many others. Thousands intervened in the demonstrations organised by the National Union of Students and by the Communist Party, and all the slogans were the same: 'Out with Yankee imperialism, Victory to the Vietnamese Masses'.

The reaction of American imperialism to the advance of the Vietnamese masses, is exactly the same as that of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. The 'no go areas' of Belfast and Derry represent potential Soviets, they are areas completely out of the control of British imperialism, and it cannot allow them to continue to exist. It is true that British imperialism fears the consequences of trying to enter these areas, they fear the reaction of the Irish masses on both sides of the border and, above all, of the British working class. It is this fear, which makes them hesitate, but they are preparing a repression. This can be seen in the constant provocations of the last period, such as the explosions in Kelly's bar and the shooting at children. The government admits that armed soldiers are operating in Belfast and Londonderry in 'plain clothes' and 'civilian gunmen' have been seen talking to army officers after various shooting incidents. These provocations and the constant preoccupation of all sectors of capitalism, from Tory MP's to army generals and unionist politicians, with entering the 'no go areas' are clear indications that a repression will be launched in a very short time.

The dockers' national strike will be launched in these world conditions, in conditions which are entirely favourable to the working class. It will be launched in conditions of an enormous anti-capitalist sentiment in every sector of the population, an anti-capitalist sentiment, which finds an expression in the mobilisation

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## The tasks for the vanguard and militants at the Bakers Conference

This conference of the bakers comes at the time of a great elevation of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of Britain, basing themselves on the advances made in the rest of the world, in Vietnam, in Latin America, Bangla Desh... The resolutions for the conference show a great programmatic advance on previous years, and that there is a sector within the union that, basing itself on these advances, has the confidence to put forward revolutionary positions, demanding nationalisation under workers control and a workers plan of production. However, this is not a new trend, something that has suddenly burst on the scene, nor is it something peculiar to the Bakers. In the past three years we have seen a constant shift to the left in the base of the Bakers, a shift mirrored in the composition of the Executive Committee, with the increasing importance of the Communist Party and left Labour militants in the E.C. and at conference.

There has been a fundamental shift in balance of power in Britain since the last conference. The Tory government, as the direct representatives of capitalism, have attacked the working class viciously through the Industrial Relations Act, attacked the workers standard of living through cuts in the social services and by a deliberate policy of mass unemployment. These policies along with the repression in Ireland, are being made by a sector of capitalism that seeks a direct confront-

ation with the class, to isolate the militant vanguard of the class and divide the workers by spreading a feeling of defeat and pessimism. This policy is not imposed from a position of strength but rather of desperate weakness. It only appears strong because the policy of the trade union leaderships is inadequate to meet it.

With the rise in unemployment, the Labour Party and unions leaderships have talked constantly of a return to the '30s with all that that implies. Yet in the '30s there was no Vietnam, there was only one Workers State. In the '30s the British working class was still recovering from the defeat of '26. But not now! Now we have Vietnam that acts as "a constant dynamising centre of the world revolution" as cde. Posadas says. Now too there is Chile and in all 16 Revolutionary States, as well as the 14 Workers States. Now the Soviets are intervening on the side of the world revolution, directly opposing capitalism by arming the revolution in the Middle East and in Vietnam, by their agreements with the Revolutionary States, by supporting, through the Soviet trade unions, the occupation of U.C.S. and the struggle of the Irish masses. In the '30s it was capitalism that decided, while the revolution retreated. Here is the fundamental difference. Today it is the advance of the world socialist revolution that decides. Imperialism decides nothing. Imperialism is in retreat in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe—in all the world. More importantly, the social decomposition of imperialism shows itself clearly within the U.S.A., centring around the opposition to the Vietnam war. Forty million people mobilised against the war, here where there is no marxist Party and a lack of trade union leadership. On the other hand, while imperialism retreats, the revolution advance everywhere!

The British working class sees this. How else can one explain Ireland, or U.C.S., or the miners strike? It is necessary for the Bakers conference to discuss this and to discuss the importance of the trade union struggle, the role played by the trade unions in capitalist society in this stage.

In all the important issues that face the working class today the leadership of the LP has failed to give a lead of any kind to the workers movement. All the opposition to the government and thus against capitalism has come from the trade union movement. In this sense the trade union struggle has attained a vital importance for the British working class. However, it is essential to see that the central activity in the fight against capitalism is not a fight on solely economic, trade union demands. No. It has transcended this and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

## Denounce the murder of Rui Oswaldo – demand the immediate release of the Brazilian Trotskyists and all other political prisoners

We denounce the assassination of comrade RUI OSWALDO (MARCOS), a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), the Brazilian Section of the IV International by the CIA and the Brazilian Police, after his arrest along with 21 other militants and sympathisers of the Party in the beginning of April. This is a part of a world campaign of imperialism against the IV International, which has the objective of preventing the growth of the influence of the International and Posadas on the world communist and revolutionary nationalis; movements. They are desperate blows, which come from a position of weakness, just as the mining of Haiphong harbour, which are not going to bring any historic advantage to Imperialism and its allies.

Another of the comrades arrested is Claudio Vasconcelos Cavalcanti, who has previously been imprisoned and who now, even more than some of the others, risks being killed because the Brazilian police boast that no one is imprisoned twice; the second time they are killed. In spite of all the repression against the Brazilian section, in spite of the death two years ago of Olavo Hansen, the activity of the Brazilian section has developed and been elevated. The journal of the Party 'Frente Operaria' is

published twice a month and there are other publications of the regional committees, and as a result of this and of the texts of Posadas the influence of the party grows in the workers movement, the CP, in the student movement and among the revolutionary nationalist.

It is necessary to make an immediate dynamic campaign to stop this repression against the trotskyists and against revolutionary & progressive movements in Brazil. The Trade union centres of Italy, the CGIL-CSIL-UIL

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

RESOLUTION OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
SECRETARIAT OF THE  
IV INTERNATIONAL

## The "NO" in the referendum the unity of the working class, the struggle against capitalism and the necessity for the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe 13-4-1972

*The referendum is one of the forms, under which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are confronting each other in France. The bourgeoisie proposes the referendum on a key problem for the continuity of the capitalist system. One cannot talk of the referendum without talking of the problem of the Common Market, of the "European security", pact of Mansholt, of the unity of Europe. It is necessary to understand all the factors, which intervene in the crisis of the capitalist system. Otherwise the problem of the NO appears simply as a problem of class struggle. Alright. But what for? what policy? what measures? What tactic must be developed faced with such events? what effect are they going to have? How is the working class going to receive them?*

One of the bolshevik principles in the class struggle, is that the Party is never neutral, in any situation. Never! Lenin says it. Bolshevism is never neutral in the class struggle. It intervenes and gives its position. When for one reason or another, as with Lenin in 1907, it does not participate in the elections, it calls for the general strike. Then it is not an abstention. It transfers the elections to the fields of general strike. It explains that the elections are a trap, that they're not going to have any effect, because they're a swindle against the proletariat, and that it doesn't make sense to intervene, because to do it in that case comes down to giving a guarantee to the bourgeois leadership, to accepting that the bourgeoisie is powerful, and that it represents a social force. When the Party boycotts, when it abstains and stands against the elections, it puts forward other means of struggle, to show that we have no fear, that we have a force superior to the decision of the bourgeoisie: the general strike. We answer that the general strike is our force: "while you do your elections, we make a strike, which concerns the whole country". This is a fighting answer. One never poses abstention without proposing another means of struggle, a superior means of struggle, a superior means of struggle. One must exclude a simple abstention. It is possible that we abstain in certain elections, but a superior answer must be proposed instead. Then the Party understands, feels that it is intervening. The proletariat feels itself as the leadership, and the rest of the population sees the proletariat's attitude of it, sees that the proletariat doesn't wage the battle on this field, because it would be like launching the fight with a pair of scissors against ten guns. We always use the method of struggle which explains in the best way to the class, and to the rest of the population, that it is a superior action to the elections: we respond with the general strike.

The evaluations we can make do not indicate there is going to be an abstention. To measure the possibility of an abstention, one must measure the behaviour of the class and petit bourgeoisie.

What is the behaviour of the working class? to make strikes and stoppages of work. In the trade union elections, the CGT has lost votes; but it is not a very important reduction, in a range of 1% to 2%. On the other hand the communists gain votes in other sectors, among the youth, in new sectors, in intermediary branches, and not in decisive branches. However, the proletariat who doesn't vote for the CGT, doesn't vote either for the other trade unions. This is important. The proletariat maintains its class adhesion, and seeks through the abstention, to put pressure on the CPF. But it does not vote for the others. The others have had increase in votes very much inferior to what the CGT lost.

### THE CHANGES IN THE C.P.F., THE "INTERIOR MAY" AND THE APPEAL FOR THE NO

One must analyse the loss of votes of the CGT in the trade union elections. This small loss of votes in the trade unions is not accompanied by a retreat in the combativity of the masses, in their will, in their resolution to fight. The same happened in England. The masses did not vote for Labour, but they kept their combative resolution and their class unity intact. The class did not feel affected either by the abstention, or by the Labour Party's defeat. In France, a very small part of the masses, which usually votes for the CGT in the trade union elections, refused to vote to demonstrate its uneasiness. But this minority intervenes in all the strikes. It organises, it is completely united to the class. The working class understands it. It is in this way that the working class understands its vanguard. If instead of this the vanguard took no interest in the strike, did not intervene, did not organise, its abstention would be seen as defeatism. But the working class sees that the vanguard refuses to vote and demonstrates its refusal, criticises the CPF, at the same time organising the strike and the stoppages of work. It sees that the vanguard is the best organiser, that it is preoccupied with educating the class to organise it. This gives confidence to the rest of the working class. The vanguard does not vote so as to condemn the communist leadership's passivity. The rest of the working class has not got this understanding and votes, but it does not separate itself from the vanguard. The vanguard and the class remain united. This is evident. Otherwise there would not have been such a funeral for the Renault comrade who was assassinated.

The French government is preoccupied with the possibility of a great abstention in the referendum, because it is going to have an effect in its own ranks. Moreover, it is necessary to pose why certain sectors have an abstentionist attitude. The abstention signifies a semi-neutrality. Even when one cannot participate, or when it is not suitable to participate, one must consider that politically the abstention is not the best way to express oneself, and another way must be sought. When we cannot pronounce through lack of means, then we respond by the strike, by stoppages of work. There can never be a policy of abstention without a strike. The slogan: "Abstention! no voting!" is not a form of fighting. Not voting signifies for the class, an attitude of indifference towards a process, not taking part in it, not weighing in it. We must never do that! The marxist policy ignores the abstention. One decides on an electoral abstention when there is no other means. For instance: in a certain election one must inevitably vote for such or such a candidate; what do we do then? Abstain and launch a general strike! or: make a programmatic vote, expounding the programme, which it is not possible to defend in these elections, accompanied with appeals for mobilisations.

But in the case of the referendum it is possible to answer: "Do we accept, YES or NO to the policy of the government?" This is the problem; There is no reason for us to abstain. WE ARE AGAINST THE UNITY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET. WE ARE FOR THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. We have our policy and our programme to respond to the bourgeoisie's programme. It is not a question of parliamentary elections, but of programmes. We're against it, and we say it: "We're against it!" And this is what we propose: Socialist Soviet U.S. of Europe.

On the other hand: the political aim of the government in these elections is to accumulate and to concentrate, in a concealed way, a political authority starting with a problem, which is not going to clash directly with the population, in an attempt to unify the different sectors of capitalism and of the petit bourgeoisie around the YES. This would give it an political authority, which could be made to weigh later on, on other problems. We are against that! This makes two clear, specific arguments. Not to take a position on this problem signifies a political passivity, an absence of programme. Faced with any event, the proletariat must always have a political and programmatic answer. Otherwise it is not seen as a leadership, it seems to be a guards-van, which moves from here to there, wherever the train leads it. We have a political answer: It is the one of unity leading to the taking of power, to the construction of the proletarian power, of the Workers State.

The students felt that the communist vanguard wanted to demonstrate, to strike, but without separating itself from the party. They received this impulse and make the demonstration, but they did not attract the vanguard. The fact they demonstrated and attracted 250,000 persons for a worker of Renault who had been assassinated—a demonstration in which very few of the Renault workers participated—indicates that the students receive the communication of the will to fight, to demonstrate, from the vanguard, which does not feel intimidated.

More than 200,000 people attended this demonstration. Half of them were petit bourgeois, shopkeepers, peasants, students, civil servants and administrators. The revolution is exerting an influence through the trade union movement, which attracts and gains people, elevates their confidence, and enables them to see that it is a just struggle. The trade union movement has more logical sense than the political leaders. There is no political leadership, which represents legitimately the movement, but it influences through the conquests it achieves. The great struggles in Belgium, in France and in Italy had the workers movement as a protagonist. Later on they were generalised by the Communist Party and by the Socialist Party, but at an inferior level than the programme reached by the workers. The workers succeeded in making the United Trade Union Centre, a thing which the political parties never managed to do. This weighs in the minds of the people.

In the analysis we make, we must above all count on the changes in the Communist Party, which are determined by the pressure from its base, and also by the Soviets' pressure. The Soviets are elevating their experience of the class struggle, more than any Communist Party in particular. They are unifying the policy of the Communist Parties. One cannot intervene without considering this intervention of the Soviets as part of the process of partial regeneration, and of the unification of the world communist movement. The discussion is not strictly limited to France. It is partly carried out in France, but it implies all the aspects, the relationships of world class struggle, of the final settlement of accounts. One must take France as a part of this process.

Why has the French Communist Party changed its position in relation to the referendum? It is the pressure of the base. Alright. But this base has just abstained in the trade union elections, it reduces the number of votes to the CGT. Why, then, does the CP yield? because it hopes to attract its base. As a matter of fact the abstention in the trade union elections is a protest against the conciliatory attitude of the CPF. The votes the CGT lost, be it in the form of abstentions, blank votes, or votes with critical remarks to the Communist Party on them, all come from communist militants. This indicates the behaviour of the class. The working class sought to make a pressure on the Party. And it did not respond to the pressure. Now, the working class seeks to make a pressure in this way. Why has the CP changed? It did not have the same position at the beginning. It is the pressure of the Soviets, but fundamentally it is the pressure from its own base. In spite of the great "diversity of opinions" on the tactic to be adopted for the referendum, as they put it themselves, who decided on the Party's position? This decision was not taken on the basis of a revolutionary political tactic: because in that case it would have adopted it a long time before.

By deciding to vote NO, the CP take a position, which is closer to the necessity. But it is not a revolutionary tactic. The political functioning to explain it is lacking: Why vote NO? what do we propose instead? The NO itself is not enough. On what basis? what programme is there to oppose? They must propose a series of programmatic points, and appeal to the class that it mobilises on these points. They are going to have a great echo. And on the day of the elections: intervene by voting NO, at the same time making demonstrations, meetings which prepare the class to an action immediately afterwards.

We have posed that there is an "interior May" in the Communist Party. This means a state of preoccupation, of

### DENOUNCE THE MURDER OF RUI OSWALDO...

have already made a pronouncement and sent telegrams to the Brazilian government and its ambassador in Rome, demanding an immediate ending to the repression, and the setting free of our comrades and all political prisoners. The chemical, engineering, and textiles TU's of Italy have also sent telegrams and the Communist Party paper 'Unita' and 'Paese Sera' have denounced the repression and appealed for a campaign against it. In Britain some Labour MPs and TU leaders have sent telegrams, the Luton Trade Council has sent a letter to the Embassy, and some 100 signatures have been collected from Vauxhall workers denouncing the murder of cde RUI and calling for an end to the repression.

The IV International led by Posadas is making a world campaign against the repression with the objective of weighing on the Brazilian government, and above all to weigh on revolutionary nationalist sectors in Brazil whose development is tending to decompose the Brazilian bourgeoisie. There is only a small sector, linked to the CIA, which supports this criminal policy, the rest of the bourgeoisie, for its own different interests, because it sees no perspective in a repressive policy, is opposed to it.

We make an appeal to all the workers movement, to the LP, to the YS and C.P., to the Trade unions, to the student movement, to progressive and democratic organisations of Lawyers, scientists, artists, to express their condemnation of this murder, demand the immediate release of the 21 trotskysts and all the communist, socialist, TU and left catholic militants in Brazil. We appeal for resolutions, mobilisations, mass meeting in the factories, in the universities, in the workers areas, to put an end to these crimes.

**FORWARD WITH THE  
WORLD CAMPAIGN TO PUT  
AN END TO THE REPRES-  
SION IN BRAZIL AND TO  
OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF  
ALL THE, TROTSKYIST,  
COMMUNIST, TRADE  
UNION AND STUDENT MIL-  
ITANTS, LEFT CATHOLICS  
AND REVOLUTIONARY NA-  
TIONALISTS IN BRAZILIAN  
JAILS.**

**VIVA THE BRAZILIAN  
SECTION WHO ARE CONT-  
INUING THEIR ACTIVITY,  
WITHOUT A MOMENTS HE-  
SITATION OR WEAKENING.**

**VIVA CDE POSADAS WHO  
HAS CONSTRUCTED THIS  
COURAGEOUS, BOLSHEVIK,  
BRAZILIAN TEAM**

discussions, of interior rebellion, not an open one, because the vanguard fears to affect the Party. It is necessary to characterise this: there is an "interior May" in the Communist Party. There is a crisis. The fact they shifted immediately from the abstention to the NO, indicates a very deep crisis. It is a problem of international tactics. This tactic is linked to the alliance with the SP, and the CP moves from its submission to the Socialist Party, to a policy such as the NO, which attempts to attract the proletariat. This is going to have important effects. One must look out for these effects. But this policy of the communists responds to the need of the proletariat which wants to demonstrate against the government.

The bourgeoisie is going to use the referendum. According to the results the bourgeoisie will see how far it can go. If the result is favourable, if the abstention is not too high, not too worrying, if the NO has not too much importance, the bourgeois might even try to bring forward the elections and it is going to take measures so as to sharpen

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# Answer to the blockade of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam with the world anti-imperialist United Front to smash what remains of the capitalist system

12-5-1972

The action of Yankee Imperialism of blockading North Vietnam, is a general global aspect of the confrontation between the Workers States and the world capitalist system. The Workers States represent the progress of the revolution, the progress of the countries, who are fighting against Imperialism. They do not represent the conscious political leadership, but they represent the centres, which decide. What the Workers States are doing, particularly the USSR, determines in general the course to take. This crisis is not simply one or another action, it is part of the final settlement of accounts.

Imperialism desperately risks going to the atomic war at any moment, and it tries to draw political advantages to strengthen its position.

When the 20 American deputies pose the dismissal of Nixon they are showing the defeatism of U.S. Imperialism. They are openly confronting the decision of the blockade. They see that this leads to the atomic war and they feel that this is the end of capitalism. If they had a little security that they could win, they would have another attitude. As they are feeling that this means death for them they make an opposition in the name of "Justice" and "Democracy". They are the same guys who wanted to destroy the world. This is indicating the depth of capitalist pessimism and at the same time, the strategy of world capitalism represented by Yankee Imperialism of concentrating its strength in a few places. There is combination of attitude in the Yanks; the fear of disappearing and the wish to survive of a sector which hasn't got interests directly linked to the war industry, to the great heavy industries or to the financial nuclei which dominate the country. They are the millionaire sectors not interested in this sector of the economy and of this policy which they see is the death of all of them. Thus they are interested in looking for a perspective in which they can continue living, profiting from the policy of the soviets and concentrating themselves in small places in order to be able to resist afterwards. In it is included the economic social and military strategy. What they are doing is to prolong a stage, no more. But it is indicating the deception of imperialism, which has to discuss the internal crisis publicly which is of such a nature that it manacles imperialism. Never before did they do this. When they make such a discussion it is because they feel that this is the end.

It is necessary to take this crisis globally. The sea blockade of N. Vietnam is not of decisive importance. Fundamentally militarily it doesn't decide. All the arms which the Vietnamese need they already have, and they can receive more through China. It does damage in part militarily because it shows imperialism predominating, trying to intimidate, to terrorise, to impose military solutions, because it doesn't have the social or military capacity to confront the revolution.

Through the world reaction which there is and the response of the Soviets, even though it is insufficient, it serves to show that the Yanks don't intimidate anyone. Nobody is frightened of Yankee Imperialism, nor of the Atomic war either. Nobody is frightened! There is a state of general comprehension in the world which has already understood that the solution is made through the war, of whatever type it might be. The Vietnamese people have shown that the war can be made and that many are going to die, and already many are dying in Vietnam, but the world is not going to disappear.

The masses of Vietnam are making an immense action stimulating the revolution! If the Vietnamese masses retreated now it would stimulate Imperialism and all the bourgeoisies of the world but the Vietnamese resist, confront and take out of the sea the mines put there by Imperialism. They are impelling the masses of the world to continue advancing in the struggles in an unequalled form.

This is one of the most complicated situations. It is necessary to take into account that the U.S.S.R. does not profit from the opportunity to unleash the preventative war. But it takes this situation as a means of political speculation to gradually weaken the imperialist camp without in any way weakening the struggle in Vietnam.

The lack of sufficient political utilisation on the part of the soviets of this crisis, is a deficit for the camp of the revolution.

The response which the soviets have given is not incorrect, it is insufficient. It is correct to utilise all diplomatic means to make the struggle advance against imperialism. In Brest Litovsk the Soviets, lead by Lenin and Trotsky made a thousand manoeuvres to utilise diplomatically the inter bourgeois crisis in order to gain

time and because they had to yield. They gained time showing: "we have to yield because we do not have any other means" Today the Soviets don't have to yield. It is not convenient to them in this situation to launch the atomic war, because it hasn't promoted the conditions of unification to realise it, on the other hand, certainly they must make a policy which shows that Imperialism is the aggressor, calling for a world mobilisation to beat imperialism. This the soviets did when there was Brest-Litovsk and when there was the invasion of the "Entente".

If it was "The invasion of North Vietnam" it would be one situation but being a "naval blockade", it is another. The Soviet Union hasn't remained stationary, nor as a spectator. If the U.S.S.R. or China weakened its action of support to North Vietnam, the Yanks would invade. If these murderers do not invade, it is because they do not have strength. And they are making a naval blockade when they are being thrown out from Vietnam! It shows that the attitude of the Soviets is not weak, otherwise the Yanks would enter Vietnam, invade and demolish everything.

Such a situation can be exploited much more, showing Imperialism is guilty of all this. In all the world already there is this conclusion, Japan, Germany, England, France. The capitalist governments of these countries protest against the attitude of the Yanks. There is a whole world mobilisation of repudiation against the blockade. **HUMANITY IS CONCENTRATING ITSELF AGAINST IMPERIALISM.** It is necessary to call to the soviets so that they make an appeal to the American people to mobilise against imperialism! The trade unions of the Soviet Union have to make appeals. Call to the American masses, to the American Trade Unions to pronounce against the war of Imperialism in Vietnam. To appeal that Imperialism goes from Vietnam and from South East Asia and that the Vietnamese people and the Indo-China masses resolve.

Imperialism feels that if it lets itself be thrown out of Vietnam, it is a debacle in the United States, not a debacle in the Far East where it is already defeated. The proof that this process has already begun is the proposition of the 20 MPs for the dismissal of Nixon.

Imperialism is going towards the atomic war where it will be destroyed. Without waiting for it to be destroyed, it is necessary to weaken it internally. This proposition of the sacking of Nixon and the appeal of the 'New York Times' to "stop the blockade, at the risk of creating a constitutional crisis in the United States" is an enormous weakening of imperialism. It is defeatism. It is a retreat in order to concentrate itself in the citadel of the United States. It shows that the revolution progresses and is influencing the American Masses.

Once more a notable thing is reiterated; in such difficult conditions in which imperialism risks the atomic war, the students, who form part of the American masses, are mobilising against Yankee Imperialism. They are provoking an internal defeatism. This internal defeatism disintegrates capitalism in the United States. This is developing very limitedly, because the American masses do not have sufficient support. There are demonstrations and meetings in all the world. We support these measures but it is necessary to extend them. It is necessary to make assemblies, meetings of the trade unions, of the factories, of the workers areas, meetings demonstrations and pressures, so that every where in the world resolutions are taken **OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM VIETNAM.** Not only to demonstrate against the blockade, but, "Out with Imperialism from Vietnam! OUT WITH THE MURDERING AND ATTACKING IMPERIALISM FROM INDOCHINA".

The Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, of the Workers States, of France and Italy; the workers Centres of the Workers States, of Italy and France and Europe, must make appeals to the American masses, to organise themselves in an independent class party, a revolutionary marxist party based on the trade unions. Appeal for mobilisations to constitute a Workers Party based on the trade unions

to oppose this adventure of US Imperialism, the criminal warlike actions of imperialism which is making the war to sustain itself. Make a great movement against the war of imperialism for democratic rights in the United States, for the expulsion of imperialism from all the world, for the elimination of atomic arms, to utilise the investments which they use in the fabrication of atomic arms, in production for the 20 million needy which there are in the USA, in the area of hunger, and to develop production for the benefit of the masses of the country. Make mobilisations of this nature.

The bourgeoisie who are opposed to the war, are against, because they feel that they are going to be destroyed. It is the internal competition of the different layers of American capitalism. This 'democratic' sector are in conditions to observe what is happening with more realism. The others do not have any other solution than to continue, because if they stop the war, they would die. One sector has an interest in world commercial competition. The other is the war sector, which has its finances in war production, and the great financial sector producer of steel and petrol which cannot put up with competition with the workers states or, not even with the rest of the capitalist system. This blockade which the yanks have made has made the dollar go down once more. It is a whole process of decomposition of Yankee imperialism sustained and retained with financial measures from on top, which momentarily impedes the crisis and augments the concentration of the factors which determine it, so that it breaks out with more force than before.

This attitude of the Yanks of blockading North Vietnam indicates its desperation and its importance. It makes the blockade because it is not animated to invade. It announced that it was going to invade with Marines. But the Soviets declare, "We are going to give an adequate response and the government of Nixon is responsible for what can happen". This response of the Soviets "We are going to continue giving the necessary help to Vietnam" is to contain the Yanks.

It is very possible that Kissinger effectively went to warn the Soviet of what they were going to do, the response of the Soviets and the Vietnamese is that of someone who expected the actions of the Yanks. It indicates the limitations of the actions of the Yanks who do not have the power to go further. Before they invaded countries and went in as in Santo Domingo. Now, they are being thrown out from Vietnam! To contain the progress of the Vietnamese, the Yanks have to destroy all Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It is not only a question of Vietnam, but Laos, Cambodia, and China as well. China is obliged to give arms and allow the soviets to pass through its territory with arms for Vietnam. If it did not do it, the crisis within it would develop in an accelerated form. To contain this crisis and prevent them throwing out the sector conciliating with imperialism, the sector of Chou en Lai, they have to let the arms pass and deliver them.

The crisis of Yankee imperialism shows a very profound contradiction in the capitalist system, and the crisis of structure. It is not solely an economic crisis. The economic crisis still has not broken out nor does it develop sufficiently, it is contained by the manoeuvres of the state apparatus, but factors of a much more powerful crisis are accumulating.

Imperialism is managing the economic and social crisis, to try to channel it and respond with the atomic war. But each time, it is shown to be more difficult to organise and dominate as it wants. Nixon went to China, expecting to utilise, to base himself on and exploit the inter-bureaucratic sino-soviet contradictions. He hoped to utilise the needs of the economic development of the Chinese to gain time. The result is this: The yanks can no longer determine the course of history, nor the policies. It never has determined it, but before, it could weigh, intervene militarily, economically, and so as to contain the process, could develop and impel certain countries. Now, they cannot, because intervening in the objective process is the United Front of the masses of the world, the exploited masses, the Revolutionary States and the Workers States, and imperialism cannot contain this. This influences the American masses.

It is not the proletariat who are mobilising in the United States, but the students, reflecting a state of general public opinion. In no part of the world, do the students launch themselves to struggle by a

decision originating from their own deductions. They are the result of a state of public opinion which comes from the factories, from the workers, from people, from the workers areas and the TUs. This state of public opinion is far reaching and the student, because of his lack of commitment and of responsibility in the economy, which does not depend on him, and through his intellectual activity, is in a condition to express it. When it reaches the students, it is because the process is very profound, and it is not a group which mobilises, but millions of students in all the US, and in 12 states which concentrate the most important university movements.

The declarations of Yankee imperialism, being arrogant, are also cautious. They gave 3 days delay. They threatened to send marines but they did not invade. They are taking into account that the soviets cannot remain quiet if they invade North Vietnam. The attitudes of the Yanks, is to want to maintain the courage, the resolution, and the counter revolutionary and murderous decision of the government of Van Thieu and also of the reactionary Yankee team.

This decision to blockade militarily whatever be the result, is a disaster for the Yanks. Imperialism wastes in this operation enough to make 20 Indo Chinas. It shows that to sustain the capitalism regime, it has to make this policy. But it enters into interior contradictions, because there are other sectors of world capitalism which seek to accommodate themselves (To the Workers States) like the German bourgeoisie. In the same moment in which the Yanks blockade the ports of N. Vietnam, Barzel in Germany, wants to do the same, opposing the agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland, and he finishes by losing, and has to approve the treaty.

While the Chinese are trying to conciliate with the Yanks, the world process of the revolution obliges them to confront it, breaks the internal coalition which was to negotiate with the Yanks, and forces them to see that there is no perspective of 'pacification', of 'arrangements', nor of '20 years of pacification to develop the economy'. There is no possibility of such a situation of peace and tranquility. Imperialism cannot allow it. What it is doing in Vietnam, shows that already it is prepared to launch the atomic war at any moment. It tries to profit from the opportunity. But there are no conditions for any opportunity favorable to it, it does not have the capacity or the means to intimidate the Workers States.

In these circumstances, it has had to make a blockade with a quite great advance warning which can help to favour the more rapid and dynamic development of the offensive of the Vietnamese. Even reaching now an arrangement, it is a defeat of the Yanks, because they are not the one to impose it. The Vietnamese impose, and they have to go. This action of the Yanks, is a blockade to hide their defeat.

It is not a situation to launch the atomic war on the part of the Soviets. On the contrary, it requires the world mobilisation against imperialism, and if the Yanks do not stop, to pass to the offensive and call for the bombing of the Yanks, with the absolute right to do it. If the Yanks bomb the ports of Vietnam, the population of Hanoi and Haiphong, the Soviets must make an appeal and a warning to the American masses and bomb the factories of the United States, to destroy all the factories, the places of concentration of atomic arms, the steel factories, the arms factories. To say to the American masses: "We will put all this back rapidly afterwards. But we want to destroy the power of military action of a small yankee cheque which acts in a way foreign to all human sentiments, and which goes towards capitalist madness!"

The commotion which the Yankee blockade has produced in the world, in the petit bourgeoisie, the reactions of the masses, the preoccupations in the capitalist governments, expresses the fear on the capitalist side, the panic fear that this is leading to the war, and to its disappearance. Capitalism, by its nature, seeks the opportunity to launch the war, trying to smash the workers states. When it does not take this opportunity to unify itself behind Nixon to launch the war against the Workers States, it is because it feels that it does not have the historic concrete or material capacity to advance. It feels overcome by the world development of the revolution. The crisis in Germany is a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Answer to the blockade....

demonstration of this.

Capitalism has not been capable of containing the tendencies of a sector of the social democracy which attracts the majority of the country socially, not through parliament. It has not been capable of preventing the agreement with the Workers States, which is a blow to the stability of the capitalist system. Capitalism does not have the capacity to have initiatives, to be able to determine the course of history, it has to trail behind what the course of the revolution imposes, which already determines all the course of history. The crisis in W. Germany, is one example of this. The situation in Vietnam is an other.

If capitalism had the strength, it would make the blockade and invade. When it makes the blockade and has to keep on justifying itself it is because it does not feel sufficient historic force, to go in and to win. Because of this, it doubts. This is pessimism and defeatism. And the reaction in the United States, beginning with the 20 MPs who pose the sacking of Nixon indicates the depth of the crisis, the insecurity of the capitalist system, which seeks to liquidate Nixon, to save itself from a process which it feels is going to liquidate it. It introduces into the United States, an element of profound crisis in the capitalist system, and in consequence, on a world scale, because it develops instability and disequilibrium. To pose the resignation of Nixon in the United States is to show that they are incapable of leading, of governing, of having correct appreciations, and of knowing how to confront the world revolution. It shows insecurity and a defeatist sentiment.

The mobilisations of the students in America, even still not of the workers, is an expression that the repudiation of the war is growing in the American masses. It is not the fear of death, it is the repudiation of the war. Tens of veterans of the war, ex-officers, ex-commandants, who are against the war are marching. It is the influence the revolution which shows that what imperialism defends is the interest of a small clique. It is a very great development favourable to the revolution, which is going to influence in the political and independent organisations of the American masses.

The trip of Nixon to Moscow is not decisive. The attitude of the Soviets is not to submit themselves to the Yankees. It shows that they are not going to 'divide up the world', as Stalin did. At the same time the Soviets are making a very active policy in the Middle East. They make initiatives even in Israel. One of the arguments which the Soviets have employed against Israel, has been to say to them 'If there is a war you will disappear in one minute'. And the attitude of doubt of the Israelis is because they are seeing that in the measure that the world crisis increases, in place of feeling themselves more sure, they feel that they are going to be simply a bargaining counter to be utilised by the Yanks. On the other hand the progress in the world advances very much.

This declaration of Boumedienne, with Fidel Castro against the blockade and in support of Vietnam, has a very great historic importance. Because Boumedienne speaks in the name of the Arab countries. He does not speak in the name of the Muslims, or of Mahomed, nor in the name of Muslim Nationalism. He speaks in the name of 'socialist nationalism', of the socialist interest and he calls on the other Arab countries to follow. It is a direct weight in the Revolutionary states in alliance with the Workers State. One of the aspects of the policy of the USSR, is that it is seeking a concentration of forces. In this trip of Fidel Castro, it was already implicit that the Yankees were going to make this blockade. It was in the forecast of the Soviets. Because of this the declaration of the 1st of May of Fidel Castro, supported by the Soviets, of bombing Guantanamo if the Yanks attacked the Cuban fishing boats, shows that the Soviets are elevating their world alliance with the forces of the revolution, even 'compensatively', against the capitalist system.

The attitude of the Soviet, of negotiating from a position of strength to show the world masses that the Yanks are historically guilty, is not incorrect. It does not aggravate the situation which there already is in Vietnam, and on the other hand, it favours the world development of the opposition to imperialism and to capitalism.

In the same moment in which the Yanks make this blockade, there is the defeat of Pompidou, the defeat of capitalism in the elections in Italy, the defeat of capitalism in England, the crisis of the Labour Party, the defeat of capitalism in Germany. It is a whole series of constant defeats for world

imperialism, which does not have anywhere to base itself, so as to sustain, at the same time, Nixon and the capitalist system.

This attitude of the USSR is insufficient because it does not utilise all the political forces which they have. They have to make appeals for the mobilisations of the TUs, appeals for a world mobilisation and United Front with the Workers States, which would mobilise the forces against imperialism. Without now calling for the taking of power, certainly, call for the mobilisation against imperialism, to take measures to remove from the economy, the sectors that decide the economy of the country, which are in consequence, those which make the war, those who support the reactionary measures of imperialism. Call to the world proletariat to take power, and make direct appeals.

If imperialism does not want the atomic war now, it is because it cannot make it. It is seeking the moment to do it. The appeal of the Soviets, does not serve fundamentally, to impel imperialism to launch the atomic war now. If it does do it, it is because it is disposed to do it anyway. An appeal to the mobilisation of the masses reduces the capacity of action of imperialism, and when it launches the atomic war, it is going to be in the worse conditions for it.

This situation in Vietnam must be taken as part of the struggle for the final settlement of accounts. Imperialism shows its impotence and its weakness.

It is necessary to make a world offensive and to call for a world United Front against Imperialism. Expel imperialism from all the world. Against the presence of the imperialist armies in Germany. Out with the Yankee troops in Germany, mobilise the TUs to demand the planning of the economy. Call for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. Call to unify South East Asia in a programme of nationalisation of property and of planning of the economy.

The delegate of N. Vietnam at the Paris conference has declared that they do not propose to make a Communist government in Saigon. As a concrete appeal, it is not incorrect. But historically certainly it is. They pose to make a government which results from the decision of the people. They want to gain time, to attract part of the population of South Vietnam to make a United Front against the Yanks, but they have all the force in their hands. They have to make appeals to take the land, to collectivise the land, to make local governments. Their declaration that they do not want to make a communist government is not correct. Now, they do not want to make a communist government, but they are moving towards making a communist government. There isn't any other possible way out.

For this reason the Yankees don't believe them, and they cannot accept this solution. It would be correct to say: "Now we need this solution—the Yankees out of Vietnam—and form a government of democratic coalition. Afterwards we shall decide what to do". In this way it wouldn't be an opportunist diplomatic manoeuvre, because they have all the power they want to use. But at the same time they neglect to utilize all this force by not making appeals for the mobilisation of the masses. Burma seeks to proclaim a socialist constitution. In Thailand there is a centralised power in the army, which is seeking an agreement with the USSR. They see that imperialism doesn't offer them anything, it cannot solve the problems caused by the economic crisis, it can do nothing, this is a small group that sees that what is happening in Vietnam, in Cambodia and Laos is going to come to Thailand, and certain for this reason today there is a clique in the army, which seeks to develop in certain ways, it seeks meetings with the Workers States in order to try to protect itself, so that it won't end up the same way as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This perspective is impossible, this military clique in Thailand has no possibility of defending itself. There isn't any solution in Thailand other than the destruction of all these cliques linked to imperialism, of the agents of feudalism, of the king, the necessity of the nationalisation of property, and the planning of production. There is no other road for the development of the economy.

In this present situation in Vietnam, the IV International makes an appeal for a world mobilisation of the masses, including the north American masses, against imperialism, demonstrating at the same time that the objective of imperialism is to decide by means of military force, according to the interests of the great North American monopolies. We call for a world mobilisation to break the blockade. For unconditional support for Vietnam. Mobilisations within an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front in order to advance in the struggle for power in each country, because this

is the way of weakening world capitalism. We call for a united front of the Communist Parties, the Trade Unions of the Workers States, with the Communist Parties, Trade Unions and workers centres, with the workers, socialist and nationalist parties, the left Catholics throughout the world. We call for the unification of this world anti-imperialist united front. For it to be seen in joint actions throughout the world, in actions against imperialism, taking measures which weaken, break and eliminate the power of capitalism in each country. We call for the formation of Workers Parties based on the Trade Unions, for popular governments, based on the trade unions, for workers governments based on the Trade Unions, for left governments, and workers and peasants governments.

Imperialism out of Vietnam! Out with the blockade! Break the blockade by force! It is necessary that in each country the concrete measures to apply this should be developed, in each country including the Workers States. It is necessary to hold demonstrations and meetings in all the Workers States, to pass resolutions from assemblies, trade unions, factory councils, area committees, university committees; resolutions from all places of concentration of labour, in order to take measures of this nature. Resolutions against imperialism, in order to break the blockade, for the expulsion of imperialism from the Far East, and calls for a world mobilisation against imperialism, for the expulsion of imperialism from the whole of the world. The cautious, but at the same time resolute attitude of the Soviets must be accompanied by mobilisations of the masses. The answer of the Soviet government, although not incorrect, can and must be more audacious and determined; the Soviets can make a direct accusation against the Yankees in the United Nations, whilst outside the United Nations, calling on the masses of the world to mobilise, calling for an immediate united front of all the Workers States, of the USSR, of China to resolve all the internal problems on the basis of a discussion on the necessity of the unification of the Workers States. To make a call to all the Workers Parties, the Trade Unions, the workers centres throughout the world, the Workers States and the capitalist countries, for an anti-imperialist world united front, calling at the same time for the development of the economy in each country according to the needs of the masses, and, in order to do this, for the nationalisation of all property, and the planning of production.

It is necessary to discuss in the Communist Parties, in the Socialist Parties, the nationalist and left Catholic movements, the consequences of this blockade of the Yankees to demonstrate that imperialism is preparing to launch the war at any moment. It is not simply a casual measure, not more than two months ago Nixon went to China. This visit seemed to show a pacific approach, seeking agreements, and now only two months afterwards, this blockade. These zig zags of imperialism are dictated by its desperation, and the attempt to profit from circumstances, it cannot determine the policy or the line to follow. Within this zig zag, at any moment they can launch the atomic war. This blockade is going to strengthen the conviction of a wing of imperialism, of the CIA, that they need the war now, that they cannot profit from any opportunity because the opportunities are not going to come, and that they will have to launch the atomic war in this situation.

The agitation of imperialism is caused by the lack of support of the North American people for this policy. They seek to try to convince in part the North American people, but they get the opposite answer. Money gives his own personal support to Nixon, but it can only give it as an individual; no Trade Union comes out to show its support for Nixon, there haven't been mobilisations of trade unions, strikes in the factories, none at all. On the other hand the students come out to demonstrate against the war and there have been mobilisations in the whole of the world against imperialism; this influences the North American masses.

All the anti-imperialist united fronts which are in the process of being formed throughout the world should make appeals to the North American masses for the construction of an independent class movement, making appeals to the North American workers movement, to the workers, the trade unions for the organisation of an independent class movement, and to help them in this task, facilitating the understanding, and giving ideas on how it is necessary to organise, in order to break the gangster-bureaucratic-monopoly of the leadership of the trade unions. For an independent form of or-

ganisation with a programme, policy and functioning.

We make appeals for demonstrations, meetings, resolutions addressing the entire population, demonstrating the weakness of the capitalist system; (they have atomic weapons, but they are also socially incapable of triumphing.) This is shown by the declaration of North American officers who pose: "why is it necessary to bomb Vietnam? For war? In whose name? What objective interest do we have in these bombings? What are we defending?" The soldiers, airmen and sailors want to know this. It indicates a basis of class understanding when, in the heart of the US army is opposition to the war, and they question the orders they are given, because they realise that they are not military objectives, not for the defence of country, but for the defence of big capital; they understand "the defence of the country" is the defence of big capital because there is a great tension, that is not expressed by the silence of the Trade Unions; the masses in the USA have no organisms to express themselves and this weighs considerably on the masses of the rest of the world that don't see a mobilisation of the Trade Unions in the USA. The rest of the Trade Unions in the USA. The rest of the Trade Unions throughout the world have to explain this: "why don't the Trade Union in the USA mobilise?" giving at the same time the possibility to the masses in the USA to express themselves. These mobilisations must make direct appeals to the masses in the USA. The students in the USA should mobilise outside factories and places of work with demonstrations and meetings, passing resolutions and appeals, utilising all the legal means that can still be utilised in the USA, all the democratic rights in launching this campaign. It is necessary to make calls to oppose the war, because it is an imperialist war, which doesn't give an answer to the needs and interests of the American people. This is not a war which solves problems of unemployment, economy or the interests and life of the North American people, nobody is invading North America, they have one of the most powerful economies in the world. What danger is there? It is the capitalist system, which is waging a war to oppose the revolution; it is necessary to discuss on this basis.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the USA for the overthrow of Nixon and to impose a workers and peasants government. For this reason it is necessary to form a movement, which serves for these objectives, and to demonstrate that this confrontation between democratic senators and Nixon is an intercapitalist confrontation, it is not in the interest and defence of freedom, for the rights of the people in Vietnam, of the right of peoples to decide for themselves, but rather is the expression of their impotence, because they feel that they are going towards the war, and they are going to die. This is the cause of these divergencies between themselves.

Organise conferences, mobilisations, meetings, demonstrations against imperialism. Take initiatives, make calls for discussions in factories, in workers areas, in universities. Make calls for discussions in all the factories in the United States, in the Trade Unions, in workers areas, in houses, in universities, in the colleges. From the first year of school, from the one year olds to the universities, discuss this world situation, the necessity of an anti-imperialist world united front, and the necessity of overthrowing what is left of the capitalist system, demonstrate the immense weakness of the capitalist system: Nixon doesn't dare invade Vietnam, he has to make this blockade, which shows their weakness, he mobilises the 7th fleet, when with only one nuclear aircraft carrier they could destroy Vietnam, in order to make their power felt, and the Vietnamese clear their mines.

Unify the defence of Vietnam, calling for the expulsion of imperialism from the Tonkin gulf, breaking the blockade with the class struggle in each country.

Appeal for the occupation of factories, demonstrations, meetings, and resolutions, calling for a world united front against imperialism, which must include the offensive against the capitalist system.

These are the fundamental conclusions of this crisis.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
11th May 1972

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

# The "NO" in the referendum

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the class struggle in its favour, and draw profit from the electoral results, making the apparatus it has in its hands decide. This must be prevented. The communists by appealing to vote NO, have an attitude which foresees this. It is a hardening of the struggles.

It is necessary to link this hardening of the communists in France to the one of the CP in Italy. Berlinguer has said categorically: "It is a good thing that the Soviet Union is in the Mediterranean." He says that the Soviet fleet is there "to defend the liberation of the people". Of the Yankees, he says: "They are assassins". At the same moment as he makes this statement, the CP now demands openly: "NATO, out of Italy!". This slogan is accompanied by a series of propositions, which tend not to frighten the bourgeoisie; they are "compenetrative" speeches. But he ends them by saying: "Out with the NATO!" and "Let the Soviets stay!". He does not say literally that the Soviets stay, but

he does not make any accusation against them, and later on in the speech he defends their presence in the Mediterranean. It is evident that he responds both to the policy of "compenetration" tending to soothe sectors of the bourgeoisie, tending to attract the christian-democrats, petit bourgeoisie and the socialists, and responding to the need to reassure the Party.

The French bourgeoisie is going to intervene trying to profit from the referendum. But the proletariat is also going to profit from it. The communists are going to profit from it, and this is going to have a great effect in their own ranks. We must consider that this attitude of the Communist Party is part of the Soviet bureaucracy's general strategy, which is trying to elevate its authority over the regionalist, nationalist Parties. This effect on the Communist Parties is evident, as much on the French Communist Party as on the CPs of Italy, of Lebanon, or any other country.

## THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS PRESENT IN THIS REFERENDUM : VIETNAM IS VOTING IN FRANCE

It is necessary to link the defeat of imperialism in Vietnam to the crises which are going to arise after the referendum. Vietnam is voting in France and in Italy. When Lenin was told that the soldiers had to be called back to vote, Lenin said "They've already voted!"—"But how? they've all run away!"—"That's right, they've voted with their feet!" Their sentiments, their resolution was: "We're against the war! we want peace! we want land!" The decision of Vietnam shows the decision that the world masses are communicating to the masses of France and of Italy. Vietnam itself is the communication between the masses of the world, who are going to respond by maintaining and developing this decision to fight. They are going to be present in the referendum in France, in the elections in Italy. One way or another they are going to be present in the vote, or immediately in the general strike. It is in the latter they are going to find the best expression. In the referendum, in the elections, factors and people intervene, which do not imprint on the masses, all the force of the revolution. It is altogether different with social struggles, with strikes, stoppages of work, factory occupations, and in part with the elections in Italy.

The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam is going to weigh and to influence favourably the struggles of the masses. But at the same time, the French bourgeoisie seeks to canalise the world situation in its favour. The French government has just asked the Yankee government to retreat from Vietnam. This is simply a mere electoral intervention. The Yankee government complains about the "unilateral position" of the French government. The latter does not say directly to the Yankees go away, but it says that they must discuss with the Vietnamese government. It wants so present itself to the masses as if it was sympathetic to the Revolutionary Provisional Government. It does not say to imperialism go away, retreat, but discuss and reach an agreement. This amounts to leaving Vietnam.

In these elections there is quite a clear polarisation, even if it is not complete. The left wing Gaullists, who have quite an importance, declare themselves in favour of the NO when they normally should be by the side of the government. Their attitude is closer to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie. This

## MANSHOLT'S MURDEROUS PLAN, THE CRISIS IN THE E.C.M. AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PLAN AND FOR THE SOCIALIST SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

The referendum means the Mansholt Plan, the European Common Market, with all its consequences: unemployment, birth control, imposition of reduced consumption, lowering of the standards of living, constant inflation with a diminution of the purchasing power. Faced with this we must pose a plan, which is a guarantee of all the conquests, and a plan to go to power. It is necessary to argue: what has the capitalist system to offer? and then show: in Italy, two million workers working outside the country in order to live. The same with Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco. That is the Common Market.

The Mansholt plan is a death plan. The communists do not say this. Because of their "compenetrative" policy, they want to show how they are better administrators than capitalism. They want to advance without making any noise. But capitalism is saying clearly, through the Christian Democracy's statements: "If the communists win these elections, the Soviet Fleet will be there the next day." What does this mean? It means that the Soviets are going to extend their power right up to Italy. Now why hide this? No! It is necessary to say: "If we win these elections, then we are going to develop friendly relations with the Soviet Union, at a higher level than they are now." Who is this going to disturb? Capitalism, imperialism, and also a layer of the petit bourgeoisie, who is today against this. But, on the other hand, this policy, is going to attract a whole layer of the petit bourgeoisie, which sees the resolution and the progress of the Communist Parties. Such a policy means the end of unemployment for the Italian workers, who are going to be able to return to their country, and a new concentration of families, which had been dispersed; there

are also going to be roads, houses and schools. This is what must be shown! What capitalist country has solved in 20 years the economic problems, as the Workers States have done? Take the example of Greece: In what way is Greece more advanced than 20 years ago? There is a brutal backwardness! Compare it with Bulgaria, which came out of nothing, out of the most brutal backwardness, and which is today an example of technical and scientific development. Hunger, misery and unemployment do not exist there. The same with Albania. It is necessary to show the huge development of the Korean Workers State; to make this propaganda. We want this unity of Europe. The communists do not make this propaganda because they do not have any security, or any confidence in the marxist method, they do not have any confidence in the class. They think it is necessary to act from the top, with the leaders; they believe that with the help of clever manoeuvres, it is possible to advance, to conquer positions, to gain layers of the population. No! The conquest is infinitely more rapid, safer and better with a revolutionary policy, because then the

masses see the decision of a leadership which is capable of imposing such a programme. The whole of the petit bourgeoisie has been gained to socialist solutions, the whole of it! It is no longer necessary to convince it of the necessity and of the possibility of plenty. This is already acquired. It sees that abundance can exist today. The means to reach it, exist. It sees that the Soviets send a satellite towards the sun, which shows the huge scientific progress of the Soviet Union.

In this referendum it is necessary to link the discussion on the Common Market with the future of Europe, and also compare the regimes. The Soviets are not directly making the struggle, but each communist party does it. The Soviets on the contrary, want to negotiate with the Common Market, so as to keep it away from Yankee imperialism; all these are extremely slow processes and methods, which enable imperialism to organise itself militarily, to launch provocations and counter-revolutions. This is what it is doing now, through small and big wars. The Soviets want to advance in a very slow way, thus enabling the enemy to recover and to

re-establish itself. The problem of tactic, as posed by Lenin, here appears in full evidence.

The tactic is decisive in each stage of history. But in this stage it is even more than previously. Before, the tactic used to decide in a country, with historic delays. Today, it decides in the framework of the world settlement of accounts. It is for this reason that the Italian bourgeoisie says: "If the communists win, the Soviet fleet is going to be on the Italian coasts the next day." They see the unity which exists. This is not a problem of Italy. The problem presents itself in Italy, but it is a world problem. It is the product of a world relationship of forces, which are adjusting, preparing themselves, lining up, and developing in the perspective of the final settlement of accounts. This is how we must discuss.

This situation is going to be repeated, because the unity of Europe is an attempt to compete with the Yankees, to tighten the links of capitalism to compete with Yankee imperialism, and at the same time it is an attempt to face the Workers States and the proletariat.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## THE BAKERS CONFERENCE

become much more elevated. While the L.P. has failed to give a lead, the trade union movement has been forced to take a lead. This is a process started at the time of the General Election in 1970, when as Posadas and the IV International analysed, the vanguard of the working class abstained from the election in order to inflict a defeat on the bourgeoisie sector of the L.P. The working class directed its efforts in this period directly through the trade unions. The miners strike showed this. The miners strike showed that the working class had moved beyond the pure economic demands of trade unionism. During the miners strike there was a combativity, a sentiment that was less of economic struggle and more of revolutionary consciousness. The fight against the Industrial Relations Act is also being made outside the L.P. It is important that the Bakers discuss this. It is necessary to discuss why capitalism chooses this time to attack the workers, a time which is bad for them. The continual economic crisis of imperialism is seen through the continual crises of the dollar. Why is there this economic crisis? Why are there these massive demonstrations in the U.S. and all over the world against the Yankees in Vietnam? The Bakers must discuss this and also the great social decomposition of capitalism. The capitalists have a social need to attack the working class but the class continues to attack capitalism, basing itself on the advances of the world revolution, basing itself on Vietnam; the petty bourgeoisie sectors are attracted to the revolution, a sector of imperialism too feels pessimistic and wishes only to buy off the workers. This causes a social decomposition of the capitalist system, making capitalism attack the working class in order to defeat it and regain some social base by intimidating the petty bourgeoisie. Hence the Industrial Relations Act and all these attacks on the workers.

The answer of the workers against capitalism comes through the trade unions and takes on a more programmatic form than before. The forms taken become more elevated. The dockers in Southampton go on strike not only against the Act but also against the change of policy of the T.U.C. and the dockers call for a recall Congress. Faced with the court order to end the blacking of container goods, and the fine on the T.G.W.U. the dockers answer with a massive vote in favour of a national docks strike.

The Bakers must discuss this, but more important, it is necessary to discuss the objective of this period of trade union struggle, the objective of transforming the Labour Party by the expulsion of the right wing bourgeoisie sector and the creation of the revolutionary leadership of the Labour Party. This change in the L.P. is not going to come through the C.L.P.s but through the trade union movement giving a political consequence to the fight facing the class. For instance by the workers using the factories as a political centre. Just as in France where, as Posadas put it, "power rises up from the factories". The lead not coming from the leadership, it has to be imposed on the leadership—just as the British workers must use the trade union movement. In this respect it is essential that the whole trade union movemental programme, as the basis. Not for a trade union solution that is basically economic—a matter of fighting for a few more pence—but for a revolutionary solution. It has to be posed in organs of discussion and organisation such as "Bakers Voice", that the problems of the working class (such as housing, unemployment etc.) can only be solved on the basis of nation-

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

alised property. Hence the necessity of a programme of expropriation and workers control; the Communist Party militants of the Union must intervene in this discussion. The advance and superiority of the Workers States, the Soviet Union, China, Cuba etc has to be pointed out, a superiority that comes from the nationalised property, central planning of the economy, state monopoly of foreign trade.

The central problem the Bakers Conference must discuss is the necessity of changes in the Labour Party. This must be at the centre of the policy coming from this conference—the necessity of the revolutionary leadership in the L.P., as well as the Industrial Relations Act. Against the Act! The Bakers to de-register! The Conference must also demand the expulsion of the rightwing from the E.C. following a full discussion of the E.C.s decision to register without recalling conference. Also the conference must discuss the necessity to throw out the tory government and to impose a left Labour government on an anti capitalist programme—the left taking power within the L.P. The expulsion of the right wing must be accompanied by a full discussion on the role of the L.P. and the C.P. and trade unions in the struggle for power.

In this respect conference should instigate a full discussion of proletarian democracy in the union, no officer to be paid more than the average wage, the instant recall of all officers. Also the conference must discuss the need for workers control within the industry and the setting up of factory committees to organise and impose workers control.

The political role of the trade union movement has great importance in this period in the struggle to transform the L.P. and to impel a discussion of the need of this revolutionary leadership in the L.P. Yet this political role of the trade unions is only transitory. The opposition to the bureaucracy in the Bakers Union is a question of alternatives. Whether the union stays as an economic organism or impels the creation of the revolutionary leadership by providing a revolutionary class alternative policy. Already the actions of the class in the last period have shown that the trade union struggle has outgrown the economic level and is now putting forward more elevated programmatic demands. But it must be seen that a sector of the bureaucracy can shift its position and can play a very important role in this discussion. But it is mostly from the middle layers, the "middle cadres" in the union that leaders linked to the base and to revolutionary ideas will emerge. In the leadership of the Bakers Union it is possible that there will be important advances of some elements. Daley of the N.U.M. showed a relatively progressive approach during the Miners Strike and the strength of the revolution is even sufficient to win elements from bourgeois sectors and allow them to play an important role—for example Torres in Bolivia and the advance of the Bolivian Revolutionary State. It is incorrect to say that all the Bakers Union leadership are the same. This is not so. There is an important "left" sector in the union leadership, but this left sector feels isolated and incapable of basing itself on the revolutionary currents in the base of the union. The Bakers Union itself can play a vital role. The fact that this is a small union is of little consequence. The revolutionary base of the union must impel forward that sector in the leadership that is prepared to advance and also to prepare new leaders for the tasks of this stage. These are the important questions that must be discussed at this years conference.

20.5.72

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The European bourgeoisie is conscious of that. But it is defeatist. The Mansholt plan shows this. In the full rise of class struggle, and of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Europe, in the full elevation of the proletariat's unity, and in the ascent of the communists and of the socialists, who are gaining votes with each new election—capitalism presents this Mansholt Plan, which clashes with all this. It has no other solution: this plan or the war. But it cannot make the war, because it does not have the capacity to launch the war now in Europe, and because it feels that the greatest danger comes from the Workers States. Therefore, it launches the Mansholt Plan. This is how we must discuss. Not posing in an isolated way: YES or NO. NO! It's not a question of a YES or of a NO, but what is there behind the YES, what is there behind the NO?

The French bourgeoisie is making manoeuvres, seeking the means, which will enable it to centralise, to concentrate the power in the sector, which is allied to the great capital, so as to decide. It does not dare to confront the proletariat or the petit bourgeoisie. It seeks a series of means, as with his referendum on the Common Market, so as to avoid a conflict, a collision, and on the contrary to arouse a certain interest in the petit bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie wants to show how it is going to develop the country, the economy, and how it is going to incorporate the petit bourgeoisie in this development. It is necessary to show that all this is a lie, and call for the votes to be united to the strikes. The bourgeoisie is waiting for this referendum, in order to deal a blow. All Europe is in the era of civil war. In Germany, in Switzerland, in Austria, the civil war has been postponed, because the socialists have won the elections, and that has given the proletariat a centre on which to push, to attempt to impel the class struggle. But in Germany the class struggle has not been suspended, it has transferred itself inside the Social Democrat Party. The struggle against the right wing, the decline and the liquidation of the right wing are an expression of the civil war. Together with the United States, and with Switzerland, Germany is the capitalist country with the highest standard of living; the workers there have achieved conquests such as the right for half an hour per day to read the newspapers at work, the right to choose the time they start work in the morning. These are concessions, which capitalism must make, so as to maintain a certain balance in its relationships with the trade union bureaucracy, and so as to enable the latter to sustain the pressure of the class. But the class carries the struggle inside the Party.

The engineering strike has dealt a blow to the bureaucratic leadership of the engineering trade union. This is an expression of the power of the workers movement. This power is expressed in the conquest of half an hour to drink tea, and in the choice of the time they start work in the morning between 7 and 9 o'clock, and also in the interior struggle taking place inside the Social Democratic Party: the liquidation of the right wing in the Socialist Party signifies a great progress for the left wing, and an influence on the liberal youth, and also an influence on a wing of the Liberal Party, which is being gained to marxism. All this shows the power of the German workers movement. There is no direct struggle, no civil war, but the latter is produced in an indirect way inside the Social Democrat Party. When the proletariat cannot express itself in an exterior way, it does so inside its organisms, in the trade unions and in the Parties. What is happening in Ger-

**It is necessary to appeal for the intervention of the proletariat! so that it makes of this campaign against the referendum its own campaign, so that it discusses in the factories, in the neighbourhoods. It must be established that from now on the workers are allowed to make political campaigns inside the factories. That work is stopped for half an hour to discuss. Follow the example of Germany, where the workers have half an hour to discuss and to read during work.**

Then turn to "ROUGE" and the other leftist groups: carry out an activity of public polemic with them, of discussions, showing the necessity for a policy aiming at impelling the centralisation of the United Front of the Socialist-Communists-PSU Left-wing Gaullists, trade unions, the movement of the small merchants led by Nicoud, calling to vote NO. A United Front with a programme of workers', peasants', petit bourgeois and student demands, for THE LEFT GOVERNMENT TO POWER WITH A PROGRAMME OF PLANNING OF PRODUCTION IN FUNCTION OF THE POPULATION'S NEEDS, NATIONALISATION OF THE KEY INDUSTRIES

many is clear and obvious. The same is happening in England: the right wing of Jenkins is being liquidated. It has to leave the shadow cabinet and ally itself to the Conservatives. The same in Italy: in the elections, the MPL (political movement of the workers, a left wing catholic tendency) present itself with a socialist program; this means that they've had to defeat the Church's pressure, opposition, attacks and offensive. All this shows the deep authority of the socialist programme in the eyes of the catholic masses, who feel they can develop and flourish.

Capitalism cannot oppose all this, a programme of economic development of salaries and of better living conditions. It must restrict the area of the capitalists, lead an interior struggle of competition, which is going to eliminate some capitalists, so as to concentrate capital. It can better the standard of living or make concessions to a part of the proletariat, but not to the proletariat as a whole. The rest of the proletariat sees the unemployment rise, and its standard of living diminish. The workers movement advances, and is going to respond through the civil war. There is already a whole zone of civil war.

The triumph of the masses in Vietnam is a support for the struggles of the masses in the whole of Europe. It impels the proletariat, gives it confidence, stimulates it to advance towards unity, and disjoins the reactionary measures taken by capitalism, are an indirect way of wanting to gain an authority so as to strike. He tries to increase the centralisation in its own ranks, in the ranks of capitalism, to get rid of all the Chaban-Delmas, of the tendencies linked to trade with the Soviet Union, in order to set up a "strong government". But we are no longer in the time of strong governments. Pompidou is not strong and cannot be. At the moment when Pompidou seeks to concentrate the power, there is a huge campaign in the army for an officers' trade union. "Humanite" has published several letters from soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers asking for trade union membership. The same happened in Sweden with the trade union in the army. A concrete social analysis must be made on why this process. Why? the soldiers consider themselves as employees, and demand a trade union, to defend their rights, and so as to be no longer just the "defenders of the capitalist system". The demand for the right to trade union membership indicates that they no longer want to be simply the defenders of the capitalist system; the conception of the army as the "motherland's defender" has already failed. The existence of 14 Workers States and of the Middle East has already shown how all this is a lie. Vietnam shows it is a lie. This elevates the revolutionary culture of these sectors, and makes them understand that the concept of "motherland" is a lie. What is true, is the "boss" and not the "motherland". They already consider the State in its function as the boss. This shows a great progress in the revolution's influence on the military men. The same goes with the policemen, who want trade union membership to defend their rights in front of the State, in front of their chief. The police have just made very important mobilisations, for the right to have union membership, and to have a trade union representation. While capitalism seeks to concentrate its power, its base of support is collapsing. The advance of the revolution disintegrates and destroys the cohesion of the capitalist system's structure.

It was an error the communist made when they took the problem of the referendum as an occasional fact. It has a great importance, and it is necessary to launch the fight against it with this program.

**AND A COMPLETE PROGRAMME OF THE WORKING CLASS DEMANDS,** for democratic rights to be effective in the factories and in the places of work.

It is necessary to call for a united front of all the workers movement, of the petit bourgeoisie, on the basis of a government plan, which will be discussed freely by the whole country. Freely! without the imposition of the Communist Party. Call for discussion, in which everyone can intervene, discuss and give opinions. This is the way to elevate the unification of the will of the masses, to strike at the capitalist system. This is going to be expressed later on in the

factories, in the trade unions, and in the parties.

Our comrades must intervene on this basis, and intervene immediately. Our party must be prepared to analyse the event signified by the very big demonstration for the assassination of the Renault worker, and the following paralysis. The huge amount of people, who participated in this funeral expressed the desire they had to show, their anti capitalist will, their protest, their decision. They were all a petit bourgeois public. Very few workers were there. It is sectors from the petit bourgeoisie who were attracted by such groups as la Ligue Communiste, "Lutte ouvriere", "Revolution" etc. But the fact there were no anti communist demonstrations indicates the maturity, and the desire for unification of these sectors. Otherwise there would have been attacks and anti communist accusations. There was no criticism going as far as an anti communism, or taking the Communist Party as a centre; there were criticisms against the capitalist system. It is the authority of the proletariat on these sectors which stimulated them to advance and imposed on them not to separate themselves from the Communist Party. The proletariat, without participating in this demonstration, imposed on it its force and authority. The conduct of the demonstration reflect the strength of the proletariat, Cde. J. Posadas already made this interpretation in May 68 during the revolutionary general strike in France ("from the general strike to the fall of capitalism, and to the organisation of the workers and peasant government in France" 16/22 May 1968, and the following articles of J. Posadas, of the 24 May to the 4 July 1968 on the revolutionary general strike in France).

This behaviour in the demonstration indicates a great maturity, a very elevated one, in which our party can develop itself. Our party must intervene appealing to vote NO, not with the arguments of Marchais, but with ours which are as we have expounded them. Our Party must discuss this activity and have this activity discussed. The decision of the Communist Party to call to vote NO shows that the conditions existed and exist for a general strike. We do not agitate the general strike for immediately. The conditions to make it must be prepared. Pierre Overeny's funeral indicates that the condition existed and exist.

Pompidou seeks to prevent the unification of the communist, socialist and trade union movement, and to profit from the contradictions between the communists and and socialists. But opposite to what he proposes himself, he is going to stimulate the unified functioning of the class. The class is going to impose a unified functioning, and to surpass the regional, particular interests of each party; it already did this during the French May. May was a gigantic united front, the most powerful in the history of the revolution in France. It gave the opportunity for the working class to express itself. Soon it is going to express itself again. The attitude of the bourgeoisie is going to help this. Pompidou runs a risk in making this referendum, because he feels exhausted. Against all the calculations of Pompidou, the referendum is going to result in stimulating these sectors, which starting from the trade union camp, are going to bring out the necessity of the unification of the communist, socialist, left wing catholic, left wing gaullist movement, and also in influencing these

tendencies to win them to this movement. It is essential to give a superior programme to the communists' public discussion programme. And at the same time it is necessary to appeal for the unification of the workers movement in a United Trade Union Centre with an anti capitalist programme.

The referendum is a manoeuvre. Great capital makes an alliance with the Yankees. What determines the manoeuvre is that the French capitalism seeks to make a plebiscite, to obtain a political credit so as to take the decision of political reforms, which would increase the centralised power of capitalism, and therefore increase the means to reach a capitalist solution of concentration of all the big monopolies, and of finances to the capitalist system's profit. It is necessary to vote against that! and not just limit oneself to saying NO. The programme must be opposed to this: Socialist, Soviet United States of Europe!

In elections when one votes for specific candidates why do we do this? For a specific programme, for a specific policy. We vote for them, but to defend these conclusions. And to impose these conclusions we make strikes, stoppages of work. With the referendum it is the same thing. Any important mobilisation of the working class must be accompanied with demonstrations, which permit the rest of the population to be attracted, must be accompanied with strikes and stoppages of work. One must not make strikes, which isolate, or unfavourable movements in the given situation, but movements which coincide with the necessity. It is the leadership which must find this coincidence, and which therefore must seek this unification of the communist, socialist and trade union movement.

One must take the position of the NO. This is the right position to be adopted. And the NO must be linked to strikes, demonstrations and meetings. It must be linked to the anti capitalist programme, calling for the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. This is how the proletariat pronounces itself. These are not the normal, usual elections. But even in ordinary elections when one put up candidates, mobilisations must be made with strikes, stoppages of work, in which the proletariat makes appeals to the rest of the population to follow the same orientation. This is how the proletariat communicate with the rest of the population. These elections must be linked to the taking of positions, to concrete demands, of salaries, of better working conditions, of roads, of hospitals, of public works in the neighbourhoods, of nationalisations, of the monopoly of foreign trade and democratic rights. The demands put forward must be a function of the stage of struggle. It is necessary not to be satisfied with just taking position at an electoral level only. There is no electoral level as such; the elections are the expression of an infinitely greater content; the struggle for economic, social and political interests. The campaign must be given this social, political and economic content, which the elections in themselves do not give, and therefore it is necessary to pose the means, the measures, the actions, and the programme, so that the working class weighs with all its power, and attracts the rest of the population.

**INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL**  
13 April 1972

to ensure that no trade union leader or militant suffers any legal penalties, and that no trade union assets are touched. These demands must be linked with other immediate demands of the class and for full support to the Northern Irish masses, unconditional defence of the 'no go areas', and for the removal of all British troops from Northern Ireland; for full support to the Vietnamese masses, for an end to the bombing, and the blockade by Yankee imperialism, and for the expulsion of Yankee imperialism from Vietnam. The conditions are prepared for this, and for the extension of the one-day strike into an unlimited General Strike to overthrow the Tory government.

We call on the workers vanguard in the docks, in the factories, on the railways, to the Labour Party and trade union militants, and to the militants of the Communist Party to intervene in all the mobilisations that are coming with this programme, impelling the process which will transform the LP into a party of revolutionary class struggle, imposing within it a revolutionary leadership and socialist programme in preparation for it to replace the Tories, and form a government, which, based on the mobilisations of the class, takes fundamentally anti-capitalist measures.

**EDITORIAL FROM PAGE 1** of the school children. The strikes and demonstrations of the school children expressed all the militancy of the class, and it was openly anti-capitalist. When young people mobilise in this way, it is because they live in a whole atmosphere which is anti-capitalist, and because they feel the confidence that big mobilisations of the class are being prepared.

The leaderships of the Trade Unions and Labour Party—and the whole bureaucratic structure—has, in the past, insulated, to some extent, the working class in this country from the influence of the world revolution, but this is no longer possible. The mobilisations—on a world scale—following the offensive of the Vietnamese masses expressed an objective world United Front, between the world masses and the Workers States. This objective United Front must find a concrete, programmatic and organisational, expression in this country; the proposed joint action against redundancies by Italian and British workers of Dunlop/Pirelli is a development in this direction. The conditions are prepared for immediate mobilisations, using the dockers strike as a centre to launch a one-day General Strike—with factory occupations—to defend trade union rights, and

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 160 2nd Friday of June 1972 PRICE 3p

## Unify the Irish and British masses on the bases of a Socialist programme of nationalisations, under workers control, and a workers plan of production

*The result of the ballot of the railwaymen is a powerful expression of the mood of the working class in all the Unions, in all the Trades Councils, in the places of work. The dockers decision to continue the blacking, and the call by the NPSSC for a 24 h. National Strike in all the ports on June 24th. are part of the preparation for the 24 h. General Strike, which the Boilers Makers Union has called on the TUC to organise. It is not particularly the most industrially powerful sectors, who show such a confidence. This confidence does not stem from the intervention of the large industrial centres, such as the car workers, but it comes from the world revolution, from Vietnam, and from Ireland. There is a Vietnam in Britain, a latent civil war, which at the moment, takes forms of battles against the Industrial Relations Act, and which was expressed in the confrontations between the miners and the police during the miners strike. In Ireland it is expressed in the form of an open civil war.*

The British bourgeoisie took weeks to count the ballot forms, and it has been talking of invading the 'no-go' areas for months. They thought to make a blockade in Britain, similar to the Yankee blockade in Vietnam, by imposing the ballot on the railway workers, because they had not the force to mobilise, the police or army against the railway workers. The memory of what happened when they tried it against the miners is surely still vivid in their minds! And they know that this time, not only the engineers would come out in support, but the dockers and the miners as well. Beside, the British bourgeoisie sees that President Pompidou only got a vote of no confidence in the French referendum, and that Yankee imperialism cannot invade Vietnam. For all these reasons, the British bourgeoisie, and the Tories are concerned. They feel pessimistic, they feel that all that is preparing in Britain and Ireland is going to smash them.

The ballot imposed by the government on the railway workers resulted in a massive 'yes' for industrial action; this shows a very great force, and decision coming from the base of the Union, which is due to a whole climate in the country. With the continued strikes by the dockers, in spite of their leadership, with the call by the Boiler Makers Union for a 24 hour General Strike against redundancies, the conditions exist in this country for a powerful mobilisation against the government. The result of the ballot greatly stimulated by the national campaign for 'yes' by the union leaderships, show that the working class in this country is little impeded by its leadership, and is capable of winning a sector of it, and of smashing the monstrous conservatism of the union machinery. The TU leaders themselves—including those who used to resist violently the intervention of the class in the past—are campaigning nationally in support of industrial action!

All the conditions exist in the country, for the railwaymen to

raise the level of their actions at this stage. There is a stage of dual power, expressed by the factory occupations in the Manchester area and far from diminishing, it is elevating, and gaining new sectors such as the occupation of Westinghouse Brakes in Chippenham, and Ransome, and Marles in Newark. The railwaymen can base themselves on this, to intervene to provide a centre for the struggles to come. It is possible to intervene with what would be equivalent to a factory occupation—running the railway, but refusing to collect fares. This would be a first step towards electing committees to run the railways under the control of the railway workers, and other sectors of the population. This would provide a concrete support for the railways workers, and enable them to attract and gain the population. The experiences of UCS and Fisher Bendix can be used. The workers themselves can decide on work and hours, wages and costs, to make the transport system in Britain a transport system for the benefit of the population.

The elevation of the state of dual power can be seen even more strikingly in Northern Ireland, where the civil war is in full preparation, and in the Republic, where troops with fixed bayonets are used against demonstrators. The 'no go' areas are still intact in Derry and Belfast, and the latest

protest by the women have shown that the population of the 'no go' areas are determined to get the British troops out, to end internment, and to protect the gains they have made in the free areas. The 'cease fire' called by the Official wing of the IRA, is for the greater part, a response to the sentiment of the Irish masses, that terrorism is negative, and must be stopped. On the present basis, there is nothing else that the IRA can do, except to respond to the desire thus expressed for a programme to answer the needs of the Irish masses. The immediate necessity is reflected in the speech of Cathal Goulding of the 'Officials', who called for links between the struggle of the Catholic and Protestant Working Class. The immediate necessity is for the unification of the Irish nationalist and civil rights movement with the trade unions and workers movement, to stimulate actions for the solution to the problem of unemployment and bad housing. The campaign for democratic rights, the expulsion of British imperialism must be linked

**SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION PRISONERS IN BRAZIL: TROTSKYISTS, COMMUNISTS, NATIONALISTS AND LEFT CATHOLICS!**

PAGE 3

with a constructive programme of factory occupations, of a workers plan of production, using, for example, the shipyards to produce prefabricated houses to solve the housing problem. For the generalisation of rent strikes, and the forming of workers militias. This is what the IRA has to do, and no terrorism can substitute for this.

It becomes increasingly clear that there is no solution for Ireland in isolation from the British Proletariat. As the text of International Secretariat 'The Rebellion of Northern Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership, and the struggle for socialism in Britain' "It is necessary to call for

both in Ireland and in Britain. As the text of the International Secretariat also analyses; "It is necessary to unify all these movements... it is necessary to unify them on the socialist programme, of nationalisations, of the planning of production on the basis of nationalisations under workers control, of the struggle for the Workers and Peasants government".

The Communist Party has an important role to play in this. It has both in Ireland and in Britain an important weight in the workers vanguard, and it must use it to put forward a programme and a leadership for the unification of both struggles. It is clear that it

## Angela Davis's freedom is a victory for the masses of the world and an impulse to the struggle for freedom of all revolutionary political prisoners

Angela Davis's freedom is a victory for the masses of the world, who have shown their solidarity in a thousand forms during the last months, using the campaign as a centre, which symbolises all the struggle of the blacks, the students, intellectuals, petit bourgeoisie, and workers in the United States against the war in Vietnam, and every other counter-revolutionary repressive act of American imperialism. The solidarity with Angela Davis is an expression of the world anti-imperialist united front, which exists, and to which it is necessary to give an organic form. It is an extension of the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, and the anti-imperialist movement within the United States. It is a victory that re-enforces both this united front, and the struggle going on inside the very citadel of imperialism.

This success is an expression of the relationship of forces existing in the United States—which is the result of the result of the world relationship of forces—for the construction of the marxist party, based on the trade unions, which is the immediate organisational form called for by comrade Posadas, for the organisation of all revolutionary forces within the United States in this stage. As a concrete means of profiting from these conditions we propose that the American Communist Party should present Angela Davis as presidential candidate, which would allow them to win support from far vaster sectors than they at present are capable of directly organising, putting them into contact with blacks, the students and the anti-war movement.

We make an appeal to the workers movement to discuss the significance of this important victory, and to base themselves on it in order to launch a campaign, and to appeal to all the worker, trade union and anti imperialist movements in the world to intervene for the release of all revolutionary political prisoners in the world, from Spain, Brazil, Greece, and Mexico and the United States itself, as a part of the world anti-imperialist struggle, and of the construction of the world united front, to carry it in a coordinated way to final victory.

from Lotta Operaia

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist)  
Italian Section of the IV International.

a struggle in common, for a socialist unification of all the countries of the English language. A socialist unification of all the struggles of the masses of Britain". The masses of Ireland and of Britain are already united in their struggle against capitalism. Do not their children behave in the same way? The demonstrations of the school children in this country demand, like the intervention of the children in Northern Ireland, the end of exploitation, repression, and for the control by the masses themselves, including the children. The children of Ireland and Britain are expressing the sentiment which exists in all the workers' mo-

is the lack of a leadership on the part of the Labour Party, and still the presence of the bourgeois Wilson, Castle team, that separates the British and Irish struggles. The British and Irish CP's must conclude from the discussions in the world communist movement on proletarian internationalism, on the necessity to formulate a programme for the unification of the vanguards in Britain and Ireland, starting from a closer relationship between the two CP's. They must intervene in such a way as to channel all the force and decision of the working class at the base of the LP, to make the left in the Labour Party take power inside of the Labour Party, and to expel the right wing from it.

The workers and masses of Britain have used the local elections results to demand that the LP constituencies act on their electoral programme. Now, we see a semi civil war in the constituencies, where the right wing is questioned and challenged. Each action now taken by the class, such as the rents mobilisations, precipitate new crisis and new advances in the LP. Whilst the TU leaders react more and more to the pressure from the base, like the railway leadership, and like other TU leaders who, as in the case of L. Daly, E. Roberts, link themselves directly with the unofficial organisations at the base of the Unions, the pressure mounts in the LP against the right wing, and the Wilson sector feels that it has to say something, even if they do not actually do anything. Wilson has to say, that the urban land must be nationalised.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Viva the nationalisation of I.P.C. in Iraq and Syria! Forward to the world anti-imperialist United Front!

TEXT OF TWO TELEGRAMS SENT TO IRAQ

**REVOLUTIONARY SALUTES ON THE OIL NATIONALISATION, FORWARD TO WORKERS CONTROL APPEAL TO BRITISH AND EUROPEAN WORKERS MOVEMENT TO EXPEL IMPERIALISM FROM MIDDLE EAST.**

Political Bureau of the  
Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)  
British Section of the IV International

PAGE 2: RESOLUTION OF THE P.B.

**REVOLUTIONARY SALUTES ON THE OIL NATIONALISATIONS, FOR WORKERS CONTROL, SOVIETS, MORE COLLECTIVE FARMS, CONSTRUCT ARAB AND WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT, MORE INTERVENTION IN U.S.S.R.**

Trotskyist-Posadist

Arab militants of the IV International

J. POSADAS

24-2-1971

# MARXISM, CONSCIOUSNESS, EXISTENCE, AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

*It is necessary to give consciousness of the force, and the capacity of the International. Fundamentally it necessary to establish, and make public the capacity of the International to orientate the course of the revolution, even though it does not have the material force. Neither did Trotsky have it, but he wrote with this resolution. We have preoccupied ourselves, we preoccupy ourselves, and we will preoccupy ourselves to exercise the function of being the continuators of marxism. It is necessary to be exact, precise, right in characterisations, in the theoretical and political analyses and conclusions, so that the tactic can be used, otherwise it is useless. We have elaborated new definitions that are conceptions of history, and are conquests of the International. They are conquests of marxism. They are incorporations that we have made to marxism. It shows a fundamental political elevation, comparable to our best teachers. We do not have their capacity. We do have comparable theoretical conquests, because we have dedicated ourselves to explain the course of the revolution, through which roads it develops, amongst them the "partial regeneration".*

We have made definitions of interpretations of this stage of history that were not foreseen by Marx, nor by Engels, nor by Lenin, nor by Trotsky, nor in their texts, which do not serve to interpret today. Instead the analysis of marxism does. The comprehension of history does. We learn also from the teachers. But none of them are directly linked to this process.

There are fundamental problems on which we have given the correct interpretation, without altering Marx's thought and method. One of them is that history is no longer determined by "Existence determines consciousness", but that today "CONSCIOUSNESS DETERMINES EXISTENCE". It is no longer abundance, which is going to determine socialism. What determines is the consciousness, which humanity already has, which is based on the solution of the economic problems without there being abundance. For example, Bangla Desh, Bolivia, Peru, Chile. There is no abundance in these countries. Nevertheless the masses are for socialism. The thing which characterises this stage is that 14 Workers States, that 16 Revolutionary States are the base through which the thought, the organisation and the perspective of humanity is guided. Since they are now the ones that determine the course of history, what determines the revolutionary struggle is no longer the necessity to live, to eat, to work, to have employment, to have the security of the family. Now it is the 14 Workers States that show this is the future. This replaces, with advantage, the formula of Marx, because it gives it a superior formulation. It does not leave it at the level of inferior struggles, but at the level given by the existence of 14 Workers States.

The existence of the world is the existence of the 14 Workers States. Consciousness comes from there. As there are already 14 Workers States that are marxism materialised, existence means Workers States. But the Workers State is no longer the existence of the capitalist regime, it is the Workers State, which is going to socialism. So, it creates a superior degree of consciousness. It creates a degree of consciousness that is materialised in the Workers State. The Workers State is marxism materialised, it is in the consciousness too. The necessity of wanting to do this already exists in humanity. Not to resolve its family, individual problems, concrete problems of work, of pensions, of housing, but to resolve the pro-

blems of human relations. Problems of work etc. exist, but they are inferior. The solidarity that exists in the world, the solidarity there has been with every revolution, as with Angela Davis, shows that humanity is not moved by the individual necessity, but by the collective necessity. The individual necessity is not annulled, it is united to the collective necessity of wanting to struggle for a super-

ior social regime. This is why existence is determined by consciousness. Because there is already the consciousness that this is necessary. In which is included the necessity to change, to live better, to have work, all these things.

It is a conception of history. This is history. Which means that now we begin any activity from an elevated degree of the class, and revolutionary struggle, because existence is already determined by consciousness. We begin from Bangla Desh, which goes towards socialism, because there existence has already been determined by consciousness. To say today that socialism is abundance is a backward formula. This formula no longer applies. What abundance do the Bangla Desh masses have? Today, used in the actual process, it is a formula that is still based on a sentiment of protection of the poor.

When Marx gave this slogan it was right. There was still nothing else, but trade unions and small parties. It was necessary

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE R.W.P.(T) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

VIVA THE NATIONALISATION OF I.P.C. IN IRAQ!  
FOR THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES IN THE RUNNING OF THE OIL INDUSTRY

The nationalisation of IPC by the Iraq government, and of the oil pipeline by Syria, are powerful blows at the presence of Imperialism in the Arab world, much more powerful than any guerrilla attack, or terrorist action, like the one in Tel Aviv Airport last week. They are actions, which are going to stimulate all the revolutionary tendencies in the Middle East, to take similar measures, and weaken all the pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist sectors. It is an action not only stimulated by the existence of 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, by Vietnam, by the intervention of the USSR in Bangla Desh, but it has been concretely planned and organised by the Soviet Union, coming after the 15 year agreement, and the incorporation of two communists into the Iraq government. If Iraq did not know that it had the support of the USSR, with money, with technicians, with markets for the nationalised oil, it would not have felt the confidence to take this measure, and be able to overcome all the obstacles, which the oil companies are going to put in the path of the smooth running of the industry.

This nationalisation, is an expression of the partial regeneration of the Soviet Workers State, of the new policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, forced by the world pressure of the revolution, by the need to organise new, more solid bases of support in the world in preparation for the final settlement of accounts, to impel political, social and economic transformation in those countries, which it supplies with aid. The documents of Posadas had foreseen this process, when they said that it was no longer question of merely supplying military aid, tanks, planes etc., but that now it would intervene politically.

It has shown that Nixons visit to Moscow has brought no advantage to Imperialism. While Nixon was there, they must have been discussing and preparing this action. If Imperialism had the strength now, it would intervene militarily directly, or stimulate reactionary internal forces to intervene, as they did against Moussadeq in Persia in the 50's, bringing about the denationalisation of the oil. But now the internal forces, they can use, are much weaker, and Iraq has Syria by its side, there is Algeria, Libya, the Soviet intervention in Egypt, restraining the right wing forces, and there is the Soviet Union, which today would not allow a change in the balance of forces unfavourable to it, and the revolution in the Middle East. Nevertheless Imperialism is going to try to intervene. When Douglas Home says; "we have the right to expect from our allies of the CENTO Pact (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan) help in getting just compens-

ation from the Iraq government," this is nothing more, or less, than a threat to use this counter-revolutionary military alliance against the Revolutionary State of Iraq. Already there are provocations, and attacks from Iran, and they are going to increase in the next period. It is necessary that the British LP, CP and TUs movement mobilises with strikes, demonstrations, occupations at the first hint of a military intervention against Iraq.

All the Arab governments, have sent messages to Iraq saluting this action, even Kuwait, which indicates that the nationalist currents in all the Arab world have received and enormous stimulus from this action, which later on is going to show itself by changes of policy and changes of government.

The RWP(T) the British Section of the International, sends its salutes to the Iraqi masses, to the Baath, to the CP, to the government of the Iraqi Revolutionary State for this action. Now it is necessary to go further, allowing much more the intervention of the masses in the running of the oil industry, to institute workers control of the nationalised industry, to stimulate the intervention of the TUs, in the control and administration of all the functions of the Revolutionary State. It is necessary that the TUs formulate a workers plan of production to satisfy the needs of the masses, utilising the finances from the nationalised oil, and to unify the economies of Iraq with Syria, as a step towards the United Socialist Soviet States of the Middle East.

to develop the activity of humanity. Faced with capitalism that developed private interest, it was necessary to show that abundance eliminated dispute. But today the dispute is already eliminated. The principle elements of dispute have already been eliminated by the existence of the 14 Workers States, which show that this is how one can live, how one must live, and that this is superior.

Abundance already exists. Socialism is not abundance. Socialism is the conscious relations of humanity. Socialism cannot be made with poverty, agreed. Nevertheless, socialism is being made in countries where there is poverty. Which means that humanity has elevated consciousness above material necessities. Why? Because whilst it has still not resolved the problem of contamination of water, the Soviets go to the moon and fire a rocket from the moon, which comes back to show, what goes on up there. This is so! There is an unequal and combined process. Who gains from this? The combined aspect gains. The combined aspect is the consciousness that humanity already has that socialism is necessary, it is right and it can be made, because it has the experience of the Soviet Union.

In this process we have been preoccupied to maintain the theoretical, political and practical continuity of the application of marxism. We have been preoccupied to give the texts that guide the orientation of the events of history. It was us. We have dedicated ourselves to the specific activity of being a public good in history.

We interpret the "Revolutionary State" and the "partial regeneration". It is not a political line. It is not a qualification. They are interpretations of the course of history. To interpret the "partial regeneration" means to understand the forces, which are going to determine the change of the course of history, like the first seven years of the USSR.

It is not simply a question of defending a moment, a tactic or a political objective. It is to define along what road the course of ascent, of development of the revolution, of the construction of socialism passes. What is the road? The Partial Regeneration! This was foreseen by nobody. It is an incorporation Posadas has made to marxism. The "Revolutionary State" too. The Revolutionary State is a new interpretation of history. (\*) Neither Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky were able to foresee it.

The essential base of the partial regeneration(\*\*) is the structure already attained by the Workers States, which rejects the bureaucracy. The world development of the revolution, the development of the Workers States, the incorporation of the masses, imposes changes on the bureaucracy, because it can no longer sustain itself, and interior changes are produced. But for this to be possible it is necessary to see the reasons for the structure which history has. There is already a structure attained by the Workers State that the bureaucracy cannot lead, it cannot plan and it needs to plan. The bureaucracy cannot continue, it cannot co-ordinate. The proof of this is that up until yesterday Liberman

was there breaking the planning and now they have thrown Liberman out.

This process of the revolution has forms that were foreseen by none of our teachers. There is no Communist International, there are no communist leaderships. The revolution advances, and movements of non communist origin become communist. Humanity tends to understand, and tends to guide itself by the comprehension of the Workers States, amongst them the first seven years of the Russian Revolution, through the conquest of the revolution, and through all objective progresses. This revolution has differentiated forms. Masses, movements, leaderships of non communist origin, of non proletarian or opposing origin, like the Christian Democrats, independants, soldiers, and movements of the masses that are still not incorporated into political parties, they all intervene, already they take power, and support the power. Military movements that have still not become political organisations take power and declare themselves socialist or take socialist measures.

All this gives a particular physiognomy to this period of history, which is not resolved by merely saying "progress of the revolution". But saying what forms, what tactics, what programme, what stages, how to unify the forces to make movements that are not communist advance, and that the communists have no authority over. Ninety percent of the movements occurring outside the Workers States are not led by the communists. So what policy has to be made? How is this process to be interpreted? We are the only ones that explain it. But the progress of the revolutionary sentiment of the masses gives an impulse, which tends to give a revolutionary physiognomy and quality to whatever the masses do, and to transform the action of the masses, passing from a common action for social demands to revolutionary socialist problems and phenomena. In all! HUMANITY ALREADY THINKS AS IF IT WERE SOCIALIST.

It is necessary to resolve all problems, to intervene on the cinema, art, sport, politics, and above all the daily life. The communists have no texts. Neither do the Chinese. Neither do the Soviets. Neither do the Cubans. Apart from us there are no others that can write on this. We are the ones that give all these texts.

There is such a pitch of the revolution that generals pass to taking socialist measures. It is not just one, they are military layers. It is necessary to remember the judgement of Posadas on Peron "If Peron had found a more developed movement, Peron would have been gained to socialist measures". We always posed this. He would have been immediately gained to socialist measures. But then there was not the workers movement with the force to do it. The workers movement was very backward in its organisation. When there are such events, which mean such changes, it is because the forces that promote such changes, are very profound. They come from very profound sentiments and convictions, from a very profound disintegration of the capitalist system, in spite of the bureaucracy. Who guides and orientates all this? None of them have texts. So it is logical that they read us. How do they explain the Sino-Soviet con-

J. POSADAS

18-12-1971

## The urban guerrilla, the C.I.A. & the irreplaceable role of the Party to overthrow capitalism & to construct socialism

*To justify its repression, and its intervention, the government does not need the pretext of the guerillas. It always has a justification at hand: it has the power and the arms: this alone is enough. The problem with the guerilla is that it deviates the direction, the orientation and the organisation of the masses' struggle. This is its danger. It gives an erroneous orientation, and organisation, and does not respond to the needs of the struggle. It tends to organise individual actions with individual objectives, which have no impact whatever on the structure of capitalism, and do not affect it politically.*

Capitalism is not going to be eliminated by the stealing of such or such sum of money. It is not going to be moved by this, because it has the means to replace it. It responds to robbery by robbing others. This money on the other hand could be useful, if it was used for the revolution, to arm the revolution, to win new sectors of the working class, to disorganise capitalism politically, and to disintegrate it. The way to do this is through the intervention of the masses, at the same time gaining the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants. Only the action of the masses advancing in their struggle, appearing as the masters of the country can wear away the confidence, and the assurance of capitalism, and disintegrate its internal structure. This is what it is all about.

The guerilla gives the illusion that it is possible to reach these same objectives individually. But this is not the way. It is for this reason that we are against the guerilla as an objective, but not against such or such a guerilla type of action, which can serve to obtain means, or to achieve objectives for the revolutionary struggle. We must be clear, and precise on this question: the problem of the guerilla does not lay in the fact, that it is a pretext for repression, but that it is not a political-social means to organise the masses, and to disorganise capitalism.

All revolutionary action must have two effects: the organisation of the working class, making it feel its confidence, its force, preparing it to increase its action and authority on the population, and on the other hand, disintegrate the bourgeoisie, making it lose confidence and assurance, making it feel weak, and taking away from it the support of the petit bourgeoisie, and all the confidence stored in it. This petit bourgeoisie is conscious that capitalism is weak, and incapable; this is why its capacity and understanding are elevated, and why it is won to the proletariat. This what it is about. All these fake guerillas are unable to achieve such objectives. The guerillas Tito organised in Yugoslavia were another thing. They were a form of war against nazism, before they were actually transformed into a genuine army.

This is why it is necessary to be clear and precise, when stating the insufficiency of such a means of struggle, which is incapable and useless to serve the political objective of smashing capitalism. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, uses it by mobilising great material, military and financial means to make it a centre of attraction. The petit bourgeoisie, sectors of the workers, peasants and intellectuals who are indignant, or irritated by the massacres, by the criminal behaviour of capitalism, exasperated by the sight of famine, of misery, of repression, of democratic rights launch themselves into such individual actions. Such actions are also connected with the individualistic, subjective inclinations, levels and attitudes of the petit bourgeois, or the worker reacting as a petit bourgeois. It is of little importance that he should be

a worker, because then he does not act as a representative of his class. This is why he is gained by the guerilla, which is a centre, which attracts and offers all the possibilities of individual satisfaction.

The guerilla develops above all when there exist conditions of struggle, a great exploitation, large peasant mobilisations, an elevation of the class struggle, when the Communist Parties are incapable of responding to these conditions of struggle, or when the organisms capable of responding, and of organising the masses do not exist. The guerilla arises in these conditions, as an erroneous means of responding to a necessity, instead

of giving the means for a co-ordination of the struggles leading to a political and dialectical conclusion. It is for this reason there are no guerillas in France or in Italy, where there are the "gauchistes", which are the equivalent of the guerillas. Such a conclusion must be seen quite clearly by us as the dialectical key to our understanding.

In this way there is no way we can be mistaken. We understand, naturally, that in these movements there is a great number of people full of good will, as is seen in Brazil and in Uruguay. But they are individually exasperated, insofar as they seek individual solutions. They seek to respond to an individualist, impressionist, impatient restlessness, and they believe it is the right way to solve it. In each of them, there is part of a hero mentality. Many among them have not been constructed, and could be, in the revolutionary movement. They have not had the time to be constructed, and therefore they are won to individual solutions. It is also necessary to con-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

### CAMPAIGN NEWS

Text of protest by Belgian C.P.

Dear Ambassador,

We ask you to transmit the following message to your government:

—The Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party, having received the news of the arrest of 22 members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), and of the assassination of one of them (Rui Oswald), protest with indignation against this new crime of the D.O.P.S. (Political Police) and of the "Operacion Bandeirantes" of the State of Sao Paulo.

—The Political Bureau sees these arrests in the context of the repression of the democratic and trade union rights in Brazil. It demands the immediate liberation of all the political prisoners and the restoration of legality.

For the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party

Jan Debrouwere  
member of the Political Bureau  
responsible for International Relations

From L'Unita'—Organ of the Italian Communist Party—11/5/72.

### A NEW CRIME OF THE BRAZILIAN POLICE

#### LEFT WING YOUTH MURDERED BY "GORILLAS"

A further 21 arrested and ferociously tortured—CGIL, CISL, UIL demand an intervention of the Italian government. ROME, 10th May.

Only today the news reached Rome that a young militant of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), Brazilian Section of the IV International, "Marcos" Rui, 29 years old, has been murdered by agents of the DOPS (political police), and of the so called "Operation Bandeirantes" (repressive organisation of the state of Sao Paulo). Rui was arrested the 8th April together with 21 comrades and sympathisers. All have been ferociously tortured.

This new crime of the fascists that have been oppressing Brazil for the last eight years has to be seen within the framework of a new repressive offensive. The police of Mato Grosso has ordered the arrest of the priest Jadat. At Recife the ex Vice President of the "International Christian Workers" youth movement, Maria Angelina De Oliveira has disappeared (it is clear that she has been arrested, even though the police don't want to admit it). Mons. Helder Camara, archbishop of Recife, denounced the arrest of the Belgian theologian Comblin. Finally 1300 political prisoners, kept in the infamous mediaval prison of Tiradientes have been submitted to all forms of mistreatment.

The three Italian Trade Union organisations CGIL, CISL, UIL have sent a telegram to the Foreign Minister Moro expressing their protest and indignation, demanding "an urgent and strong intervention" of the Italian Government towards the Brazilian regime, so to obtain "the end of the repression", the re-establishment of legality, and the liberation of the political prisoners. A telegram of protest has been sent to the Brazilian Ambassador in Rome.

## Marxism consciousness, existence....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2  
The Soviets give their development of the other Workers States is made together with the bureaucracy, but it is not the bureaucracy which gains. It was the structure of the Workers State that was developing and showing that to elevate itself, to continue progressing, it needed to plan, and structure itself in its entirety. It needed to plan the Workers States. It needs a common instrument to lead; THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The partial regeneration is a consequence of the forces of the revolution that concentrate themselves without leadership. Since there are 14 Workers States, and they are obliged to base themselves on nationalised property, they create the bases for the conscious development of the economy and consequently they impel the necessity of planning.

They did this previously too. But previously the Soviet Workers State was alone and isolated. The bureaucracy felt arrogant, omnipotent, and it determined the course of programme, and political life, according to its own power. It did not have world competition, it felt strong and worked as a new class. As the revolution developed the bureaucracy felt no longer capable, it felt that there were other superior forms, that it had competition. It was the revolution competing with it. The bureaucracy tried to avoid it. It tried to impose on Tito to make a pact with King Michael, and the Chinese to make a pact with Chiang Kai Shek, and it sold out the Greek revolution. The bureaucracy tried to defend itself from the advance of the revolution, and it was the one that lost. The necessity of history was superior to the bureaucracy.

The necessities of history are the necessary changes in the economy, and these lie in the structure of social relations, because the development of people is superior to any containment capitalism can attempt. This opens a new stage of history. The development of

the Soviet Workers State, the development of the other Workers States is made together with the bureaucracy, but it is not the bureaucracy which gains. It was the structure of the Workers State that was developing and showing that to elevate itself, to continue progressing, it needed to plan, and structure itself in its entirety. It needed to plan the Workers States. It needs a common instrument to lead; THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

All this takes away the base that supports the bureaucracy. Together with this there is the development of the world revolution, that elevates the proletariat, stimulates forces within the bureaucracy itself, the middle and lower layers, to have confidence in communism. The intervention of the masses impels this confidence and, apart from that, it obliges them to interpret, and in part to respond to the masses. But it is dislocated, because it no longer has points of support. Because the bureaucracy can no longer reproduce itself—as it did before—in a proportion more favourable to itself, than to the development of the proletariat. Now the bureaucracy does not reproduce itself, because now the revolution advances much more than the reproduction of the layers, the camarillas, the sectors that arise from the bureaucracy, because since the economy needs to be planned, since a scientific harmony is needed, the structure attained by the Workers State no longer permits it to breed bureaucrats. The bureaucracy has no social historic base of reproduction.

Just the opposite. This is why there is all this cleaning out of the bureaucracy. In Yugoslavia they have already liquidated about 700 bureaucrats, and in Rumania and the USSR too. This is the base through which the bureaucracy must change. It is obliged to change, to parti-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Unify the Irish and British masses....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

This is a direct echo in the LP, distorted by Wilson, of the effect in the LP of the mobilisations against the 'Fair Rents Act'. The railwaymen and the dockers can base themselves on this to exert an even greater conscious and centralised pressure on the LP, to clean it of the right wing. A vivid example of how this can be achieved is given by the elimination of the 80 MPs in the Italian Parliament, who were agents of the bourgeoisie in the OP, preventing the influence of the working class there. And also, recently, Italian MPs have been elected directly from the factories; they continue to work in the factories as well as being MPs. This is a very important conquest, which is stimulated by the world revolution, and from which the railwaymen and dockers can draw programmatic conclusions, to attract and centralise the rest of the class at this moment. No delegate of the Unions or of the LP to receive more than the average workers wage. Immediate expulsion of the 69 MPs, who voted with the Tories in Parliament. All the delegates to be elected at mass meetings, in the places of work, and subject to recall there.

The call by the Boiler Makers Union on the TUC for a one day General Strike, against unemployment, must not remain at the level of waiting for the TUC to organise it. The TUC must be recalled on the basis of the organisation of the 24 h. General Strike, to coincide with the national docks strike on June the 14th. It must put forward the programme of the unification of the Irish and British

masses, to strike at the same time against redundancies, for the 35 hour week, work sharing without loss of pay, collectivisation of the farms, and nationalisation of the land, massive pre-fab. housing construction programme in the unemployment areas, for the SMASHING OF THE "FAIR RENTS ACT" AND THE "INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT", AND FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE TORY GOVERNMENT.

As we can see at the moment, it is not the most powerful sectors of the working class, who are mobilising, we can expect that this 24 hour General Strike, is going to be a rehearsal, the way to draw everyone, including the big factories into the struggle. It is the world revolution that stimulates the struggle, as it is at the present moment. The level reached by the 24 hour General Strike, is going to be determined by the world struggle as well. There is in France, a preparation for a 24 hour General Strike, and this is indicative of the situation in the whole of Europe. The nationalisations of the oil companies in Iraq, and of the Pipe Lines in Syria, and the constantly elevating unification of the world communist movement, are conditions that do not exclude the possibility of the extension of the British 24 hour General Strike, to a longer period. Because the car workers and the miners, and other vital centres, are soon going to intervene again, and it is with the perspective of the Unlimited General Strike to bring down the Tory government, that the vanguard can envisage the whole scale expropriation of capitalism in Britain and in Ireland.

## Marxism, consciousness, existence . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ally regenerate itself to try to survive.

This is one of the most beautiful stages of humanity. Together with the five year old children of Bangla Desh, who intervene in the struggles, there is such a weight in the events of the progress of history, that the bureaucracy is obliged to change. How could anyone not be happy! Who could be sad! Only a fool is sad. There is no room to be sad today. There is no room to be sad before such progress of humanity. Only fools are sad. They are the ones that live in love with themselves, and this is why they are sad. Today there is only motive for joy and happiness.

Joy is not a particular peculiarity. Joy forms part of existence. It is the confidence that we are going to resolve everything. And how are we to avoid being happy, when the Soviets send Lunik to the moon? But it is such an aberration! Problems like the contamination of water are not resolved, and already the Soviets send automatic stations and robots to the moon. This has to say to the mind of the scientist, "this is a barbarity!" 90% of the North American scientists have refused to make atomic bombs. They refused! This is logical, because the human capacity to think, and to reason is developing above material interest, above the interests of the country, of the homeland. So they say, "No! I am a human being, and I think like a human being". This is why it is not their country's flag, which determines their conscious behaviour, but that "I am a human being". How can anyone say that one is not thinking as a socialist, when the frontier flag is eliminated? They pay them everything, and they say "No! I do not make atomic bombs to kill people. I want to help the people to progress". Where is the flag of the homeland? This is already how it is. The one year old child does not ask for toys, he asks for a gun to fight, and to change all the structure of history. This makes the bureaucracy fall. This defeats the bureaucracy. Joined with this is the existence of the proletariat. It is necessary to be very happy. They wanted to kill Angela Davis, and now they have to let her go. **HUMANITY DEFEATED IMPERIALISM!**

Today there are very profound changes in history. When teams of generals become revolutionaries, it is because the bases that sustain the capitalist system are already disintegrating. This is the reason for what is happening in Ireland, and this is why the miners in England resist capitalism, going on for two months, and the Clyde (the ship workers in Scotland) six months. Where in Ireland they rise up for religious reasons, and then for social reasons, and now they already pose the unification of Ireland with England, it is because the changes are very profound. There is already conviction. The changes came, because the people are convinced. Not because one or another is convinced. The changes come, because there is already a part of humanity that decides, that sees that changes are necessary. They are students, professors, intellectuals, the proletariat, and peasant vanguard, and the proletariat in general. There already are these changes.

When we say that "consciousness determines existence" we do not change the historic interpretation of Marx, but we apply it to today. If this were not so we would be rigid, and keep on saying "Death to Stalinism, and the rabble of the bureaucracy!" Nevertheless now there are two blocs. And what consequences do these blocs have? the changes in the Soviet bureaucracy. It is enough to look at what is happening in the Soviet Union and Poland. It is necessary to take very seriously Gierek's declaration, where he appealed to the Chinese masses to rise up against maosism. It is because they see a very great danger to them. It is the first time that they have done this. They are not encouraged to make such proposals that are going to turn against them. They had Stettin and Danzig.

There are fourteen Workers States, sixteen Revolutionary States, and the masses of Bangla Desh! You cannot say that socialism is abundance. And what are these masses of Bangla Desh? They have nothing! Already the consciousness of humanity says, "It is necessary to finish with this life". Now the masses do not live to eat. In the head of the people they say "Against all forms of oppression!" They are against all forms of oppression!

Humanity no longer! needs abundance to have security. Humanity already has the security that can obtain everything. Humanity has the security that it can obtain everything! It feels that capitalism could not destroy the Soviet Union, even with the crimes of Stalin, with all the crimes he committed, with all his destruction of the vanguard. Which means that socialism is a necessity as logical

as air. Remember Trotsky's phrase, "If the human being advanced from the monkey to the man, who can doubt that it is going to achieve the Workers State".

Humanity with nothing, and already the children are disposed to construct socialism. And they have nothing! Like in Bangla Desh! How right Lenin was when he said, "Once humanity manages to verify progress, who is going to be above it!" They have nothing with which to live, but they say "This is how it is!" Otherwise the human being would be an imbecile, we would still be in the stage of the monkey. **IT IS ALREADY CONSCIOUSNESS THAT DETERMINES PROGRESS!** We are already an essential factor in the progress of humanity. We are an essential factor. This is the reason for our force. We work with this consciousness. Otherwise we would let ourselves get caught up in the problem of houses, families, couples, group struggles. This does not dominate us. The preoccupation of our function in history dominates us.

This is history. This is scientific. As the child today is not preoccupied with its mother, or father; it is **STRUGGLE!** Or like the 90 year old grandfather, who struggles, and does not feel that he is betraying his family, but that he struggles, because it is necessary for the progress of humanity. He feels this joy of struggling, for the objective progress of humanity. We form part of this.

The communists need to reason. When in Poland they appeal to the Chinese masses to overthrow maosism, it is because it is serious. They see that a layer of bureaucrats is develop-

ing to defend their regional interest in alliance with the Yankees, otherwise they would not do this. They would not launch such an appeal, knowing the consequences it may have, if they did not see that the danger is very great. And, apart from that, that there is a wing in China, that agrees with this, and could well be the one that made the homage to the 54th anniversary of the Red Army of the Soviet Union, while Nixon was with Chou En Lai.

**THE IV INTERNATIONAL**—constructed, organised, orientated, and led by J. Posadas—educated a world team of cadres for this task of continuing marxism to provide theoretical and political orientations for the world revolutionary communist movement. This is the truth. We ourselves did this. Through our capacity to understand everything. From how the satellites move—although we do not have the scientific knowledge—to how it is necessary to behave in a meeting, in a demonstration, how to understand all the phases of history, and how to understand the human being—in as much as it is necessary, or useful to understand it, for the necessity of advancing the revolution. The rest does not interest us. On other problems we do not have the time, the possibilities, or means to preoccupy ourselves. So we dedicate ourselves to this.

The more our team advances in its theoretical and political comprehension, the more we are going to be a means of influencing the Communist Party. The world is happy, because humanity is seeking to put itself in agreement with itself, and to resolve all the problems in the world. How can you avoid being happy? Already capitalism determines nothing. Now the course of life is not determined

by capitalism. It is determined by how to construct the Workers State. This is why **CONSCIOUSNESS DETERMINES EXISTENCE**. Because the base already exists to give consciousness. The existence of the 14 Workers States. This determines the consciousness; which afterwards will dominate all the world. These are not assertions. They are qualifications and interpretations of history.

J. POSADAS 24. 2. 72

### Footnotes:

(\*) "The Revolutionary State, its transitory function, and the construction of Socialism."

J. P. 28. 9. 69

(\*\*) "The hist. reencounter, the partial regen., the independent functioning of the IV, and the world Soc., and Polit. Rev."

J. P. 18. 1. 71

"The P. Regen., the Hist. Ree., the development of the IV, and the process of the Permaenent Rev. in this stage."

J. P. 27. 8. 71

There are numerous texts of J. Posadas before these, that explain and develop the analysis of the process of partial regeneration.

### THE URBAN GUERRILLA . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

sider that the guerilla does not appear anywhere.

The guerillas may very well kill such or such a bourgeois, kidnap them, and capitalism will always have the means to replace them. No action of the sort intimidates it. Capitalism have enough bourgeois, enough leaders, enough individuals ready to make a career as politician, policeman or military man. This is not going to intimidate it. The disappearance of such or such a bourgeois leader does not impel the working class, does not elevate its political equality, its understanding, its capacity, its tactic, its technique, its intelligence. This enables it in no way to develop its scientific understanding of the process of economy, of society, of the world, and of history, in order to give ideas positions, an economic, social, trade union, cultural, revolutionary policy liable to unite the population for the struggle.

Only the struggle of the proletariat, organised in the trade unions, and in the parties is capable of disorganising, of destroying the structure of the capitalist regime, and above all, its unity. It is only this type of struggle, which shows that this system can be defeated, and that the ideas of the working class are superior. The proletariat must show its superiority over the capitalist system, as the Workers States are doing, as the trade union and political struggle is doing. It is superior by its programme, its policy, its technique, its human objectives. It is for this reason, the struggle is political, and when the action does become armed, it cannot have a war-like objective, of killing, or of getting killed. In wars and in revolutions one kills infinitely more than in guerilla campaigns, but the masses see the necessary actions to reach their programme, their political objectives, which they do not see in the guerilla type of actions. Guerilla actions does not enable the masses to progress, nor to educate themselves, nor to attract, nor to teach, nor to elevate. They are simply individual actions, which lead to nothing, and which in consequence appear impotent to attract and disintegrate.

J. POSADAS

18-12-1972

Published by  
Revolutionary Workers' Party  
(Trotskyist), Fourth International  
Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6.  
Tel.: 01-385 8637

## The Wankie Colliery explosion

The explosion in Wankie Colliery, Zimbabwe, killing 424 miners, is a new crime perpetrated by Imperialism against the world masses. Such 'accidents' can be avoided if there is a real preoccupation to do so, if the desire for profit is not the over-riding sentiment. In the Workers States, explosions of this type do not occur. There are still accidents, arising from lack of knowledge, technical means, but the mines are operated with a different sentiment, even though the bureaucracy still exists. But, as Cde. Posadas has analysed, today Imperialism is more and more showing its criminal assassin mentality; the mining of Haiphong, the bombing of Hanoi, the brutal repression of the student demonstrations in South Africa, the massacre in Derry, the brutality of the Brazilian regime, which tortures and murders, as it has just done with Rui Oswaldo, becomes more and more the normal way of life of capitalism, and the bourgeois sectors, which support it. Yahya Khan killed thousands in Pakistan, allowed a cyclone (Without giving any warning to masses, even though it was known to be heading for East Pakistan) to kill millions, because he wanted to cower the Pakistani masses into submission.

This is the objective of all the criminal repressive actions of imperialism, and always it fails. After the millions dead in East Pakistan the masses did not retreat into themselves, and look for individual solutions; as soon as they could intervene politically through the elections, they voted massively for Mujibur Rahmann, for a nationalist programme, containing certain progressive programmatic points, dealing a blow at Yahya Khan and his repressive regime. And out of this programme, in

spite of the Pakistan Army and the thousands of dead, came the Bangla Desh Revolutionary State.

In Zimbabwe it will be the same; the masses will not be plunged into a passive paralysing grief, but will take this as another motive to overthrow the capitalist racist regime of Smith; already they are striking. Without a class party, without Trade Unions, with no political rights, with very limited nationalist organisations, subjected to all types of intimidation and humiliation, the masses seek the way to intervene. They intervened at the time of the Pearce commission, showing that they rejected the proposals of the Smith regime; it was a limited means, but they used it to express their opposition. It showed that they live politically, that they receive the influence of the world revolution, the 14 Workers States, the 16 Revolutionary States, the advance of the revolution in the world. All Southern Africa, dominated by white settlers' regimes is approaching an explosion. The strike of the Ovamboland workers, which paralysed the whole of the province of SW Africa, and which still in part is continuing, and the demonstration of the South African students, which has to be based on a climate of public opinion among ample layers of the intellectuals, the workers and the petit bourgeoisie, announce bigger, more important movements, which are soon going to come.

Rhodesian capitalism is fearful now of the reaction of the masses. Already it has drafted police into the region around the mine, to deal with any 'disturbances'. They fear that the Zimbabwe masses will use the repudiation, and condemnation of this massacre, as a centre around which to concentrate

to express by strikes and demonstrations their hatred of the regime. They fear that the masses will use it to substitute for the lack of any other organic centre, party or TU.

The British workers movement must make declarations about this event, denouncing its criminal character; the LP, the CP and the unions, particularly the National Union of Miners must launch an appeal to the Zimbabwe masses, to reply to this massacre by making a combative class response raising the level of their organisation, organising trade unions, giving these a political programme and functioning, with a programme of expropriation of the mines without compensation and under workers control, expropriation of the big landowners, and the formation of collective farms, making a programme to satisfy the needs of the exploited population, health service, schools, sanitary housing with running water and electricity, with the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies. The CPs and governments of the Workers States must also make this appeal, and give all possible aid to help the Zimbabwe masses.

### Brazil

On the 1st May the Trotskyist prisoners in jail in Brazil led all the political prisoners in singing the Internationale. After this the Trotskyists were taken by the guards and tortured. When they were returned to their cells they immediately sang the Internationale again. This example of bolshevik behaviour expresses all the confidence, the serenity and dignity of our imprisoned comrades.

# Nixon's trip to Moscow, the crisis of capitalism, and the world development of the Socialist Revolution

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

22nd MAY 1972 PAGE 2

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 161 4th Friday of June 1972 PRICE 3p

## Viva the success of the world campaign which has resulted in the release of seven Comrades from jail in Brazil!

# The conclusions of the docker's victory: strikes, factory occupations, mass assemblies to open the way for an UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE! to bring down the Tory Government

The humiliating defeat of the Tory government at the hands of the dockers is an event of enormous significance in the process towards the socialist revolution in Britain. The conclusion which must be drawn from it is that the class struggle is going rapidly towards the struggle for power not immediately, but the road is being prepared for the struggle for power. The decomposition of the bourgeoisie, its social isolation on the one hand, and the growing confidence and unification of all the exploited masses around the proletariat on the other, are preparing the conditions for the General Strike which will not only remove the Tories from office, but will bring the left to power, through the stage of the Left Labour government, applying the anti-capitalist programme.

The dockers by mobilising first, mobilising before any decision was taken to imprison the shop stewards, forced the bourgeoisie to quash the arrest order. But why did the capitalist class intervene in this way, knowing that it meant a humiliating defeat, meant putting to one side the very law, whose passing it had made the cornerstone of its policy? It was an expression of its social decomposition, its terror, when it suddenly found itself confronting a sector of the working class in an action which it knew, was going to lead to a global confrontation; the entire working class against the capitalist system. It is this terror which made them change, which constantly makes them oscillate in their policy from the hard to the soft line and back again. It is the same as Posadas has analysed in relation to the action of the US Imperialism, which sends Nixon to Peking, then mines the approaches to Haiphong harbour, then goes to Moscow, a constant zig-zag in policy. The reason for these zig-zags are the same in both cases; pessimism, defeatism, fear of the future, the fear of the bourgeoisie that it is going to disappear; if they felt sure of themselves, they would simply repress. When the British bourgeoisie shrinks from this confrontation now, it does not mean that it has abandoned its policy, but only that it seeks another moment, another sector, in conditions more favourable to itself, later on. It has shown in Ireland, that it is prepared to use the army, to imprison without trial, to murder and torture, and it will do the same in Britain, but without any possibility of being to impose its will in this way, because it lacks the historical social support; the whole world is against it, but it will try, and the vanguard must be prepared for it.

This defeat of the government

This document foresaw the 'big struggles immediately', because it saw that the political majority, which the Tories had won, did not mean a strengthening of their base of support. They had not won back significant sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the professional workers, the workers aristocracy etc., but had won the election simply because the vanguard abstained, and it abstained, because it saw that the most important thing was to deal a blow at the LP leadership, and it had no other way of doing it. So it abstained, though it knew it would even mean a temporary advantage to the Tories. Thus in these circumstances the parliamentary majority meant nothing; they could pass laws, but they would not be able to apply them. Today this analysis is confirmed with absolute certainty.

The capitalist class does not fear simply the dockers, but the role which at this moment in time, the dockers movement can play in the

rest of the class. The dockers are a small, shrinking sector, where do they find the confidence to confront the government and its policy? It is not a question of desperation over losing jobs; workers were more desperate in the 1930's, but movements of this nature were not produced then. No, the dockers are supported on a whole sentiment of anti-capitalist hatred, and rejection and repudiation of the Tory government and its Industrial Relations Act, a sentiment which has not been consciously and scientifically organised by the TU or LP, and CP, but which now finds the possibility of organising itself through the struggle to support the three London dock shop stewards. This caused the panic of the bourgeoisie. It could see that this dockers mobilisation was going to serve as a centre, around which all the anti-capitalist sentiment of the British masses was going to be organised.

This government when it took

office had precise objectives. As an ally of US Imperialism, it was preparing the war against the masses and the Workers States, it wanted to increase the centralisation of the big monopolies, to increase profits; to utilise automation, to increase profits, reducing the work force, preparing to enter the Common Market in conditions which would allow the British monopolies to compete successfully with those of the Six. For such economic concentration, with all that it entails for the exploited masses, it needed a political concentration of forces, making a 'hard' government. And all the European bourgeoisie watched anxiously to see if it could be done. It is clear to them now, that it cannot, and this is going to have important consequences in all the bourgeoisies of Europe, sharpening their internal conflicts, stimulating dissensions within their ranks, feeding all the pessimistic currents.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4.

# News of the world campaign for the release of the political prisoners in Brazil

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF THE P.O.R.(T)

Argentinian Section of the IV International  
(18 MAY 1972)

(...) All the comrades now have a lawyer. The male and female comrades, closer to the leadership, have undergone brutal daily tortures. Moreover, the police are looking for the members of their families. The police have placed guards at the doors of their houses. We are expecting that at any moment the comrades are going to be transferred to common law prisons, that they are going to be held in the prison of Tiradentes, where they will be submitted to a brutal regime. All are undergoing the regime of incommunicado, which last one month in Brazil. But if the authorities make the demand, it can be prolonged. The comrades have been able to see their families once. Their lawyers have not been allowed to see them. Two sympathisers of the 21 arrested comrades have been released. We denounce the fact that the police refuse to give Rui Osvaldo's body. They say they have buried him. He was assassinated in the middle of April. After in the Sao Paulo Mortuary, and there they declared, they had buried him. In this way they are seeking to prevent an autopsy from being made. Moreover, there are great pressures on the

pathologist, who do the work, not to do it. The comrades have lawyers, who are asking large sums of money to present the request for a Habeas Corpus... Comrade Rui has been assassinated, because he refused to talk.(...)

URUGUAY

—From the Christian Democrat Youth  
JDC Uruguay demands freedom for Brazilian trotskyst comrades

—Union of the Communist Youth of Uruguay  
Sent two telegrams demanding the liberty of the trotskyst comrades, and of all political prisoners, and denounce the assassination of Rui Osvaldo.

—Trade Union of Teachers  
Trade union of the teachers from Montevideo, in the name of human dignity demands personal safety for trotskyst political prisoners, and for the other anti-imperialist militants, and their release.

—Federation of the Teachers of Uruguay  
Teachers of Uruguay demand proofs of safety, lives and liberty for Claudio Cavalcanti and other political prisoners of trotskyst ideas and others.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

# NIXON'S TRIP TO MOSCOW, THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE WORLD DEVELOP- MENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

22nd MAY 1972

*Nixon's trip to Moscow shows imperialism's hesitations to go to the atomic war. It is a very deep hesitation. It is not the abandonment of the perspective of the atomic war: it is the hesitation of a class, which feels it disappears with the atomic war. For the atomic war is the very last act of capitalism, its final act. This is the way capitalism feels it. Its whole behaviour indicates that it is going to be its final act. Imperialism's hesitation is not an individual one, it is brought forth by the progress of the world revolution, by Vietnam, and by the changes in the Soviet Union. All this produces in imperialism an immense hesitation, which can enable us to gain much time, large historical delays, a great capacity of action to stop the criminal capacity of imperialism; so that when the atomic war breaks out, it causes as little damage as possible.*

The intercapitalist crisis increases constantly. Intercapitalist rivalry and competition are very great. At the same time this is combined with the progress of measures, which already prepare the final act. The final settlement of accounts between capitalism, the Workers States, and the world revolution and the economic crisis in certain capitalist countries, such as the United States. This is not yet expressed in the commercial crisis and in the crisis of consumption. The devaluation of the dollar expresses the fact, that world capitalism can no longer sustain without serious, and deep deterioration; the financing of the world counter-revolutionary war, the world intercapitalist competition, and the competition with the Workers States. The capitalist system is not capable of doing this. This is why you have the ridiculous situation, in which in spite of the United States representing the greatest economic and military power of the capitalist

world, the dollar doesn't correspond to the influence, to the superiority, and to the influence of this economic and military power. The economic crisis of the capitalist system has not yet broken out: it is impending in the great capitalist countries; but it is expressed openly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nixon's trip to Moscow expresses the defeatist sentiment of the capitalist system, which seeks to gain time before taking the decision of the atomic war.

All this is combined with the progress of the revolution. These are two factors, which shackle capitalism, and prevent it from having an ordered and co-ordinated action to save any capitalist country. Mingled with this is also the constant ascent of the world revolution, in the form of great trade union struggles of great progresses in the communist, socialist parties, in the nationalist, left-wing catholic movements, and in the retreat of the capitalist parties.

is imperialism, which goes to Moscow to seek this agreement, in the same way as previously it went to Peking. But whereas in Peking the Chinese leadership welcomed Nixon without mentioning Indo China, the resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is clear and obvious: "We struggle for the world socialism, and we support the struggle for socialism in any part of the world, however acute the conflict is". This cannot be questioned. This is the resolution of the C.P.S.U. It is in such conditions that the Soviets welcome Nixon. Such an answer cannot have the aim of coming to agreements with Nixon: it is an answer for an agreement with the Soviet masses, with the masses of Indo China, of China and of the whole world. This resolution expresses a revision of the whole past. This revision is still not carried out in an orderly manner, and on the basis of a public discussion, so as to draw the conclusions, but nevertheless it is a revision of the past. Later on it is going to be more direct and more eloquent.

Nixon went to Moscow seeking an agreement with the Soviet bureaucracy, which would enable capitalism to gain more time. He goes there in the position of the defeated, not as a negotiator preparing an agreement. The mere fact he goes to Moscow is in itself a defeat. This is how the masses of the world interpret it and feel it. This is how the Vietnamese masses see the trip. And for this reason they accompany the trip with an offensive in Indo China. The offensive is not the result of military calculation; it is a social

conclusion, stemming from the power represented by Vietnam, because in it is concentrated all the impulse, and all the necessity for the progress of the world socialist revolution.

It is for this reason that we have said: "Vietnam dynamises the world revolution"; Vietnam dynamises, but does not create. The European proletariat either doesn't create.

The proletariat through its struggles disintegrates the capitalist system: this is certain; but Vietnam with its struggles dynamises the world class struggle, because it demonstrates the impotence of imperialism, and compels the Workers States to concentrate their forces in support to the Vietnamese masses. Vietnam shows how the Workers States can and must unite, how they unite to Vietnam, and how the divergences are the product of the apparatus, and not of a historic necessity. This is what Vietnam shows! It is for these reasons that it is the dynamiser of this process. Because it compels the Soviet bureaucracy, the Workers States, and the communist parties to carry out a policy, responding better to the revolutionary necessities, and not to the bureaucratic and even reactionary interests of many communist parties. If Nixon goes to Moscow to seek an agreement, this means the blockade has been powerless. Otherwise the blockade would determine the kind of agreement. The blockade has not stopped anything: the Vietnamese have nearly arrived in Hue. There is a whole offensive against capitalism taking place in the world, and more specifically in Vietnam.

duct of internal struggles between camarillas and groups, and of changes to the left. Vietnam gives the measure of this process. The bureaucracy supports Vietnam unconditionally. It is not a determining support to smash American imperialism, but it is an unconditional support, which enables the offensive, and the bases of victory for the vietnamese masses to be maintained. Even if they stop the offensive now, and negotiate in more favourable conditions for the Vietnamese; it is clear that it is a great blow for imperialism. This cannot take place without great interior changes. The changes taking place in Poland are part of it.

Nixon discusses with Brezhnev, because he sees that it is the Party which decides. Anyway the offensive signifies a success for the Vietnamese, and the failure of the blockade. The attitude taken by the Soviets of negotiating, in spite of the blockade being maintained, is not a retreat for the Soviet in front of the Yankees, nor an advantage for the latter. On the contrary, the Vietnamese maintained the offensive, and Nixon enters in Moscow at the moment of the offensive against Hue. This gives an indication to what measures the Soviet bureaucracy has to resort in this stage of history. Such are the means the bureaucracy has to use, so as not to break up with imperialism, so as not to launch the atomic war, but at the same time not to yield. The offensive on Hue is there directly to determine, what is going to be discussed.

When Nixon has to go to Moscow to seek a global agreement with the Soviets, he shows that it is not in the United Nations that problems are solved. This is also a blow dealt to the policy of the Chinese. This visit is a defeat for imperialism, which seeks to gain time, historically. It is for this reason that in the United States there has been no opposition to Nixon's trip, neither in the Senate nor in the Congress. Nobody was against it, whereas in Parliament they voted against him on the question of the war budget. They limited the credits, and demanded the withdrawal of the troops. There hasn't been one single senator to oppose Nixon's trip to Moscow. Yankee imperialism, as the leadership of the world capitalist class is conscious that it hasn't got the necessary historical capacity to face Vietnam, the Soviets,

## THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS THE CENTRE OF POLARISATION FOR THE STRUGGLES

It is not Vietnam, which creates the conditions: Vietnam polarises and dynamises the process, because the conditions for the process were already pre-existent.

The atomic war is the response for which imperialism is preparing. There is no other way out for it. Northern Ireland shows this, and so does Madagascar and Pakistan. It shows that capitalism hasn't got the force to contain the disintegrating effects of the revolution, of which Ireland is an example; the struggles, which were of a religious character at first, have now ended up taking a social character. Under the stimulation of the world revolution, and of the progresses of the Workers States, any movement, whatever its origins, as long as it embraces the social basis of exploited masses, acquires immediately forms of revolutionary and class struggles, takes up socialist forms.

Nixon must dash off to Moscow to seek an arrangement. Previously he would solve his problems by starting wars, by invading countries, and by imposing economic sanctions. But today Chile expropriates and proposes an indemnisation over 25 years! In Peru and in Chile they are doing the same with land. All this disintegrates, or at least affects to the point of disintegration all the reactionary bases of the Chilean Army. These are measures of "compenetration"; these measures progress, and have some success, not because they show the correct way forward, but because capit-

alism hasn't got any more forces, and cannot respond with force. This is the reason why these measures have some success. But they also lengthen the agony of capitalism, and therefore enable it to increase its power of destruction.

Nixon's trip to Moscow indicates that the capitalist system is on its last legs, to the "final act". Nixon is not going to Moscow to seek a circumstantial support or arrangement. His trip clearly aims at overcoming the "ultimate quarter of an hour", at seeing which agreements it is still possible to make with the Soviets before the atomic war. This is not like a United Nations meeting. Nobody counts any longer with the United Nations; nothing is solved in the UNO, but in Moscow and in Peking, and with the general secretary of the Communist Party; not with the President of the USSR. Things are now decided with the leaderships which determine, which the United Nations are not. This is why decisions are taken in Moscow, and with the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. This indicates that the decisions taken concern the final settlement of accounts. They mark the agony of the capitalist system.

This is how one must see Nixon's trip to Moscow, even if the effects are not immediately seen. Nixon goes to Moscow to seek an agreement that will enable him to survive. This how the masses of the world are going to see it. It

## CHANGES ARE ANNOUNCED IN THE SOVIET UNION

Partial regeneration is determined by a world structure already achieved, which is expressed economically, militarily and socially. Politically it is still developing, but socially, economically and militarily we can see that there is a structure already achieved, which the bureaucracy cannot eliminate, cannot ignore, and which weighs on its behaviour, affects it, determines it, but does not determine its policy. The bureaucracy does not respond to all the necessities, and to the immense possibilities, which originate from this structure, already achieved by the world revolution, and which is a combination of the Workers States, of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, of the great trade unions, of the workers party and of the anti-imperialist movements. It is the whole struggle, which advances on an anti-capitalist line; the results can be seen in the left-wing moves of the Socialist Parties, in the new revolutionary states and in the left wing catholic movements. Such are the effects of the concentration and of the centralisation, which are going to develop in the line of the final settlement of accounts between the camp of the revolution and the camp of the counter-revolution. It is in this way that we must consider the process.

Without waiting for the final result of Nixon's visit, it is obvious that changes can be anticipated in the USSR. It is impossible that they confront an arrangement with

Nixon in the final stage without undergoing interior changes. There are necessarily going to be changes in favour of the left and not of the right. Even if the bureaucracy can still put at the head leaders who are open to discussion, so as to maintain the appearances in front of imperialism, we must consider that the world is moving towards the left, and not towards the right. While Nixon goes to Moscow, the offensive continues in Vietnam!

This is how the changes are going to take place in USSR. These changes are not determined in the Party Congresses, but are the pro-

## NEW PUBLICATIONS OF THE SECTION:

**J. POSADAS: THE PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE HISTORIC RE-ENCOUNTER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND THE PROCESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THIS STAGE (27-8-71)**

20 p/p.

Soon to be published:

**J. POSADAS: THE ARTICLE OF PONOMARIOV AND THE HISTORIC AND CONCRETE FUNCTION OF TROTSKYISM AS THE CONSISTENT CONTINUATOR OF MARXISM (26-12-71)**

15 p/p.

# NIXON'S TRIP TO MOSCOW....

## NIXON GOES TO MOSCOW WITH THE HATRED OF ALL THE MASSES OF THE WORLD

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the world revolution and the devaluation of the dollar. The increase in the price of gold is an indication of this, at a time when the devaluation of the dollar is concrete and constant.

This trip is an attempt to make an arrangement with the USSR, because imperialism does not feel it has the necessary capacity, and power to decide militarily in the whole world. Already politically and financially it no longer decides. This is a very great retreat for American imperialism, which takes place at the same time as the offensive of the masses in Vietnam, and which signifies therefore a great blow for the authority of imperialism on a world scale.

The reaction of the students in Austria, whose demonstrations included sectors from the petit bourgeoisie, and from the working class, are an indication of the climate of hate against imperialism, which exists even in cities like Salzburg, where there are few mass movements, which is quite a passive city. However, the students found the way to concentrate there to show imperialism, how they hate it and condemn it. The attitude of the Austrian students in Salzburg is a reflection, an expression of the world communication of the masses, which influences the students. The masses find the way to express their hate, and their condemnation of Yankee imperialism in this withdrawn, distant, passive place. In the very moment, where Nixon meets the Prime Minister Kreisky, the son of the latter organises a movement against Yankee imperialism, and his father is obliged to say, he respects the ideas of his son. There was no necessity for him to do this in public. When he does it, it is because the pressure against Yankee imperialism is very great in Austria. This shows the degree of hate and opposition to imperialism is very deep.

All the world capitalist press talks of Nixon's visit to Moscow as a common thing, and not as a great event. Capitalism has no faith left in anything. Yankee imperialism is simply seeking an agreement, a pact with the Soviet bureaucracy. But it is imperialism, which is going to make the concessions. The main reason being, it cannot use its atomic weapons in Vietnam. Whereas the American generals all say: "Atomic weapons are the only solution; with conventional arms we cannot do anything." Then, why do they not use them? The masses of the whole world, the petit-bourgeoisie, the workers, the peasants, the employees, the soldiers see that imperialism hasn't even got the power to decide in relation to what is suitable for it. It can no longer decide! The Workers States, united with the world process of the revolution, prevent it from deciding. The Vietnamese masses feel this. It is a blow, and a retreat for Yankee imperialism. Nixon did not go to Moscow to negotiate the selling out of Vietnam, or for an agreement to stop the struggle. He went seeking a global agreement with the Workers States, which means a stage in the "final act". It is a defeat for Yankee imperialism.

At the same time this is going to signify a very important impulse for agreements between all the Workers States. It is mainly going to influence the interior life in China, revealing how Chou En Lai's policy had no meaning, no point of support, no basis, not the least possibility to successfully contain imperialism. What is needed is an advance within the revolution.

One fact is clear: Vietnam was absent from Nixon's visit to China. The Chinese simply made a declaration of support to Vietnam, but they did nothing to encourage the struggle. Whereas Nixon's visit to Moscow is accompanied with the Vietnamese offensive, supported by the Soviets. And the Soviets declare openly: we support unconditionally the struggle of the Vietnamese masses.

Nixon's trip to Moscow is an attempt made by imperialism to

make an arrangement at the summit with the Soviet bureaucracy on the disputed zones of the world which is at stake, but an agreement of the disputed zones, such as the Middle East, the Far East and other parts of the world, where they are confronting each other openly. It is imperialism, which goes to Moscow to try and arrange with the Soviet bureaucracy an agreement at its own cost, and not at the cost of the Workers States. The Soviet bureaucracy is partly compelled (but partly it also corresponds to its policy) to declare: "It is going to support and to assist the liberation movements everywhere in the world". Already this is part of its strategy, and the bureaucracy cannot go back on this. It is for this reason that Nixon goes to Moscow.

If the bureaucracy did not maintain this policy, the discussion would take place in the United Nations or in the United States. If the Soviet bureaucracy has taken the decision to support the liberation movements everywhere in the world, it is because this is part of its policy; it can no longer abandon such movements. It has already reached a degree of consciousness from the very fact that it depends on this process. This does not signify on its part an unconditional support of all movements, but it does mean, it is going to encourage them, to stimulate them, and to support them. Proof of this is given by its policy in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Asia and in Africa. Africa has been up till now the continent, where it had penetrated

### ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORLD UNITED FRONT

It is necessary to make a united front in each country, between the trade unions, the workers centres and the workers parties on a programme to smash imperialism, and where it is not possible to have an anti-capitalist programme, to have an anti-imperialist programme, which has anti-capitalist effects. This is the slogan, which must be put forward.

It is necessary to appeal to the CP of the USSR, to the Soviet trade unions, so that they launch this appeal as a conclusion to Nixon's visit to Moscow, which reveals the weakening of the capitalist system. Unconditional support must be maintained to Vietnam, and to all the countries in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America, which are struggling for their liberation. It is necessary to appeal for a progress of anti-capitalist measures, where the capitalist system still exists, as in Chile, in Peru, in Bolivia and in Ecuador. This must be the conclusion of this appeal. At the same time AN APPEAL MUST BE MADE FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, so that right now, while Nixon is still in Moscow, the CPs, beginning with the CPSU, call for a united front, an agreement and discussion; for the integration within a single unified movement of all the CPs of the capitalist countries, with the Workers States and world communist movement; UNITED FRONT WITH THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME: COMMON PLANNING BETWEEN ALL THE WORKERS STATES FOR THE COMMON INTERESTS OF ALL OF THEM, and not only for the interests of the USSR and of China. It must be a planning, which serves the interests of all the Workers States including Albania.

It is necessary to make this united front for a programme, and for a common planning of production, of the social and military policy, of the army, and at the same time to launch an appeal to the world communist and workers movement, for a WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT. All these appeals, all these propositions must be made

least; now it launches itself there too. In Latin America the Soviet bureaucracy's penetration is clear: Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and now Mexico. This is shown also in the Middle East and in Vietnam. Such is the line of the bureaucracy.

Now imperialism is discussing from a position of defeat. This indicates the world retreat of the capitalist system and of Yankee imperialism. This retreat is going to have an influence, it already has one inside the USSR, and the CPs, and is part of the crisis of growth, and the cleansing of the CPs. It is necessary to insist on this conclusion in order to appeal for a more offensive policy of the CPs, to appeal for the world united front of all trade unions, of the workers centres, of the workers parties, of the left wing catholic movements, and of the revolutionary nationalist movements. A United Front to smash what remains of imperialism, and to take the offensive everywhere in the world! The offensives must link within a united front, the trade unions and the workers parties. This is one of the main slogans, which must be agitated for the next stage. UNITED FRONT OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS PARTIES!!! In certain countries in Europe, as in France and in Italy, there is an advance in this; This is the programme for this stage: unconditional support to the struggles of the workers, the peasants and the petit bourgeoisie. Call for a united front of all communist parties of the world with the workers movements, with the left-wing catholics, with the revolutionary nationalists, with the socialist movements and with the trade union movements.

while Nixon is still in Moscow, at the same time maintaining the unconditional support for the movements, which struggle against imperialism and capitalism, for the movements of national liberation in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Asia and in Africa. The trade unions from the Soviet Union and from the other Workers States must address themselves directly as trade unions to the rest of the world workers movement. The CPs from the Workers States must address themselves to the world workers, and revolutionary movement, to the trade union movement, calling for this united front, and setting themselves as their objective the smashing of what is left of capitalism and imperialism. It is necessary to denounce Nixon's visit to Moscow as an attempt, made by imperialism to survive by seeking agreements with the Soviet bureaucracy, by gaining time. It is necessary to show that no agreements must be made with imperialism that are going to limit the development of the revolution and the unconditional support given to the masses and to the people of the whole world.

Imperialism is going to this meeting filled with defeatism and pessimism. If it had the force to decide, it would have invaded Vietnam, and used its atomic weapons, so as to contain the process of defeat experienced by capitalism in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa and also in Europe. It is necessary to stress that on the Soviet's behalf no reception has been prepared, and no speech of welcome either. This is just going to be an official visit, nothing more. And the visit is being made in a moment where massive demonstrations of millions of people are taking place in the United States and in the rest of the world, denouncing Yankee imperialism. In Moscow there have been previously, meetings, discussions, assemblies, which voted resolutions of support for Vietnam against Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to continue these demonstrations with more meetings, assemblies in the USSR, calling for the smashing, the destruction, of all there is left of imperialism. It is necessary to ap-

peal for the mobilisation of the masses of the world against imperialism, to appeal for the occupation of factories, for expropriations, nationalisations, to impose workers control. It is necessary to appeal to the CPSU not to yield in any way to the Yankees, which could affect and damage the struggle of the masses in Vietnam, and their triumph, or the struggle of the world masses and their triumph over capitalism.

### FOR THE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS STATES!

It is necessary to appeal to the leadership of the CPSU and of the Soviet leadership to make the diplomacy of the Workers State must be made publicly. The world working class must be informed of what they talked about, of what they did, as Lenin and Trotsky did in similar situations. For it is true that if Lenin had been there, this is how he would have discussed. But he would also have appealed for mobilisations of the world working class, so that it pronounces itself, and he would

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## News of the world campaign

### BRITAIN

From this country, telegrams have been sent to Brazil from THE NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS THE YOUNG LIBERALS LAWRENCE DALY, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers ERNIE ROBERTS, The Assistant General Secretary of the A.U.E.W. LORD FENNER BROCKWAY, has sent a telegram to the Embassy in this country.

### FRANCE

- Telegram sent by the CGT to President Medici (Humanite 2nd June 1972)
- The General Confederation of Labour in France, in the name of two million three hundred thousand members, protests against the anti trade union repression in Brazil. It demands the liberation of trade union militants, and other democrats. It takes a position against the violation of the OIT International Convention on trade union liberty and rights.
- Telegram sent by the Union of Communist Students (La Marseillaise 1st June 1972; organ of the Marseille Regional of F.C.P.)
- The UEC vigorously takes position against the repression carried out in Brazil against democrats and revolutionaries. It demands an immediate halt to all the brutalities carried out against the Brazilian people. It re-asserts its support for the struggle, to bring about a genuine democracy.
- Text of the telegram sent on the 2nd June to the general commander of the Second Army of Sao Paulo in Brazil
- "We the undersigned, in the name of cultural links, uniting our two countries for the last two centuries, urgently demand you intervene to halt the ill-treatment carried out against the two hundred political prisoners in Sao Paulo.
- DEBU BRIDEL (former senator)
- Louis VALLON (Deputy)
- David ROUSSET (Deputy)
- Dominique GALIET (secretary of the Young Progressives Front)
- Telegram sent by the International Federation for the Rights of Man
- 29th May 1972 to the General Commander of the Second Army of Sao Paulo together with a copy sent to the Brazilian Embassy of Paris.
- "International Federation for the Rights of Man seriously alarmed by information concerning Rui Osvaldo's death, and of the ill-treatment inflicted on the political prisoners among which are MAURICIO ALBUQUERQUE, GERSON, COSTA LIMA, NELSON FILHO, APREBE SA FERREIRA, CANTOS, HERIBERTO BACH, MARTINO CAMPOS, CLAUDIO VASCONCELOS CAVALCANTI, we urgently appeal for you to intervene, so, as to insure the life and safety of these prisoners, and so that ill-treatments and brutality cease, which are against the declaration of the Rights of Man and the Charter of the United Nations.

### BELGIUM

The Charleroi newspaper the "Independant" of the 2nd June has published a long article called "Political repression and tortures in Brazil: a cry of alarm for the freedom of imprisoned militants", in which they wrote; "Faced with such a situation all the sections of the IV International have decided to organise a world campaign, to demand the respect of the physical safety of the prisoners, their right to defend themselves, in complete conditions of justice and for their liberation. All these sections also demand the liberation of militants of other tendencies (trade unionist, communist, socialist and left-wing christian), arrested several month ago".

The newspaper of the Belgian Communist Party "The Red Flag" dated from the 2nd June, also mentions the repression in Brazil, publishing extracts from the letter sent to the Ambassador of Brazil in Brussels, by the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party.

# The conclusions of the dockers victory . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
At the same time this action of the dockers, and their previous actions in picketing the national delegate conference, criticising the delegates, and even taking over the meeting, and through the micro-

phone criticising Tim O'Leary and the leadership of the TGWU for half an hour, are vivid examples of the way the dockers have tried to influence their own organisations, to weigh in them, impelling the crisis of growth.

## THE ADVANCE TOWARDS THE GENERAL STRIKE IS A LOCAL EXPRESSION OF THE WORLD FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION

In all the unions this crisis of growth is going on, changing leaderships, impelling forward new leaderships, forcing a change in the conduct of the old leaderships. Now a whole sector of the TU leadership is calling for the general strike, when only a year ago this was a slogan of only the base, and some middle cadres. But since that time there has been UCS, the tremendous victory of the miners, their invention of the flying pickets, the occupations, the railwaymen's victory, and the continuing struggle in Ireland, which have given the best leaders the confidence to speak of the general strike, while the rest have to do it to maintain their positions and authority within the movement.

Now the printers leader Briginshaw speaks of the general strike, Daly and Scanlon, if not referring to it directly, propose measures, which would lead to a general strike, while from the shop steward committees, from regional and base organisms of the TU movement the discussion and demand for it grows constantly.

But it is not possible to see where this force comes from just by looking at Britain, it comes from the world. It is the local expression of the world force of the revolution, in which the USSR and the Workers States are increasing the global confrontation; Workers States against capitalist system, bloc against bloc, and in this process impelling the Communist Parties of the world, to elevate the political and organisational level of their activity. Just as the TET offensive of 68 impelled the French Revolutionary General Strike, so the present offensive of the revolutionary masses of

Vietnam, supported by the Workers States and particularly the USSR, is today stimulating the confidence and security of the vanguard in the unions, the LP and the CP. The 14 Workers States, the 16 Revolutionary States, the defeat of Pompidou in the Referendum, the General Strike in France two weeks ago, the mobilisations of the German proletariat in defence of the Ostpolitik of Brandt, the complete crisis of the Italian bourgeoisie, and the advance of the Italian CP, the cleaning which has gone on inside it, the advance of its leadership, have all contributed to the confidence of the dockers, and the panic of the bourgeoisie.

The militants and middle cadres of the LP must base themselves on all this process, to intensify the struggle against the right wing in the LP. It is important to see that the government, which makes such an anti-working class action is kept in office by the support of right wing pro-market sectors of the LP. Time after time the abstention of these swine permits the government to scrape together a minute majority. And even if Wilson and Co. do not abstain, he makes no criticism, and takes no action against the abstainers, because he wants the Tories kept in power. What policy has Wilson got, faced with the growth of the monopolies, the attempts to lower the standards of living of the masses, the repression in Ireland? He doesn't have any; his policy was substantially the same as the Tories. If he now has to say he is in favour of nationalisation of building land, it is because he has to do it, to maintain his authority in the party.

## THE VICTORY WILL STIMULATE THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT IN THE LP.

But the movement against the LP leadership, and the whole bourgeoisie sector shows itself much clearer now. A resolution of the Bakers Conference, called for the expulsion of the right from the LP, and in the last few days there have been the moves in the LP East Midlands conference and in the Lincoln LP. We salute the decision of Lincoln LP to ask Taverne to 'retire'; he is a character who has shown himself at every turn to be on the side of the bourgeoisie, there is no room for him in a Workers Party. This is the road to follow in the LP, but going further than Lincoln have done. There is no need to wait for the next election; Out with these elements now, and elect new MPs from the factories and the base of the LP. This is what is happening in the Italian CP. 89 right wing CP members of Parliament were removed. They were a bulwark against the intervention of the working class in the CP, and in the last election, workers MPs were elected who still continue their activity in the factory, combining it with their parliamentary responsibilities. This shows the road the British vanguard must take in changing the structure of the LP, basing itself on the struggle of the dockers, on the process going towards the general strike.

It is necessary to use these preparations for the general strike to weigh on all levels of the Labour Party. The mass assemblies in the factories, and workers areas should demand the presence of the MP's, local and national Labour leaders, and Labour councillors to discuss and submit to the wishes of the workers, and demand the expulsion of the right wing of the LP.

We must appeal to the Labour councils to mobilise mass meetings around these questions—and Trades Councils—so that the masses really weigh on the Labour Party directly, imposing real changes in its functioning, allowing the intervention of marxism, abandoning the policy of bans and proscriptions, creating the conditions for a new leadership, ready to respond to the wishes of the masses, and implement the anti-capitalist programme on the return of the Labour Government. The right wing of the LP is clearly keeping capitalism in power.

In this situation the problem of the British masses is how to impose a new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. Every action of the masses tends to impel the process towards the organisation of the General Strike, and also tends to increase the pressure for changes in the Labour Party. The workers, as shown in the dockers strike, and the refusal of the three dockers, to take any notice of the industrial court, increasingly impose their will by their own independent action. THIS IS THE WAY! We propose that in view of the lack of imaginative response by the organisms of the working class, LP and trade unions, the masses independently, without waiting for their leaders, launch strikes in all industries and areas, organise factory occupations, placing them under workers control and mass assemblies, appealing for the preparation of the unlimited general strike with the express object of bringing down the Tory government. These meetings and the objective of the general strike should have as programmatic centres—THE IMMEDIATE

REPEAL OF THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL, THE IMMEDIATE THROWING OUT OF THE TORY HOUSING BILL, ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, NO WORKER TO BE DISMISSED, NO FACTORY TO BE CLOSED DOWN, FOR A FOUR DAY WEEK OF 32 HOURS, IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM IRELAND. And this must be accompanied with the perspective of LABOUR TO POWER by means of the imposition of the left Labour Government, with the left taking power in the Labour Party.

In this activity the Communist Party has a fundamental role to play. It is the prolongation of the Workers State in Britain. It is a

vehicle to bring marxism into the LP and into the TU's. By leaning on the best aspects of the line of the CPSU, that is calling for the anti-imperialist united front, and impelling all the serious forces who wish to destroy imperialism, by elevating its anti-capitalist programme, it can use its undoubted authority in the British working class to impel the Labour vanguard. The CP, by supporting itself on the constant progress in the Workers States, the tendencies towards the partial regeneration of the Workers State, giving absolute support to the struggle for proletarian democracy in the trade unions etc., can give a fundamental impetus to the transformation of the LP and the TU's, making them suitable instruments for the taking of power in Britain.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN IRELAND

Northern Ireland has shown that British imperialism is preparing for civil war throughout the British Isles. But even in N. Ireland it can not win a victory, even in a situation where the working class has not the same weight as here, where there are elements of separation on religious lines, where there is no mass workers party centralising all the class as in Britain, imperialism can't win a victory. On the other hand there is the political maturing of the Official IRA, which sees that terrorism, while playing a role when directed against British imperialism,

its police and army, is only an arm of the struggle, not its centre. The appeal from the official IRA for a revolutionary party, including the republican movement, the civil rights movement, protestant workers, and members of the SDLP and NILP, is an advance, stimulated by the intervention of the Soviet Union over the past period, which with money, reporters, English language broadcasts have tried to weigh on the official IRA. The discussion has to be made now in the Official and Provisional IRA, in all the popular organisations on what should the program-

me be, how to impose it, how to smash imperialism. And the mobilisations of the dockers, and the preparation for the general strike show the way to do it.

The RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International makes an appeal to all the workers vanguard in the Unions, the LP and the CP, and to the student movement also, to use this defeat of the capitalist government as a stimulus, discussing all its consequences, for a more elevated response of the class, discussing it in the factories, the workers areas, the mines, the workshops, the schools and colleges. It is necessary to prepare the organisms for the general strike, basing oneself on the experience already made by the miners with their creation of flying pickets, which put them in communication with the rest of the class. It is necessary to construct such organisms, and others, factory committees, workers area committees etc., where the workers can discuss and decide, in preparation for the general strike, to smash the Tory government, to impel the process of change going on in the LP, impelling the left to take power in the LP. Thus there is a short perspective of a left Labour government, in which the left takes power in the party, which is carried to office as a result of a general strike, which is forced to take anti-capitalist measures by the constant mobilisations of the masses and by the weakness of capitalism itself, and which thus passes in a very short period of time from the stage of government to taking power.

21-6-72

GOTEBORGS KOMMUNISTISKA ARBETPARKOMMUN  
THE GOTHENBERG REGIONAL OF THE SWEDISH COMMUNIST  
PARTY HAS SENT A PROTEST TO BRAZIL

(Text to be published in the next issue)

# Nixons trip to Moscow

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

have appealed to the working class of the United States, to make it feel, it isn't going to submit itself to imperialism, nor to make a pact, which would harm the interests of the proletariat, of the mass struggles, and of the development of the revolutionary struggles in the world.

It is necessary to make concrete and objective appeals to the masses of the United States; that the world workers and trade union movements make appeals, hold meetings, conferences, go to the United States, and invite the trade union leaders to discuss on the necessity to form a marxist workers party, based on the trade unions. The activity can be made through the radio, and with propaganda, to which all the masses of the United States can have access, appealing to them to organise themselves in a political party, independent from the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal for a united front between the Chinese, the Soviets, and the Cubans and all the other Workers States. Appeal FOR A WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT, planning the functioning of the economies of all the Workers States, and giving the priority to two fundamental aspects: the development of the most backward countries, and the maintaining of military plans. This is because Imperialism is preparing for the war, and it is necessary to respond with arms to stop it and smash it. It is necessary to show to the world revolutionary, and workers movement, that Nixon's visit to Moscow is a weakness, it expresses the impotence of the capitalist system. If imperialism had the necessary capacity and power, it would invade Vietnam and the Middle East, using atomic arms. Moreover, it would launch the war

against the Workers States. It is thinking about this, and hopes to do it at any moment. But the fact is, it has to go to Moscow, the inefficiency of the blockade in Vietnam, and the situation, in which it is placed, where it does not dare to use its atomic weapons, nor to send new American troops to Vietnam, indicates the huge weakness of the capitalist system, and of Yankee imperialism. The masses aren't afraid of imperialism! It is possible to defeat imperialism and sweep it away!

It is necessary to appeal for a world offensive against the system of capitalism and imperialism, and for a world united front, to smash what is left of the capitalist system, with slogans, which include democratic and economic demands. It is necessary to include in these slogans what the masses are doing in the whole world, and particularly in France, in Italy, and in Germany. So that the TU programmes cover the relationships between human beings, the relationships of the workers with their machines, and the enterprise. So that they foresee the increasing importance of workers control, of workers commissions, and of the trade unions in the factories. They must consider the defence of life, of hygiene, of health, of sanitary and human conditions for the workers, and it must be capitalism, which pays the consequences. Any technical and scientific progress, be it in computing and automation, must be to benefit the masses. Any progress must be expressed in less working hours, longer holidays, wage increases, better working conditions etc. It is necessary to make a plan of production, of housing for all, of sewing machines, washing machines, fridges, cookers, sanitary facilities, hospitals, schools, roads, green spaces, and agricultural production in the populated areas.

It is necessary to constantly appeal to the proletariat of the United States to create an independent party to smash capitalism in the United States, basing itself on the attitudes of the masses, who are responding favourably to the struggle against Yankee imperialism. Today's offensive, and the struggle of the Vietnamese masses against the capitalist system, has an immense effect on the American masses.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the World United Front, of all the Workers States, of all the CP's, of the whole of the workers movement and of all the trade unions, to smash what is left of the capitalist system.

International Secretariat of the  
IV International

22 May 1972

## BRAZILIAN CAMPAIGN

Send telegrams, letters, petitions of protest to Brazilian Embassy 32 Green St. W.1. and President Medici Government House, Brazilia, Brazil

Published by  
Revolutionary Workers' Party  
(Trotskyist), Fourth International  
Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6.  
Tel.: 01-385 8637

## On the breakdown of the ceasefire in Ireland

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 162 2nd Friday of July 1972 PRICE 3p

## The collapse of the authority of capitalism & the need for a new programme, structure, & leadership in the L.P.

The condition of dual power, which exists on a world scale between the revolutionary masses, the Revolutionary States and the Workers States on one hand, and what remains of Imperialism and world capitalism on the other, is expressed in the country in a way, which is daily more clear and concrete. The Tory government makes laws in parliament, like the 'Industrial Relations Act', and the dockers—with the support of the mass of the working class—ignore it, and continue the 'blacking' of container firms. Factory occupations, and factories running under workers control—such as Briants Colour Printing in London—are now a normal thing. Despite the fact that UCS lacked a leadership capable of generalising this experience immediately, the working class have taken this method to impose dual power. Another—and possibly the most important to date—expression of dual power is the refusal of many Labour councils and councillors to implement the new Tory rents legislation. This is a very concrete form of dual power with Labour controlled local authorities under the pressure of the working class organisations—the trade unions, trades councils etc.—defying the Tory central government. At the same time the Northern Irish masses continue to maintain and extend the 'no go' areas in Derry and Belfast, and tenants in Islington set up their own 'no go' area to prevent the council from evicting them.

Faced with this situation the Tory government acts with the utmost uncertainty, and pessimism, attacking the working class one minute and then withdrawing in fear when the working class mobilises. This is what happened when it was obvious to them that a general strike would result if the three dockers shop stewards were arrested. Now, when they see that the working class is mobilising against the 'housing finance bill' and impelling Labour councils to defy the law, they say that some councils need't impose the full rent increases. These concessions on rent are also, of course, an attempt to support the Labour Party right wing, which is prepared to obey the capitalist law on rents, or 'industrial relations', or anything else. The same uncertainty and confusion is apparent in the policy of British Imperialism in Northern Ireland where it sends in 1,300 more troops, continues to launch provocations against the masses, and at the same time offers concessions to a sector of the population in the form of elections under proportional representation, and promises of referendums on the question of the border. What it is really interested in, is destroying the 'no go' areas, which are a running sore, constantly fed by the mobilisations of the British proletariat, and constantly an encouragement to the masses of Ireland and the masses in this country. The Islington 'no go' area was set up in direct emulation of those of Northern Ireland, and the lesson is not lost on British imperialism. Sooner or later they are going to try to smash the 'no go' areas by armed force. What prevents them is the fear of the reaction of all the masses in the British Isles.

What determines the policy of the Tory government now is its

lack of the confidence, which would come from a base of social support. Capitalism is fast losing its social base, the support of those layers of the population, which in the past it has been able to rely on. Sectors like the social workers now support squatters in Islington, and demonstrate against the big property owners in London. It is no wonder that the Minister of Housing is forced to denounce the speculative builder, Hyams, and threaten to purchase 'Centre Point' at its original price. It is a commentary on the weakness of capitalism, because this character Hyams, who makes millions of pounds profit out of building a block of offices, and then leaving them empty is, after all, a very successful man in the bourgeois philosophy. But even the Tories cannot stomach this most extreme advertisement of the complete lunacy of the capitalist system. They have to make some attempt to hold on to their dwindling social support, and the Tory MP, who took part in a workers demonstration against the closure of a factory recently in Ipswich, and called for the sacking of the directors of the firm—is acting in the same way. This is why the panic over the 'Poulson' affair with its reports of corruption and bribery. It is not a large scandal, and previously it might have been ignored, but such is the crisis of capitalism, that even the smallest scandal can have large repercussions.

In these conditions, the crisis and devaluation of the pound, comes as no surprise, it is a reaction to the fact that the Tory government, which the European bourgeoisie was watching to see if it would be able to stem the rising tide of the workers struggle, has failed. The crisis of the pound provoked yet another crisis in the EEC over

agricultural tariffs and currency, with inter-capitalist competition and national self interest outweighing any necessity the European bourgeoisie feels for unity to confront the Working Class and the Workers States.

However, the bourgeoisie does try to draw what forces it has together in face of the increasing confidence and unity of the workers movement. Thus in France, the agreement between the CP and the SP on a common programme, which includes extensive nationalisations, and the joint one day General Strike called by the two major Trade Union Centres (CGT, CFDT) is followed by the resignation of the Chaban Delmas government, and its replacement by that of Messmer, which, even though the make up of the government has changed little, has a more right wing character, seeking to confront the socialist-communist united front. The Italian bourgeoisie attempts to do the same with its new government, a coalition of the right, which includes the right wing Liberal Party but excludes the Socialist Party. It is a government, which has no perspective when the Italian Communist Party reacting to its mass worker base, adopts more anti-capitalist position. As the Secretary of the ICP said during the elections, we don't struggle simply to be included in the government, but to make fundamental changes in the structure of capitalism. The development in France and Italy express a polarisation of class forces, which are a prelude to new struggles, which will generalise the Revolutionary General Strike of May 1968, in France, to the whole of Europe, and at a much higher level. The process in Europe is impelled by the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, and the defeat they inflict on American Imperial-

The rapid end of the cease fire in N. Ireland simply confirms that such cease fires are inevitably transitory arrangements in a situation where British Imperialism has no intention of leaving the scene. It will only leave N. Ireland when the combined efforts of the British and Irish masses make it leave. The way in which the British Army openly supported the fascist elements attacking the Catholics who wanted to occupy uninhabited dwellings, is in line with the massacre in Derry.

The British bourgeoisie have constantly scaremongered about the vast forces of "Protestants" ready to throw themselves on the Catholics. It is a lot of rubbish. If there was such strength British Imperialism would certainly have used it by now. They need a mass fascist basis both in Ireland and Britain but they do not have it. They have fascist gunmen who assassinate, and who burn down the communist party headquarters in Belfast, and who think of killing Protestant trade union leaders to try to provoke the N. Irish trade unions to adopt a sectarian pro-unionist position. British Imperialism connives with these fascist trash, because it has no other basis of support.

We appeal to the LPs, SDLP, the CP's, Trade Unions, both wings

of the IRA, the independent organisms of the class, to unite around a common programme of demands involving nationalisations, workers control, a workers plan of production, organisation of mass assemblies, factory committees, workers militias etc. with the object of accelerating the process of ejecting British Imperialism, and ending the regime of the Irish bourgeoisie in the South. We urge all of these organisations to appeal for the organisation of a conference of LP, Trade unions, CPs—British and Irish—etc. to discuss the way forward in Ireland, and we reiterate our appeals to the IRA to elevate their understanding of marxist ideas, to place the struggle of the Irish masses in the context of the world struggle for socialism, the whole process of the growing intervention of the Workers States against Imperialism, preparing for the final encounter. Civil war exists in Ireland, it is being prepared in Britain. There is no "Irish" solution, there is only a common solution for the British and Irish masses—the preparation of the organisations of the masses, LPs, trade unions etc., to overthrow capitalism in both countries, as part of the world advance to Socialism.

13-7-72

ism. The dynamising centre of the world revolution—which is what Vietnam is (as Posadas has analysed in many texts)—also continues to deepen the internal crisis of American Imperialism, and the present crisis of the Democratic Party—which is currently tearing itself to pieces in public—is one expression of this. It is not a crisis of growth, as in some of the parties of Europe, which have a workers base, but a crisis of collapse. Certainly in the past, the Trade Unions have supported the Democratic Party in the absence of anything else, but the recent Trade Union conference against the war in Vietnam shows that the massive American Trade Unions are impelled to intervene politically, and in an independent way. The perspective is, then, not a growing support by the workers for the Democratic Party—regardless of who gets the presidential nomination—but the building of a Marxist Party based on the Trade Unions in the United States.

In the present world balance of forces, as they are expressed locally, the new policy document of the Labour Party leadership can only be seen as a manoeuvre to try to dilute the anti-capitalist policies that are being demanded by the base of the Party. Even so, it is a manoeuvre to the left, containing as it does some measures of nationalisation (motor insurance for example), and some measures of re-nationalisations without compensations. The Tories have been quick to criticise the document, because limited as it is, it is dangerous to capitalism in its present state of weakness. However, this policy document is far below the

level of demands of last years LP national conference—which called for the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies—and rather than having the effect of placating the base of the party, it is going to deepen the already acute crisis in the Labour Party. This policy is going to be compared with the joint programme adopted by the French Communist and Socialist Parties, and the question is going to be asked; if they can demand the nationalisation of a very large sector of the French economy, then why can't the Labour Party, when the balance of forces is as favourable to the masses in this country as it is in France. It is a document, which is going to provoke a discussion in conditions where the class has been able to impel organisms at the base of the Labour Party—the Labour council groups—to defy the law over housing.

On the day after the LP leadership had advised Labour councillors to work within the law, the Labour MP, Dennis Skinner, speaking at a public rally, called on the LP leadership to campaign for mass non-implementation of the 'housing finance bill', adding that the only way to defeat the Tories was by direct confrontation. A great many sectors at the base of the LP, in the Labour council groups, local LPs and the middle layers of the party are, under the impulsion of the mobilisation of the working class, trying to make

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

DEFEAT THE HOUSING  
FINANCE BILL  
PAGE 4

## REALTA PORTUALI

(Monthly Paper of the Genoa dockers)

May 1972

This salute, published in the organ of the CGIL Dockers of Genoa, is a very clear expression of what Posadas has characterised as the historic re-encounter of the IV International and the world communist movement.

It is a salute to the work which our comrades did in the last General Elections, which elevated the campaign and assisted the concentration of the Italian working class around the Communist Party.

They didn't present tricky electoral lists to cheat the workers, common people and youth, they

worked hard, with the impetus and generosity of authentic revolutionaries.

Sometimes—understandably, but unjustly—they have been looked at with diffidence, but they continued to work for us and to fight together with us. They did whatever was possible to gain votes for us, although they didn't share at all some of our positions.

Who are they? They are the young militants of the Italian Posadist Section of the IV International, the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist).

They have been on our side in the electoral campaign, and we have no doubt in thinking that they will be with us in any other type of struggle that will make the workers movement, firmer and stronger.

We don't fear to be "compromised" in saluting and thanking them publicly, remaining ourselves, firm in our positions.

We salute and thank them with warmth.

From comrades to comrades fraternally!

# The crisis of capitalism in Brazil, the development of nationalism, the struggle for democratic demands and for the Workers and Peasants Government

## INTRODUCTION

This article of J. Posadas (of which we are publishing here only a part) written some months ago is indispensable to understand the situation in Brazil, the reasons for the attack on the Party and the possibilities and importance of the present campaign for their release organised by cde. Posadas. In fact it is not simply a campaign to prevent the assassination of the com-

**The crisis of capitalism is very great. It governs the country by means of the army. Capitalism does not govern directly itself, it has to govern by means of the army. In Brazil as in Argentina, it is directly the army, which governs. In the other Latin American countries, Mexico, Columbia, and in part Venezuela, Ecuador and Central America, the bourgeoisie governs WITH the army. The bourgeoisie has no force of its own, it has no social weight, it doesn't have enough authority to make itself accepted as a socially acceptable leadership. It has no authority, because it is incapable of solving the problem, it does not develop the economy, it does not give work, it does not allow discussions, it does not develop the economic capacity. No country can do that: in Latin America the economic crisis is going "crescendo" (growing). The other countries, which are not in a crisis, because of the incapacity of the bourgeoisie, are in a crisis, because the governments, which arose there, still haven't got a sufficient support in the masses, or because they still have to decide the characteristics of power, as in the case of Chile, Peru and in part Bolivia.**

In Brazil, as in the rest of Latin America, capitalism cannot develop itself with its own forces, with the free use of democracy through elections, electoral competition—because then it would lose—and therefore has to maintain itself through the army, at any cost. The perspective is therefore not that the army is going to retire, and that (capitalism) wins through elections. The perspective is of coups: uprisings and coups, in Argentina, as in Uruguay and as in Brazil.

In Uruguay they enacted a censorship on all publications, which can enable them to forbid, if the government wants to, any text by Lenin, or any publication, which comes from the USSR. This is one of the most dangerous censorships ever established in the whole history of Uruguay. It is an attempt to repress, so as to contain the effects of the Government's electoral defeat. Although the results brought out that the government had obtained the most votes, it in fact barely collected 32% of the votes cast. 60% of the votes were shared out between the Blanco Party and the Frente Amplio. The other 20% of abstentions and blank votes were votes against the government. In the government's party, the candidate, who won, had less than 16% of the votes. These elections were faked. They do not reflect the popular will, but a form of functioning, of camarillas, cliques.

We must therefore expect that in Brazil, as in the rest of Latin America, the solution will come from a process of uprisings and of coups, without cancelling the possibility of using democratic, parliamentary means, and democratic movements. The army, the great financial bourgeoisie, and the great land-owners allied to big finance, which are linked to the government and through it to imperialism, are not going to give up their power. They are going to seek thousands of ways, in which they can avoid yielding, and can maintain themselves in power. They are not going to allow any law. They have already done this. They have enacted a law, which gives them beforehand 60% of the governor's posts. Through the law! 20% of the remaining seats are to be decided by the government, and it is only 20% which in the end could be left to free democratic dispute! This is the way things go!

It is necessary to measure all this, to be fully conscious of the perspective of a return to democratic liberties. The maintenance of the struggles for democratic liberties, the students' struggle, the trade union struggle in alliance with the peasants, and the students, and in alliance with the struggle for the distribution of the land, they are all struggles, which must

rades and to secure their release, but it has the objective of stimulating a whole military nationalist sector to intervene against the pro-imperialist regime of Garrastazu Medici.

This world campaign is going to feed the confidence of this sector, just as the campaign for the Mexican comrades stimulated the ad-

vance of nationalist currents there, which freed our comrades.

Imperialism and the most reactionary sector of the Brazilian bourgeoisie linked to imperialism, tries to smash the Brazilian Section of the IV International, because they see that it is the quality of this process of advance of the Brazilian revolution, which seeks a

programme, a leadership and organisational forms. They killed Olavo Hansen, because they saw his role in the social, political and programmatic elevation of the trade union movement, and now they kill Rui Oswaldo and repress the Brazilian Section, because they see them as the ideological, theoretical and organisational centre of the process, which is advancing.

J. POSADAS 18-12-71

We publish in this paper a short biography of Rui Oswaldo, which demonstrates how his revolutionary dedication and courage were not chance things, but were consciously and scientifically organised, by Posadas, through the Party, and the functioning of the organisms of the Party.

ers, who earn miserable wages, who live in famine, in the whole North-East and in part of the South-East of Brazil: all these people mobilise constantly. Sectors of the Church support the peasants directly. Sectors of the Church have associated themselves with the workers. And the struggles have continued.

It is important to see the concentrated character acquired by the trade union struggles. Not so much as a mass movement, but in terms of changes within the interior socio-political composition of the trade unions. There has been an increase in the political weight of the communists, of ourselves, or of sectors which have passed from the trade union movement to understanding the latter as part of the class and revolutionary struggle. The bank employees movement, the textile and engineering trade unions are an expression of this. Not yet as big mass movements. This is why they assassinated Olavo Hansen from the chemical workers trade union. Because he was an example for the others. The chemical workers trade unions has not got a great importance, although in Brazil it does have a fairly big one. They assassinated Olavo Hansen and the other communist militants because they had too much weight. They were the quality and not the quantity. They were the quality, because they had the programmatic decision not to compromise with the bourgeoisie.

It is therefore necessary to see what the perspective is for Brazil. Can we expect a democratic electoral issue, or a mobilisation, and a mass uprising? Or a combination of an uprising, of an action of the masses with an intervention of the army? Are we to expect a nationalist stage, or are the nationalists going to turn up after the mobilisations have taken place?

The movement, as it is given, is partly combined with the nationalist movement. The workers movement does not yet have a weight of its own to decide. The peasants, though, have a very important social weight, but they have no important leadership, no centralisation, nor any independent activity as a class. The movement is very scattered. This is what the bourgeoisie always tried to maintain, so as to prevent the masses from centralising themselves. But in the last three years there has been progress, and an increase in the peasants' intervention, which become more centralised. The same with the proletariat, through a more important trade union intervention, and through an increase in the membership of trade unions.

Capitalism succeeded for a long time in pursuing and repressing all these who joined the trade unions. To join a trade union is a legal action: if the boss wishes to, he can keep quiet about a worker joining the trade union; it is possible to join without the boss taking measures against the worker; but in fact, they take measures against, they take all sorts of measures to intimidate to prevent the workers from affiliating to the trade unions. They have to be registered, which enables the government to make permanent controls. The government exerts a fascist type of control over the trade unions: it controls first all the registrations and then the meetings, it has a representative in each trade union. Democratic trade unions exist, but they are few of them. Very few of them. But even in these conditions the joining of trade unions has increased. In

other countries this may seem strange, but for Brazil it has a fundamental importance. The comrades told us: "You know, there are weeks when 10, 15, 20 or 30 workers are queuing up to register." The workers who achieve the exploits of bringing other workers to the trade union, to make them register, are considered as real heroes. All this encourages the organ-

isation of strikes, of movements. For the strike is also legal... when the State accepts it. So they vote, they meet, all this is legal. There is a whole series of activities to be gone through, which render the preparation of a strike very long, very slow, enabling the boss to make pressures, to threaten, to dismiss, to carry out a whole game

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Biography of Rui Oswaldo Aguiar Pflutzenreuter (Marcos)

Rui Oswaldo Aguiar Pflutzenreuter had been a Trotskyist militant since 1964. He was a descendant of German immigrants, and came from a poor petit bourgeois family from the coal mining zone of Santa Catarina. He was born in 1942 and his childhood and youth were very influenced by the very poor and combative coal miners, among whom the Brazilian Communist Party, and the nationalist vanguard supporters of Goulart, and later Brizola had many supporters. He was won to Trotskyist ideas during the upheavals of the last days of the Goulart government, while he was studying journalism in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. Entering the Party on the 3rd April on the day practically following the counter-revolutionary coup, while the young and small "gaúcho" regional committee hastened to the task of participating in the last attempts of resistance of Brizola, and continued to respond and orientate the vanguard before the new situation.

From the beginning Rui distinguished himself by his militant dedication and his political capacity. Already in 1965 he was charged with organising the North East Regional Committee, a very difficult and delicate task. All the North East team had been arrested at the end of 1964, including some of the comrades, who today have been imprisoned in Sao Paulo. The police of Pernambuco tortured them barbarically, and any Trotskyist activity there meant risking ones life. Rui fulfilled without vacillation his task, reorganising the functioning, won new militants, and left the bases established, so that in spite of such adverse conditions, the section has maintained its presence in the principal peasant zone of Brazil, preparing itself to recover the strength and influence of the time of Jeremias, (comrade peasant leader, assassinated in Tambe in 1963 when he was leading a peasant demonstration), in the advance of the revolutionary wave. But the fundamental event in the militant life of comrade Rui was his participation in the 7th Latin American Cadre School at the end of 1965 where he met comrade Posadas. This epoch coincided with the decisive battle waged by Posadas in the Brazilian Section to eliminate the individualist and empirical conceptions of functioning, and to impose the organic life, the fraternal life, the political life to the functioning of the team. Rui was from then on a decided Posadist, and was a fundamental point of support for the construction of the present Posadist team of the section. In the 5th Conference and Cadre School of the Brazilian Section, where the bases of this new stage were established, he played a marked role.

From that time on he participated in various international meetings and tasks of other sections, Argentina, Uruguay, and Peru. The most important meeting in which he participated was as a delegate of the Brazilian Section, at the VIII World Congress. In Brazil, from 1966 he took part in the tasks of the worker movement, being one of the principal leaders of the trade union fraction of the party. He was an effective member of the political bureau from 1969. After the blow suffered by the party in 1970 together with other comrades, he carried out fundamental tasks, which allowed the publication of the texts of comrade Posadas, and the renewed publication of "Frente Operaria", organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) at the beginning of 1971, which filled with joy all the International and the revolutionary vanguard of Brazil. Viva comrade Rui Oswaldo (Marcos)! Viva comrade Paulo Roberto Pinto (Jeremias), Olavo Hansen (Alfredo) and all the revolutionaries fallen in Brazil and throughout the world in the struggle for the triumph of the Socialist Revolution. Viva the unbeatable Brazilian Section of the IV International. Viva the arrested comrades and all the revolutionary prisoners throughout the world. Viva the IV International. Viva Comrade Posadas constructor of conscious humanity.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

of pressures. But even in these conditions strikes increase, and the number of members in the trade unions. All these are good signs.

And at the same time as this increase takes place, which is a sign of the progress of the world revolution, the peasant reorganisation is also elevating. The peasant mobilisations increase, become more important, and find an echo in the Church itself. It is the action of Father Melo, who declared a distribution of land, in accordance with the constitution; it is the case of legal peasant strikes, in which the judiciary proposed to support the peasants by granting them land. There are constant, constant mobilisations, struggles for the distribution of land, declarations in favour of the requisitioning, or of the distribution of the land. There is a whole series of peasant, worker, petit-bourgeois movements, which are not yet co-ordinated between themselves.

All this determines the perspectives of struggles developing to bring the government down, to abolish the "acto quinto" and all the measures of dictatorship taken by the government. As the masses are not organised in a party of their own, in mass trade unions, as they cannot function through mass organisms of their own, the nationalists have in front of them a period of possible development. This does not mean that the process belongs to the nationalists, but that there are no others forms. The economic decomposition of Brazil is very deep, and capitalism has no solution to give. Therefore, to contain the revolution, it tries to make concessions to a series of nationalist wings within itself, allowing them to express themselves: it makes concessions, it nationalises, it submits foreign firms to the national capitalist control. This is not state nationalisations, it is handing over firms to national capitalism. For this reason Garrastazu Medici says: "We are not nationalising anything, we are against nationalisations." All this is directed to a very small sector of the army which has the power, because the army functions as an army with officers, who are dependant on this discipline, which indicates very well why they have no social and political authority, because otherwise they would send the discipline to hell. An officer who feels he has some authority acts, not by the means of army discipline, but on the basis of his social and political authority, of the political program and objectives, and sets the military discipline at the service of these means. They still have no authority, and they act on the basis of military discipline, which is their advantage.

As the CP has no force, and only just emerges from its policy of conciliation to capitalism, (at this moment, it is still carrying out a policy which is a combination of alliance with the bourgeoisie, of the MDB in Parliament, and of a policy of general alliance against imperialism), it has no force to do anything else. It does not have the capacity to mobilise the masses. It has no powerful organisms to mobilise the masses. Even the movement of students and school children, which mobilised hundreds of thousands of people in Rio de Janeiro, which held a delegates Congress with four thousand participating, in spite of the police repression, this sector now acts at an individual level, or at the level of sectors and fractions, but no longer mobilises the huge masses it did, because they saw that this movement was leading them nowhere. The students now have a resistance against mass movements, because they were smashed, repressed and obtained nothing at all. What impeded them, is not the fear of repression, but more the lack of objectives, the lack of organisation, of a just and logical functioning. They saw that their struggle had no logic. The students confronted the struggle with tremendous courage. But when they realised, they were fighting, and fighting, and what for? It was the moment when all the team of Palmeira, was putting forward programs, but programs in the air, which remained at the level of

mere declarations. Some of these programs weren't bad at all, the one of Travasso for example, who made a statement very close to trotskysm, where he said that the student movement cannot on its own give any solution, that it had to unite itself with the political parties, to succeed in taking the power, and to be a basis for the power. All this came from us. Travasso had read it, a short time before in a text of Posadas. This was a program made by us, but it lacked a political leadership. The comrades could not intervene, they had to make the experience. It is for this reason that our influence on the Communist Party is not new of today, it comes from this period.

All this constituted a new stage. The student movement tried to intervene, in order to attract the proletariat, but did not succeed: the conditions in Brazil were not mature enough. On the other hand there was no "gauchisme" as in France and partly as in Italy. "Gauchism" came after that, and was used by Lamarca and by others, gathering the will to be revolutionaries, which existed among the students, the members of the liberal professions, and among the petit-bourgeoisie. These sectors were seeing that the students' movement, and the parties did not respond to this necessity, had no forces, and they themselves felt impelled by the world course of the revolution, by the weaknesses of capitalism in Brazil, and they threw themselves into the guerrillas. They supported themselves on the weaknesses of the Brazilian capitalism; this is why they stepped into guerrilla action. Then there was a terrible massacre, the assassination of thousands of revolutionaries; this was used by a right-wing nucleus to maintain control and domination of the State apparatus and of the army. They do this, because the Communist Party has not been able, from a long way back, to organise the masses in Brazil or in Latin America, so, as to take the power.

This is the situation, today. Power is advancing in Latin America, in Columbia, in Venezuela, in Mexico, in Peru, in Bolivia, in Chile, in Argentina, in Uruguay, also, in spite of reactionary measures taken by the government, even in Brazil, where the progress of the revolution are also expressed, although in a less visible way, and prepare the conditions for changes. The nationalist wing expresses itself with some force, although very, very seldom. We must not take as criterion of this force the quarrel over the 200 miles, which has no importance, and which is not an example of nationalist measure. In some cases even reactionary governments catch on to this type of measures. This is not the way to measure the degree of opposition to imperialism. What must be observed to measure it, are the measures taken in relation to the internal market, and to the international policy. For example in the case of Lanusse, it is not with economic measures that he dealt a blow to imperialism: it was with his visits to Allende and to Valasco Alverado, when he said: "Ideological barriers must be brought down!" It is this way that we must measure the force of the nationalist wing.

This nationalist wing comprises sectors, which have very close links with the bourgeoisie, and oppositional tendencies, which are linked to the internal market and to the Latin American market. Whereas the other sectors of the bourgeoisie are more linked to the policy of coffee export (which today represents more than half the Brazilian economy), and to the policy of bank concentration—whose main capital is also in the hands of the sugar and coffee plantation-owners linked to imperialism.

The sectors, which depend on the internal market, and the internal consumption are going to try to exploit for their own profit the masses' needs. This must be prevented, and it is necessary to be suspicious of all the sectors, who talk of "increasing consumption, bettering the food, defending the rights of the masses", because what

these sectors are doing is protecting their own market, and not the rights of the masses. They are compelled to resort to this language, because they have no other way out: they are obliged to make these concessions. But what they always sought, what they are seeking, and will continue seeking, is to try and prevent the masses from obtaining these conquests. There are military men like Heck, who are now starting to defend the "Peruvian wing" i.e. the sector whose activity is linked to the internal market to big Brazilian industry, and production of consumption goods: textile, leather, shoes and household appliances. These are big industries, which represent one third of the Brazilian economy. The big commercial and industrial centres such as Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, are the most important centres for consumption: they group 10, 12 million consumers. We must not fall into the limitation of overlooking this question.

It is true, that the nationalists are making pressures on the government, but it is also true that the latter only responds with measures devoid of any importance. On the other hand, from what we know, the recent trip Garrastazu Medici made, was not accompanied by totally pro-american statements. They did make a common communique, but without any attack against Cuba, or against the USSR, or against communism. On the other hand side, there was a struggle to defend commercial and market interests. It is certain, they made secret agreements, but if Medici did not make them public it is because they are not of much value. If it was a question of making secret agreements, they could make them at any moment without making this trip to the United States. Nixon made Medici come to Washington, because a plain discussion with an ambassador could not bring about what he was after: he wanted to compromise Medici in the eyes of the whole Latin American bourgeoisie, so as to make a pressure, intimidate and frighten them by showing Medici as a point of support for the United States against all the other bourgeoisies. But the declarations in themselves indicate nothing of this. And what happens after this trip? Has someone been intimidated? NO! On the contrary, it is what we see in Argentina and in Columbia, that happened. The Uruguayan government got defeated, the Frente Amplio came out, and allied itself to the nationalist leaderships, which felt impelled.

It is necessary to count with all this process, so as to understand that any progress in Brazil necessarily goes through a nationalist stage. We cannot say how long this is going to take, nor in what delays, but it is clear that the peasant, worker and petit-bourgeoisie movement has no organised force, has neither the sufficient weight and authority to decide. It is possible it can gain this on the way, but it is necessary to test, how far it can go. The government has neither the force, nor the capacity to maintain itself much longer. It has no resistance against important movements, such as those, which are beginning to develop inside the peasant and workers movement. It is clear, that these peasant and workers movements are going to stimulate the nationalist wing, and impel it to intervene more and increasingly to the left. The government is not going to watch this without intervening, it is going to try and cut it short.

The nationalists in their turn are not interested, and are not capable of drawing profit from the mass movements, of making an alliance with the masses to overthrow the government. They want the process to progress in Brazil, so they can take power without the masses participating. It is necessary to solve the problem of agriculture, of democratic rights, and of social rights for the masses; they do not have the force to do this because they are afraid they'll have to respond to all this afterwards, and they don't have the confidence for this.

It is therefore necessary to envisage the possibility of a nationalist coup, without excluding that the militarys may feel stimulated to intervene after the peasant and

workers mobilisations. We must expect changes to take place in the army, under the influence of the world revolution. This is one of the essential aspects. It is necessary to count with the world influence of the advance of the revolution.

There is among other thing the triumph of the masses in Pakistan, and the struggles they are going to undertake to seize power, and to carry forward further socialist measures. It is necessary to count with the influence of this situation on the crisis inside China, which they seek to hide behind the screen of Mao Tse Tung, and Chou En Lai, and on West Pakistan. This influence will find expressions; it signifies that the masses have imposed themselves on the great powers, and have imposed their solution, basing themselves on the world situation, which is one of weakness of the capitalist system, the impossibility, which the Soviet bureaucracy has of using the masses, whilst containing them at the same time, and the need for the bureaucracy to impel all measures affecting the capitalist system.

Our section must establish a program, prepare itself to intervene in this process. It is possible there are going to be wider movements: strikes, mobilisation, the preparation of new peasant movements. It is necessary to organise the peasant trade unions as much as possible, so that they function in a co-ordinated way, they increase their political capacity, their trade union capacity, and adopt a clandestine functioning, if necessary to prepare the peasant movement for the struggle for democratic liberties. It is necessary to seek an alliance with the army. To make the trade unions feel the necessity for an alliance with the army on the basis of a program of the Peruvian type, but in order to push forward demands further than they are in Peru, and more to the left.

All the trade unions and parties must have their own programme, and must make appeals for everyone to carry the United Front forward in this stage: a programme containing certain nationalisations. It is necessary to launch a whole campaign of agitation, explaining the necessity to nationalise; to show that the Brazilian economy cannot progress without nationalisations and without planning; to demonstrate that the economy cannot advance as it is now.

What results did Garrastazu's vi-

sit to Nixon have? there was not a single important measure favourable to Brazil that came out of it, only the solution to immediate problems urgent for one sector of the bourgeoisie through loans, postponing the payments of all the debts, and through a slight increase in the price of sugar and coffee. Nothing more than that! This does not mean a better living standard for the masses. What Brazil does need is the transformation of its own raw material, the setting up of new factories, the co-ordination between the North and the South. Brazil is at least 7,000 kilometers long.

It is necessary to envisage these problems to see that no immediate response is to be expected from the military men, but that in a rather short delay we must expect a military uprising, combined with a civil uprising. Therefore, it is necessary to prepare the civilians to intervene. Although they doubt and are afraid, the military men are constantly stimulated by the world progress of the revolution, by the advances made by military nationalist tendencies in Latin America, in Asia and in Africa: and they are going to feel that capitalism is less and less capable of solving the problems, and that Garrastazu has not been able to solve anything by going to North America. They are going to feel encouraged by the revolution. There are already favourable changes in them, but they have no capacity to organise, and they progress very slowly.

One must not measure through them the possibilities of the process. An important strike can stimulate and hasten the coup. In Brazil everything is ready for an explosion. There is no centralised leadership, no mass functioning, but there is the masses' will to intervene. Immediately after the fall of Goulart the anti-guerrilla struggle began with Lamarca, and a permanent repression settled down, which enabled the bourgeoisie to go about freely with its game of bourgeois opposition, impeding the development of any democratic measures and functioning. But on the other hand the peasantry agitated even more, and can have an important weight on the movement. There are even military men who are interested in adopting measures of nationalisations in the oil industry in Amazonia or, who are interested in giving land to the peasants: but these are not the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## A DELEGATION TO THE BRAZILIAN EMBASSY, TO PROTEST AGAINST THE IMPRISONMENT OF REVOLUTIONARIES, WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE 26th JULY AT 12 NOON.

To date the following have given their support: The Communist Party, Arthur Latham MP, L. Daly (NUM), Liberation, and the Young Liberals.

**SUPPORT THIS DELEGATION!**

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the Labour Party advance in an anti-capitalist struggle. This brings them into confrontation with the right wing, which defends the capitalist system, and the whole rotten, bureaucratic apparatus of the LP. The proposal of the 'Tribune' group that the National Conference should decide the leadership and policy of the party, reflects the fact that the process of cleansing the LP of the right wing has begun. The 'retirement' of Taverner by Lincoln CLP is going to follow in a very short delay by the expulsion of all the 69 who have maintained the Tories in office. We, the RWP(T), appeal to these comrades in the LP to go to the factories, to open a discussion on how the LP is to be transformed, using the example of the Italian CP, which has removed 89 of the old 'professional' deputies, and elected new ones from the factories. We

appeal for them to discuss at mass meetings the anti-capitalist programme, the nationalisation of all major industry, banks, insurance, the land; to organise Labour Party branches in all the factories and places of work as a means of transmitting the full force of the working class into the LP. It is possible to prepare a struggle now to transform this year's annual conference of the LP into a complete triumph for the forces of the working class within the LP. We appeal to the trade union militants to make the trade unions weigh fully in the LP, to open a discussion on how to impose the anti-capitalist programme, how to change the structure of the LP—so that it functions under workers democracy—and how to impel the left to take power in the LP.

# Mobilise in the factories, the T.U.s to smash the Housing Finance Bill

The mobilisations of the working class effectively prevented the government implementing the 'Industrial Relations Act' when, faced with the certainty of a general strike, the Tories withdrew their threat to imprison three dockers shop stewards. Now the working class prepares to mobilise against another anti-working class measure of the government—the 'Housing Finance Bill'. This legislation is designed to raise rents both for council and private houses, to limit the building of council houses, with the result that the already acute shortage will be made worse, and already inflated house prices will rise.

The workers vanguard is mobilising its organisations against this latest attempt of the government to raise the level of exploitation of the masses with all the confidence gained from a world process in which the masses inflict defeat after defeat on the forces of imperialism and capitalism; with all the confidence gained from their previous victories in the occupation of UCS, in the Miners Strike, in the Railway Strike, and in defence of worker militants threatened with imprisonment. The vanguard takes confidence and encouragement particularly from the miners strike to mobilise itself on a fundamental social issue, and, in so doing, attracts other sectors of the population in a struggle which, like all struggles in this phase, poses the overthrow of the Tory government. The miners with the 'flying pickets' were able to put themselves in touch with other sectors of the class, and with other sectors of the population, like the students and exploited petit bourgeoisie.

The struggle, which now develops will use this experience, and will advance from the level already attained by the miners. In Corby (Northants) for example, thousands of workers launched a strike and demonstration recently against the Tory's Rent Act, and in the demonstration attracted the support of housewives and of two Labour Councillors. Corby is not a large working class centre—it's somewhat geographically isolated from the big proletarian centres—but it expresses the consciousness and determination of the working class which is preparing to mobilise nationally. In a direct way this action was impelled by the fact that the AUEW National Committee has passed a resolution against the Tory Rent Act, which calls on the union to act as a spearhead in a national campaign against the act. However, what the AUEW National Committee have produced is not just a resolution, but a full programme, which includes the demand for the nationalisation of development land, the municipalisation of rented housing, 500,000 new houses to be built, the major part of the construction industry to be given over to this task, 2% loans to councils for house building, etc. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers (Confed.) has also adopted this programme, which means that a workers organisation representing 3.5 million workers—the hard-core of the industrial working class—is giving an organising centre to the class. Already Fords and Vauxhall shop stewards committees have pledged their support for the struggle in addition to the Manchester district of the AUEW and numerous other trade union organisations, Trades Councils, local Labour Parties, Labour Council groups and Labour Councillors.

All the struggles, all the mobilisations of the class pose not only the struggle for the overthrow of the Tories, but, inevitably, it impels sectors of the base, and middle sectors of the LP to adopt a more anti-capitalist attitude and, in the case of the Rent Act, to confront the government directly. Thus Labour Councils all over the country are refusing to implement the act and, without any real leadership from the 'tops' of the LP are organising a national campaign. This open defiance of the government by Labour controlled local authorities is another, and very important element of the dual power, which has been expressed in the factory occupation of the last year. When the class voted the Labour Party into office in local elections

earlier in the year, it was to impel the internal crisis, and the advance of the left in the LP. Now by its mobilisations the class seeks to carry this process further.

The fact that Labour councillors hold a national conference in Sheffield to organise a campaign against the Rent Act, and the fact that they are organising another despite the call by the LP leadership to 'remain within the law', shows that these sectors in the LP find that the structure of the LP which is geared to electoral, 'constitutional' activities, no longer answers the needs of the struggle. In order to advance they have to organise themselves independently of the leadership of the LP, and they have to base themselves on the strength of the mobilisations of the working class. This poses the question of the complete structure, and functioning of the Labour Party, of workers democracy in the Labour Party. This is the significance of the proposals of the 'Tribune' group, that the Labour Party National Conference should be the body, which decides the leadership and policy of the Labour Party. It is a proposal which, even if it is limited by the fact that it does not indicate the means by which the class intervenes directly in the LP, does play a role, because it questions the lack of workers democracy in the LP, and because it will provoke discussion.

The working class is going to defeat the Rent Act in the same way as it defeated the 'Industrial Relations Act' by mobilising its industrial strength; not only giving direct support to tenants in rent strike etc., but by strikes and occupations. In this struggle it impels organisms like the Trades Councils, which provide the means to centralise all the forces in an area—the trade unions, Local Labour Parties and the Communist militants. In this campaign, as with the campaign against the Industrial Relations Act the Communist Party militants have played a leading role, this means that they have the possibility of intervening with much more force in the process of the imposition of workers democracy, and the creation of a new leadership within the Labour Party. The CP militants must base themselves on the gains of the Soviet Workers State in this, showing, that the Workers States have solved the problem of housing for the masses, showing the social superiority of the Workers States in every aspect. They can intervene much more with their industrial strength to impel the trade unions to weigh in the Labour Party. The Manchester district of the AUEW has already demanded that the Labour Councils which they sponsor follow the policy of the union on housing. This is a demand that can be extended to all Labour Party representatives—councillors and MP's—to attend mass meetings in the factories, at which Labour Party policy can be discussed to answer for their actions.

**The programme that the AUEW national committee has produced, can be the basis for immediate mass meetings in all the factories and places of work. Mass meetings, which discuss this programme, and extend it to include the demand that all rents be no more than 10% of the average workers wage, that all empty, and luxury property (like Centre Point) are expropriated without compensation to ease the housing shortage, that all council and rented property is controlled by**

committees of tenants and workers, that all factories about to be closed are occupied, run under workers control, and—where the facilities allow it—that prefabricated houses are produced to ease the housing shortage. The demand should be raised for full support, for the building workers strike, for the occupation of sites, and the production of houses under

workers control, calling for the nationalisation of the land, and the building industry. These mass meetings will be a step in the functioning of the factories as political organisms of the class, which can attract and incorporate other sectors of the population in a struggle, which opens up the possibility of the overthrow of the Tories in a very short period, and the impelling of Labour to power with the Left taking power within the Labour Party.

## The crisis of capitalism in Brazil

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3) fundamental measures. What is fundamental is all that concerns the nationalisation of the coffee industry—which decides the whole of the economy—the engineering industry, which is very powerful, the home trade, the textiles and the concentration of the bank. All this is still in the hands of those who are in power. There is nothing to be expected from them. On the other hand it is possible to expect that a team of military men and other people, linked to the Latin-American nationalist currents, will be animated to intervene. They are doing it already in part through "Fato Nuovo" or "Tribuna de Imprensa"; They are progressing, in a limited way, but clearly in this direction.

It is the same in the university movement. The mass movement, as previously, no longer exists, but the whole structure still exists to make up mass movements, in very short delays. The peasant movement has never been an organised mass movement. It attracted millions of people, but not in an organised and centralised way. The government prevented them from intervening, using all its means of repression. However, the Church itself intervenes as an element, which stimulates the masses, particularly Helder Camara; there exists already a whole current like him, which is very important and large. In the army, in the Church, in the peasantry, in the working classes there is a current, which seeks to develop anti-dictatorship, nationalist measures, but which has no centre, no programme and no leadership. But all these elements increase the stimulating effect of all important events in Latin America, on the nationalist wing in Brazil, on the left-wing sectors, and are going to encourage a series of nationalist sectors in the army, which do not know how to launch themselves into action. They are afraid of making mistakes. They seek an unflinching success. There are also other sectors, which dread the anti-capitalist consequences.

All this is on the march. The nationalist wing will be indispensable for one stage. But there is no leadership, which organises this, neither in the communist camp, nor in the nationalist camp. And there is no important socialist movement. It is therefore necessary to develop a programme to intervene in this process, a United Front with sectors of the bourgeoisie, sectors of the nationalist movement, and a specific pro-independent, revolutionary class programme, which includes democratic rights, the liberty of the press, of speech, of ideas, the total freedom of being a candidate for elections, of trade union organisation, the right to go on strike, the functioning of internal commissions inside the factories, for trade union elections, without submission to the State, and under workers decision. From now this campaign of agitation must be made.

The same must be done in the peasant movement: demand the right for peasant organisation, without the control, and without being submitted to the State control; that the peasant themselves decide on their trade unions, elect their delegates, and organise their activity for the right to work, for the right to go on strike, to meet, to organise, for the minimum salary, for the right for better working conditions, to dispose of their food; that they discuss a programme of planning of the Brazilian economy, to bring water in the North East, to fight against aridity, against famines, to put an end to the brutal

sight of people dying of hunger. It is necessary to set up a whole programme of production for Brazil, in which the investments will be decided on by the State, which in its turn will be controlled by the trade unions. It is necessary to make an alliance with the nationalist military men, and to appeal to them to intervene in the application of this programme. Show them that with private property, all this cannot be achieved; that private capitalism invests only according to its own profit; and what means a profit for themselves cannot bring about any production in favour of the Brazilian people; it is all profit for a small nucleus of wealthy Brazilians. A polemic in simple language is necessary. In order to show that capitalist investment has no perspective; it does give interest to the capitalist nucleus, but does not develop the country. It is necessary to show that Chile and even Bolivia (which is still accepting Soviet investments), Peru, Cuba, and soon Columbia, Mexico are all progressing in the same line; it is necessary to plan production, the investments, and to control the investments. It is necessary to plan the utilisation of the finances, controlling in the name of who and for whom investments are made; make appeals to eliminate the so-called "ideological barriers"; the barriers that do exist, are in reality those of economic interest. They call that "ideological barriers". This discussion must not be dropped, it is necessary to pose that the terms "ideological barriers" express erroneously a struggle; it is as if we said on one side good on the other bad. "Ideological barriers" signify in fact: on one side nationalised property, the development of the economy for the benefit of all in spite of the difficulties, which still exist; on the other side property in the name of a few, who invest for their own profit, and leave the rest to die of hunger. This is what used to happen in Pakistan. It is necessary to show what there is in Pakistan today; to base oneself on everything that is happening in the world today, to show this. It is necessary to diffuse these ideas among the nationalist military men, so as to win an influence on them, and to attract them; so as not to be dependent on them, and wait until they say YES or NO. This campaign must be made.

It is necessary to make a campaign to recruit massively for peasant trade unions, and combine this movement to the distribution of land to the small and average peasants, and to a plan of demands for the farm-workers. Make a plan of better living conditions, for work, for housing, for the peasants, for public services, for hospitals, for medical service, for distribution of food, for peasants, workers and small land-owners or farmers. It is necessary to transform the sugar plantations which are an enormous swindle of the government. The government bought the machines, which used to be used on the plantations, and which dated from the period of Sebastian Gabote. It was just like buying a load of junk. Some plantations are still functioning like this today. Those which have been modernised have been at the expenses of the State, and it is possible that the State is going to give them back to the bosses. It is necessary to intervene in this whole process.

It is a camarilla of military men which holds all this in its hands. But all these military men are going to undergo the same treatment

as Yahia Khan did. It is their destiny. They are going to be liquidated either by the direct intervention of the masses, or by the indirect support they are going to get from the USSR. It is no longer possible for them to stay in power years and years. Now the stages are short. It is necessary to support oneself on this perspective. The more the workers movement advances, with its own political and trade union programme, the more our Party and the workers tendencies progress; the easier it is going to be to gain nationalist military men to a more revolutionary policy; the easier it is going to be to win an important part of the petit-bourgeois, which is still submitted to, and dominated by a bourgeois policy; the easier it is going to be to re-animate the university movement, and to prepare it in a very short time. A deeper activity in the class is necessary for this. It is necessary to propose a more dynamic activity to the Communist Party, to the nationalists, to Brizzola. Make appeals to these sectors, showing the world influence of the revolution.

It is necessary to make a whole polemicising intervention, so as to prepare the programmatic and organisational conclusions for these propositions. Not to remain at the level of plain declarations. To develop political initiatives, with this aim either, with the communists or in the trade union, student, peasant and parliamentary camp; to organise the united front with the communists maintaining at the same time our own independent functioning. The communist are not having a great activity; but we think they are in progress. But the activity of the masses in Brazil progresses more than the communists. The communists are still held up by an apparatus policy; they have not got rid of the previous apparatus, of the previous team, which functioned as an apparatus. They are still dependent on this functioning otherwise they would have shown more resolution.

It is necessary to analyse the consequences of the last events, the failure of Medici's visit to the United States. Apparently he hasn't obtained anything, and hasn't intimidating anyone either. On the contrary, the struggles still persist. There is a permanent struggle from the peasants, the farm workers, the small peasants, the workers and the bank employees; and we reach the limit point of co-existence within the army. It is necessary that we elevate our activity.

It is necessary to make a plan of publications, on nationalism, on the military men, on agriculture problems, on the workers movement, on the communist party, on the programme of investments, on a plan of production, of democratic rights, on the recognition of Latin American countries. It is necessary to write on the problem of "ideological barriers": such barriers do not exist, they have invented it; what does exist is the fact they give money where they can expect a profit, and they defend the right of a few, and not those of the whole country. We on the contrary speak in the name of the country's development.

J. POSADAS 18-2-1971

Published by  
Revolutionary Workers' Party  
(Trotskyist), Fourth International  
Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6.  
Tel.: 01-385 8637

WE SALUTE THE RELEASE OF THE DOCKERS AS A TRIUMPH OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. LABOUR TO POWER! FOR A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME WITH THE LEFT TAKING POWER IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED FLAG**



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 163 4th Friday of July 1972 PRICE 3p

## The strikes and demonstrations of the vanguard against the imprisonment of the dockers demand the organisation of an unlimited general strike to throw out the Tory Government

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T)

*The immediate response of the working class to the jailing of the five London dockers is an expression of the tremendous confidence of the class, its contempt for capitalist authority, its will to go to the power. It is going to have immense consequences in the Labour Party, in the European workers movement, in the world communist movement, in the Workers States. Already there is a semi-general strike in the country, which has not been called by the TU leaderships, but decided and organised by the base. Capitalism hoped to profit from the passivity of the leadership, by the divergences, which existed between sectors of workers in the docks, as a result of the lack of an adequate programme and leadership, but as soon as they touched the dockers the differences disappeared, and the jailings were used as a centre, which all the class began to unify. Thus this offensive by the ruling class has been used by the workers to prepare a massive class against class confrontation.*

When such a mobilisation can take place so quickly, it means that the conditions were already prepared within the working class, and that they were only waiting for a suitable opportunity to express themselves. The conditions have been prepared by the miners strike, by the struggle in Ireland, by the victory of the railwaymen which in turn have been made possible by the world crisis of capitalism, and the advance of the revolution. If there were not 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States, the struggle in Vietnam, in the Middle East, the elevation of the role, which the Workers States and the Communist Parties are playing in the world, capitalism would be able to find the strength to smash the class, as it needs and wants to do in this stage. But now such is its weakness, that it can no longer even take advantage of the reformism of the workers leadership. It is true that the dock employers can talk to Jones of the TGWU, and bring out a report and a common agreement, but it is not this which determines. The TGWU rank and file in the docks, and among the lorry drivers those who determine this process, and if the apparatus remains paralysed, at least it does not have the strength to act against the masses as it did in a past period. When Vic Feather in a radio broadcast says, that it is a very complicated thing to organise a general strike, he expresses all the impotence of the apparatus, at the same time, as a small sector of the dockers launches itself to organise, and shows it is capable of doing it, millions and millions of the masses. The miners vanguard had the same objective and capacity a few months back; they invented the flying pickets, which allowed them to communicate with the whole of the rest of the class and exploited masses, trying to organise the general strike. Even though they did not succeed in this objective, they won a tremendous victory, which

had repercussions throughout Europe, and today this victory is present in the confidence of the working class, and the fear, and pessimism of the bourgeoisie.

Every day that passes increases the crisis of the capitalist class and its Tory government. Capitalism on a world and national scale is disintegrating, under the blows of the world revolution. The crisis of the pound, the crisis and division in the Tory Party, the crisis of the right pro-bourgeois wing of the LP, the crisis in Ireland, which is pessimism and insecurity of the civil war, pure and simple, feed the bourgeoisie. The resignation of Maudling expresses this insecurity. If, as they say, his virtue is spotless, why should he resign? Above all, because they fear that this is going to lose them more support among their already fast dwindling petit bourgeois social basis of support, and stimulate a reaction from the working class. And so they eliminate him, and use the opportunity to put in a harder man, Carr, as the Home Secretary in preparation for more repression. It is only necessary to look at N. Ireland to see the way the bourgeoisie are preparing to act in Britain. The latest statement of Whitelaw saying, that more troops were going to be sent to N. Ireland, that the UDR and the Police were going to be strengthened, that the army was going to take a harder line, shows the way the ruling class are thinking. They have no political or social solutions for Ireland; no ideas about more jobs, more homes, but only more police, more troops. For them, as for US Imperialism, the solution is a military one, more and more the army becomes the political party of the ruling class. Imperialism concentrates economically, the monopolies develop, the profits are used for the preparation of its military apparatus, but socially, internally it disintegrates.

Thus the world is present in this

process towards the general strike in Britain. The dual power, which exists on a world scale, finds a local expression in Britain. The strikes throughout the country at this moment have the objective of the release of the dockers, but they put in question, who governs, who has the power? Is it the power of the bourgeoisie's court, or the decision of the workers, which is going to determine? The local confrontations, the strikes, the occupations, UCS, the miners strike, the railwaymen, the occupations of Briants, find their culmination in the present mobilisation. The demonstration of the Briant workers through London, was greeted in the working class areas, with Red Flags and clenched fists. These small sectors of workers, running their own factory under workers control, concentrated the will of all the class to take power. This is what was expressed in the march of the Briant workers, and which now finds a more general expression in the strike of the dockers, the lorry drivers, the meat porters, the Covent Garden workers, the miners, the printers, the car workers, the press electricians for the release of the dockers: it expresses WE WANT THE POWER. And immediately this finds a response throughout the European workers movement, immediately the CGT and the dockers of Le Havre black all British ships. The European general strike is on the agenda. The government of Heath, looked to by the bourgeoisie of all Capitalist Europe as the spearhead of the counter-offensive against the workers movement, has provoked a response which puts all of capitalism in danger.

This strike wave is going to have an enormous effect inside the Labour Party. In the last period the LP has moved to the left to contain the pressure from the base. The new programme, which was recently published, even if it contains only a few nationalisations, has a very great importance, because it cannot be imposed peacefully and quietly through parliament, but will need mobilisations, demonstrations, strikes of the masses outside parliament to prepare the conditions for its passing in parliament. This programme is against the right wing, a further element stimulating the liquidation of the right, which already has one foot inside the Tory Party. Time after time the Tory government has survived, because the LP right has voted with it or abstained. It fears above all the downfall of the Tory government, because it

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## News of the campaign for the liberation of political prisoners in Brazil

After the successful campaign, which we have been organising in this country, against the repression in Brazil, we, together with representatives of the following organisations met and delivered protests to the Brazilian Embassy in London on Wednesday 26th July.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN  
CLANN NA HEIREANN  
INDEPENDANT LABOUR PARTY  
LIBERATION (MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM)  
LUTON TRADES COUNCIL  
PAX CHRISTI

the following Labour M.P.s supported the delegation:

SYDNEY BIDWELL  
BOB EDWARDS  
ANDREW FAULDS  
TED FLETCHER  
ARTHUR LATHAM  
JOAN LESTOR

and support was also given by:

LORD FENNER BROCKWAY  
ALFRED LOMAS (LONDON CO-OP POLITICAL CTTEE)  
JOHN PLATTS-MILLS QC  
LAWRENCE DALY, (GEN. SEC. N.U.M.)  
BRIDGID BROPHY

BERTRAND RUSSEL PEACE FOUNDATION  
CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE  
YOUNG LIBERALS

All the organisations present handed in individual letters of protest. We publish below the Party's letter.

**TEXT OF A LETTER HANDED INTO THE BRAZILIAN EMBASSY BY A MEMBER OF THE R.W.P.(T) BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL, AS PART OF THE DELEGATION, WHICH HAD BEEN ORGANISED BY THE PARTY TO PROTEST ABOUT THE HOLDING AND TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRAZIL.**

The Ambassador,

We, the revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International condemn all the actions of your government in arresting, torturing and murdering, Communist, Trotskyist, Catholic and Nationalist revolutionary political prisoners in your jails.

We condemn and repudiate the arrests of 22 of our comrades of the P.O.R.(T) the Brazilian Section of the IV International on the 8th April, and the brutal assassination by your police of our comrade Rui Oswald, who was killed, because he refused to talk and give information to your police.

The IV International is maintaining a world campaign against the actions of your government, and we as part of this, are making your actions known to the British working class. Your actions will not intimidate our Brazilian comrades, who fight for democratic liberties, trade union rights, for better conditions of life and for the advancement of human progress.

The IV International will fight for these aims in Brazil, and on a world scale, until all repressive regimes, such as yours, are overthrown and a world socialist system is achieved.

Yours,

John DAVIS, for the Political Bureau

R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International

MORE NEWS OF CAMPAIGN PAGE 4

ORDER YOUR COPY OF

**"THE ARTICLE OF PONOMARIOV AND THE CONCRETE AND HISTORIC FUNCTION OF TROTSKYISM AS THE CONSISTENT CONTINUATION OF MARXISM**

(15p)

J. POSADAS 26-12-71

# The necessity of the Workers Party based on the Trade Union to affirm the ascent of the revolution in Algeria

J. POSADAS 28-11-71

We are publishing this article "The Necessity of the Workers Party Based on the TU's to affirm the ascent of the Revolution in Algeria". Although it was written some months ago, all the analysis regarding the crisis of the leaderships of the Arab revolutionary states, the analysis of the process of the world revolution, including the changes, which take place within the Workers States, and the effect this has on these states, is still very relevant. The changes which have taken place in the leaderships in Libya, the temporary "disappearance" of Ghadafi, and the new responsibility of Jaloud, who is more linked to the Soviet Union, the continuing crisis of Sadat in Egypt, where he attempts to

get rid of Soviet authority, which goes completely against what the Egyptian masses demand and mobilise for, are continuations of the process, which was analysed in this document.

Also this document is important for the workers vanguard here and throughout the Middle East, for a study to be made of the discussion made by Cde. Posadas on the necessity for the masses to intervene more in organisms. Organisms in which they can have more control over the development of the economy, so that they can transmit the full force of the world revolution, so that this weighs more in Algeria, and stimulates the process there from a Revolutionary State to a Workers State.

*All measures are useful if they stimulate revolutionary morality, positions and objectives. All means are valid for this end, because they cannot go against revolutionary morality. And it is necessary to utilise all the means possible of this nature to concentrate and elevate the attention on revolutionary ideas. Today it is much easier than yesterday. The IV International is still a minority. But more in the minority are many Communist Parties; for example the Algerian CP. Yet it has a lot of money, thousands of militants, it has them in France, and yet it is relatively smaller than we are. They are a party which has support in all the world. We have the capacity to bring together all we need to publish, to militate, to be a public good of history. We struggle for ourselves. But in order to struggle for ourselves we impel the revolution. We don't have party interests. We have a policy of the party, party line, programme of the party, objectives of the party. But our interests are the interests of the revolution. When our party interests coincide with those of the Communist Party, we don't have any objection in supporting them openly.*

Our Party interest, is the interest of the revolution. It is for this reason that we have so much force: this era is one of intelligence and reason. One can no longer dominate by means of apparatuses. One must argue, give proofs. Before, the apparatus dominated, because the masses did not intervene, or they did intervene in strikes, but they didn't weigh in the life of the parties. Today the masses are taking power, in countries as backward as Syria. The apparatus no longer serves a purpose. One must explain! The masses understand, they are determined, they intervene, reason, judge. There are still coups d'etat; which are decided in the summits. But before the decisions were made in the summits, and the masses did not advance; now, the masses advance in organisms, discussions, they exert pressure, they support: Syria, Algeria are showing this.

In this process, the Egyptian and Syrian Trade Unions, vote against the massacre in Sudan. They voted against! What a force! An open struggle has already installed itself in these countries; Algeria solidified with the masses of Sudan. Boumedienne must permit and accept this solidarity, because he depends on the support of the proletariat; he himself has taken this position against the centrist and rightist tendencies. It is the result of a very deep impulsion that comes from the masses.

Today, the masses intervene in the whole world. One must reason. We have concluded that this era is the one of intelligence and reason, basing ourselves on the fact that the apparatuses, which dominated before, because the masses did not intervene in the organisms, can no longer dominate today. And they go from feudalism to the organisation of the soviets; in countries such as Oman and Muscat. The apparatuses can no longer do what they want.

The masses of Bolivia are among the poorest in the world. In that country, our comrades have made the line triumph in the mines, and they are only a small group. But the most important paper of Argentina has noted this fact. This means that the bureaucrats, the

Algeria is a revolutionary state, nearer to the Workers State than to the capitalist state. The masses have the desire and the will to construct Algeria into a Workers State. Boumedienne has been very influenced by this. But there is no marxist preparation to reach this conclusion. In spite of this lack of formed preparation, he is in the process of getting rid of a series of preconceived ideas, that were maintaining him linked to the capitalist views. In any case he has broken his dependance on the Moslem influence, and preoccupies himself much more with socialism. There is no socialist exercise or Soviet democracy, or even a democracy in general for the masses. Democracy is regimented. But with the expanding of the economy, and with the separation of production, its emancipation from imperialism, by elevating its relationship with the Workers States, the problem is going to be posed. This is going to mean a more important intervention of the masses.

In Algeria, the leadership is in contradiction and backward in relation to the impulse that orientates and makes the revolution advance. On a world scale, the revolution is more advanced than this leadership. The same for the internal forces. The planning of the economy demands a much more advanced leadership than the present one. The economy, as part of the structure of the country, pushes forward, and the leadership responds in a limited way, by containing. The world process impels Algeria, and the leadership contains it. It does not have organisms, through which to act, it does not lead a life of organisms, but an apparatus life. In this way, it cannot feel all the force, receive all the impulses. It cannot play the role of organising these forces, by concentrating them as a Party. Hence, they disperse.

One must not identify the FLN with the government. The government is on the left of the FLN. It is not the FLN, but the government that takes the decisions. Boumedienne speaks in the name of the government, not of the FLN. A battle is preparing, which is going to express itself afterwards in the FLN, or in a new formula of organisation of the Party, that will inevitably come about.

Boumedienne has made a speech of the left. He calls on the Party and the working masses, the peasants, to condemn, pursue, crush all those who oppose the Agrarian reform and Revolution. He names them openly. The leadership of the FLN does not represent this. Boumedienne takes positions that demand a firm, capable, resolute Party, and he is confronted by a small Party, without preparation, without cadres, without political comprehension. Who is going to win, Boumedienne or the FLN? Boumedienne is going to win, because he leans on decisive economic measures. These measures are anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist. They still do not find their expressions in the FLN.

The Algerian revolution is part of the world process of the revolution. Boumedienne interprets this in part. This means that the force is already installed in Algeria, and not only in the world. Boumedienne is in process of tackling the most difficult problems of the Algerian Revolution: The Agrarian Reform. It is there that the Algerian capitalist sectors are to be found. Boumedienne confronts them. For this reason, he calls for combating "all those who oppose the Agrarian report and Revolution". He attacks the Algerian bourgeois base of his own Party. In a next stage this is going to be expressed organically in the Party,

in the ideas, in the organisation of the TUs.

Boumedienne takes measures of Agrarian Reform, after having received the support and the impulsion of the USSR. Another important aspect: the echoes, still feeble of the military uprising in Morocco, are expressed in the present Reforms. They are Reforms that aim at lightening the regime of the obstruction of businessmen (out of 100 ministers, there were 120 'affaires'); But this cleaning out that they must do is going to have consequences in a short term: from a simple impulsion, one is going to pass to the posing of the necessity of democratic life: The statement of Sadat, the strike of the Taxi Drivers in Egypt, and the leaning to the left, which one must expect in Libya—to the left, not to the right—are going in the same direction.

In Libya, one must expect, in a brief delay a leaning to the left. They cannot live otherwise. In their recent speech, they just condemned very heavily the king of Libya, and all his followers. They accuse him of being an agent of imperialism in Libya. There were motives to conciliate with them. However, they accuse them. It is an indication that a fire is being lit internally. Other indicators are: Boumedienne, Libya, the strike of the taxi drivers in Egypt, the lack of possibilities of arrangements with the Jews, the despair of Golda Meier. They despair, because they see that the Yanks cannot give any solution. The Yanks have no solution for this.

There is a weakening of the apparatus in Sudan, as in Syria; in general, there is a weakening of all the Muslim wing, containing the revolution. It succeeded in containing it in Egypt, but it has been unable to arm an apparatus, to make it retreat. One must measure this. In Egypt, in 3 months, there have been 4 strikes. Four strikes in 3 months. In full war! For this reason, Sadat assumes full powers, he is the supreme chief, and the taxi drivers, who are the least organised sector, make a famous strike! This indicates the growth of opposition in all the Arab countries, the class opposition, the internal struggle. Moreover, this strike in Egypt is combined with the constant postponement of the trial of Ali Sabri, and the others. New accusations are raised, and they have postponed it for a month. Then, more new accusations, and they again postpone it for a month. They are undecided, they seek what they must do, and when Sadat assumes full powers, it is because he is frightened of his own army. This distrust means that they realise that the USSR has a great authority over the Egyptian Army, and Sadat wants to manoeuvre. But there is no worthwhile manoeuvre. He can still make manoeuvres of secondary importance. But in this, it is a question of fundamental problems, and at this moment, the Jews are finished, because in Israel there are more strikes than on the other side. And in the LP, there is an enormous battle to decide on the leadership. All this indicates defeat. The Yankees are surrounded, they have no policy. They are making fantastic detours to deliver the planes, whilst before they gave them immediately. Now, they want to justify themselves; they make detours. They say: "No", "because a wheel is missing", "The pilot has a headache, we cannot employ him".

All this indicates a rise in the revolution in the Middle East. All this process is favourable to the ascent of the Revolution in the Arab world and in Algeria. The measures of Boumedienne are thorough. They take Algeria closer to a Workers State. Boumedienne does this after the agreements with the USSR. The petrol is in the hands of the State, commerce in the hands of the State, the most important industries are in the hands of the State. There remains the land. Monopoly of foreign trade, in the hands of the State. It still depends on the degree of the Agrarian Reform and Revolution for Algeria to become a Workers State.

In the condition of the unfolding of the process of the revolution, the apparatuses that still depend on the previous stage are

weakening, cracking, and yielding before the power of the stimulus. The revolution permits many more teams of leadership to advance. The masses still do not have organisms to advance. One sees it clearly in Cuba, Chile, Bolivia, and in the Workers States. One must use this stage of transition, in which it is still the apparatuses that decide, to try to influence inside of them the maximum possible, and help teams to advance, to progress, without stopping ourselves. It is an experience for all the sections of the International: learn how to work, to develop the forces in the objective conditions of the world influence of the revolution. The objective organisms of the revolutionary process creates relations, influences on each other, develops mutual influences constant ones, and allow us to fulfill this function. But, for this, one needs the comprehension.

The world process of the revolution increases, as much socially as economically, as structurally. Socially, because the masses intervene more and more, decide more, and impose paths that lead to the Workers State. Structurally, because the process succeeds in gaining and destroying what is left of the capitalist system, and constantly advances. But as there are no organisms that represent this process, that respond directly to it, that foresee it, and prepare to understand it, it takes a disordered character, without being empirical. It is empirical in the form. But it is more disordered than empirical. It seeks to "harmonise itself with the will of the masses, with the leadership: It seeks to establish order. It seeks to establish the harmony, necessary for the social functioning. There is no leadership to do this. Then, the result is this process in Algeria.

Six years ago, we said for the first time: "The Algerian masses behave as if it was a Workers State." We said this 6 years ago. It was not an invention or an idealisation. The masses were behaving in that way.

It was a means to note the state of mind of the masses, and afterwards, their behaviour in the TUs, in the countryside, in the country. They did not pose difficulties to the government; Ben Bella went, but the revolution continues to advance. The masses felt neither crushed nor terrorised, nor abandoned, they have continued the revolution. The behaviour of the masses was "Here, we command". One must say this. It is very important. It is not Boumedienne, or the others who command. No. It is the masses that impel them, and who demonstrated the unbreakable decision to support, impel the progress of the revolution, by their strikes, their land occupations.

This agrarian reform comes very late. Since 1964, the masses occupy the land, expel the bosses. There are tens of such cases, mainly they expel French imperialism. Only after 6 years, Boumedienne yields. It is not his fault. Before him, there was Ben Bella. But this means that the apparatus prevented the revolution advancing. But the masses exerted pressure, occupied the land, and in all this, Kabylia was very important. It made at a certain time a great progress, sorts of soviets, of communes. One must explain that this process does not come from above, but from below. But there is now, an advantage: it is that above, Boumedienne yields in part, he yields economically, not yet programmatically. This must take place inevitably. The Agrarian Reform is not going to profit any bourgeois organism, it goes against all the bourgeois organisms, it goes towards the structuring of the WS. One must expect this perspective, and base oneself on it.

One must learn from this situation in Algeria to learn to develop the theoretical capacity, the programmatic capacity, to apply them to the conditions, in which the revolution develops. It constantly elevates, but not with the same characteristics, nor with the pure forms: it develops in a very, very unequal manner; it takes hidden or disfigured forms; but in depth, there is the impulse towards the revolution. The masses want to take power, and the perspective in the Middle East is that there is an upsurge of the revolution.

# Appeal of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International to the Iraqi Baath and Communist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party—7-7-72

We give a fraternal revolutionary salute to the delegation of the Iraqi Baath, the Iraqi C.P., and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. The visit of this delegation to the British working class and student movement, coming just after the blow, which the revolutionary government of Iraq has given to Imperialism by the nationalisation of IPC, can have important consequences for the construction of a revolutionary leadership in Britain. We combine this salute with an appeal to the delegation to draw the maximum profit from this visit, contacting directly as many sectors of the workers movement as possible, not just the leadership, but the middle cadres, and the rank and file, the shop steward committees, Trades Councils, Labour Councils, discussing with the workers in the occupied factories, with the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland, and the student movement, generalising the experiences of the Iraqi Revolutionary State.

The masses of Britain want to do the same as the masses of Iraq. They want to smash the capitalist system of exploitation and build a Workers State. The forms, which this process is taking and will take are different in Britain than in Iraq, but the objectives are the same. All the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, which has forced the government to retreat, the occupation of factories and their operation under workers control, the invention by the miners of the 'flying pickets', which put them in contact with all the other sectors of the class, the refusal of certain Labour Councils to implement the Tory's Housing Finance Bill, the struggle in Northern Ireland, with the setting up of Free Derry, are all expressions of the advance of dual power in this country. The power of the capitalist class, its right to give the orders, to make the decisions, are being disputed all over the country. In this way, in spite of not having a revolutionary leadership, the British working class makes its anti-capitalist sentiment felt. If it has not intervened more to show its support for the nationalisations in Iraq, it is because its leadership does not appeal to it to do so, but if it did, linking the struggles to overthrow imperialism in Iraq and Britain, the masses would mobilise massively. Even as far back as 1956, when the world revolution was not as advanced as now, when British Imperialism was much stronger, the British working class mobilised in strength against the Imperialist intervention in Suez. The Iraqi revolutionary delegation must base themselves on this, to launch appeals to the whole of the class to support the measures taken by Iraq's government, to mobilise against any imperialist or reactionary attempts to overthrow the revolutionary government.

The principal problem, which the British working class still faces, is the absence of an adequate structure and leadership, a revolutionary marxist one, in the trade unions and the Labour Party. The structure and leadership come from a past period, and now they have to be changed. The class is changing its organisations, putting pressure on the right wing in the Labour Party, preparing the conditions for the expulsion of the right, as they have done in the past few weeks with Taverne in Lincoln. This is a process which demands a certain amount of time, it cannot be done overnight, it requires a programme, and a confidence and comprehension on the part of the leftist sectors. And the intervention of the Iraqi delegation can be fundamental in stimulating and encouraging this left. It is also necessary to intervene at the level of the leadership, combining the activity towards the base with a series of discussions with the Executive (National Executive Committee) of the Labour Party, issuing public statements, making press communiques, so that the whole working class, and exploited masses can see the preoccupation of the Iraqi revolutionary delegation, to make the Labour Party advance. It is important to show what the Iraqi Revolutionary State has been able to do in such a short time, through its alliance with the Soviet Union, and with the nationalisation of the principal source of wealth in the country. It is necessary and of particular importance to discuss with the Miners Union, not only because it is necessary to make a common policy for the production of fuel, to benefit both British

and Iraqi workers, but because this union has, from the base to a sector of the leadership, shown a very elevated internationalist sense. It has played a vanguard role in the last months, and the Iraq revolution must link with it.

Certainly it is necessary to go further in Iraq, to increase the social intervention and control of the masses in the nationalised enterprises and in the state, but it is possible to open a public discussion in the British workers movement on the basis of what has been achieved already. Such a discussion would be extremely important at this time when the Labour Party, under the pressure of its base, has published a new programme, more to the left, but still very timid in relation to nationalisations. A discussion in the workers movement is beginning now on this programme, and the new experiences of the Iraqi Revolutionary State must weigh in this discussion. For this reason it would be of immense value if this delegation, in united front with the Labour Party, was to call a public meeting and demonstration in London, Manchester or Birmingham etc.

We salute the discussion, which has already been made between the delegation and the British CP, which we think should be made public, and we think that this can play an important role in the clarification of the policy, and the objectives of the CPGB and its relations with the Soviet Union. The CPGB must understand that it has no perspective of becoming a party of the majority of the working class before the revolution; the masses are going to remain in the Labour Party, but the Communist Party has the role to play of helping the left to take power in the Labour Party. The CPGB must act as we do, as a public good of history as Posadas the General Secretary of the IV International has defined it, impelling other forces outside itself to advance toward the taking of power. And to do this the CP has to change a lot, in its functioning, in its programme and its structure.

As an immediate concrete way to intervene in the workers movement, we appeal to the delegation to issue a statement, an appeal to the British Working Class Movement, making an analysis of the struggle against imperialism, the success of the nationalisations, and taking it to the occupied factory of Briant Colour Printing (651 Old Kent Rd. London) for printing. An appeal from the Iraqi Revolutionary State, printed on presses being run under workers control, would express in a very beautiful way the dual power which exists in the world, and would have a powerful effect on the proletariat.

Finally we make an appeal to the delegation to study the documents of Posadas, and apply their conclusions, in the advance of the Revolutionary State, towards a Workers State, in their intervention in the European workers movement, and in their relations, and their understanding of the Workers States. Socialism cannot be constructed without marxism, and marxism means confidence in the creative capacity of the working class, and the utilisation of the world force of the revolution. Making an appeal, a discussion with the British workers movement, is the way to make the world force of the revolution weigh in this country, and the more the social intervention of the masses develops in Iraq, the greater will be the effect of the Iraqi revolution on the British masses. We appeal for direct, permanent organisational links to be made between the Iraqi Baath, the Iraqi CP, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and the British Trade Union movement, and the Labour and Communist Parties as a step towards the construction of the anti-Imperialist world united front.

**VIVA THE 15 YEAR TREATY BETWEEN IRAQ AND THE SOVIET UNION!**

**VIVA THE NATIONALISATION OF I.P.C.!**

**VIVA THE UNITY OF THE BRITISH AND IRAQI MASSES TO SMASH IMPERIALISM!**

**FORWARD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WORKERS STATE IN IRAQ!**

**FORWARD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!**

the Workers States, the advance of the communist parties. It is important to discuss the programme of the Communist Party/Socialist Party united front in France with its proposals for the nationalisation of the principal sectors of French capitalism, because this will greatly aid the programmatic clarification within the LP.

The Communist Party must see all the possibilities, which are opened up by this process, above all for the process of construction of a new leadership in the LP. The CP, which has acted with quite a dynamism, must see that this process is going to mean a gain not for themselves as an organisation, but is going to stimulate the centralisation around the LP. This is logical, because the class sees the LP as its instrument, and is going to use these mobilisations to weigh in the LP to change the leadership. The industrial authority of the CP can play a fundamental role in this organisation of a general strike, it must utilise all its force, through its press, through its publications, through its industrial militants and leaders, as a means to help the Labour masses in their fundamental political tasks: constructing a new leadership in the LP. It can help by showing the advances of the Workers State, bringing out the experiences of the first seven years of the Soviet Workers State, showing the importance of the soviet functioning of this period. Thus it will help in this way in the elevation of the level of revolutionary political culture of this new leadership, stimulating its advance to marxism.

We make an appeal to the workers vanguard in the docks, in the engineering industry, in the mines, in transport, to the Labour and Communist vanguard, to take full advantage of the decomposition of capitalism, to base themselves on the world force of the revolution and utilise its most elevated experiences. The organisation of the unlimited general strike with factory occupations is on the agenda. May 1968 in France showed that the working class could stop the whole of France, now with the experience of UCS, of all the occupations, of the free areas in Derry and Belfast, the workers can show that they can run Britain under workers control. It is necessary to occupy all the factories, to set them running under workers control, to organise the exchange of material and goods between the factories, to sell the manufactured goods to the exploited population. In this way the strike will be transformed into a revolutionary general strike, will show to the rest of the society that the working class is capable of being the leadership of society. It is necessary to see that the bourgeoisie is, in spite of its fear, going to act as it is acting in Ireland, and the workers must prepare organisms to defend the occupied factories, the TU's and the workers parties. The factories must function like soviets, with a constant political life, mass assemblies, electing factory committees where each delegate is subject to instant recall. In all the factories, in all the committees it is necessary to discuss the objectives of the strike, the release of the dockers, the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Bill, out with the troops from Ireland, an end to internment, to discuss a workers plan of production, of houses, of schools, of hospitals, a plan to satisfy the needs of the population, with a programme of expropriation under workers control, and without compensation of the key industries, and banks and insurance. It is necessary to make appeals to the European workers movement for solidarity action, strikes and occupation, appeal to the Workers States for every type of aid, to function as if Britain was already a Workers State. This is going to bring down the Tory government, this is going to stimulate the left to organise itself, to intervene more in the LP, to throw out the right wing, and take power in the Party.

We appeal to all the popular forces in N. Ireland, to the TU's, to both wings of the I.R.A., to the S.D.L.P., N.I.L.P., Peoples De-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## THE STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

knows that the next Labour government, supported actively by the working class with mass mobilisations, as the Chilean masses support the government of Allende, confronting such a situation of weakness and disintegration of capitalism, will be forced to advance in measures against the capitalist system. The right wing now is under pressure from the rank and file, from the left, as in Lincoln for example, and this strike is going to stimulate all this left, to make a more organised intervention, with a programme, inside the LP. Now the right can find no basis of support anywhere, it continues to exist in the LP, because

its structure impedes the class from weighing and deciding in it. Nevertheless the decision of Lincoln LP to retire Taverne is the first expression of the powerful forces trying to make the LP an adequate instrument for the class.

This strike is going to drive a wedge in the Labour Party apparatus, forcing a differentiation. Already such leaders as Benn or Driberg have expressed, in quite forceful terms, their support for the dockers, while Prentice has said that the dockers deserve what they are getting. Two opposite positions are expressed in the leadership! It is an indication of the antagonism, the tension which exists.

These strikes are going to act as the 'Stettin and Danzig' in the British Workers movement, the process which Posadas has characterised as the 'internal May', whereby the workers masses weigh inside their own organisations, changing their leadership, forcing it to change its positions, favouring the struggle of the class. The left must utilise this force in its struggle for a programme, a structure and a new leadership in the LP, making the LP intervene more in this process, which is developing towards the general strike. It is not enough to say, as Benn does, that there should be a general election, it is necessary to make the LP intervene in the process of the organisation of the general strike, to overthrow this Tory government. All the branches of the

LP, all the organisms, the trade councils, the Labour councils must participate in this task, seeing that all the problems facing the class, the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Bill, the repression in Ireland, all the inadequacies in the social services, the meteoric rise in prices and rents, all have a possibility of a solution, in the general strike, in the throwing out of the Tories, and the imposition of a new Labour government in which the left has taken power within the party. It is necessary to call mass meetings in the factories during the strike, calling Labour MPs to explain their positions, to discuss the new programme of the LP, to discuss all the aspects of the world revolution, the struggle in Vietnam, in the Middle East, the advance of

# Article reproduced from "Lotta Operaia" organ of the P.C.R. (T) Italian Section of the IV International prior to the recent dissolution of PSIUP and its entry into Italian C.P.

The diminution in the number of votes to the PSIUP in the 7th May elections, and the perspective of the future dissolution of this party, and its integration with the CPI, are not, and must not be taken as a defeat for the workers movement. The votes lost by PSIUP, stayed within the class camp. They are not shown in parliamentary seats, but this is the fault of the electoral law, and doesn't detract anything from the weight these votes represent in the class struggle in the country, in which they are very much present, and play a very important role. So much so, that the bourgeoisie didn't openly rejoice at the losses of the PSIUP. Seeing clearly that it is not a diminution of forces, but only a different distribution and centralisation of forces that, on the contrary, will contribute to increase the unity and the weight, and dynamise the political progress of the whole of the workers movement. The loss of votes of PSIUP is a consequence of the process of centralisation within the workers movement, that is imposed and accelerated by the proximity of decisive events in the class struggle in the country, and on a world scale. In this way, as throughout the world, in the measure in which the final settlement of accounts between Capitalism, and the world socialist revolution is approaching, all the forms of progress are concentrating around the Workers States, and the Communist Parties where they are mass parties, and also movements, which beginning as nationalist, petit bourgeois, religious or with other origins, become communist, or organise themselves around the communist movement; the same thing is happening inside the country.

The PSIUP is no longer necessary. It has played an important role, but now it can't any longer play this role constructively, if not from within the Communist Party. In an earlier period, when the S.P.I. entered the bourgeois government, and broke its alliance with the Communist Party, whilst the CPI carried out a conciliatory and reformist policy, the PSIUP had the function of fighting against the S.P.I.'s policy of alliance with Capitalism, and at the same time, of being an external stimulus to the discussion in the C.P.I., and to the struggle by its base, and by part of its cadres to impose an anti capitalist and revolutionary policy. In that phase this task was better carried out from the outside than from inside the CPI, where the positions of the PSIUP would have been wasted and without weight. Today is different. On the one side the Socialist Party has broken with the Social Democrats, and in part makes a policy of al-

liance with the CPI. On the other side, the CPI, under the impulse of the world revolution, the progress of the Workers States, and above all the progress of "partial regeneration" within, as Cde. J. Posadas has analysed(\*), is in the midst of a profound crisis of growth and of progress, which is expressed by the purging of the "clientele" leaders, by the tendency to construct a more militant, class party, with a greater decision to advance, not with the perspective of conciliation with capitalism, but of eliminating it. Even though all this is combined with the continuance of many opportunistic aspects in its policy, and requires elevation of the internal discussion on problems concerning the world communist movement, on the need for unbreakable unity with Workers States and of socialist society. Therefore the PSIUP, its militant forces, capacity and ideas, which hitherto have been expressed in the actions of PSIUP as an independent party, today can and must play their role inside the CPI. It hasn't any more a role as an independent organism. With the existence of the CPI and the SPI there is no need for another party. There are no sectors of the proletariat organised by PSIUP, that are independent, or detached from the communist and socialist proletariat. Due to conditions prevailing in the country, the heterogeneity of various sectors of the proletariat and of the Italian masses, along with a sector of intellectuals and petit bourgeoisie, up till now, has existed also an important sector of the proletariat organised by the PSIUP, which until recently weren't disposed to militate in either the Communist Party or the Socialist Party. Today these sectors see that in the Communist Party they needn't be submitted to an immobile bureaucratic apparatus, which impedes any revolutionary discussion. On the contrary, it sees that, even if the policy of the CPI isn't revolutionary, there are revolutionaries intervening in the CPI with enthusiasm and passion, in order to make it advance, correcting its limits without pausing or stopping their actions, but on the contrary, responding dynamically to all the tasks of the revolutionary class struggle.

Even though entry into the CP is the most suitable measure, its very possible that a sector will remain as PSIUP, as an independent party. And also, independently from this is the fact that until the CPI has made a complete qualitative leap in its process of revolutionary renewal, there will always remain sectors outside the CPI trying to impel a revolutionary policy, irrespective of errors, of tactic, analysis, method, etc. Such

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3) programme of the struggle for the democracy, to the movement of Bernadette Devlin, to the Communist Party, to extend the strikes to Ireland. The problems of Ireland can only be solved by socialism, and there can be no socialist solution for Ireland without the socialist revolution in Britain. It is necessary to unite the struggle of the British and Irish masses through the organisation of the general strike with common objectives: out with the Tory government, Labour to Power. The Wilson leadership has prevented the LP taking a position on Ireland, he has collaborated with the bourgeoisie in trying to keep the English and Irish workers movement separate. Now the possibilities are very great for their unification on a

programme of the struggle for the workers and peasants government in Ireland.

The strikes now snowballing across the country, have the possibility of opening the stage of the Left Labour Government, of stimulating the left to take power in the LP, of providing a very powerful base of support to this government in the forms of factory committees, of committees which link the workers areas with the factories, of defence committees, which will ensure that the next Labour government advances in the implementation of the anti-capitalist programme, and opens the way to the stage of the workers government.

a marxist group or party independent from the CPI would be justifiable in such a situation as exists in Italy, if this organisation gave ideas, necessary for the whole of the workers movement, ideas which advanced, which elevated its preparation for the decisive tasks posed by history. This is the justification also for our existence, for the IV International, in united front with the Communist Party, but with an organic and political life, which is independent from the CPI. Without such an independent functioning, the ideas, analyses, conceptions, which are the creative application of marxism in this, the ideas elaborated by Cde. Posadas, wouldn't have any weight in the eyes of the entire world communist and revolutionary movement, with the weight and authority of an organism and team, which has been prepared over a long period, and with scientific discipline for this task. This isn't the case for PSIUP, which therefore doesn't warrant an extension of its independent existence, independently from the electoral result which isn't the essential factor. But in as much as a sector of PSIUP will continue to exist as such, this nucleus can effectively play a useful role if it contributes to the development of a discussion in the workers movement of key problems of this epoch, introducing into the CPI ideas necessary for it to progress. And at the same time the CPI will be able to gain a much greater part of the PSIUP when it shows with its functioning and its internal life, to be an organism receptive to correct ideas wherever they come from. PSIUP's entry into the PCI doesn't signify a defeat or a failure of the political positions put forward by PSIUP, which in general aren't incorrect positions, and which contain ideas useful for the progress of the whole of the workers movement. This doesn't mean that it has a wholly coherent marxist conception, because of its origins this isn't possible, coming out as it does from the reformism of the PSI, from the interruption of marxism which Stalinism meant. They are correct positions on certain problems, like the proposal for a common position of the workers parties for the last elections, like the positions they took in the trade union field on proletarian democracy, and the evaluation of the role of the organisms of dual power in the factory-work place, and other such positions. Today most of these positions have been accepted by the CPI, and are being discussed inside the CPI. Its useful to bring these ideas and positions inside the Communist Party, in order to contribute to the progress of the CPI.

The CPI has nothing to fear from the entry of PSIUP militants into the CPI. It's necessary for the leaders and militants of the CPI to see the entry as a contribution to the internal changes being carried out. Obviously there will be problems, there will be discussions, even polemics. But this is necessary and inevitable in as much as the crisis of growth isn't finished, and won't be for some time yet. The criticisms the PSIUP will bring, will be constructive criticisms like those on which the Communist Party base itself, criticisms for progress and not for recrimination.

Obviously the CPI, even though they accept the entry of the PSIUP, will have worries for what concerns the maintenance of its method of life and internal functioning. They fear that the PSIUP, or a sector of the PSIUP will conduct a tendency struggle in the interior of the CPI, that they may have fractionist attitudes. Evidently this question must be discussed. Inside the Bolshevik Party there were fractions, and this didn't detract anything from the centralised character of the party. Therefore it isn't a problem, which involves the principles of democratic centralism, but rather the means of application. Today, we don't think it is any more a problem of retaking the forms that the revolutionary discussion took within the Bolshevik Party at the time of Lenin and Trotsky. The conditions are different. There is a greater centralisation of the world communist movement. There is a greater historic experience, on which to base oneself, and these

experiences are not to be doubted but, rather to be based on in order to be applied to the conditions today. A struggle of fractions such as there was in the Bolshevik Party, isn't necessary in order to do this. And on the other hand PSIUP can't be an organised fraction, because it doesn't have the necessary political homogeneity to construct one. But this is not to minimise the importance, and the role that militants from PSIUP can have by their possible confluence with the CPI. It isn't a problem of organising fractions, but rather one of profiting from this event in order to elevate internal discussion in the CPI on all the problems relating to the need for marxist progress in the communist movement throughout the world and in Italy. We make an appeal to communist comrades to make of this possible confluence of PSIUP (or a large part of it) the occasion for a large debate, both internal and external, public, for all sectors of the workers movement, on what marxism means today, on the problems of the unification of the world communist movement. On the necessity for, and the way to organise, without waiting for the completion of the unification of the international communist movement, a world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front, with all the communist parties, socialist parties, left catholics, nationalist movements and other tendencies, which are being won to communist objectives in this stage; a discussion on the construction of the Workers State and of socialism, on how society must be organised under socialism, on human relations, and how to initiate, inside the revolutionary party, already in this stage, the construction of rapports belonging to socialist society. A discussion on how to organise the functioning of the

party, so as to face the tasks, which lie ahead for the world revolutionary movement. On the cell organisation of the party, which is the structure which allows the intervention of all militants in the elaboration of the political line, and in its application, making the link between the party and the class, and the class and the party, which is the basis for defeating all remains of "clientele" support, and of electoralism in the party. To construct it with a structure of a revolutionary party. That it organises the actions and interventions of every militant in the struggle to gain the catholic base, to break the Christian Democrat Party, to organise the unity of the workers parties and the trade unions. To organise trade union unity on the basis of proletarian democracy, and the decisive role of assemblies, and of organisms arising from assemblies, with proletarian democracy, recall of mandates by the assemblies, on which criterion to organise the trade union united at all levels.

We make an appeal for the militants of PSIUP to intervene with all their passion, ideas and initiative in this discussion, not in order to teach the CPI, but to participate as best one can to the common task of making the Communist Party into the instrument for the conquest of workers power in Italy, and to contribute to the process of revolutionary change in the whole of the world worker and communist movement.

Published by  
Revolutionary Workers' Party  
(Trotskyist), Fourth International  
Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU)  
86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6.  
Tel.: 01-385 8637

## Campaign News

### Extract from the protest made by the C.P.G.B.

We are publishing extracts from an article, which appeared in the MORNING STAR of 15th July, in which John Gollan protested strongly to the Brazilian Embassy about "treatment meted out including systematic torture" to the prisoners in jail in Brazil. He wrote "All progressive sectors of Brazilian people, including trade unionists, socialists and priests, are endangered by this fascist type terror"... "We note particularly the refusal of your police to give information about Moira Angelina De Oliveira of the Young Catholic Workers Movement, the assassination of Marcos Rui, a member of the IV International, as well as the recent arrest of Reverend Jadat." He continued "some 1,300 other political prisoners are held in appalling conditions in the Tiradentes Prison..." "We demand the immediate end of this inhuman treatment of political prisoners and their release."

Representatives of the following organisations:  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN,  
CLANN NA HEIREANN,  
INDEPENDANT LABOUR PARTY,  
LUTON TRADES COUNCIL,  
PAX CHRISTI,  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
British Section of the IV International,  
together with ARTHUR LATHAM M.P. handed in the following letter as a joint declaration:

To The Ambassador,

"We the undersigned individuals and representatives of the organisations listed at the foot of this letter, come here today to protest to your government about the arrest of revolutionary political prisoners, and the appalling conditions, under which they are held.

We are concerned by the reports, which have reached us concerning the hunger strikers in Tiradentes jail in Sao Paulo, and the statements made in relation to this by the commander of the 2nd army, and by the assassination of Rui Oswaldo, a member of the P.O.R.(T) Brazilian Section of the IV International. We come today to appeal for the United Nations Charter on Human Rights to be respected in your country, for an end to torture and assassinations in the jails of Brazil, for the release of all the political prisoners the Communists, Trotskyists, Catholic and nationalists, and for democratic liberties for all the Brazilian people."

A committee will be set up within the next few days, comprising the organisations, who participated and supported today's deputation, with the objective of maintaining pressure on the Brazilian government on the question of political prisoners. For details of this committee please contact Liberation 313 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

(SEE PAGE 4)

# **JOHN REED, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST CONCEPTION OF THE LIFE OF LENIN. J. POSADAS**

20-12-70

---

# **RED**

Workers of the World, Unite!

# **FLAG**



**ORGAN of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION of the IV INTERNATIONAL**

---

NO. 164

2nd Friday of August 1972

PRICE 3p

---

## **The crisis of capitalism, the intervention of the Communist Party and the need for a new leadership in the Labour Party.**

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T)

Events leave no doubt that we are living through a decisive stage of human history when capitalism is about to disappear. Prehistory has to make way for real history, the construction and development of socialism. Throughout the recent period with the changes in the Workers States, changes characterised by J. Posadas as "Partial Regeneration" expressed particularly in the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the emphasis on the world Anti-Imperialist United Front, the emphasis of the world C.P.'s is no longer on the strength of capitalism rather on its weakness and massive decomposition. On a world scale armed peaceful existence replaces peaceful co-existence.

Everywhere humanity tends to become homogeneous in its intentions. The will to socialism is on all sides, whether it is on the part of the masses in Chile wanting to advance from the Revolutionary to the Workers State, the masses in Europe who are preparing for the taking of power, the civil war between capitalists and workers or the masses in the Workers States who assert the structure of the Workers State against caste interests, who impose the calling of a conference such as being held in Eastern Europe to unify the interests of the Workers States and discuss the problem of the construction of socialism.

This contrasts particularly with the state of decomposition of capitalism. What a crisis in the ruling cliques of American imperialism, when a capitalist candidate has to propose immediate withdrawal from Vietnam as a means of giving capitalism one more hour to survive. The

contd page 1

whole facade of parliamentary democracy is crumbling. Over half the American electorate do not vote in Presidential elections. In Germany the fate of the Ostpolitik was fundamentally decided in the streets not in parliamentary conclave. In Italy the government leans on the support of the open fascist organisation, the MSI and connives at brutal intervention against left militants and the Italian communist party has made it clear that the struggle against the bourgeoisie means a mass mobilisation in strikes, demonstrations, not by exercises in Parliament. In Britain "Parliament" is simply the front for Nazi methods in Northern Ireland and attempts to smash the skulls of dockers. The killing of the miner in the last strike, the confrontations of dockers and police, are all symptoms of the advance towards civil war. The struggle in Ireland, the present dock strike have to be seen in this context.

#### THE RAPID DISINTEGRATION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

British imperialism is in a crisis of ever growing dimensions. A cripple compared with its former state, it is now faced with massive expenditures to hold down the masses of Northern Ireland. The economy is wholly stagnant, the pound has to be devalued yet again. The policy of the big monopolies intent only on centralisation and concentration to participate in the Common Market, and vicious inter capitalist world competition, leads to a situation where capitalism does not develop new layers of social support but on the contrary loses the old layers. The confrontations of class against class, the structure reached by the world socialist revolution, the inability to arrive at any conciliation with the leaderships of the Workers States, has provoked also a tremendous political crisis in the Tory and Labour Parties. The policy of the government oscillates between aggression and retreat. The Tory party splits into rival tendencies, none with the force to impose a consistent viable line, it is stretched to maintain even the outward facade of a class cohesion. As for the Labour Party, it has moved outside the boundaries of what Lenin once defined as a "thoroughly bourgeois party ... led by reactionaries and the worst reactionaries at that". The full crisis of capitalism can be seen in the Labour Party. There the most bourgeois sector is in a process of breaking because it can no longer operate as before. The initiative has past to the forces of the left, even if these do not find their appropriate representation as yet. The expulsion of Taverne, sanctioned by the NEC shows the drift. At one time it was always the left that was removed, but the most virulent of the right are going or gone ie Brown, Gunther, Taverne and the others will follow. The Labour Party has been obliged to take positions which give support to the miners strike and the dockers. It is true in the case of the release of the five dockers that a clear split was evident in the Labour Party with people like Prentice denouncing the dockers but again it is the pressure of the left which is deciding. The intervention by Dennis Skinner one of the Labour Party MP's calling for a 'sit in' at the Stanton steel works in face of the proposed dismissals, is an example of the concentration of the process which obliges the Labour Party in however a limited a way to increase its identification with the struggles of the masses. In a previous period it was a part of the bourgeois structure, now it is freeing itself and in the process the way is open for a thorough transformation of its structure and functioning to allow the intervention of marxism. To complete this process many changes are necessary, including a wholesale expulsion of all those rotten careerist and pro capitalist elements which still infest the party, the Pagets, the Prentices and all the other rubbish who identify themselves with capitalist methods of repression in Ireland and this country. The Labour Party requires the type of purging carried out recently in the Italian Communist Party where eighty-nine conciliatory deputies were given the boot and a whole clientele linked with capitalism cut off. At the moment the centre, Wilson Callaghan etc. contain the wholesale process of purification but as the forces of the left are organised, they too must leave the scene as part of the bourgeois heritage.

continued on page 2.

Thus we see a massive process of capitalist crisis and decomposition shattering the functioning of capitalism socially, economically and politically, where the masses are intervening with the objective of liquidating the whole system of exploitation and repression. But the leadership to do this in the mass organisations, the Labour Party, and the trade unions is missing.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY MUST USE THE STRENGTH OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

In this particular situation, the communist party must weigh in with all its strength. It is seen by the vanguard as an extension of the Workers State and its militants in the industrial field enjoy an authority precisely because of this. In the previous period the CP has been well to the fore in the organisation of the strikes and demonstrations of the masses against the Industrial Relations Act and the line of the CP is to bring down the Tory government by the mobilisation of the masses, the line of the General Strike.

But the communist party can weigh much more than this in the process, by using all the resources of the international communist movement. Its speeches, documents, reports, interventions by the militants must transcend the limitations of trade union militancy and place the accent on the struggle for power. The slogans of workers control (raised for example by Briants) show without any possibility of doubt the way the working class is thinking. They want control, they want power.

As part of all this, it is necessary to make paramount in the 'Morning Star' world communist meetings and discussions like those recently held in Paris of the European communist parties, or the one now being held in Eastern Europe, discussing the construction of socialism. In this way the weight of the world communist movement is going to be felt in the most powerful way by the labour vanguard and is going to centralise their capacity to make the necessary changes in the Labour Party.

Work towards the trade unions and the Labour Party remains central in all this. The more the communist party is seen as working in a passionate but objective spirit without any regionalist conception for the victory of the Labour Party on an anti-capitalist programme, the easier will they facilitate the intervention of marxism in the Labour Party. We appeal for the level of analysis in the 'Morning Star' to be consistently raised so that it is seen as a really communist internationalist paper, with constant reports of the discussion and application of the line of the world communist parties - reports of Berlinguer's speeches for example, so that the communist militants do not feel themselves battling in a defensive way to defend jobs but as elements of an international movement with the force and confidence to pose revolutionary objectives before the vanguard. And this will redouble the confidence and understanding of the massive labour party vanguard.

The Soviet Union in one way or another is seeking to impel the process against imperialism and capitalism. It openly supported the miners strike, has sent money to the Irish trade unions to prosecute the struggle there and they have given holidays in the USSR to miners who played a militant role in the miners strike. It is a way - a limited way - of intervening to impel the struggle for power. And the meeting of the communist parties in Paris under the noses of the bourgeoisie is a way of impelling the struggle for power, uniting the forces on a European scale to overthrow capitalism. In all the interventions of the communist party, in all the workers struggles, the changes and advances in the Workers States have to be linked with all the other concrete aspects of orientating the struggle.

A consistent superior political life, intimately linked to all the vital aspects of the international and national struggle, with all the process of partial regeneration in the Workers States, is going to elevate the Communist Party as an instrument for the transformation of the Labour Party, to remove all the cobwebs of routinism and inertia in the LP. In this respect the Spanish communist party, certainly referring to the ideas and conceptions of Posadas - it was Carrillo who said recently the Trotskyists were right - speaks

of the need for ever greater audacity, for ever greater political preoccupation; with the conviction that the proper functioning of the party is a constant source of ideas and dynamic intervention and this in no way conflicts with the Bolshevik conception of democratic centralism.

Such are the conditions now that every strike action, every occupation gives the opportunity for the most elevated interventions on the level of programme and method. The vanguard of the workers in close communication with the masses are ready to see their strike actions as political weapons to bring down the Tory government. The dock strike is a weapon in this respect. The Communist Party should be seen not merely as a party of combat, of militancy but a superior arm of the working class, a functioning political weapon operating with marxist method, united with programme and methods which equal the spirit and sentiment of the class. Lenin in 1917 was completely fused with the spirit of the masses; although it was not they who had the programme and the method. But they showed in a mass of ways that they wanted the power. In this stage the communist party has to play a vital role in the elevation of the vanguard and the Labour Party. It must direct itself with more conviction at the Labour Party. It must direct itself with more conviction at the Labour Party and the trade unions, with articles, interventions which tend to unify the unorganised left in the Labour Party.

THE SITUATION DEMANDS THE APPLICATION OF AN ELEVATED PROGRAMME RELATED TO THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE MASSES.

We appeal to the left forces still unorganised in the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the leaders and cadres in the trade unions to base themselves on the repeated advances of the world socialist revolution, the more powerful interventions of the workers States and the Communist Parties, on the acceptance by the vanguard of the slogans such as workers control, elevated slogans of dual power, on the mass resistance to the industrial relations act, to mobilise the masses with the greatest confidence and audacity around the programme of the independent organisms of the masses, factory committees, mass assemblies, inter industrial discussions, workers area committees, to prepare for the launching of an unlimited general strike at any moment, to smash the terrorist methods of Toryism (attempts to make the law more coercive, mass police attacks on dockers etc.), to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, throw out the industrial relations act, nationalisations under workers control without compensation, for a workers plan of production, out with British troops from Ireland, for a single trade union centre in Europe, including the Soviet trade unions, Labour to power, with the left Labour government on the anti capitalist programme, with the left taking power in the Labour Party. All the immediate needs of the masses in Britain and Ireland for jobs, better conditions of life, housing etc. are linked indissolubly with this programme for the taking of power.

ORDER NOW -

THE ARTICLE OF PONOMARIOV AND THE CONCRETE  
AND HISTORIC FUNCTION OF TROTSKYISM  
AS THE CONSISTENT CONTINUATION OF MARXISM.

J. POSADAS - 26.12.71

PRICE 15 p.

Introduction

This text by Posadas, prompted by an article in a Mexican journal on the book of John Reed, "Ten Days that Shook the World" is extremely valuable for the insight it shows into the character of Lenin himself and the attraction that he had for a journalist like Reed. "Ten Days that Shook the World" is a striking evocation of the feeling, the quality of the great days of the October Revolution. It is not a classic of political understanding or analysis as is Trotsky's brilliant study of the revolution, but in its deep sense of fusion with the revolution, its conveying of the profound human sentiment of the Bolsheviki and their cause, on the basis of day to day observation, yes, it is a classic. And as Posadas points out it was precisely because Reed caught this fundamental aspect of the revolution that it was a struggle for a change in human relations, for the building of a totally new society that Lenin paid attention to him. Lenin's character as interpreted by Posadas comes out in this article with all its force and its completeness. Lenin's quality of kindness, his optimism was not an accidental feature but arose from his role in history, the total submission of his will and capacity to the tasks of building the instrument of history, the Party for the taking of power. Marxism is profoundly optimistic and Lenin incarnated this in all his relations with the Party and the masses. His confident smile arose from a complete fusion with history, from the conviction that humanity can overcome all obstacles, that nothing is beyond the organised collective will and capacity of humanity. We recommend this article of Posadas to the vanguard in the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the unions, the vanguard in the various mass organisations in Ireland as a means of constructing historic confidence on the basis of the invincible power of marxism and the understanding of the superior social relations of the proletariat which lays the basis for a society without individual interest founded upon private property.

Lenin saw life as a complete whole. He did not allow himself to be attracted to literary forms, he saw the historic necessity and the objective foundation, whether or not it was dialectical. Lenin is completely a dialectical materialist, he spoke, thought, acted and felt as a dialectical materialist.

The important thing brought out by this text is that John Reed gained Lenin's confidence because he saw in him a profound human quality. He did not see a reporter, nor a revolutionary in abstract, but a great human quality that had been won by the sentiment of human fraternity. Lenin saw that "he understood the very depths of the revolution." Which is to say the historic, although unconscious, mover of the revolution, which is human fraternity. "He understood the principles of the revolution." What were these principles? The sentiment of justice. This is what he says in "Ten days that shook the world." Whoever is seeking objectivity in history and reads this work is immediately gained. By the fifth page they are already gained! Attracted! Because a purity of description can be seen in this work. This is the great quality of literature. One of the most complete literary works of history is "10 Days that shook the world". Because it makes one feel and live the Russian Revolution through its description of the revolu-

tion. It is not a political analysis and dialectical conclusion. All of it is a dialectical instrument that analyses, but it does it in the form of the day to day life. All the empirical, conscious and harmonious organisation of the revolution can be seen. And above all it brings out the great human quality of the Bolsheviks, which is the great human quality of the Russian Revolution. It was the first revolution made like this.

Any well intentioned person who reads "10 Days that shook the world" is immediately won by this. Because he sees the objectivity, the purity, it makes one live, it makes one feel it. Lenin and Trotsky said "It is a film". Krupskaya made some very great praises which were comments that Lenin had made in private about John Reed and the capacity of John Reed to have understood the events of the revolution. He understood the sentiments which are the principles of the revolution. There are the political principles, the military principles and the revolutionary historic principles which are the principles of justice. Every revolution has the sentiment of justice. This is why people, people and more people associate themselves with it. John Reed understood this. He was sent by a bourgeois newspaper and his writing was against the bourgeoisie.

Lenin, like every revolutionary and like every revolution, needed the contribution of the relationship with the fraternal human sentiment which John Reed had. He was not indispensable for Lenin but he needed this to live. Lenin felt this force and associated with him. Of the two, Lenin was needed more by John Reed than the other way round. Lenin could have disregarded John Reed. He kept close to him because he was an intellectual in the service of the revolution, gained by the revolution and completely honest with the revolution, and gained by the human sentiments, the noble sentiments of the revolution. It was not simply the sentiment of justice of egalitarian distribution or the suppression of poverty. Certainly this is the immediate objective of history. But he was gained by the sentiments of nobility and justice of the revolution. This made him attractive to Lenin because here was a revolutionary with these qualities. Because there were other revolutionaries without these qualities and Lenin was not attracted to them. Lenin saw in John Reed a revolutionary who was not a leader, nor a Party militant, but a man with the principles of the structure of the revolution; justice, equality, the fraternal sentiment of humanity.

In turn John Reed was won by Lenin because of his historic capacity as an organiser, as an orientator and because of Lenins human quality. He showed the most elevated comprehension to exist after Marx and Engels - the

only ones before Lenin - in understanding the revolution and the people who made the revolution. He understood them! He had the quality of having to develop a new organisational activity in history; to employ the most complete, absolute, unbending, severity, combined with the optimism, the joy and the harmony of the beauty of fraternal human relations. It was not one thing superimposed on the other, nor elements of criticism, joy, optimism and fraternity. No, they were the same. Criticism and fraternity were a single thing, employed according to the necessity of organisation. Criticism was to correct, to shift, to bring into light, to attract attention and fraternity, to give confidence and security to be able to advance. They were not two separate things, it was a single thing. Lenin used them all the time. Marx did it before him. Others attempted to do it before him, like Beethoven.

Every great human element in history, that has contributed to form the scientific capacity, the revolution or the sentiments, has to have this quality. To a greater or lesser degree, but he has to have this quality. Otherwise no great work can be achieved, it is impossible! Every great work requires the absolute and complete objective dedication to the objective necessity of what is being done. If there is a mixed up sentiment then it cannot be done. If there are doubts, egotism, it cannot be done. Only with the objective vision of the affection of humanity, the development of the human being, can one do it. As the scientist and the true

artist and the revolutionary have an identity in their sentiments. Each one differs in their functions, the most important being the revolutionary, but every true scientist and artist works independantly of the beneficial commercial result. He does it through the love of humanity, the love of progress, which is the result of human life together, which awakens, develops, generates and makes this attitude progress.

The artists wants to communicate. He is not the result of progress, he surpasses progress in one way, that of the conception of the sentiments. He makes a work that surpasses the existing reality, it communicates and in turn aids a greater progress, because it stimulates the sentiment and harmony. He does not do it to serve those that rule but to serve his necessity of responding to human fraternity.

But the revolutionary is more complete. He is different to the scientist and the artist in that the revolutionary has to have a quality that is necessary in the others, but not so indispensable. It is the quality demanding discipline, the concentration of the will, the constant dedication, the severity in decision. Also the artist and the scientist need these qualities. If the artist does not persist in his search when inspiration does not come, he sees the superficial and not the profound. When the quality of the artist is to see the depth of society, and to draw from it elements of the sentiment and harmony. Thus there is a component of progress in his work of art. He unites the industrial, commercial development a relation with art and in turn helps the emergence of new thought to help scientific and economic progress. But the revolutionary needs this quality for the action of the masses, not the individual. The artist can waste time, the revolutionary cannot allow himself to be influenced by passivity and conservatism. Necessity demands the consciousness of adding the will to the consciousness. This is why he must accomplish what is necessary. This is not necessarily irreplaceable for the artist or scientist although both need discipline and will.

Lenin unified severity - not rudeness - which indicated the organisation and demanding of each one, to elevate the consciousness to succeed in doing what it was necessary to do, with all optimism. This is the Bolshevik human being. Previously there was nobody like this in history. This was Lenin. John Reed saw these qualities, which he himself felt but could not dominate because he was not a reolutionary leader.

But when John Reed orientated himself in his works to describe the revolution it is because he felt, like Lenin, that this was so. He did not know how to organise, Lenin did. When Lenin put himself so close to John Reed and had such affection for him it is because he saw an indispensable element for the revolution. Lenin was the most utilitarian of all revolutionaries in history as much as Marx and Engels. Lenins affection was not abstract or superficial. It was the affection for a human being who merits it. Part of the merit was his utility for the revolution, otherwise, no. One could not have such a quality as John Reed had without being useful to the revolution. One cannot have such sentiments without being useful to the revolution. Only affection and love for the revolution, which is the love of humanity and the fraternal future of humanity, generates such sentiments and qualities. There is no other work that can generate such sentiments. All the others are inferior, even the most elevated works of art, or the scientific sentiment.

Art, as much as science, isolates, creates, individual sentiments, develops attitudes of isolation of the work. The revolution demands contact with the fraternity of now and of tomorrow and to see the work of tomorrow as much as the work of today. This generates the sentiment and the continuity of the sentiment of collective fraternity of humanity. This is why Lenin could pass from the most complete severity to the most complete praise. There was no difference between them. They were two forms of a single thing. It was necessary to use severity to demand, whether condemning, criticising or impelling.

But it was necessary to show the fraternal sentiment, because this was the objective of the aim of the revolution. If the aim of the revolution is not fraternity then one is not fraternal. If the revolution demands fraternity, it is because this is the finality. As the finality of the revolution is justice, justice is demanded. As the finality of the revolution is to concentrate the attention and the will of humanity to progress, this is demanded now. Between the revolution and the future, between the Party and the future there is a certain identity of common principles that afterwards develop themselves and this necessity disappears and another superior one originates, like the dialectical instrument which will be surpassed by history. Lenin used this profoundly.

Lenin's smile was not a symptom of happiness at things, giving confidence. The author has not understood Lenin very well. He reveals a great affection for Lenin through what he describes, but he has not understood Lenin well. When Lenin laughed and people felt happy and said, "Ah, things are going well..." it was not because they were going well--as the author says--but it was rather Lenin's optimism that influenced them. Which did not mean that everything was going well or was going to go well or that Lenin laughing to himself meant "everything is all right, we are sorting everything out..." Did Lenin disregard truth then? Did he disregard the severity of the problems? No, no. It meant Lenin's optimism that "we will resolve everything". This is the optimism of the revolutionary. It appears like the optimism of the child, without the naivety of the child. The revolution has consciousness that the child does not have. But it has the decision of the child and the optimism of the child. It was Lenin's optimism that he communicated to the others, with all the messes they got into; "Ah, we will resolve everything!" People took this in a different way to the author. He, with great affection wanted to show that Lenin's smile gave confidence that everything was being resolved. Why? He says, "Ah he was happy everything was going well..." No, No, in the full retreat of the revolution Lenin still laughed because he was organising the resistance and organising the triumph.

They describe Lenin a little idealistically. The description made by this author contains a little idealism. Lenin was the most human of all humans, but he had very few defects, much fewer defects than other humans. This is why he could concentrate his will in doing everything he had to do. Including the capacity to be an optimist, because his work was necessary in history, the instrument was necessary, the proofs showed that they were just. He had reason to be optimistic. He had no reason to be pessimistic or rude. Lenin was never rude, Lenin was severe but not rude. Rudeness means a contempt for others, not taking into account that amongst the errors there are qualities that can overcome the errors. Lenin knew how to find the errors the qualities to overcome them. This is why his small party did work requiring the energy of giants. He made each Bolshevik into a giant. Because he gave the confidence and the security that they were right in history, that it was necessary to be objective. Lenin educated the party in the objective life, he developed it in the objective life. This was Lenin.

This is why these comparisons tend to idealise Lenin, taking away the human capacity which he has organised and tending to present him as a wizard. Lenin is the product of his organisation, of his will, of his perseverance in the marxist life, in having known how to concentrate his will in learning from his masters, Marx and Engels, but also from the world proletariat. From the three; Marx, Engels, and the world proletariat. Having known how to organise his will through the Paris communards, and expressing this will in the most elevated form, in the consciousness, in the theoretical capacity, in the political and organisational dominion, more than the Paris Communards could do, because it was another, more favourable epoch in history, permitted Lenin to be an optimist. Because he had a party which showed itself to be capable of triumphing. This was part of Lenin's optimism. When Lenin burst out laughing it was part of the optimistic sentiment of the revolution.

And in turn he was very severe. In the same moment as he burst out laughing he could be very severe. He was demanding of comrades that they give the maximum

that they behaved honestly and fulfill all the tasks. The author of this article does not interpret Lenin. He shows a very great affection for Lenin, but not a comprehension of Lenin. He underrates the historic human quality of Lenin. The comrades outside who saw Lenin laughing were happy because they thought, "we will resolve everything."

The comrades said to him "we have no weapons, we are lacking numbers, there is no money, the Whites are coming". "Well, it is necessary to see what we have to do to get by and afterwards to win". This is the thought of Lenin. He never thought about being defeated or of being destroyed. Even if the Soviet Union was defeated he thought "Tomorrow it will be reborn." Because it was an historic necessity and there were already the elements and conditions for it to triumph historically. "We may lose, but others will win." He did not struggle for himself, but for the human satisfaction of progress, although he would not see it. This is the reason for the optimism of Lenin bursting out laughing. It was the pure outburst of the transcendent satisfaction of humanity. It was a means of communication of the sentiment and the consciousness, of the Communist Party, of the fraternal love of humanity and the undefeatable resolution to triumph and of the victory of communism.

He communicated this to the rest, who came full of problems and worries and he elevated them in their vision and comprehension and showed them; "We will resolve everything." Obviously! Because everything was resolved. There were comrades who turned to the difficulties and only saw the difficulties. They were real difficulties that could not be solved, but "we will solve them." It was Lenin's international vision, always the international concept and judgement of Lenin. He said nothing, based only on what was before him. What he had before him was decisive but he thought, supporting himself on all the world development of the revolution. But he knew how to see what it was necessary to do today. "When Lenin said; "Today it is necessary to do this ...." "Yes, but what about the world revolution?" and Lenin replied; "The way to interpret the world revolution is to do this". It is the way to know how to make concrete, to centralise and to decide in a centralised way. Centralisation is not an invention it is a necessity. As much in nature as in us, because centralisation permits the collection of the forces, to concentrate the capacity of action and decision. Otherwise it is evaporated, it is avoided. Otherwise one tends to try to do various things all at the same time.

A comrade said, "It is necessary to do various things." "No, now it is necessary to do this," replied Lenin. This is Lenin. This is why what the author says about Lenin's bursts of laughter is wrong. The comrades that were outside saw Lenin's optimism as he communicated the security of triumph to them. It is necessary to remember such scenes as in Petrograd when it was necessary to go and Lenin said; "We have to get out". And Trotsky said, "No, no we don't go. We stay here." "No, it is necessary to go." "But afterwards we return." "No, it is necessary to go" Lenin said it just as someone may say "I have to cross the road."

The discussion on Brest-Litovsk was the same. With less importance but it was the same. It was necessary to decide and there was no historic experience. There were two geniuses who discussed to see which of the two had the more exact vision. Both had a just vision, but it was necessary to see which corresponded to a comprehension. At that moment force and confidence were especially decisive. It was Trotsky who decided. But Trotsky was not very sure, because a lot was based on his own action. The most logical judgement was that of Lenin, it was an organisational judgement. But at the same time Lenin took account of Trotsky and the significance of Trotsky's actions and so he yielded. But he did not yield because there was no difference between what Lenin said and what Trotsky said.

The difference was that Trotsky said, "We will win", Trotsky felt capable of inventing a series of things along the way, which at that moment could not be seen. This is why Lenin left it to him. Neither of them were right, but neither of them were wrong.

When he left the meeting and went to water the plants, in a deliberate and utilitarian way, the organisation of the functioning of his mind was momentarily separated from the theme; to give way to an internal reflection, although being an unconscious reflection. He was allowing the "little man" in his head to gather the threads of communication .... We do other activities with the same sense. It was the necessity of organising the mind, of permitting the mind to temporarily separate itself from the concentration of the attention to permit the brain to develop the capacity and gather it to respond to the necessity, like the organism when it feels ill, tends to rest, so that all the organic forces of the body are led by means of the blood to relieve the sick areas, and the cells, to resort to and gather all the available forces to physically clean the affected place.

The text of this comrade indicates a very great affection for Lenin. He tells of very important actions of Lenin we did not know about. The comparison he makes of Lenin with Villa is relatively legitimate. The difference between Villa and Lenin is very great in history. Lenin constructed a Party and the Communist International. The party permitted the Soviets, and the Soviets permitted the Communist International. He made a great world work through them. He began a new course in human history, the Workers State, the Party, the concentrated will of the Party. Villa did a great task, but not this. That of Lenin is more important and permitted the triumph of the revolution. The similarity in the character of the two is relative. It was in the optimism but not in the capacity to know how to mobilise people, human beings and to concentrate the disciplined will of the Party. Villa organised a peasant movement, with a progressive historic aim, but not a Party, Lenin made a Party. Humanity cannot advance without the Party. The identity of their characters is relative. Villa's character was limited, necessarily limited, by the function he exercised. That of Lenin was complete. In Lenin there was no place, there was no possibility of rage, or anger and of important errors, because he had a Party, he had the dialectical method. Villa did not. What was common to both was the kind, noble character of both of them. Villa's action could only be undertaken if he was a noble type. It could not be done by some type ambitious and unpleasant. If this were so he could not do such actions. But his work was very limited in history. That of Lenin was infinitely greater. Qualities infinitely superior to those of Villa were required. There is a similarity in the organisation of the character, which is the generosity, the disinterest, the comprehension of certain attitudes of revolutionaries. But Villa lacked dialectical comprehension, he was governed by necessity rather than by the preparation of the Party. With Lenin it was the Party that imposed the education, the will, the security, In Villa there could not be this. Consequently his character could not be that of Lenin.

Good character is not an abstraction. It is determined by the historic aim or the immediate interest. The historic aim is socialism, the struggle for the collective well being. This gives the good character, the capacity to move, to organise; to construct with that which responds to immediate interests, it associates, but does not fuse in common identity. This is the difference between Villa and Lenin. Both were impelled by the same historic interest, to struggle against oppression. But in Villa the aim was more backward. In Lenin it was much more profound; it was to construct a new world. Villa never proposed constructing a new world, but to eliminate errors, tragedies, exploitation, backwardness. This would decide what was to happen later. In Lenin no, it was the security of the constructor of a

THE OCCUPATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF BRIANT'S

IS A POWERFUL EXAMPLE OF THE ADVANCE OF DUAL

POWER IN THE COUNTRY

Since the implementation of the decision of the Briant workers to make the work-in, it has played a role which has increasingly transcended its original objectives. Even though the reasons for the work-in can be seen in terms of the struggle to maintain the 130 jobs (which in itself is important), there can be no doubt that it comes as a part of a process which, far from being defensive, is a process of a more and more decisive offensive by the working class against capitalism and its agent, the tory government.

When the Pentonville five were arrested, one of the first sectors to support them were the Briant workers. The demonstration from Tower Hill to Pentonville had an important effect on the other sectors that came out in support of the dockers. At that moment the spontaneous demonstration of 2000 through the streets of London, with the slogan for a General Strike and the tremendous response to the demonstration had aspects of a popular mobilisation not seen in Britain since 1926. The work-in at Briants has been able to act as a centre for the struggle against the tories. Although there have been no mass mobilisations in support of the Briant work-in, the activity that Briant itself has made, with the distribution of "Workers News" and the various forms of support for the dockers, has acted as a considerable point of support for the struggle.

The occupation under workers control is an action that shows that the working class is capable of running society itself. It is capable of taking over all the necessary economic and social functions in order to run society for its own benefit and not for the benefit of the capitalist class. This action has not only demonstrated the redundancy of the particular owners, but also the redundancy of the whole capitalist system in general. It is capitalism which puts a million on the dole and which represses in Northern Ireland, and meanwhile the working class is mobilising itself to put an end to all of this.

The fundamental objective of this work-in cannot only be seen in the narrow terms of the struggle against the unemployment generated by this tory government. There have been numerous occupations around the country and still unemployment continues to rise, but at the same time there are more and more sectors of the working class mobilising to defeat the tories. It is clear that the tories must go, but in order to overcome all the problems confronted by the working class it is necessary not only to have a Labour government, but a Labour government with the left taking power in the Labour Party.

Despite the tremendous struggle of the working class against the tories, there is still not a leadership which is capable of taking these struggles as a point of support for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Still the leadership of the Trade Unions and the Labour

THE DUNLOP/PIRELLI JOINT 'EURO-STRIKE' IS A STEP TOWARDS THE  
FORMATION OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE - INCLUDING  
THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER EUROPEAN WORKERS  
STATES.

The joint Dunlop/Pirelli strike that took place recently simultaneously in Britain and Italy, and the formation of the International Steering Committee of British and Italian rubber workers, are the highest expressions of this stage of the process of unification of the workers movement on a European scale. It is an organic functioning of the workers across the boundaries created by capitalism. The fact that the shop stewards of Italy and Britain themselves organised this, shows that it is the base of the workers movement which has the initiative. It is an expression of the fact that the workers are in the process of freeing themselves, in the whole of Europe, from the conservative and bureaucratic apparatus of the Trade Unions. And in this, even sectors of the conservative, bureaucratic apparatus of the trade unions are drawn into the struggle and are forced to react by the struggle of the workers at the base of the trade unions. An example of this is the co-ordination of the Ford workers demands and negotiations in France, Belgium, Germany, Holland and Britain through the existing trade union machinery in each country.

The Dunlop/Pirelli workers were able to organise the International steering Committee and the joint strike because the conditions in the world are for this with the masses struggling to utilise automation and technical progress for the good of humanity. This was possible because the masses of the world have taken the initiative to finish with a system which is historically incapable of utilising technical advance for the benefit of humanity. The huge support which the British dockers gathered in their struggle against the Tory government, against the 'industrial relations act', a support which came from France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland with a tremendous rapidity, shows that the possibility exists for the dockers, not only to be the centre of the struggle in this country, but to impel Joint Committees of Dockers. Thus the European solidarity which they have received can be given an organic expression.

The European strikes that prevented the Franco régime from assassinating revolutionary and worker militants at the time of the Burgos trials and the call by the World Federation of Trade Unions to 'black' all ships bound for Vietnam with cargoes of armaments for the imperialist forces in Vietnam, shows that the struggle of the Trade Unions is not only one of solidarity, or for simple trade union demands, but for the overthrow of what is left of capitalism and imperialism. The conditions exist for the workers of all the big monopolies - the car industry, Unilever, Philips, Kodak etc. - to act in the same way as the Dunlop/Pirelli workers, to organise joint European committees in their own industries as a step towards the organisation of a SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE. A single trade union centre in Europe to co-ordinate and lead all the struggle; FOR NO FACTORY TO BE CLOSED, NO WORKER TO BE SACKED, WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY, ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, ALL PROFITS TO GO

TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER WORKING HOURS,  
FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL MAJOR INDUSTRY, THE LAND, BANK AND  
INSURANCE WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

The European Trade Union Centre must include all the European Trade Unions, those of the capitalist countries and those of the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European Workers States (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary etc.). Already the Soviet TU's particularly, are intervening in support of all the most important struggles of the European workers. They have sent money to the French workers during the Revolutionary General Strike of 1968, to the Northern Irish Trade Unions, and they gave support to the miners strike and the UCS occupations. It is necessary that all sectors of workers, in this country and the rest of Europe, make direct appeals to the Soviet trade unions who have the traditions of the construction of the first Workers State and who carry with them a great part of the force and historic authority of the first Workers State. It is necessary to appeal to them to weigh more in the workers struggle in the rest of Europe and to stimulate the construction of the SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE.

---

---

THE OCCUPATION OF BRIANT'S ..... Contd from page 10.

Party lack the programme, perspective and understanding to lead these struggles. The L.P. must have a new leadership and this is not simply going to develop of itself, in the interior of the Labour Party, it is necessary that there is a constant political life of the masses, at the base of the trade union and labour movement. It is necessary to discuss the way to overcome all the problems confronting the masses today. In this way the vast pressure that the present struggles are imposing on the leadership of the Labour Party and the trade unions can be far more effective in the task of the construction of the new leadership within the Labour Party.

The situation today is one that demands changes, the Tories continue to step up their attacks on the working class, the working class is struggling with great decision and still the leadership in the Labour Party only responds in a limited way. It is necessary to discuss within the Labour movement that the solution to the problem of unemployment must be achieved with the nationalisation under workers control of all enterprises about to be closed. The problems of unemployment etc. can only be solved if they are solved by the working class themselves, and Briants is an important experience for this objective.

The occupation under workers control is an action which by its very nature disputes power with capitalism. It is an indication that there is a situation of dual power existing in the country and the free areas in Belfast and Derry expressed exactly the same thing. The offensive of the working class in this stage demands a leadership in the Trade Unions and Labour Party which can generalise all the experiences of dual power and the struggle for power. To discuss workers control within the whole Labour movement is very important in order to prepare the way for a new leadership which can utilise and base itself on all of the experiences, in order to prepare the way for a general strike to kick out the Tories and impose a Labour government with the left taking power in the Labour Party.

THE TRANSITORY NATURE  
OF SLOGANS  
IN THIS STAGE OF THE  
PERMANENT REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS 25.7.69.

It is necessary to give precise slogans for the events in Latin America and it is necessary to make our intervention precise and to make the preparation of the Party precise. No activity must ever be programmed without preparing the Party for it. Our programme of activity, tactics, policy is the way in which we prepare the Party for this. To prepare the Party requires a political comprehension and a political functioning which has to be agile, so that it is capable of foreseeing events in the discussions, bringing out the documents, preparing the Party to intervene with the line and the slogan and explaining the slogans. Not just voicing it but explaining it - why is it the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions?

At the same time as the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions we appeal for the taking of power. We never abandon this slogan. We agitate on the slogan of the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions in conditions where a great quantity of the population is disposed to an anti-capitalist but not communist solution, the leaderships, which have the power in their hands and are able to decide, have no interest in the Communist solution. It is necessary to gain the opportunity to make the anti-capitalist measures advance. But along the way we agitate for the Workers and Peasants Government. We do not just agitate for this but we raise a campaign for the Workers and Peasants Government. It is like when we are for a general strike when a partial one is being made, we support the partial strike without abandoning the general strike. We do not say "It's this or nothing". It is different if it is a question of an election which is a centre which de-

cides, that cannot be replaced. It is either held or not held. On the other hand one can intervene with slogans like the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions, as an agitation which tends to get closer to the masses and make them advance, to make them intervene in the struggles and in the course of these struggles to elevate the slogan, never abandoning the slogan of the Workers and Peasants Government,

It is the same as in Italy where we agitate for the Popular Government of the Left at the same time as we pose the necessity of the Workers and Peasants Government. We never abandon this slogan. When Lenin said to Kerensky "Take Power!" he did not say to the Bolsheviki "Let's wait for him to do it". He said to him "Take power!" and at the same time he said to the masses "It is necessary to destroy the capitalist system."

Such measures and slogans are de -

signed to take away the base of manoeuvre of the forces which want to remain in the area of the capitalist system, because such a slogan in no way increases any bourgeois force or organisation in defence of the capitalist system. And when we say "Based on the Trade Unions" this is to say that the trade unions go on organising and playing an independent and class and revolutionary rôle; they have slogans and objectives, they organise their slogans and objectives for - while impelling the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions - the occupation and the taking of factories, making factory councils and deciding how to make the factory function and how to plan it. It is not a slogan in which we say "Forward with the Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions" in which they align themselves with it. The slogan "Based on the Trade Unions" is accompanied with "The mobilisation of the Trade Unions."

To understand this the Party has to be prepared. To understand this slogan and this delay in time. Lenin called this measure "This manoeuvre." It is legitimate to call it this. Lenin talked of "this manoeuvre which has to be made to prevent the capitalist forces and power having access in the dispute for power." So the dispute for power is made where the forces are against capitalism or are detaching themselves from the capitalist system.

The difference between the Communist Parties and ourselves is that whilst the communists agitate for the same slogan, for them it is an end in itself, not a transitory slogan which is superseded along the way and is applied on the basis of the agitation of the trade unions in their independent revolutionary way, so that with their independent organisation and mobilisation they make the destruction of the capitalist system advance.

These are slogans which it will be necessary to apply and generalise. The same characteristics do not occur in Europe as in Latin America, Africa or Asia, but there may be similar situations. Among them for example if a new Revolutionary General Strike is proposed in France we appeal to the workers - as it is already necessary to appeal - to occupy all the factories,

to make them function, organising between themselves and planning production. Appealing to the areas and to the masses for them to form Area Committees with the trade unions and the factories, like small local soviets to decide the course of the country. And that they appeal to the rest of the country to communicate amongst itself. Even against the Communist Party, opposing it and condemning it if it is against this. The first "French May" was a practice, a new one is going to be concrete. In Latin America in less than a year or two the same situations will arise. It is necessary to foresee the use of these slogans and the preparation of the Party.

The tempos are developing rapidly, they are deepening and extending themselves. Our sections have to live in the same way. They have to bring out texts that explain each slogan, the reason for each slogan. They have to prepare the Party for the next military coup which is being prepared in Argentina. To intervene appealing to the trade unions; to intervene with their own policy of Workers Government based on the Trade Unions. If the trade unions intervene as a leading force it is not a Popular Government Based on the Trade Unions, it is a Workers Government Based on the Trade Unions. Appealing to the army, to the petit bourgeois to give support. If Peronism, in the name of the Peronist leadership, appealed for the organisation of the struggle to confront the army, we agitate on the slogan "Take Power!" as we have already agitated in various situations. "The trade union to power!" And we gave force and organic form to the slogan of the Workers Government Based on the Trade Unions.

It is necessary to make economic plans, programmes and planning in Latin America. Plans, concrete and objective plans. It is necessary for us to intervene appealing for the government of Fidel Castro to intervene. A plan in which the Cuban Workers State appeals, with all its weight and authority, to organise the Latin American economy. And that it appeals in the name of the Cuban Workers State for the planning of the Latin American economy. Appeal to it to do this, that it appeals for the planning of agricultural production on the basis of collectivised nationalisation, collectivised production on the land and in the

state farms. Appealing for the planning of production, a plan of public work, a plan of production of consumer goods. That the Cuban Workers State develops the Latin American economy - as it could do - and finishes with hunger in two years, doing what it did in CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America) and extending

it as the permanent policy of the Cuban Workers State. And for the Cuban Workers Centre to launch this appeal to all Latin America and show that this can be done. It is a centre, an irreplaceable and unequalled authority of the Cuban Revolution. It is necessary to direct oneself to it. It is necessary to direct oneself in every direction and with the means which we have, developing our sections in an independent form to make it feel that there are the forces on which it can support itself.

This has to be clear and final. Not because we are waiting for them to fail or because we hope that the bourgeois democratic revolutions are not made, but because they are going to begin as bourgeois democratic revolutions, even having bourgeois leaderships, but they cannot remain at this. No movement such as the Peronist movement can remain as it was with Peron; they cannot remain at this.

And Chile is the example. The Christian Democratic Party is disintegrating, 40% have left. The Radical Party is breaking up. That is, two centres of the bourgeoisie. And to sustain the authority which it still has before the masses and the electors it counts on, what is left of the CD. has to adopt the positions of the anti-imperialist left.

It is necessary to discuss the failure of ALALC (Latin American Free Trade Association). But ALALC is an indication and an announcement of the fact that the Latin American Bourgeoisie show that they can never develop by themselves. They also fail to develop utilising self-protectionism. From the capitalist point of view there is no possibility of development. It is necessary to reiterate our appeals to Fidel Castro, to the Cuban CP and government that they collectivise or make co-operatives in a socialist form, of the hundreds and even thousands of family units of agrarian property. So that they eliminate these! They are a constant source of links with the capitalist system, a point of support for the counter-revolution. It is necessary to take account of the fact that Guantanamo base is no longer a problem. Guantanamo is within Cuba. Imperialism has in this a bridge for invasion. If it still does not invade it is because it feels that it does not have the force to do it, because it is not a question of Cuba, nor of the Soviet Union; it is Latin America. The invasion of Cuba is the revolution in Latin America. It is the loss of all confidence, credit and authority, the disintegration of what remains of the capitalist system - not instantaneously, but it is completely the beginning of this process. This is one of the reasons why imperialism does not invade Cuba, together with the existence of the Soviet Union, China, and Soviet missiles. These factors cannot be separated; they are united. It is necessary to appeal to Cuba to intervene now. This is one of the principal tasks in Latin America.

Cuba's intervention shows that within Cuba there are forces which want to open out, extend themselves from Cuba. Such an attitude from Cuba is going to influence the masses of the United States and help them to organise themselves politically, to organise themselves in an independent and class way. This attitude of Cuba, which is still limited, partial and timid, announces that there are forces which want to go much further. It is not a guarantee, nor does it mean that the Cuban government is going to continue along this line of appeals, but it does indicate that there are forces which want to do this. Although they are being detained, they will be re-animated in a short time.

... There is a Latin American Anti-Imperialist United Front in progress in Argentina and all Latin America. The essential slogans of this Anti-Imperialist United Front are those of the agrarian reform, the agrarian revolution, throwing out imperialism, nationalisation of the principal sources of imperialist and national production, nationalisation of the banks, planning of production by means of the banks and the co-ordination and planning of all Latin America.

Neither Latin America nor any young country which wants to develop as a capitalist country, has the chance, this is gone forever. All the turns which it makes, all its attempts are doomed to failure. There is no place for this. The capitalist world is concentrating and imprisoning itself to try to defend itself with atomic arms.

new society. Lenin's kind character had a constant, permanent utility, of impelling socialism. He organised kindness for socialism. With Villa it was kindness in a certain way, to be pleasant with people. One cannot historically compare the two. Although on the immediate plane they have the same aim.

In historic comparisons it is always necessary to see the aim of each person in history. Lenin proposed to construct socialism. Villa still did not propose this. He proposed to eliminate the exploitation of the peasantry. So he had a limitation in the formation of his character. Lenin's character was complete. This is why Lenin began a new human being in history, which is the Bolshevik, which is the will concentrated in the conscious aim to construct socialism, to eliminate the regime of exploitation and to construct a new society. This is the Party of Lenin. All of humanity is going toward this, and we are amongst them.

J. POSADAS. 20.12.70

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS  
IN BRAZIL.

The campaign organised by the IV International throughout the world for the liberation of the Brazilian political prisoners has met with tremendous success. The Communist Parties of Belgium, of Britain, of Sweden; the trade union centres of Italy, France and Chile, numerous Members of Parliament, intellectuals, student groups, trade union branches have responded to the appeal of the International by sending telegrams, resolutions and letters. Nevertheless it is necessary to intensify this campaign, because news has reached us that the great number of political prisoners, among them the Trotskyists, have been moved from Tirandientes to an unknown prison, thus making it easier for the government to eliminate them without anyone knowing. Although there are many rumours now of an amnesty to coincide with the 150th anniversary of Brazilian independence, we are convinced that this will only be applied in the case of a few prisoners to whom the government gives little importance, while others will be assassinated. The Trotskyists, seen by the government as the conscious organising centre of the Brazilian revolution, are the most likely to suffer.

We renew our appeals to the Labour, Communist and Trade Union vanguard to the intellectual, to the student movement, to all our readers to maintain and intensify the barrage of declarations, resolutions, petitions and telegrams, to the Brazilian embassy and government demanding an end to the arrests and torture of political prisoners; demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners held and demanding that any amnesty must apply to all the prisoners.

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

A new step was made in the constant advance of the campaign in this country recently when on August 1st. the British Committee against Dictatorship in Brazil was organised. Present at the founding meeting of the committee were representatives of the Brazilian Information Front, Communist Party, Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), Liberation, Pax Christi, Young Liberals, Independent Labour Party and Luton Trades Council. The aims adopted by the committee are :- 1. To organise a campaign in Britain against the repressive politics of the Brazilian dictatorship, and to demand (a) the immediate end of the use of torture and assassination of political prisoners; and (b) respect for the UN Charter of Human Rights. 2. to publicise the increasing misery and exploitation of the majority of the Brazilian people. 3. To oppose the policies pursued by the Brazilian government which threaten other Latin American countries, and its collaboration with US imperialism and racist and colonialist regimes elsewhere.

We urge all trade union branches, trades councils, CLP's etc. to adhere to the committee. The address is c/o 313/5 Caledonian Rd., London N.1 or c/o RWP(T).

This issue - no. 164 - of Red Flag is duplicated owing to the printer being on holiday. The next issue -no. 165 - will be printed as usual.

## TROTSKYIST PRESS

- ALGERIA:** Revolution Socialiste, organ of the Forth International Group, (Trotskyist), clandestine.
- ARGENTINA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Clandestine.
- BELGIUM:** Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), C. Polet, 100 Boulevard Bertrand, Charleroi, BELGIUM.
- BOLIVIA:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Clandestine.
- BRAZIL:** Frente Operaria, organ of the Partido Operaro (Trotskyist), Clandestine.
- CHILE:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquinbo 291, Talcahuano. (Chile).
- CUBA:** Voz Proletaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Montes, 12 ap 11, Piso 2, Habana, (Cuba).
- ECUADOR:** Lucha Comunista, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), Apartado 3726, Quito, Ecuador.
- FRANCE:** Lutte Communiste, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, (Trotskyist), Roc'Hongar 63 Rue Victor Hugo, Courbevoie, 92 Paris France,.
- GERMANY:** Arbeiter Stimme, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Group, (Trotskyist), German section of the IV. International Paul Schulz, 6 Frankfurt/M, Postfach 16708, German Federal Republic.
- GREECE:** Kommunistikipali, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, (Trotskyist), Clandestine.
- ITALY:** Lotta Operaia, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, (Trotskyist), Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense, Italy.
- MEXICO:** Voz Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Jose L. Hernandez, Apdo Postal Num. 66-587, Mexico 12 DF.
- MIDDLE EAST:** Socialist Revolution Bulletin in Arab and Persian languages of the IV. International. Refer to English, French, Italian and Belgium addresses.
- PERU:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Apartado 5044, Correo Central, Lima, Peru.
- SPAIN:** Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Clandestine. Refer to French, Belgium and Italian addresses.
- URUGUAY:** Frente Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, (Trotskyist), Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo, 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Marxist Review in Arabic,** organ of the Arab Bureau of the IS of the IV International, Edition in Arabic.
- PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:**
- Cuarta Internacional,** organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americanas,** organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) Mexican Section of the IV International.
- Revista Marxista Latino-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.
- Revista Marxista Lation-Americana,** reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.
- Revista Marxista Europea (In Italian),** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059-00153 Roma (Ostiense) —Italy.
- Revue Marxiste Europeenne (In French),** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. M.A. Roc'Hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, B. Postale 273, Charleroi, Belgium.
- European Marxist Review (in English)** organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Foruth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St, London, W.C.2. England.

Printed and Published by  
Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)  
British Section of the IV International.

Address. IV International Publications,  
24 Cranbourn Street, London. W.C.2.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**



VIVA THE LATEST OFFENSIVE OF THE  
VIETCONG  
FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE  
PREVENTIVE WAR AGAINST WORLD  
IMPERIALISM

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 165 4th Friday of August 1972 PRICE 3p

## Factory meetings, mass assemblies to make Sept. 5 a massive general strike to impel the overthrow of the Tory Government

In the course of the dockers strike, which has just ended, we have seen violent clashes between the dockers and the police, which were expressions of civil war. The clashes at Neap House Wharf at Scunthorpe and elsewhere resulted from the open provocation of the police with bricks being thrown at dockers from the police lines on two occasions, and the launching of police charges to clear the pickets. These provocations come as no surprise, they are part of the policy of British and world imperialism at this time. Since it can no longer govern in the traditional manner through Parliament, and can no longer rely on the Labour and Trade Union apparatus to 'control' the workers, it turns more and more to the use of provocations and terrorism. This is obvious in Northern Ireland and the working class in this country are warned of the methods, which British imperialism are preparing to use in this country. As the International Secretariat of the IV International analysed in "The rebellion in Northern Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership, and the struggle for socialism in Britain. 6. 2. 72," British imperialism is using nazi methods in Northern Ireland, but without any real social support they cannot create mass organisations on the lines of Hitler's 'brown shirts' to smash the masses.

In these circumstances they use other, more clandestine, methods, such as the constant assassinations being carried out in Northern Ireland. Since the beginning of July there have been 45 'unsolved' and 'motiveless' murders, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) reports 80 assassinations in the last 18 months, which the police are not interested in investigating. As NICRA says if one of these assassinations had occurred in Britain—at least in a previous period—then there would have been a great outcry, massive investigations, but in Northern Ireland the bourgeois authorities ignore them. Of course they do—they already know the source of these assassinations. The refusal of political asylum to the two Moroccan officers, who arrived in Gibraltar after the coup against King Hassan, is another aspect of the terroristic attitude of British imperialism. In a previous period they would have been able to maintain their 'liberal' image, and given them political asylum, but now they return these young officers to Moroccan military justice, to the firing squad immediately, without discussion. The continued escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam by Yankee imperialism shows the real face of imperialism at this stage of history, and Vietnam is the most concentrated expression of the world civil war of which the struggle in Northern Ireland and the Dockers strike are local expressions.

The dockers launched themselves into a struggle, not simply to try to solve local, or sectional problems, but to impel a General Strike, to act as a centre for the whole working class. The violence with which they confronted the agents of capitalism—the police, the bourgeois press—the organisation of the 'flying picket' type of organisation shows this. They acted in the same way as the miners did previously—and as the building workers are now—to try to organise throughout the class. In intervening towards the Midland car workers, as the 'unofficial' dockers leaders, appeal Bernie Steer and Vic Turner did, was an appeal for the mobilisation of a decisive sector of the workers vanguard. They acted as the miners did, with notable success, before them. For bourgeois commentators—or anybody else—to describe the 'return to work' by the dockers as a defeat is so much nonsense. The dockers strike has been a victory for the

class, they acted as a vanguard, which mobilised the class in a confrontation with the government, which successfully imposed the release of the five imprisoned dockers, and which smashed the government industrial relations legislation. Furthermore, the working class was able to impel the TUC to call a 24-hour General Strike, itself a victory, which will encourage the class to impose its will even more on the trade union and Labour Party apparatus. The struggle of the dockers is going to have an encouraging effect on the whole of the European workers movement, not only because of the actions of solidarity by many sectors of the workers in Europe, but because the European working class sees that, time after time, the British workers are able to defeat what was once the most stable and capitalist power in Europe.

The actions of the dockers at Transport House following the decision of the delegate conference to call off the strike was an imposition of the will of a sector of the class in its own organisation. It was, on the one hand, a direct expression of the revolutionary nature of the struggle, of the confrontation—class against class—when they threw the press out of Transport House saying that they were agents of capitalism who told lies about the workers struggle. On the other hand they imposed a discussion on Jones, forced him to talk to them and not the bourgeois press, and this anti-bureaucratic aspect of the struggle is, as Cde. Posadas said in a previous document, the revolution in this country.

The 'return to work' by the dockers was logical, because they saw no possibility of making further gains at this time, and they are not going to waste their energy. Of course certain economic gains were made, at the expense of some of the capitalist enterprises in the docks, in ensuring the continuation of some jobs for dockers. However, the 'Jones/Aldington' recommendations have yet to be ratified, and anyway they consist mostly of promises of inquiries into the position of the small unregistered ports and for higher redundancy pay for dockers. Even if they are actually implemented—and this is by no means cer-

tain—it does nothing to answer the unemployment, which capitalism is creating by using automation and mechanisation in its own class interests. The dockers have returned because they do not see a leadership capable, and prepared to carry the struggle forward to solve the problem of unemployment, and because they are aware that the problem cannot finally be solved within the capitalist system. The leadership of the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee were able to lead a national struggle when the 'official' trade union leadership was not prepared to, but without the slogans, the programme which responded to the level of the struggle. It was a situation, which demanded the slogan ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE WORKER IN THE FORM OF HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER WORKING HOURS and for WORKER CONTROL. They acted below the level of the class—in a situation where factory occupations are normal—there is now another one at the BLMC Thorneycroft works in Swindon—and where a small sector of workers, like those of Briants Colour Printing occupy the works, and run it under workers control. This is the level of the class!

The situation in this country corresponds to a world situation, which is marked by the immense crisis of the centre of world capitalism—Yankee imperialism. This crisis shows itself in an acute way when McGovern, who has gained support in the Democratic Party on the basis of opposing the policy of

Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, now makes a direct challenge to the CIA and the Pentagon by adopting Shriver—it is part of the Kennedy tendency—as vice-presidential candidate. The CIA assassinated both John and Robert Kennedy, because they endangered the central policy of Yankee imperialism, to terrorise and assassinate the masses in an attempt to continue to survive. When two sectors of the ruling class confront each other in this way, it is a profound crisis in what is the death agony of world capitalism and imperialism. At the same time a sector of the American trade unions—the one effective centre the working class has in America—responds to this by defying the leadership of the AFL CIO, and supporting the policy of McGovern. The acute crisis of Yankee imperialism, and the increasing intervention of the Soviet Union to confront imperialism, and to impel the world revolution are fundamental aspects of the advance of the world revolution, on which the Communist Party can base itself. This means the necessity of discussion of the programme and structure within the CP, a discussion on the organisation of cells of the party, based on the areas of work in the docks, the factory etc., which will enable the full weight and authority of the Communist Party militants to be mobilised in the working class. In the absence of an organised leadership in the Labour Party the workers struggle is going to continue to centralise itself around the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

### FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL TROTSKYISTS AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRAZIL

The campaign for the release of Trotskyists and other revolutionary prisoners is continuing. This is becoming more and more urgent in view of reports of the disappearance of many prisoners from the Tiradentes gaol and the possibility of a massacre by the sectors of the Brazilian regime most linked to the CIA.

We repeat our appeal for the maximum financial aid in this campaign. Send all donations via Fourth International Publications, 23 Cranbourne St., Leicester Square, WC1.

### NEWS OF THE WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE BRAZILIAN TROTSKYISTS AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS.

MEXICO—INDEPENDANT PEASANT CENTRE Mexico 10th. June 1972

Ref.—Energetic protest against the brutal repressions whose victims are revolutionary fighters; we demand the cessation of the tortures and assassinations, and the liberation of those who have been arrested.

Sr. President of the Republic,  
National Palace, Brazilia, Brazil.

We have authenticated reports on the brutal repression whose victims are the leaders and supporters of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist political parties and social organisation of this country, as a consequence of the repressive policies of the government over which you preside, and in whose barbarous repression the odious CIA participates.

It seems that RUI OSWALDO AGUIAR PFUTZENREUTER, member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Brazil, and the economist MACIEL FERREIRA a democrat unattached to any party, have been assassinated, and in the prisons of Caninde, Fortaleza and other centres are to be found 21 other brutally tortured revolutionary fighters, and among them various Peasants and Trotskyists. The discontent of the workers, the peasants and popular masses of this country is enormous, owing to the fact that the present regime in Brazil only serves the national and foreign capitalists, and on the other hand the just demands of the masses find only fascist repression as a response.

On account of this, in the name of the Independant Peasants Centre (CCI) we protest in the most energetic manner, demanding the immediate and definitive cessation of repression and tortures and the immediate and absolute liberation of all the political prisoners, and guarantees of freedom for all the revolutionary, social and political organisations.

### "LIBERTY AND RADICAL AGRARIAN REFORM"

For the National Executive Committee :—  
Ramon Danzon Palomino  
General Secretary  
Rafael Jacobo Garcia  
Organising Secretary

# The advance of the Allende government and the tasks to go forward from a Revolutionary State to a Workers State

J. POSADAS 19. 4. 72

It is necessary to orientate the discussion on the present stage of the revolution in Chile, the character of the government, and the advance of the revolutionary state towards the Workers State, on the basis of all the experiences left by the Bolsheviks, and to a lesser extent the experiences of the Chinese and the other Workers States. The revolutionary process, which is taking place in Chile, is not the same as in an already constituted Workers State. It is necessary for Chile to achieve proletarian power, that is to say, the power which allows the proletariat to develop its historic function. The first thing to do then is to construct the organs which lead to power.

There is a stage of transition between the revolutionary state and the Workers State. It is necessary to complete this stage while advancing towards workers power. All the experiences of the first seven years of the revolution have been written about. There are texts of Lenin, of Trotsky and the texts of the first four Congresses of the Communist International. There are experiences made, and discussed afterwards in a limited way, in Germany, Hungary and later, China. After that, there was no more experience of Soviets. The other revolutions, the new Workers States, which have been constructed were not made on the basis of the functioning of organisms of the soviet type. They were created during and after the war on the basis of the particular conditions, which did not exist before.

## THE IRREPLACEABLE HISTORIC FUNCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

These new leaderships do not dispose of organs of power prepared to advance, also all the criticisms of the bourgeoisie and of the petit bourgeoisie penetrate the party, inhibit bourgeoisie and retard them.

The criticisms of the bourgeoisie did not cause any problem for Lenin. The bourgeoisie accused him of being "an agent of Germany... an assassin... a traitor... an anti Russian and Lenin said "Yes... yes... let us take power! At no time did he devote any time to discuss with the bourgeoisie, to know if he was an agent of the Germans or not. The masses saw in Lenin a representative of the Russian revolution, the leader of the Russian revolution. Because he had the organ, because he had the party. The party thought, reasoned and transmitted its thought to the class. And the party rooted in the class, involved in all the events, unified the latter, in the will to take the power. The "Ten days that shook the world" happened in Russia only. China did not have its "Ten days that Shook the World", which showed how the party progressively won the people, elevating, developing and organising them, to incorporate them. "The Ten days which Shook the World", is about that. They show how a new organism in history, the Bolshevik Party organised the struggle for power. There is no previous experience. The Jacobin clubs had another function in history.

The Bolshevik Party was a minority in society; it had no relation with property. The Jacobins had links with property; continuity was maintained from one regime to another through private property. The Bolsheviks had nothing. They were a new experience. They took in their hands the levers of power to transform private property into nationalised property. There were the new conditions in history. It is there that one sees the role of the party. The party put the class in communication with the petit bourgeoisie, with the soldiers, with the peasants, and developed in the population, the confidence and the security that changes are possible, convenient and necessary. It convinces and persuades.

Bread, Peace and Land were the slogans of the Bolsheviks, but they were transmitted by the Bolshevik masses, who were a minority in the country. The Bolsheviks knew how to convince the peasant masses, the petit bourgeoisie and the soldiers. The Bolsheviks analysed, distributed leaflets, made conferences, intervened in discussions, showed what they were resolved to do. They had resolved to do it rifle in hand, with cannon, with war and revolution. It is thus that they won the population. The programme showed itself to be correct, and the Bolsheviks showed also the resolution and the capacity to realise it.

There is no present experience on which to base oneself. Stalin ruled and liquidated all the previous experience; he liquidated all the literature, all the texts, but also the soviet functioning, and the functioning of the Bolshevik Party. But the revolution has continued in every way to advance. That has been demonstrated in the concentration of power, which meant the triumph of the USSR over the Nazis, which allowed the triumph of the revolution on the basis of the crises of capitalism in Europe. But this did not transmit experience for the new revolutions, which advance on the basis of the revolutionary state. They are not experiences on which they can base themselves, and they have no tendency to return to the sources, to have recourse to historic experience. They want to do something new.

Today certainly there are new conditions in history, better than before. But the function of the party remains irreplaceable. But who will realise the function of putting into communication all the population, unifying it, and centralising it, so that it intervenes? The revolution, is the masses intervening in the leadership of society. It is a question of that.

It is necessary to convince these comrades of the leadership of the Chilean revolution, to follow the experience of the Russian revolution. It is not necessary to go through fully all the roads followed by the Russian revolution; it is not strictly the problem of "Bread, Peace and Land". In a relative sense, historically, these demands still apply. People want work, they want to finish with the war and oppression, then it is "Bread, Peace and Land", which they want, that is to say the means to assure their existence. The historic conditions are such that these demands are today more extensive, more generalised, but it is always "Bread, Peace, Land". These are in the last resort the essential problems for humanity; to finish with war and oppression, to finish with the fact of being at the mercy of other people in order to live, to finish with the necessity of fighting in order to live. "Bread, Peace and Land". The slogans remain the same, it is their form, their presentation which is modified. Today, that is to say "Against the imperialist war! Against capitalist domination, for socialism. This is what is meant today by the slogans, "Bread, Peace and Land!"

It is necessary to use the slogans, to develop them. The party must root itself in the masses, function within them, and show themselves capable of resolving everything. The workers must show that they are capable of resolving, deciding everything, of making the country function. In seeing that, the petit bourgeoisie is won, and it feels what its function in history is, in learning to lead society. The petit bourgeoisie does not feel itself any more as in a previous stage, to be an intermediate layer oscillating between two classes, for the proletariat leads it, takes it in hand and incorporates it into the Workers State. It ceases then to be petit bourgeois. Even at the stage of the revolutionary state, the petit bourgeoisie begins already to cease to be a petit bourgeoisie, and unites itself to the proletarian class. Because of its social extraction, its social antecedents, it is still a petit bourgeoisie, but the social function, which it fulfills in the revolutionary state, is already no more like a petit bourgeoisie. It is possible to win it, how? Through the intervention of the proletariat, through a decided and resolute programme, through a programme which concentrates the discussion, the re-

solution, and the capacity of the masses to resolve all the problems. That is what it is necessary to do in Chile; it is necessary to constitute this party, this movement, this organism. A formal proof of this necessity exists; what are they talking about at the present time in Poland? The Bolshevik Party, that is what they are discussing! What are they discussing in Czechoslovakia? The Bolshevik Party. They can give it any name they like, but it is the Bolshevik Party that they are discussing, that is to say the conception, the structure and the object.

## INTERVENE ON ALL THE PROBLEMS BY UTILISING MARXISM, ORGANISING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO ADVANCE WITHOUT SPLITS

The crisis of the CP will be very great in a little while. But in every revolutionary epoch the right loses ground, loses its bases, its points of support, and the centre leans towards the left. It is like this, because the epoch is revolutionary. But the right is not going to clear out. A part of this right can be gained, as it was in the USSR. But at the time, the enormous structure, all the bureaucratic body must be united, because they mean a very great obstacle. These sectors have a bureaucratic conception, which they refuse to change or modify. We count on the development of the world revolution to progressively dissolve their power, to take from these bureaucrats, the confidence in a functioning, where they depend on each other. We count on this to divide more and more, internally, their interests as bureaucrats. This is already visible in the USSR and in the other Workers States.

Before even developing as a socialist revolution, new revolutions already pose the problems of bureaucratisation. Chile is an example of this. It is necessary to intervene in the struggle against bureaucratisation, and pose the necessity for proletarian democracy, which is the means to combat the bureaucracy; proletarian democracy, development of demonstrations, of meetings, of assemblies, election everywhere of the most capable, revocability of elected representatives. This is the way to organise the leaders. When in Chile, they already pose the problem of the struggle against bureaucratisation, as the intervention of Figueroa indicated, it is because the problem is strongly felt by the masses. The masses do not want the experience of the bureaucratisation of the USSR and the other Workers States to be repeated. It is necessary to assist proletarian democracy.

The present struggle in the Chilean CP is kept hidden, but it is all going to come out into light, and in a way favourable to us.

The right hasn't the field to develop itself. There are conditions on history which allow, at certain moments, the right to launch itself, and to intervene. But now the right changes, which is not only a fraud. In part it seeks to deceive, but also it feels itself encouraged to advance without fear; without the fears, which the right of all the communist parties had before. Certainly, these changes are linked to those of Moscow, but the fear, which these sectors have of advancing, indicates their own lack of audacity and resolution, a lack of audacity accentuated in its turn by the timid function played by these parties. On the other hand, in the process of ascent of the revolution, the centre passes to the left, and the right dissolves, it is already dissolving.

It is the USSR, which liquidated Ota Sik, it is true. But on this occasion the Soviet bureaucracy represented a force superior to that of the Soviet Union, it represented the world revolution. This is what crushed Ota Sik. The Soviet bureaucracy only executed the will of the world revolution, and it is just for this reason that it wanted to rid itself of this weight. If the bureaucracy had organised this intervention on the basis of its own interest, the process would be different. But the bureaucracy made a blow against the right, against Ota Sik, and in the course of the road superior problems to those, which had been the origin of the liquidation of Ota Sik have

emerged; the development of the political revolution. This shows the importance of the forces of the revolution. These forces are in every country, and exert their influence on Chile, Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina. The distribution, and the welcome received in Chile by the brochure made by the Chilean Section of our text on "The independence of the Trade Unions in the Revolutionary State", is a good index of the politicisation of the Chilean Revolution, of its movement to the left and its marxist progress.

It is necessary to organise the crisis of the Communist Party and Socialist Party in such a way that it does not produce ruptures, and so that the right, both of the Communist and Socialists, is maintained, gained and rendered useful. In the stages of the revolution, the right as much as the centre suffers changes. The pressure of the revolution takes away from them their basis of support, the base of their confidence and support. On the other hand, the sector of the left, which wants to make the revolution advance, has solid points of support, and gains the centre, and dissolves it internally. Internally, the right conserves its norms, but externally it no longer receives an echo. It can still find a certain echo, and a certain base in the interior of the parties, because these parties are still parties of the apparatus.

It is necessary to lead forward the discussion inside the parties, formulate positions, elevate the experiences, make the party live again, fused to the factories, to the villages, to the schools, to the universities, to the workers areas. The Party must live fused with the population. For this it is necessary to have a party, which lives in cells, sharing the life of the population. It is necessary that the proletariat has organs at its disposal, which are its own organs, like the factory committees. It is necessary that the TUs play the role of the vital centres of the revolution. The essential function of the TU, at the same time as it defends workers demands, is to elevate and direct production, which must not only be increased, but which must be directed in such a way that it cannot be bureaucratised, that it cannot be pillaged by the bureaucracy, the bosses, the administrators. The TUs must participate in the political leadership of the country, direct the economy, discuss the policy, to carry out as much on a world scale as nationally. What organs to create? What plan of production to establish? The TUs must intervene on everything, which elevates the life of the poor masses. To impel the revolution is to elevate the level of life of the most backward sectors, and the middle sectors. This is the way one measures the capacity of the revolution. This fact also makes a part of production, in which the objective is not solely export. It is necessary in this way to establish a series of measures destined for the transformation of raw materials, even if this transformation is still limited. It is necessary to count on the Workers States for this, as much for the refining of copper, as for its utilisation in the industries, of transformation. Such are the problems, which it is necessary to discuss.

It is necessary to develop a marxist literature in Chile, which deals with all these problems. And to discuss them together with the concrete problems. How to gain the petit bourgeoisie? How to

gain the army? By acting in this way. The army must see that the new leaders of society do not oppress, do not leave people on one side, but incorporate them in the tasks of the leadership of society. The army must not see the new power which it has to confront, against which it must dispute, quarrel with, and which tends to maintain its differentiation from the whole of society, to maintain its influence, its high salaries, its representation, its privileges.

No. The way to face the army is by direct propaganda, so that the army sees the proletariat leading the country. It sees that the masses are capable of leading society better than the capitalist regime. There is no doubt that the top of the army is going to stay on the side of capitalism, but not the rest of the army. It has to see that it can intervene in society and construct a new society; without creating the illusion that the army as an institution is going to be transformed, but a very great part of the army can be won, whether in Bolivia, in Chile, in Peru, in all Latin America, Africa and Asia. And also part of the great capitalist armies. Like in France, where a very large group of officers and NCOs have just gained the right to be in a trade union. When they demand the right for "military trade unions", it is because they feel that it is not a function of "Defence of the homeland", which is above classes, but that it is simply a paid function. They are functionaries that work; which means that they depend on whoever has

### IT IS NECESSARY TO FORM ORGANS OF WORKERS POWER

In the discussion with the Chilean comrades it is necessary to make them feel that the problem is to organise the power, which rises up from below, from the factories, from the houses, from the neighbourhoods. So the neighbourhoods, the housewives, children, old people, the trade unions, the factories intervene in all the organs of distribution. So that they all intervene, discuss everything, resolve everything. So that there is popular power. Obviously, the right is going to launch itself against this with everything it has got, well, then the people say: "There they are. The right is against us having the power". And clearly imperialism is going to come down on them. And it will fail as in Vietnam!

These changes Allende has made, putting a military man in as minister of industry, are very important. He is a left soldier, representing a wing of the army. The left wing military has a long tradition in Chile. There is a whole wing of the army that is well on the left. 20 officers went to visit the copper mines, to see the copper extracted and refined, to discuss with the trade unions, and to invite them to go and see the officers and soldiers in their barracks.

This is why it is wrong to accuse Allende of being merely interpenetrative and reformist. It is one thing to conciliate with the army, but it is quite a different thing to seek agreements with the left military. This makes them advance miles. It is good. We would do this too. If we had the power, we would do this, because this wins a base, time and security. They are the eight months the Bolsheviks passed from February to October. This stage in Chile has to be taken like that period of the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks were not in power—there was Keresky—but it was a more or less similar stage. It is not a complete change, this is how it has to be taken.

If the government in Chile does not animate itself to go further forward, with the dynamism with which it could go forward, it is because it has not been prepared. But what is important, is that even without being sufficiently prepared, its positions move forward. In part it has cut them short, it has limited them, but it goes forward. As Corvalan declared, "We are going forward with the whole programme of reform." So it is necessary to make the economic reforms as profound as possible. But at the same time as the reforms, to see that workers power develops.

It is necessary to discuss with the Chilean comrades that the problem of the economy is above all a problem of the organs that must develop the economy, the alliance with the Workers States, and the development, and export of the revolution. Although in this stage it is no longer "export" of the revolution, but rather to simply let the revolution extend itself.

The organisms that are arising in Chile, like the Popular Tribunals, the Popular Unity Committees, the Factory Committees, are not organisms of dual power, because there is not a capitalist government. They are organisms that press forward the development of the power, from the government to the power. The government of Allende still has to ba-

power, from their relations of work, and in any moment they can turn around, because someone else pays. But they are not in search of pay, but reason and intelligence. This means there are changes in history, changes in the mind of the people. This shows where history is going.

But why does this process occur now? Have the people changed? No. The 14 Workers States and the 16 Revolutionary States are creating the security in the socialist future of humanity, and produce these effects in the soldiers, who feel encouraged and stimulated to see that the state is a state of the boss, state of those that have power. So he defends those that have the power, this is why he considers himself to be more of an employee, and when he needs to defend himself from his employer, he uses the strike. Which means to say that already the 14 Workers States are fulfilling the directing function, fulfilling part of the function of the permanent revolution, winning the mind of the people to make the soldiers see the problems of the class struggle, and to make them feel the authority of the Workers States, and not the future of the capitalist system. If the future were in the hands of capitalism, the soldiers would not be demanding trade unions. On the contrary, they would be strengthening themselves as a power of the capitalist system, exercising the function of a bureaucracy, and increasing their power to defend the capitalist system for their own benefit.

lance between the development of anti-capitalist economic measures, and the observance of laws, principles and forms from the capitalist regime. It is a mixture; this is why the action of the MIR is important. It responds to a necessity although the policy they raise is wrong, because it tends to make the masses confront the government, which is incorrect.

Consequently the function of these organisms is not that of dual power, but of seeing how to lead, how to pass from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State. This is why they are not organs of dual power. They have a base of dual power, but since they do not exercise it against a capitalist government, they have no need for this dual power, but since they are constituted as organisms of dual power, they have to exercise the function advancing towards the power, because the government is not against them, it is not opposed to them, it is not foreign to them. So the tactic is to develop the deepest power, closer to the masses than that of the government; for this, together with the economic reform, to develop the Factory Councils, workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, housewives councils; to elaborate organs of power in the factory to direct the economy, or try to direct it, whilst developing it, so that they are able to intervene in all the problems of the economy and society. It is necessary to discuss the function of the Factory Councils as organisers of production, of quality, of distribution, of wages and the fixing of prices. The Factory Councils must intervene as a fundamental part of the economic structure and leadership of the country, with the intervention of the mass organisms in the areas, in the colleges, to discuss in the schools from the first class up to university the problems of the construction of the Workers State and socialism, to make everyone participate and give their opinion. And then the games of the children develop in this direction. The programmes and plans of study develop in this direction. This is going to clash with the right, but the mobilisation of 200,000 people indicates that the right is launching itself into the civil war, without arms, but it is civil war, and at any moment it will take them.

Culture and science are exported, and music too. Art, science and culture export themselves as they develop. Humanity accepts music, science, art and literature according to what is the most advanced, and what is useful for the progress of humanity; revolutionary ideas too. None can prevent a revolution in one country from influencing the other countries. It is a figurative expression to say "export of the revolution". It is the "export of science" too. "The export of art", "export of culture". No. It is the extension of the revolution, where it finds a welcome. When the revolution spreads it is because it is legitimate for it to do so. Why don't reactionary counterattacks extend themselves? They may spread to another country, but then they die. On the other hand, it is necessary to see how the process of the revolution spreads throughout all the world, in all the world, from the most backward countries to the most advanced,

from Bangla Desh to China, to Vietnam, to the Middle East, to Latin America.

One of the essential bases for the ascent of the revolution in Chile is to export it, to influence the rest of Latin America. What is Allende, in this case, doing? Allende has visited Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, "exporting" the revolution. But it is still limited, because he does not have organs, he has no Party. **THERE IS STILL NO REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN CHILE.** The revolutionary Party has this function of spreading the revolution. It takes the most advanced from each country to make a country which is a Revolutionary State, like Chile, progress. This is the same conception as of science, technology, culture and the economy.

### PREPARE THE MASSES FOR THE CIVIL WAR

Capitalism in Chile is preparing a sector of the population, which has never mobilised, because it feels that it is losing the privilege of power and property. So it is necessary to prepare the masses for the civil war. They could be infinitely better prepared, with greater capacity, with much more authority and attraction over the petty bourgeoisie and those peasant sectors that have still not been attracted. For this it is necessary for the masses to communicate amongst themselves. They have to intervene directly in conferences, assemblies, meetings, courses, demonstrations, leaflets, booklets, explaining and showing the intervention practically. Making all Chile live in these problems, from the children to the old people. They must all participate, discuss, analyse, give opinions, take conclusions, so that resolutions are taken from organs, area organs, factory organs, organs of the land, organs of the mines, organs of the offices, organs of the barracks, so that all the country discusses and intervenes. Is the process of Chile for one family? Is it for 10, 100 or 1000 owners? Or is it for all Chile? Discuss this! Isn't this going to bring us into conflict with capitalism? Obviously! The conflict is already there! The civil war is coming to face it. There is no other way to progress. This has to be developed in the most rapid and dynamic way.

All these problems have to be discussed, taking account of the fact that imperialism is going to attack, it is procuring and organising the counter-revolution. It is necessary to pose this openly. It is necessary to defend the conquests and progress made by the revolution. The best way to do this is to make all the population intervene! All! From the children to the old people! So they discuss everything, resolve everything, participate in everything, in the distribution, in the leadership, in the discussion, in the resolution, in the application, from the lowest to the highest levels. The bourgeoisie is going to protest and say that this is "communist power". So it is necessary to educate the population, to develop in it the consciousness, the pre-occupation and the decision to see that

### THE MIR EXPRESSES A NECESSITY, BUT WITH THE WRONG POLICY

The attitude of the MIR is important. The MIR is a good point of support. But if it stays just as it is, working as it works now, it confuses, because it makes movements that are directed against the government. Then it develops and alienates the people against the government, when what it is necessary to do is to persuade and win the government. It is not an enemy government, it is a friendly government.

What all these so-called Trotskyist groups cannot understand is that in Chile the revolution advances and advances. They refuse to say it. They say, "But Trotsky never said this..." "This is not written in Trotsky..." Is there an advance or not? This is not against Trotsky! In every way it advances, because there is the Soviet Union, there are the Workers States that were not there in Trotsky's epoch. And they have a power of concentration and influence, that mean, we do not have to go over again the road, which they took, nor the road taken by the revolutions up to the present time, because the 14 Workers States, the structure of the world process of the revolution, have an influence on people through their example, the authority of the economy, of the concentration, of the social, political, scientific development of the measures to take to win and convince people. This goes on winning people. They do not see this.

The reason such a process of quantitative advance is possible in Chile is that the concentration of the world process permits it. Because it is in the world process that the political revolut-

Then it is necessary to discuss how to spread the revolution. Allende's trip was very good, and had quite an echo, but it is insufficient. The best way to spread the revolution in Latin America, is that the Latin American masses see the Chilean masses leading the country, making assemblies, meetings, soviets, factory councils that discuss, resolve, give their opinion, and participate in the leadership of the country; through the Parties, through the government, but also through the organs, in which the working class directly participates with its opinion from the factories, areas and houses. This is immediately disseminated throughout Latin America. This spreads the revolution like technology, science, culture and literature are spread.

this is a power, which responds to the necessity of developing the economy. Pose this. One cannot avoid posing this. One cannot hide it, and go on taking measures moving closer to socialism. In every way it is going to provoke the counter-revolutionary reaction of capitalism, and it does not educate the masses. On the other hand by posing it openly, it will still provoke the reaction, but the masses are elevated and educated, they are unified to win the petty bourgeoisie and to influence the army, and sectors of the petty bourgeoisie that were previously the servants of capitalism. This is why we say that the MIR exercises a necessary function. But it does it badly, and not with an adequate policy. It has the function of taking the initiative, it promotes impulses to develop the revolution.

In Chile there is a development of civil war, still without the use of arms, but there are arms. The saucenans (the mobilisation of the right, where thousands of bourgeois appeared as housewives) is a call to arms. And the second demonstration, of all the population against the right, is a mobilisation of civil war. The civil war is underway. This has to be posed.

It is necessary to consider that the right is going to attempt a coup. So it is necessary to make a plan of mobilisation, of discussions, of meetings, to make all Chile into a discussion, to develop the people in the leadership of the process of the economy. They can do this. The government attempted to make the Popular Municipal Tribunals, but afterwards it retreated through the opposition of the right. But this can be returned to. And besides that to make a campaign, agitation in all the country showing that the solution is in every way armed. It is not a question of saying that we are going to take up arms to conquer the government, because we are already in the government. We take up arms to defend the government. This has to be posed, to develop the struggle, the mobilisation of the masses, to defend the government, to take power, to defend it under the criteria of the majority, agreed. But for this it is necessary to win, to win more people.

ion is made. Meanwhile, these Trotskyist groups are all the time waiting for the political revolution to come in the Soviet Union and destroy the bureaucracy. They expect the process to always repeat itself in the same way. They do not see that there is a concentration, which permits the most backward countries to elevate themselves to the level of the most advanced. And they do not see that the less developed revolutions are equalising themselves with the more developed. How is this distance being covered? Convincing the people, organising the mind, developing the experiences which others have made, and which are now received in an accumulated form. They do not see this.

It is not that "it is another stage of history, and the process occurs in another way", no. Organisationally it is made in another way, not in the way it was made before, but on a world scale, which is expressed locally, with less local accentuation and more world accentuation, just as the masses of the most backward countries pass rapidly to the level of the most advanced. Trotsky had already shown this without being able to understand how it was going to develop—because this was not possible—but he left the principles of it. The most backward country, so long as it has a proletarian nucleus, can base itself on the development of the world revolution to reach the level of the most advanced. Trotsky posed this. But Marx had already posed and developed this in "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte".

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE

# The role of the Trade Unions in the struggle for power

8. 8. 72

As the struggle for power intensifies and the class forces are polarised, the class concentration insistently demands a leadership, and an actual functioning of the class organisms, which correspond to the historic stage in which we are living. In this country the real weight of the trade unions, the immense power they possess, was demonstrated by the recent call by the TUC for a one day general strike, to secure the release of the dockers imprisoned under the Industrial Relations Act. Capitalism capitulated immediately.

Throughout Europe the direct struggle for power is on the agenda, the conditions for civil war are multiplying everywhere. A new May 1968 is being prepared, but this time not just in France but in the whole of Europe. And in all the class actions, which are being prepared, the trade unions have shown their indispensable role. In Italy the three main trade union groupings are in process of combining to form a single trade union centre for the united front against capitalism, the German unions were the spearhead of the mass mobilisations which supported the Ostpolitik of Brandt, and defeated the plans of the most reactionary sectors of capitalism to throw out the Social Democrat government. And in France the CGT has given its support to the united front of the Communist Party and Socialist Party.

But essentially the trade unions respond to the pressures from below, because they are obliged to, not because they are adequately prepared for the conflicts, which are coming, either from the point of view of programme or method. In the process naturally, forms of consciousness are generated among leaders and cadres, which make them more responsive to the needs of the masses, but it is still necessary to make the trade unions play a more conscious role in the historic events, which are taking place throughout the world, so that they use their forces in the most dynamic way, to overthrow capitalism.

To do this it is necessary for the trade unions to take up political positions on a whole series of issues, which because of their previous functioning they have not done. In general they have confined themselves to economic disputes, within the reformist framework of making capitalism work in a smoother way (although more recently in various unions have intervened more on social issues i.e. the TGWU on pensions, the AUEW against the Housing Finance Bill etc.). Hence the disputes with the government over reflating the economy, etc. But this approach is at odds with the realities of the intervention of the trade union masses against the Industrial Relations Act, the many joint actions of the dockers, miners engineers, etc. for the release of the dockers which are essentially demands for the taking of power and the overthrow of capitalism. A previous document of the TUC spoke of the need for the "opening of the books", a direct borrowing from Trotskyism, but it was left in the void, with no relation to programme and methods.

It is clear that a world process is developing, which cannot be contained by capitalism, but which on the other hand comes into conflict with the lack of preparation, theoretical backwardness and inert functioning of the workers organisations. The analysis made by Posadas of partial regeneration in the Workers States and Communist Parties has shown the reasons for all this, and how these states and parties are in process of transformation, which allows a better functioning and the transmission of marxism, and more elevated programmes and policies—still with many limitations, but allowing a superior functioning.

In Britain the absence of mass communist unions and parties limits the direct weight of marxism, on the other hand such is now the concentrated course of the process that the effects of partial regeneration are going to make themselves increasingly felt both in the trade union and the Labour Party.

Clearly the trade unions, like the La-

bour Party cannot be transformed overnight. The process is hampered by the existence of sectors whose education belongs to a previous period.

Faced with the enormous pressures for action, which have developed over a whole period among the engineers for example, Scanlon has evidently not known what to do. And the crisis there has hung fire, because there is no solid prepared team ready to use all the power of the engineers to smash the employers. The general programme of the AUEW which includes a sizeable proportion of demands for nationalisation, is never related to the concrete waging of the struggle, and it was the vanguard which took the initiative in a whole series of occupations. Similarly, Jones in the TGWU felt obliged to go to the Industrial Court and bring out a report on the docks which is quite remote from the political realities of the situation, and does not even meet the demands of the dockers for guaranteed employment in the docks. Such leaderships have a vision of reality, which belongs to a previous stage.

One very striking limitation, which has to be overcome, is the very small intervention of the unions in the process in the Labour Party. There the whole bourgeois structure of the party is at the death rattle stage. The expulsion of Taverner, he growing isolation of the Jenkins sector shows the general tendency. The Labour Party was founded on the basis of the trade unions. **THEY MUST INTERVENE. THEY MUST DEMAND THE EXPULSION OF THE RIGHT, THOSE WHO DO NOT ADHERE TO THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.** We appeal to all the middle cadres and leaderships in the trade unions not to wait on the decisions "at the top", but to take up a whole series of positions to direct all the trade union pressure at the Labour Party. This would prove overwhelming.

But intervening in the Labour Party must be based on an improved relationship between the unions and the masses. It is necessary that the leadership and middle cadres in the unions and the shop stewards impel the calling of mass meetings to discuss not only the problems of the workshop, the factory, but the policy of the Labour Party, Ireland, Vietnam, the line of the International Communist Movement. It is necessary to impel inter-union regional meetings and mass discussions on real proletarian democracy in the trade unions, so that officials and leaders are open to immediate recall. We appeal for the unions to stimulate the formation of factory committees based on mass assemblies as a means of deepening the relationships between the unions and the workers.

In this situation in particular, where international capitalism and imperialism are disintegrating, where British capitalism lurches into monetary, economical and social crisis, into a civil war, which is going to bury it, the trade unions must and can act as a spearhead of the proletariat. It was the unions who called for the general strike, the miserable toadies of capitalism in the leadership of the Labour Party can only bleat about parliamentary democracy and respect for the pro-capitalist law. When the pro-capitalist Prentice made his attack on the dockers, the unions should have intervened to say—he is on the side of the class enemy, throw him out!

Preparations must be made now for the general strike of unlimited duration to organise forces, which the Labour Party under its present leadership refuses to mobilise. Criticisms should be made of the present leadership of the Labour Party, who give no lead to the masses in the struggle against capitalism. Whilst the workers are preparing to wipe out capitalism, Callaghan wondered whether Mauding really should resign!

The release of the dockers showed the enormous world support that the British proletariat has. We appeal to the middle cadres, the leaders who can be won to the revolution, to intervene in, and publicise the struggles of the world proletariat, particularly of the English speaking workers in Canada, Australia, USA etc., and to appeal for the intervention of the Soviet trade unions directly in Britain. The Soviet trade unions support-

ed the miners strike, and have given holidays to the striking miners as a means of encouraging the process. And it is necessary to appeal to the CGT, the Italian unions, German and Belgian unions, and the unions of the Workers States for a single European trade union centre.

And the British trade unions must take a position on Ireland. Thousands of trade unionists belong to British unions in N. Ireland. A civil war exists there, because British imperialism is trying to smash the demands for social change and a better life using Nazi methods, killings, tortures. The unions must take up positions supporting the rent and rate strike there, and the immediate withdrawal of British troops, and the unification of the struggles of the British and Irish masses.

The trade unions, to some extent, have acted as a workers party, but the Labour Party is the specifically political arm which has to be changed. In all the violent and abrupt process, the Communist Party can use its great influence stemming from its being an extension of the Workers State, to develop the intervention of the trade unions.

"Power comes from the factory" as Posadas has said. In this period going towards civil war and world

war, the vanguard must intervene to transform the unions, to facilitate the overthrow of capitalism with the slogan **LABOUR TO POWER** with a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme and the left taking power in the Labour Party. A massive intervention by the unions on this slogan would mobilise and concentrate the proletariat as never before, together with the necessary transitional slogans nationalisations under workers control without compensation, all profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living, no worker to be dismissed, (No to the Common Market, Yes to the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe), out with British troops from N. Ireland, for a Single Trade Union Centre in Europe.

In the face of police and military violence, the trade unions must issue appeals for the organisation of workers detachments, for mass mobilisations to smash the capitalist intimidation. No sector of workers must be left to confront violence by themselves. The unions must intervene on all this.

## Factory meetings, mass assemblies . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

trade unions particularly, and it is in the trade unions that the communist militants have a great authority. It is possible to act much more as a leadership, raising the slogans for workers control, for nationalisations under workers control, for the General Strike in all the struggles, which exist, and which will appear in the next period. Whole sectors of the left of the Labour Party are prepared to advance, and the call for factory occupations by the left Labour MP, Dennis Skinner shows this. He would not find the strength to make this direct appeal to the working class otherwise. However, these sectors are unorganised, lack confidence, and have not the organic links, which the communist militants have developed. It is now necessary and possible for the communist vanguard to intervene to these left sectors of the Labour Party, to transmit to them the confidence and security of the class, the authority of the Working States—in particular the Soviet Union—and, above all, the ideas and the method of Marxism, which are completely lacking in the Labour Party.

To pose a left Labour government which will implement anti-capitalist policies, as John Gollan does, means to impel the unorganised left in the Labour Party. In part the Communist Party already does this with its intervention to impel the struggle against the Tory Rent Act—the housing finance act—through the trade unions and trades councils. The opposition of sectors at the base of the Labour Party to the rent act has meant a wholesale crisis in the Labour Party. This defiance of the central government by 26 Labour councils, basing themselves on the support of workers and tenants organisations has aspects of dual power. It has also brought the left of the LP again into direct collision with the pro-capitalist sectors which are content to act as errand boys for the Tory government.

The militant struggle of the workers in this country constantly poses the General Strike. The dockers have gone back, although they are obviously going to continue to picket some cold storage firms, but the builders strike continues to spread, using the same methods as the dockers; the use of the 'flying pickets' to widen the strike, the creation of organisms, like the London Building Workers co-ordinating committee, to lead and centralise the strike, all show that the building workers are attempting to attract and impel the rest of the class. As with each struggle at this stage, the building workers strike can act as a centre for a General Strike, sending delegations of workers to all the centres of the class, to discuss a programme which contains the basic demand for £30 for a 35 hour week, but which must also include the demand for the occupation of building sites, with the support of other sectors of the class, and the running of them under workers control, demanding that the books of the building companies be open to the workers and

discussing how these building sites can be used for the benefit of the population. We call on the militants, particularly those of the Communist Party, to discuss this and to make appeals to the engineering workers to intervene on the basis of the programme for housing, which the AEUW has adopted.

The action of the dockers towards the unrepresentative and bureaucratic delegate conference, is an example and an encouragement to the entire workers vanguard. The struggle to impose the will of the class in its own organisations—the trade unions and Labour Party—is central to the development of the struggle for the overthrow of the Tory government, and its replacement by a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme with the left taking power in the Labour Party. The vanguard sectors of the workers in the car industry, engineering, transport, the miners must intervene as the dockers have done, the whole class must put a direct pressure on its own organisations. A 'day of action' is being proposed for September 5th.—the opening of the TUC Annual Conference—and we call for this to be a one-day General Strike with factory occupations and mass meetings to discuss the policy and programme of the TUC. At the same time delegates should be sent from every factory, so that the delegates to the TUC Conference are faced with a massive demonstration of workers raising slogans, for all profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours, the immediate 35 hour week without loss of pay, no worker to be sacked, all factories about to be closed to be taken under workers control, no rent increases, rents to be no more than 10% of the average workers wage, the nationalisation of the land, banks, and insurance, and all major industry under workers control and without compensation. In this the class must intervene to impose an end to the bureaucratic functioning of the TUC Conference, where delegates go to the seaside for a week away from the centres of the class. The TUC have been impelled to call a 24-hour General Strike, and they can be impelled much further. The same is true of the Labour Party and a massive intervention of the class at the annual conference of the Labour Party, which follows the TUC Conference, should be made on the same lines, putting a direct pressure on the left which is willing to advance, and demanding the removal of the right of the Labour Party, demanding the expulsion of the MP's who vote with the Tory, attack on the working class, demanding the expulsion of the councillors who implement the anti-working class legislation of the Tories.

20. 8. 72

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

# T.U.C. must base itself on the mobilisations strikes, demonstrations & factory occupations to overthrow the Tories

Resolution of the P. B. of the RWP(T) British Section IV International

(Text distributed at the T.U.C. Conference)

This annual conference of the TUC takes place in conditions where the vanguard of the working class seeks, with strikes and demonstrations, to make its weight felt in the conference. Those workers who are lobbying this conference and those who are striking, do so with the confidence, which comes from the knowledge that they were able to impel the TUC to confront the Tory government and to call a 24 hour General Strike. A few days before this Vic Feather was saying, how difficult it would be to call a National General Strike, but the TUC called for it! For the first time since 1926 they called for a General Strike! It is not possible to overestimate the importance of this, because had the Tories not lost their nerve and released the imprisoned dockers, then the General Strike would have taken place with the probability that the working class would have used it as a centre to push forward the struggle to overthrow the Tory government. The fact that it was called off almost immediately does not detract from the importance of this victory of the class, and they are going to take encouragement from this to push the trade union leaderships into more decisive confrontations with the Tory government than previously. What caused the TUC to take the decision to call a 24 hour General Strike was the uncontrollable pressure of the workers at the base of the Trade Unions, in the factories, and that is what is going to weigh on the delegates to this year's TUC conference, and in all the discussions.

## The significance of the prison mobilisations in the struggle for workers power

The wave of demonstrations, for reform and for the recognition of the prisoners Union PROP, is a reflection of the climate of rejection and hatred against capitalism, which exists in the working class, and petit bourgeoisie of the whole country. The demonstrations do not have a direct importance in relation to the essential problem facing the vanguard and working class—that of constructing a revolutionary leadership in the LP and TUs—but it certainly is important as a basis of security and confidence of the vanguard that all the conditions in the country favour the struggle against capitalism, and its agents within the workers movement.

If there was not the world structure of the revolution which weighs in Britain, the constant strikes and demonstrations in the country, the miners victory, the setting free of the dockers, Ireland, the TUC calling a one day general strike, there would not be these prison mobilisations. But the influence and effect of all this permeates all layers of society, even the rather distant prison population, showing them that it is possible to struggle and win collectively. The criminal is a product of the capitalist system, which has no interest or capacity to win him over, while he, on the other hands responds to the evils of capitalism in a individualist way seeking his own solution. Now in these demonstrations the prisoners have struggled together, one prison supporting another, one group of prisoners helping with food and blankets other prisoners; thus they begin to think for others, and not exclusively for themselves. Already the influence of the class and revolutionary struggle gains these prisoners and 'rehabilitates' them more than all the paternalist probation and social workers employed by capitalism can do, because it shows them the possibility of superior social relations. Capitalism can show them nothing, except its murders in Vietnam or Ireland, its hypocrisy, violence and barbarity, and so it has no way of dealing with the criminal except by locking him away.

Prisons express all the stupidity and cruelty of capitalism aiming to cove and dehumanise its occupants, but today the revolution breaks into the prison showing the possibility of a better, more fraternal life, and the prisoners respond to this. When the prisoners stay on strike for the recognition of PROP, when they sing "we shall not be moved", when PROP itself campaigns for the end of cheap labour in the prisons, and promises to make a strike in support of the Prisons officers demands for "better working and living conditions", it shows that they have been affected by the powerful TU struggle, and want to link with this movement. And capitalism, which cannot any more use criminals as its strike breakers and thugs against the workers movement, as it could in the past, and which cannot solve what it calls the problems of discipline in the jails, is going to respond as the US authorities did against Attica, they are going to use force and more force.

But when we see the prisoners acting as they are now, we see already, even before the overthrow of capitalism, how the Workers State is going to solve these problems, eliminate prisons, substitute persuasion for coercion, as they are, in part, doing in China, Cuba, and the other Workers States. Thus the vanguard can take these demonstrations, not as a chance thing, but as an expression of the power of the revolution, which makes itself felt everywhere, facilitating the struggle for the revolutionary leadership.

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 166 2nd Friday of September 1972 PRICE 3p

## THE TRADE UNIONS PLAY AN INDISPENSABLE ROLE AT THIS STAGE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

If the TUC is a focus of the attention of the working class at this time, it is because the class seeks the means to centralise its struggle, seeks a centre to take forward the struggle to overthrow the Tory government. In the absence of a leadership in the Labour Party, which is prepared to organise and lead this struggle, the working class has used the Trade Unions because they are instruments, which are more accessible to them. Thus increasingly it is the trade unions that have acted like a political party, intervening in issues, which are outside the considerations of wages and working conditions. This is why the Tory government found it necessary to bring in legislation against the Trade Unions, despite the crisis, which these measures produced, and despite the fact that it took the feet from under the most conciliatory sector of the trade union leadership.

The Labour leadership is no longer able to argue—as it did in a previous period—that the trade unions should concern themselves only with 'factory' or economic demands. In all of Europe—and on a world scale—and in conditions where every struggle becomes a confrontation class against class, the indispensable role of the trade unions as an instrument of class struggle is demonstrated. It was the workers organised in the German trade unions, who by mobilisations, and threats of mobilisations—defended the 'Ost politik' of Brandt—the policy of agreements with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European Workers States, defeated the attempt of the most reactionary

sectors of German capitalism to overthrow the Social Democratic government.

In France in 1968 it was trade union organisation, which the workers used to launch the Revolutionary General Strike, and today it is the CGT, which lends its weight to the agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties. Indeed, it was the joint strikes of the CGT and CFDT, which were a prelude to this very important expression of the unity of the French working class, which takes place in conditions of a new May not only in France, but in the whole of Europe. The three Italian Trade Union Centres have launched a series of actions—General Strikes, demonstrations etc.—on housing, on pensions etc., and are in the process of constructing a single unified trade union centre to confront capitalism. In the same way various of the major British trade unions have intervened with social and political demands against the 'common market' for example; the TGWU has intervened on pensions, and demanded the shorter working week to solve unemployment, and the AUEW has adopted a programme on housing, which is more advanced than that proposed by the Labour Party recently.

In the United States, the United Automobile Workers has recently held a conference to organise opposition to the war of Yankee imperialism against the Vietnamese masses and, for a whole period, has defied the leadership of the AFL/CIO in keeping its links with the Soviet Union.

Ireland in isolation from the struggle in this country and Clann Na H-Eireann (the organisation of the official IRA in this country) shows a consciousness of this when it organises a series of conferences inviting the British workers movement to discuss the common struggle. The TUC must be impelled to support these conferences, and to participate in them. However, it has more direct links since the majority of the Northern Irish workers are members of the British trade unions. This link must be used to impel the Northern Irish trade unions to intervene with a programme of anti-capitalist demands for the nationalisation of major industry, for the occupations and running, under workers control of all factories about to be closed, for a shorter working week without loss of pay to ease unemployment, for basic democratic rights, and the end of internment—which will allow it to act as a centre for all the anti-capitalist forces in Northern Ireland. The fact that the Belfast dockers supported the dockers strike—in refusing to handle ships from Heysham—shows the unity of the struggle, and from this basis direct links must be made between sectors of workers in this country and in Northern Ireland. Use the existing trade union structure, but without waiting for the union leadership to act, organise joint committees of workers in Northern Ireland and the rest of Britain in the way the Dunlop/Pirelli workers of Italy and Britain have done.

## EVERY STRUGGLE POSES THE NECESSITY OF OVERTHROWING THE TORIES

Each struggle of the working class at this time results in a direct confrontation with the government because the deepening crisis of capitalism makes it incapable of giving even the smallest concession to the workers. British capitalism is incapable of solving any of the problems of the masses, it is incapable of developing the economy. Thus, for example, the British Steel corporation announces the closure of steel works in Scotland and in the Midlands at the same time as it invests in South Africa. It is the same logic, which makes it apply for entry into the 'Common Market', when the internal economy continues to contract.

The inability to develop the internal economy, coupled with the massive expenditure on the repression in Northern Ireland—the extent of which is never made public—results in continued factory closures, the continued rise in unemployment and inflation.

All the Tories offer the masses is, in one form or another, repression and this means every struggle becomes a confrontation with the government, every struggle poses the necessity of overthrowing the Tory government. The struggles of the miners, the railway workers, the dockers and now the building workers poses this necessity—to remove this Tory government.

The hard attitude of the Tories is not, however, an expression of a capitalist class, that feels confident of its own future. The reverse is true, they are panic measures attacking sectors of workers

## INVITE THE VIETNAMESE TRADE UNION DELEGATION TO SPEAK AT THE CONFERENCE—ORGANISE MASS MEETINGS FOR THEM IN ALL THE WORKING CLASS CENTRES

It is of fundamental importance that the TUC has made its opposition to the war of Yankee imperialism against the Vietnamese masses known to the world trade union movement, and it is an expression of the fact that the British working class, like the masses of the world, are attracted and encouraged by the struggle and sentiment of the Vietnamese masses who, in facing and defeating, Yankee Imperialism, struggle not for themselves, but for all human-

ity. This action of the TUC is important also because it shows that the Trade Union leadership can no longer isolate its worker base from the world revolution. In this context we greet with warm communist fraternity the North Vietnamese Trade Union delegation, which is at present in this country, and we urge delegates to the TUC to insist that the TUC invites them to speak at the conference, and organises mass meetings in the major industrial centres for them.

## THE T.U.C. MUST INTERVENE IN SUPPORT OF THE NORTHERN IRISH MASSES

Whilst it is good that the TUC intervenes on Vietnam, it is ludicrous that it continues to ignore the Vietnam, which exists within the British Isles—Northern Ireland. British Imperialism is launching a repression against the masses of Northern Ireland, which is equivalent to the repression Yankee Imperialism launches against the masses of Vietnam. In Northern Ireland British Imperialism has all the apparatus of a nazi regime—tens of thousands of troops; armoured cars; helicopters; imprisonment without trial; torture and assassination both open like 'Bloody Sun-

day" in Derry, and clandestinely with the ' motiveless' murders of 45 people in the last two months.

It is true that British Imperialism has no more success in crushing the masses of Northern Ireland than Yankee imperialism has in Vietnam, but Northern Ireland is a preparation for the use of the same methods by British Imperialism against the British working class. We have already seen signs of this in the provocations of the police against the dockers particularly against the pickets at Neap Wharf in Scunthorpe.

There is no solution for Northern

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The advance of the Allende government and the tasks to go forward from a Revolutionary State to a Workers State

2ND PART

J. POSADAS 19. 4. 72

The reason such a process of quantitative advance is possible in Chile is that the concentration of the world process permits it. Because it is in the world process that the political revolution is made. Meanwhile, these Trotskyist groups are all the time waiting for the political revolution to come in the Soviet Union and destroy the bureaucracy. They expect the process to always repeat itself in the same way. They do not see that there is a concentration, which permits the most backward countries to elevate themselves to the level of the most advanced. And they do not see that the less developed revolutions are equalising themselves with the more developed. How is this distance being covered? Convincing the people, organising the mind, developing the experiences, which others have made, and which are now received in an accumulated form. They do not see this.

It is not that "it is another stage of history, and the process occurs in another way", no. Organisationally it is made in another way, not in the way it was made before, but on a world scale, which is expressed locally, with less local accentuation and more world accentuation, just as the masses of the most backward countries pass rapidly to the level of the most advanced. Trotsky had already shown this without being able to understand how it was going to develop—because this was not possible—but he left the principles of it. The most backward country, so long as it has a proletarian nucleus, can base itself on the development of the world revolution to reach the level of the most advanced. Trotsky posed this. But Marx had already posed and developed this in "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte".

And afterwards Lenin developed Soviet Union, now there are 14 it; less than Trotsky, but he developed it too, categorising the process of the world development of the revolution when he said, "The Russian Revolution is a beacon which lights up the world". This meant that it was going to attract the other countries, and show them that this is what had to be done. Then there was only the

## THE DISCUSSION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES AND THE ALLIANCE WITH THE WORKERS STATES AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The discussion of the economic problems in Chile can be reduced to the question, who leads the economy? It is necessary to make the masses intervene. The pressure of the masses, the intervention of the masses, the judgement and discussion with the masses goes against bureaucracy. It is necessary to make agitation, to appeal to them to intervene, to organise discussions on the problems of the economy, of private property, which means backwardness in production. This is going to affect all the big owners, obviously. It is necessary to pose, "What we want is to develop production for the benefit of society". And then to establish a public discussion in the schools, in the university, in the factories, in the streets, in conferences and meetings. To make a whole public agitation on all these problems.

Amongst the problems to be discussed is the question of the advantages of nationalisation of property and the planning of the economy. As opposed to private property and the market economy, the property of the planned state obliges production to be according to the necessities of the population, and not according to the interests of the bureaucrat, the man that does the planning, or the one that has the money. This prevents there being benefits for the high bureaucracy, and the bosses against the masses, it tends to level down wages and distribution. This can be done now; it develops in the working class the interest for the organisation of production and removes the need for technicians.

What are technicians, engineers and administrators? They are people that have been taught how to fulfill this function. The workers learn it in the factory, in one tenth of the time the others spend studying. With the difference that the one that studies how to be engineer, or technician, or boss is studying how to defend private property, private usufruct, and consequently the private capacity. For them, the workers cannot know this. The planners produce, develop production according to the market and their own interest. What they

do conforms with the judgement of bureaucrats and administrators. They plan production according to this concept. While the workers plan and produce according to their conception of the needs of the population, of export, of world competition, raising the productive capacity, and reducing the costs of production. Just reducing the wages of the bureaucrats is not the most important thing, all the population has to be stimulated and unified in the necessity of extending the form of property—nationalised property—and the form of planning—general planning of production—with the forms of distribution. And helping the comprehension that it is a question of time. Helping to understand politically, to contain excesses, but also to apply pressure when necessary. They learn in their own practical life, in the life to make meetings, and assemblies of production, to lead production, to discuss all the problems of production, and the leadership of the country. This has an immense influence in the army, which sees the working class capable of leading, of resolving and deciding. Then it is won.

The 14 Workers States are the essential basis of the progress of history. Every fact, every event, or essential progress of humanity is made on the base of the progress of the socialist revolution. Capitalism does not have a single progress to compare with those of the socialist revolution. Not a single one! What is the aim of the economy? To resolve the problems of the needs of the population. Who is resolving them? The Workers States. Rumania, that 25 years ago was nothing, complete poverty, has just lent 100 million dollars to Algeria and another 50 to Tanzania, and to 10 countries that were semi-colonial in Africa it sent technicians and aid to help production. Rumania does this, showing the advantage of nationalised property, even under the bureaucracy. And the advantages of trade between the Workers States, which form part of nationalised property. And it exports meat whilst previous-

ly, 25 years ago, the people in Rumania never saw meat. This shows the progress of the Workers State. All this has to be discussed.

The world revolution has to be thought of in Chile. How? With nationalised production, the planning of production, monopoly of foreign trade. The Workers State is this, and shows the progress this means, even with the bureaucracy. Take away the bureaucracy and the progress is infinitely greater. This form of discussion is going to eliminate, it is going to surpass the division between Parties, and is going to make felt the necessity of unification in the necessity of acquiring the common, general, massive criteria of leading society, and is going to approximate to the function of the Party of the Socialist Revolution. Not any old party but a party within which the masses learn to reason, to discuss and to raise a rich interior life of ideas, and comparison of experiences. This gives an immense security. This is what has to be done in Chile.

Imperialism is going to intervene, clearly. It intervened in Vietnam too. In Mexico too, and in Bolivia. But imperialism has installed no power in Latin America. On the contrary, it is thrown out, thrown out. It is necessary to take account of this.

And it is necessary to count too on the alliance with the Workers States. Economic support, pacts, alliances, agreements. And planning in common with the economy of the Workers States, so that the Chilean working class directs itself to the rest of the world. With its participation in production, directing, analysing, and distributing, showing its capacity to lead society. And directing itself with appeals, activity, conferences, assemblies, meetings, showing proletarian democracy. This influences the rest of the world, including the masses of the United States. The most complete way, in which to influence the masses of the United States is for them to see the working class is capable of leading and doing everything.

In this way, in the United States with private property concentrated in a few families, where such a great progress of production has occurred, together with 20 million people in semi-poverty, the masses are shown that this power attained is a result of the use of technology in production, but that the bourgeoisie can no longer lead it. On the contrary, now the bourgeoisie is closing down technical and scientific progress of production, because it can no longer direct it, it cannot coincide with its interest. Since it cannot smash the world revolution, the bourgeoisie tries to contain technical and scientific progress. The forces of technology and science surpass the capitalist regime. As Marx had already said in his own speech, "the capitalist regime develops technical and scientific forces, which will surpass private property, they will supercede it." This is the situation, which there is in the world.

The essential problem in Chile is the problem of the social organisation of the masses, so that they intervene in production, in the leadership, in the discussion, in distribution. That they intervene in all the problems of the interior policy, and the exterior policy, and everything is resolved through general organisms of the masses, in the areas, zones, regions, factories, industries, trade unions. Forms of organisation, through which the working class is going to develop its capacity of leadership and influence over the rest of society, like the petty bourgeoisie, showing the rest of a society, that the problem is the class struggle for power.

Capitalist power means the capitalist selfishness of living for one-

self with hunger for the rest. Unemployment, for the rest. War, for the rest. Workers power means the elimination of hunger and war, not killing the capitalist, but making them work. Showing the social, economic and political superiority of the Workers State. This is what has to be done in Chile.

The masses want to do this. In part, the leadership of the government of the Popular Unity wants to do this, but is not prepared for it. It does not have the political and theoretical preparation, and so it is afraid, it feels isolated. On each side it has Argentina, Brazil and Yankee imperialism. Yet, the situation in Latin America is no longer the same as it was six months ago. Argentina can no longer dream about invading Chile, neither can Brazil. And imperialism does not have the force to invade Latin America. It has soldiers and sailors, but it backs away from invasion. Vietnam is the clear and decisive example. Vietnam has such an influence in the United States that now there is a general strike of the North American students against the Vietnam war, against Yankee imperialism, that its gets out of Vietnam. This shows the weakness of the capitalist system.

Nixon went to China and made an agreement with China, to show the masses of the United States. "Look! China is with me. I am a good guy, and I'm going to end the war!" and what happened? The Soviets support the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese defeat the Yankees. Imperialism is forced to show that its intention is to murder, it can no longer win time. And the North American students come out in General Strike. Nixons plan to get himself elected by basing himself on China goes to the devil! On the contrary, now the Democrats are going to win, quite certainly. This means a very great process of interior distortion. And Nixon is looking to see how he can recover what he has lost in Vietnam. And he is going to have to make very great concessions to try to win. Because for them, for their capitalist interest, it is a tragic problem, they are cornered with their backs to the wall.

Beginning from this situation it is necessary to make a public discussion in all the country of the superiority of nationalised property and the planning of production, as compared with private property. To pose this in the discussion of the Chilean masses, so they direct themselves to all Latin America. Obviously imperialism is going to intervene and try to sabotage it. It is already doing this! And it is failing! Because the world relationship of forces are superior, infinitely superior, in favour of the revolution against the capitalist system. If imperialism has not already invaded Chile, and has to send intermediaries like ITT to the rich of Santiago, it is because it has no force. Previously it sent warships and planes. Now if it makes any threat to intervene there are risings against it in the United States. Not just the students, as now against the intervention of imperialism in Vietnam, but the workers too. The revolution already has a pretty great influence on the workers of the United States. They already feel the world development of the revolution.

If the students of the United States felt any hostility from the worker masses, and poor petty bourgeoisie, if they felt the hostility of the population against their mobilisations against the Vietnam war, they would not mo-

bilise. On the other hand the students are expressing a popular state of excitement, which still does not have the organs to show itself. It is a "French May". It is a North American May, where the trade unions have a class functioning, and there is no revolutionary Party of the class and the masses. This is why the students still have little access to the proletariat. But if the proletariat was against them, it would make felt, and make weigh its opposition to such mobilisation. In a thousand ways; in discussions in the house, in the cafe, in the areas, in the factories, in the daily relations of the population.

The petty bourgeoisie is an intermediary between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and expresses the state of public opinion. And it feels that the public opinion of the North American proletariat is against imperialism war in Vietnam. This is why the petty bourgeoisie, the students are encouraged to come out and demonstrate and have such an echo, such unanimity and such a profusion of movements in opposition to the Vietnam war. The students are part of the petty bourgeoisie too.

The Chilean revolution has to take account of this situation, and be more audacious, more resolute. What still holds the revolution in subjection are sectors of the centre and the right within the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party, that are afraid to go further, they are afraid to advance in the socialist revolution, they are afraid, because they do not see the masses, they do not see that the world relationship of forces is favourable to the revolution, the world weight of the revolution expressed in the United States, and they do not see that great historic action of the masses of Vietnam, who are showing us how easily imperialism is defeated. It is a "paper tiger". It does have atomic arms, but it has paper fingers, it cannot decide just what it wants. The masses of Vietnam show just what a paper tiger it is. After the Chinese said "imperialism is a paper tiger", they receive Nixon in such a way as to give him support within the United States. Meanwhile the Vietnamese masses tread on imperialism and show "this is the paper tiger!!!"

The Chilean revolution has to base itself on this, and count on the support of the Workers States, so that they intervene directly. At the same time to contain every attempt at a bureaucratic intervention of the Workers States by making the Chilean masses mobilise, which will have an influence in the Workers States too. This is the road for the Chilean revolution.

It must count on the development of the revolution in Latin America. Not just allowing itself to develop alone. When there are more mobilisations of the masses in Chile, the more meetings, assemblies, conferences, there are, the more the revolution will spread through Latin America. Because this shows the Latin American masses what must be done. It shows the advantages of nationalised property, of the leadership of the country by the masses, and consequently will influence the Latin American masses to eliminate the bourgeois leaderships. The bourgeois leadership of Peronism, the bourgeois leadership of the socialist Parties, or the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Parties. This is how to export the revolution. It is necessary to take account of this to develop the revolution in Chile.

## DISCUSS HOW TO PLAN AND CONSTRUCT THE WORKERS STATE, BASING ONESELF ON THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES AND ON THE WORKERS STATES

It is necessary to discuss how to develop Chile without hiding behind the word "socialism". It is good what the government says, "we are going to socialism". But

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

how do we do this concretely? How do we develop the enormous creative potential of the masses, who still do not intervene? All problems have to be discussed through the masses. Not just increasing production, which needs a technical elevation of the intervention of the masses, so as to eliminate the bureaucratic organisation and administration. Supporting the campaign for the elimination of the bureaucracy. How? Workers control, workers commissions, factory councils, area councils, where all the tendencies that support the development of the Revolutionary State, and the taking of measures in union with the Workers States can intervene. To promote the development of Cuba, of Peru, of Bolivia, of Mexico and of Argentina.

These are not economic measures, they are measures of social organisation. So it is necessary to direct oneself to the petty bourgeoisie in this way. Appeals to the petty bourgeoisie are important, but it is more effective, and more important for the petty bourgeoisie to see the proletariat capable of organising progress. To direct oneself to the army too, making appeals. The government wants to prevent this, because it is afraid of directing itself to the army, but it is necessary to do this. To make analysis and appeals.

It is necessary to make the students intervene together with the rest of the workers movement in this discussion. The progress of the university and student movement must be united with the conception of going towards the Workers State. This is the essential base for education. Knowledge serves for the development, but of whom? The society or the individual? If it is the individual, then that is the private interest, as it is under capitalism. If it is the society, then this has to be incorporated on the essential base of the economy. But who directs the economy? In what way? The way it is directed depends on who directs it, and how it is structured. So the student and university movement has to be incorporated into this. Afterwards all the economic, scientific and cultural questions and discussions are derived, arising from the needs of the nationalisation of property, and the planning of production. To unite production, education, technology, science and distribution to see how to develop the country.

It is necessary to make a campaign of explanations about the planning of production. Instead of making texts explaining who Aguirre Cerda is, explaining how to plan and why, the reason for it. To spread through all the country in the simplest way possible the reasons why the planned economy is superior, why nationalised property is superior, why the Factory Council is an organ of organisation and progress of production. It is not a progress of capitalist accumulation, but progress of production for the benefit of the population in alliance with the Workers States.

It is on this base that it is necessary to make plans of study and discussion through all the country. Education, technology and science in the service of this necessity. To organise technical and scientific education in the universities and schools, together with the areas and factories—until the areas and factories replace the universities—showing that without social and political comprehension education stimulates individual careerism. Instead, to unite production and education, social progress and revolutionary ideas. When they are united, what is the aim of production? What is its objective?

Make a public discussion in all the universities; the most important theme in science for Chile today is; how to advance society and the economy? Which is the better regime? Which is the better economy? Why is nationalised property better? Technology for the progress of production, production for the necessities of the masses, the Chilean people. Discuss all this. This is the programme we propose to discuss in Chile.

There are new aspects in the construction of the Workers State. It is the same as in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, with the difference that these problems no longer need to be discussed, because they have left us all this education. This is why we are able to pose

the Revolutionary State. The base for the Revolutionary State is the existence of 14 Workers States, and the world development of the revolution, which has created this intermediate state, because the communists and the bureaucracy of the Workers States have not been capable of organising the power.

But even in this situation, capitalism is powerless. Since people see that progress is not with private

### THE PROBLEMS OF THE ECONOMY, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND THE LAND

property, but with a form that is superior to private property, bases of the revolutionary state are established that are bases for the Workers State. All these problems have to be discussed.

On the problems of the economy; why is the division of the land superior to individual appropriation? It is necessary to give examples through literature, radio, through the cinema, through conferences. For example, on the expropriation of the land. Why is the expropriation of the land, its division and collectivisation superior to private property? It is necessary to explain, developing the understanding of why this is necessary. The resistance of the owners is because of their interest, the interest of one, two, five or ten, as against the interests of millions. It is necessary to combine these explanations with the progress of science and technology, showing that science and technology organise the economy. What for? So that there is no hunger, poverty and war, there is no need for disputes. It is private property that still prevents science and technology from being applied. Instead of the Yankees sending an idiot to the moon to show they can do it without him dying on the trip or return, or on the moon, why don't they apply this science on Earth? Why don't they resolve Earth's problems? Afterwards one can go to the moon with the practical scientific sense of using the moon to serve the Earth, or to communicate with other planets. Or to use the different ionised, magnetic layers of the atmosphere as sources of energy. All this can be done.

It is necessary to propose a whole campaign of explanation in Chile. Is nationalised property better than private property? To say this. Because the right is saying to the petty bourgeoisie "They are going to take away your property". No, no we are not going to take away their property, we are going to put all property to the service of the country. Is the bourgeoisie the country? It is necessary to make a whole campaign to show that there is hunger, there are no houses, there is unemployment, there are no sanitation, and they

have all these things. To make a campaign through all the country, why isn't this done? This is going to have a very great effect, and also it will impel the Peruvian government to advance more.

It is the same with the problem of the countryside. Is it necessary to seize the land? Yes, we are very much in agreement. It is necessary to make a campaign of propaganda, of agitation to discuss such measures and how to carry them forwards. In this, it is necessary to elevate the mobilisation of the masses to win the petty bourgeoisie, to win a part of the army. To mobilise the masses to weigh on the population.

The problem of the division of the land must be taken together with the distribution of the land in the most limited way possible, and the transformation of the big agrarian properties to collective production. To explain this, to make a whole agitation and propaganda, as the Bolsheviks did. Agitate, explain, explain and explain. To explain and make the masses intervene. If it is explained, and the masses are made to intervene, they will see that this is right, they will feel it, and understand it, and have the historic patience to work for the future, as the Bolsheviks did. With the advantage now, as compared to the stage of the Bolsheviks, that there is a whole world process favourable to the revolution.

In the planned organisation of production it is necessary to include or extend the production of good quality articles of popular consumption, reaching as far as the middle petty bourgeoisie. Including the peasants, the workers, the poor and middle petty bourgeoisie. So that they see the capacity of the Revolutionary State to occupy itself with the interests of the po-

pulation, with the necessary articles of popular consumption for the population. For this a whole plan of production has to be made for the production of consumer articles aimed at supplying the population, although the programme of exports is reduced, interior authority is obtained. This is the way to develop the country.

What is the objective of developing the production to increase exports, and have more foreign currency? To show the economic capacity of the country, and to develop the country. Then although this production for consumption is detrimental or partially weakens—to a very small degree—the capacity to export, it increases the capacity of consumption, and develops the masses to see that it is their state which can do it. Then it increases too the production of whatever is necessary.

For this it is necessary to seek agreement essentially with the Workers States. To make agreements with the Workers States with whatever conditions or requirements are necessary. The trade unions have to be a source of discussion of all problems, and to show: HERE is support! The trade unions acting as a point of support for the workers parties, the communists, socialists, MAPU, the OIC, the MIR and the Trotskyist Party.

The essential task in Chile is to convince the government of the necessity of a marxist policy. They are not convinced. They want to advance in a process of reforms, and in this way accumulate measures of such a weight that the country is going to be transformed to socialism. But they have still not discussed the fact that this has a limit. How far is it possible to go? The bourgeoisie is going to resist, it is going to oppose this. They have still not discussed these conclusions.

The government has still not faced the planning of the economy. It does not have a programme—neither do the communists or socialists—to pass from the revolutionary state to the Workers State. This is why it is necessary to make a campaign to popularise marxism and the discussion of historic experience, basing oneself on the tradition of the October Revolution. Even if the Chilean revolution is not comparable with the 1917 October Revolution, it has the

same characteristics. It is necessary to nationalise, it is necessary to plan, it is necessary to make the monopoly of foreign trade. The monopoly of foreign trade is necessary to increase the capacity of competition of the Revolutionary State or Workers State, and to prevent the link-up between world capitalism and interior capitalism, if it still remains, or if it is still able to develop itself.

For example, to plan that all the population has a house. And then to discuss the necessity of the people having houses. It is necessary to provide water for those that do not have it. It is necessary to provide electric lighting, roads, hygiene services, hospitals! Parks for popular use! All this has to be discussed, and for this it is necessary to plan production.

Capitalism is empirical, totally empirical. It produces according to what suits each capitalist, and not according to needs. So make a plan of construction of houses, of bridges, of roads, so that everyone lives better, to eliminate war, hunger, making electrical installations, irrigation, sanitary works, transport, farms and smallholdings into production for popular consumption.

Doing this will win an immense authority in all the population, and show that the interest of the Revolutionary State is not to take away property, or production from the petty proprietor. Nothing is taken away from the petty proprietor. But posing that the big financial, industrial and agricultural enterprises have to be nationalised.

Without doubt the bourgeoisie is going to oppose this. The demonstration of 200,000 is civil war, it is openly the beginning of civil war. It is aimed at showing the bourgeoisie that it has capacity and weight, that it has numbers, and consequently can appeal to the army and police to join it. This is evident, they have been doing this for some time.

But, on the other hand, the government can mobilise the class. Not just in demonstrations and meetings—which it must do too—but for them to participate in the leadership of society. This dissolves the capitalist power. Because it shows the proletariat capable of leading society and leading the economy. Every "secret" of production, technology and science

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The advance of the Peruvian revolution and the provocation against the Peruvian Section of the IV International

REPRODUCED FROM 'VOZ PROLETARIA' ORGAN OF THE ARGENTINIAN SECTION

*The Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista) the Peruvian Section of the IV International, has played a central role in all the nationalist revolutionary process, which has strengthened itself in Peru starting from 1968.*

*This was possible under the permanent orientation of Posadas, and fused to the sentiment of the Peruvian masses, because from the beginning the Peruvian Section understood the forces of progress, which were contained within it. Its essential activity was organising the independent forces of the proletariat, so that they would weigh, and decide within the Revolutionary State, with the Anti-Imperialist United Front of all the population, making advance the best forces which there are in this military team, who are progressing, carried forward by their anti-imperialist sentiments towards anti-capitalist and socialist forms.*

*The nationalisation and expropriations, the agrarian reform, the trade and agreements made with the USSR, China and the other Workers States, and recently the recognition of Cuba, and the appeal to organise a mass Party which would construct "Democratic Socialism", which Velasco Alvarado made, are some of the conquests of the Peruvian masses, who are acting objectively, supporting fully these measures and this government, and at the same time stimulating and pushing it to go further forward.*

*In front of its world failure and defeat, the counter-revolutionary action of imperialism, before this process is clandestine and underhand. As the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) analysed, and which Fernandez Maldonado today takes up in his recent declarations, the CIA and the oligarchy, is trying to use the 'Ultra-lefts' certain trade union leaders, as among the teachers, the APRA, and the incomprehension of student sectors, to discredit the Peruvian revolution, and create suitable conditions for counter-revolutionary coups.*

*The trip of Hugo Blanco, the reception which the Argentinian government makes for him, the press conferences and the publicity, which is made in a country, where there is an anti-communist law, and where they repress all the re-*

*volutionary left, is contained within these plans of the CIA of making a counter-revolutionary use of such ex-revolutionaries like Hugo Blanco, who in their demoralisation are converted into its servants.*

*This provocation and plan to discredit the Peruvian revolution is in this case united to a provocation against Trotskyism, making Hugo Blanco appear linked to Trotskyism, and with declarations completely antagonistic to the marxist positions for which the POR(T) and all the International fights. These declarations attacked the revolutionary nationalist course in Peru, the government, its measure, and its progress along the socialist road.*

*We support the reply, which the Peruvian ambassador in Argentina has given in front of these attacks, defending the revolutionary nationalist course in Peru, giving a characterisation of the "Trotskyism" of Hugo Blanco, which he differentiated from the IV International, showing him linked to organisations which have nothing to do with the International. As was also a conscious action of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the distribution of news and publicity made around the trip of Linda Jennes, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, who appears as a trotskyst. They are all actions tending to confuse and discredit trotskystism as a revolutionary force, which fuses profoundly more and more in the revolutionary process of Latin America, and to try to cut it off from it. This is united with the provocation against the Peruvian Section, accusing it of being involved with forging dollars, a provocation which was rapidly replied to, and smashed by the action of our Peruvian comrades. We appeal for the repudiation of all these actions, which are a part of a global counter-revolutionary plan of imperialism in Latin America. We appeal for the development of an ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT of all the masses of Latin America, to organise the active support to the Cuban Workers State and the revolutionary states of Latin America, among them the nationalist revolution, which advances to socialism in Peru, and to tighten all the links of solidarity with it before the counter-revolutionary plans of imperialism.*

# Resolution for the T.U.C. conference

FROM PAGE 1

one minute, and retreating the next. For example, Donaldson (of the Industrial Relations Court) warned the TUC that action would be taken against it—under the Industrial Relations Act—if it expelled unions for not following the 'de-registration' policy of the TUC. This was weeks ago, and nothing has been done, because the government fears the reaction of the working class. If in attacking a small sector of the class they are faced with a 24 hour General Strike, then attacking the TUC must appear a very good way of committing suicide. However, this does not mean that capitalism is going to give up, what capitalism cannot impose through parliament it is going to try to impose—as it does in Northern Ireland—through the army and the police. We must be prepared for this!

The strikes and demonstrations which mark the opening of the TUC conference, the mobilisations over the imprisonment of the dockers, the developing struggle against the Tory Rent Act, the massive demonstration of two years ago against the Industrial Relations Bill shows that the class is prepared for this struggle. The preoccupation of this conference must be to provide a centre for this struggle, to

call for strikes and occupations, with mass meetings in all the workers centres—in the factories and in the workers areas—to discuss the programme and the means for the overthrow of the Tories.

It is no use simply demanding that the government 'holds down prices' or reflate the economy, it is incapable and unwilling to do either. What it is necessary to do is to adopt a programme, which answers the needs of the objective situation; **ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, TO COMBAT INFLATION, AN IMMEDIATE 32 HOUR WEEK WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY, ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF HIGHER PAY AND SHORTER WORKING HOURS** to combat unemployment, **NO WORKER TO BE SACKED, ALL FACTORIES ABOUT TO BE CLOSED TO BE OCCUPIED AND PLACED UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL MAJOR INDUSTRY, UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION.** This programme is—in part—already the policy of the major unions, but it requires the methods to impose it, the general strike with factory occupations.

## CONSTRUCT THE ORGANISMS TO IMPOSE WORKERS CONTROL, AND TO LINK THE FACTORIES WITH THE WORKERS AREAS

It is clearly possible to push the trade union leadership forward—the call for a general strike shows this—but at the same time we can have no illusions in this leadership.

It is a leadership, which was developed in a past period, all its experience is of negotiating for a few more shillings on wages, and it still thinks in these terms. Thus under the pressure of the class it calls for national strike action, and at the same time, tries to organise conciliation machinery with the CBI and the government. All the impulse for the advance of the struggle comes from the workers in the factories, in the places of work, and the actions of the leadership has only been a very distant echo of this.

The miners during their strike developed the flying picket as a method of putting themselves in contact with the rest of the working class, and in this way the miners acted as a centre for the class. The mobilisation of the engineering workers at the Saltley coke works was a result of this. The 'flying picket' has been taken up by other sectors of the class since, by the dockers and by the building workers. It is an expression of the need of the class to develop organisms which answer the need to link the struggle in the factory with the struggle of the whole population.

The occupation of factories, which has become a common method of struggle, the raising of the demand, as at Thornycrofts and Brians, of workers control demands the transformation of the existing shop stewards committees into factory committees. It is not possible for occupations to impose workers control without the intervention of the mass of the workers in the factory, and for this the factory committee is necessary, with all delegates subject to instant recall and to the decisions of mass meetings. Above all, there is the necessity to link the struggle of the

workers area committees, and these must be developed on the basis of a programme on factory issues, on housing, on transport, and education, providing the means to impose workers solutions directly.

Unions cannot substitute for the political party of the class—the Labour Party. A whole sector of the left of the Labour Party reacts to the pressure of the class, the call by Dennis Skinner for the occupation of the Stanton steel works shows this, as does the refusal of many Labour council groups, Labour councillors and constituency Labour Parties to implement the Tory Rent Act.

However, much individual members of the Labour Party support the workers mobilisations and propose anti-capitalist demand, the left in the LP is completely unorganised and without the means to base itself on the strength and organisation of the workers in the factories. At the same time there still exists in the LP a right wing, which is completely structured in the capitalist system. The trade unions who are the base, the founders of the LP must weight in the internal struggle of the LP much more. It is ridiculous that when the trade unions support the dockers, oppose

the 'common market' if tolerates a right wing, which attacks the dockers, and which votes with the Tories on the Common Market.

This TUC conference must be used as a preparation to weigh in the Labour Party conference, to throw the right out of the LP, and to impel the organisation of the left. The actions taken against Taverner shows that this process already advances in the LP, and the trade unions must intervene by mobilising the mass of workers, who constitute the base of the trade unions and the Labour Party. The call should be made by the conference for a one day General Strike with factory occupations and mass meetings to discuss the policy and programme of the LP, a one day General Strike with massive demonstrations at the Labour Party conference. Even before the LP conference it is necessary to organise mass meetings to discuss the policy of the LP, to demand that M.P.'s and councillors attend these meetings and answer for their actions.

## THE MASSES OF THE WORLD STRUGGLE TO IMPOSE CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN ORGANISATIONS

The delegates in this TUC Conference attempt to advance, but are limited by a structure, an apparatus which, constructed in a previous historic period, does not answer the situation of confrontation class against class. Outside are direct representatives of the workers who, at this moment, are occupying factories, striking and mobilising against the repressive measures of the Tory government. They attempt to weigh in their own organisations, and it is an expression of a world process of the transformation of the workers organisation, a struggle to impose their control over their own organisations. It is part of a process, which finds its expression in the great gains of the world masses—the Workers States. The Polish workers of Danzig and Stettin in their strikes and demonstrations last year mobilised against the bureaucratic limitations of the Polish Workers State, but not against the Workers State itself. It is a process which linked to the world revolution is advancing the Workers States towards socialism.

It also means a greater intervention by the Workers States in the support of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world. The Soviet trade unions for example, have intervened directly in support of the dockers, inviting miners who played a leading role in the strike, for holidays in the Soviet Union; in the last weeks the workers of Leningrad sent £2,000 to workers in Manchester, who had been engaged in factory occupations. The intervention of the Workers States is expressed in another form by the presence in this country of a delegation of trade unionists from North Vietnam.

The existence of 14 Workers States is a gain of the masses of the world and a constant encouragement to them. The British workers can rest directly on this support by making appeals directly to the Soviet Workers State and the other Workers States for aid in all the struggles which are to come.

The Trade Union and Labour Party apparatus constructed at a time when British Imperialism was the strongest and most stable in the world, has never developed an understanding of the world process of the revolution. The British working class is not isolated from the world revolution, it is part of it, but the means to understand the process fully does not exist in the workers organisations. We urge the vanguard of the trade unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party to study and use all the examples of the advance of the world revolution, and the gains made previously. To study the role of the trade unions and the creation of the first Workers State—the Soviet Union, to take the example of the role of the trade unions in the first seven years of the Soviet Union, and the role and importance of the Soviets to the workers democracy. Above all to use the scientific method, which enables an understanding of the advance of humanity in a complete, global way and which provides the methods to advance to the final overthrow of capitalism, imperialism and all forms of oppression and repression—Marxism. We urge the study and discussion of the works of Marxism, the masters of Marxism, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the continuator of Marxism in this epoch J. Posadas and the IV International.

JUST PUBLISHED

THE ARTICLE OF PONOMARIOV AND THE CONCRETE AND HISTORIC FUNCTION OF TROTSKYISM AS THE

CONSISTENT CONTINUATION OF MARXISM

J. POSADAS 26-12-71 20p/p.

## ADOPT THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME, AND THE METHOD TO IMPOSE IT; THE GENERAL STRIKE WITH FACTORY OCCUPATIONS

We call on the delegates to this annual conference of the TUC to base themselves on the mobilisations, the factory occupations, all the magnificent struggles of the class to call for the unlimited General Strike, with factory occupations and on a programme of anti-capitalist demands—all wages to rise with the cost of living, an immediate 32 hour week without loss of pay, all profits of automation to go directly to the workers in the forms of higher pay and shorter working hours, no worker to

lose his job, all factories threatened with closure to be occupied and to function under workers control, all British troops out of Northern Ireland, for an immediate end to internment, the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control and without compensation. For the overthrow of the Tory government, and its replacement by a government of the Labour Party in which the left has taken power and with an anti-capitalist programme.

5th September, 1972

## Brazil

INTENSIFY THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND ALL THE POLITICAL AND T.U. MILITANTS IN BRAZIL.

LATEST NEWS AND INFORMATION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN CAMPAIGN BULLETIN No. 4 JUST PUBLISHED.

## The advance..

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

goes to the devil. The proletariat shows that there is no secret, that it is a problem of education, of learning, nothing more. It is already learning, and it is capable of directing better.

So it is quite clear. Those that have the power now, the bourgeoisie, want it for themselves, to exploit the rest of the country, against the majority of the population. The power of the working class is in favour of the majority of the population, for those in poverty and without houses. The power of the proletariat can eliminate all this. This is the way for the Chilean revolution.

Such measures can only be taken on the basis of the existence of the marxist Party, or the development towards a Party, which is going to take power. In Chile there is no revolutionary marxist Party. There are the socialist and communist parties, but they are not based on marxism, and they have no programme to pass from the revolutionary state to the Workers State. How do you pass from one programme to the other? Obviously the army and the bourgeoisie exist, this is obvious! The Bolsheviks too, when they made the revolution, faced the army, the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The Cubans too, and they took power. The problem is to be convinced of this road, to develop the agitation and propaganda to show that it is necessary to take this road. And for this to develop the forces for the organisation of the power. It is not simply a problem of convincing or affirming this conclusion, no. The problem is that this programme and policy is not there in the head of the Chilean leadership. It has a programme of reforms and progress. But what afterwards? They do not have a prepared Party. It is necessary to prepare the Party, to convince it so that each militant of the Party becomes an organiser of the class, an organiser of the population, the factory, the house, the family, the schools, the countryside. The Chilean leadership does not have this conception. It is necessary to intervene so that it attains this conception.

J. POSADAS 19. 4. 1972

## Read

## Red Flag

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

**THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN CHILE AND THE MATURATION OF THE CONDITIONS TO PASS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE TO THE WORKERS STATE IN CHILE**

J. POSADAS

(SEE PAGE 2) 7-8-72

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 167 4th Friday of September 1972 PRICE 3p

# The results of the Trade Union Congress permit the vanguard to intervene with greater force in re-structuring the L.P.

- Impel the construction of the independent class organisms—factory committees, workers area committees mass assemblies.
- For the unification of the struggles of the British & Irish masses.

The conference of the trade unions has given clear, if limited expression, to the massive concentration of the British proletariat, its essential decision to confront capitalism and to overthrow it. This has come through, despite the existence of reformist language and leaders. The conference, in all its decisions, poses quite clearly in the question, in the confrontation between the masses and capitalism, the situation, where there is no margin for compromise, is there not the need for a new leadership in the workers organisations, which will use all the force of the masses, and have the objective not only of overthrowing capitalism, but constructing socialism? The contradiction between the will and resolution of the masses, and the limitations of the leadership in the TUs and the LP has never been so marked. But this contradiction exists in a situation of the constant advance, the constant sustaining force of the revolution.

The trade union conference has concentrated the force of the masses in a way that the LP has not been able to do. In effect it has acted as a substitute for the LP, in the sense that it has given an overwhelming sense of class confidence and determination, and its decisions tend to mobilise the masses, and impart a sense of security. The LP with its openly pro capitalist leaders, such as Wilson and Callaghan, gives no substantial lead and confidence. The general left line of the last LP conference has been in large measure ignored, although it is also clear that the process of the gradual liquidation of the right is continuous as in the case of Taverne. The TUC conference objectively rejects any compromise with capitalism, whilst the leader of the LP, Wilson makes bourgeois remarks about Amin and the horrors of Munich. On all fundamental issues he has said nothing. The TUC has called for the nationalisation of building land, total rejection of the Tory Industrial Relations and Housing Act. It demands a major increase in pensions. It has suspended unions who collaborate with the Industrial Relations Act, it prevented right wingers like Chappell actually speaking. All this is the continuation of the advance seen in the calling of the one day general strike on the imprisonment of the dockers, and the open appeal by the TUC for the ending of the war in Vietnam. This makes particularly criminal, the absence of any condemnation of British imperialism, and its nazi policy in N. Ireland. There is no logic in a situation, where Imperialism is condemned for its actions in Vietnam, but where nothing is said on the British Vietnam-Ireland. This failure to say anything about Ireland—which we condemn as criminal and treacherous—is, because to raise the issue means, to pose the unification of the struggles of the Irish and British masses, it means

in effect using all the forces that exist to smash capitalism. It means to pose the problem of a generalised civil war throughout the British Isles. We repeat our complete condemnation of this cowardly and dishonest refusal to place the struggle of the Irish masses as central to the struggles of the British proletariat. We appeal to the vanguard to impel discussions in their trade unions, in the LP and the CP, in the factories, on Ireland, appealing to the Irish and British trade unions to develop the programmes and policies, which unite the Catholic and Protestant masses, policies of workers control, nationalisations, workers plan of production, and the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND.

The impact of the trade union conference is going to tend to mobilise the workers, because of the emphasis placed on the total rejection of the Industrial Relations Act, or, any wages control, and will weigh enormously in the LP, facilitating the process already well advanced of liquidating the most right wing sectors and further stimulating the actual organisation of a left wing in the LP not submitted to parliamentary perspectives. Benn's intervention in the TUC conference as Chairman of the LP repeated certain positions about the need for workers control, and the necessity for the leadership in the LP to be responsible to the base. The problem remains that these conceptions are still placed within an electoralist perspective. There was no real weight given to the need for the independent activity of the masses, for a whole sale expulsion of the right wing in the LP on the basis of mass support and again no mention of Ireland. All these are grave limitations. On the other hand, the lack of any basis to sustain the bourgeois sector in the LP is going to allow a much more fundamental discussion of the way forward

and the massive force of the trade unions is going to oblige, whatever the wishes of the "electoralists", a more profound discussion, and pose the need for marxism in the LP.

Since the TUC conference, the process of class against class has continued provoking crises among the bourgeoisie and accelerating the criticisms by workers leaders of insufficient trade union leaders (as in the Builders Strike). Maudlings intervention directed to the Tory Party is a remarkable demonstration of the fear of a whole sector of capitalism, of the conflict that is coming. He speaks quite openly of capitalism not being able to continue functioning as in past periods, and that it cannot afford major confrontations with the unions. It is certainly a profound anguish, and is a desperate effort to influence, to modify the conflicts that he feels are coming. It is another example of the whole world wide defeatist tendency among the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois sector that decides is not averse to putting on a conciliatory face when it feels that immediate circumstances may demand it. Thus a load of conciliatory phrases have been emitted in relation to the recent talks between the TUC and the government. But the class against class fight continues—Bryants prepare to confront the possibility of police violence to break the occupation, one day general strike is declared on the Merseyside against the Housing Bill, a demonstration of old age pensioners is organised in Coventry by the TGWU. The capitalist line is one of inevitable confrontation—in words they may appear to make concessions, but their real party is armed violence, as is the fundamental policy of the determining sectors of the world bourgeoisie.

What therefore are the immediate and long term conclusions to be drawn from the TUC conference and the policy to put forward? The most obvious conclusion is that the fight for power is going to become fiercer and constantly poses the imminence of generalised civil war. The defiance of the Tory Housing Bill by the two central proletarian cities of Birmingham and Glasgow, demonstrates yet another aspect of dual power, total defiance of bourgeois parliamentary law. The perspective of the general strike to overthrow the Tory government has to be maintained, re-emphasising the slogans LABOUR TO POWER! FOR A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME WITH THE LEFT TAKING POW-

ER IN THE LABOUR PARTY. At the same time, this has to be prepared for, and we appeal to the sectors of the Labour Party, who are trying to advance, the vanguard sectors of the trade unions, the Communist Party, to put a special priority on the need for the functioning of the masses in their independent factory committees, workers area committees etc., to discuss all the world and national problems to prepare for the armed conflict with capitalism that is going to come. Capitalism assassinates and destroys in Ireland. It is going to do the same here. We appeal for the constant use of the masses invention, the "flying picket" as a means of accelerating discussion around the anti capitalist programme, and unifying the struggle to throw out the bourgeois sectors in the LP. And we appeal for the strengthening of the unity of the Labour and communist vanguards and organisations in the trades councils etc. on the basis of systematic appeals for mass meetings, and participation of the masses in political discussions. All this will exert a decisive pressure on the LP, whose conference is going to feel all the weight of the decisions of the TUC. And we appeal for the organisation of strong contingents of workers to intervene at the LP conference with demonstrations and meetings to make the voice of the proletariat directly felt, demanding the expulsion of all those who vote for capitalism, the submission of the MPs to the party conference, the mobilisation of the masses on an anti capitalist programme.

Enormous battles are being prepared on the world arena. The coming American and German elections act as points of confrontation between the impact of the revolution and the efforts of capitalism to maintain some form of inner structure. The condemnation of the American war in Vietnam by Clark a former member of Johnson administration, the advance towards civil war in Chile, where Yankee Imperialism does not have the strength to intervene directly, the collapse of unionism in Northern Ireland, all communicate to the British and world proletariat that capitalism cannot maintain itself save by resort to war—as in Vietnam and the war in the Middle East. Whereas capitalism displays only a face of violence and decay, the Workers States, developing through the process of partial regeneration towards the political revolution, show advance, advance. In one way or another

# The revolutionary crisis in Chile and the maturation of the conditions to pass from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State in Chile

J. POSADAS 7-8-72

**This quite serious crisis at the present time in Chile takes place, because of the will of a sector of the population which, even being in a minority in relation to the Popular Unity, is very combative, and wants fundamental changes of structure. Among other things, it poses ending the function of the police. Even if this is not the moment to do it, the proposition, which they make must be welcomed, explained and discussed.**

It indicates that there is a sector of the population, which expresses itself in Lo Hermida, which wants this. One cannot say "marginal types", "ultra leftist" or "lumpen proletariat". It is an insult to say this. It is shameful to say this, and it is necessary to denounce the journalists who write this in the communist newspapers. It is an insult to the population. This sector of the population have voted completely for the popular unity, they are proletarians, trade union militants, and in these areas they have established the elimination of alcohol, half of them do not smoke, there is no need for a police function, they established justice among themselves, there are no thefts, there are no violations. It is a population, which is an example of how such problems are resolved. But we agree that it is not the moment now to impose all this. So it is necessary to explain "this is an example, what you are doing, but we cannot do it in all the country now". But why? Because they are not animated, the leadership does not animate itself to do this. But it shows that it can be done. On a small scale it can be done.

When the anarchists of Kronstadt posed making an "anarchist republic", Lenin and Trotsky discussed it. It was a very combative and resolved team. Trotsky posed "and what if we leave them for a time to make an experiment, so that they themselves see that they are mistaken?" And Lenin said "We cannot, we are not in conditions to do this. We are disputing another bullet more, and we cannot do this. It is one month, two months, six months of lost time, which could mean defeat for the revolution." Lenin posed this.

In this case it is not the same, but it has a certain similarity. It is not the same, because in Chile it is a question of a movement, which is within the Popular Unity, and at the same time does not sabotage the government, doesn't want anything apart from the government, but which does this to impel the government, but with a tactic, which does not permit it to influence, to gain, to weigh on the government, which is what it is necessary to do. The task is to change the leadership of the government and of the parties of the Popular Unity. It is not possible to do this independently of the government. It is necessary to take this into account, but these measures, which the population are taking, are measures which are directed to impel the revolution. This is how it is necessary to measure it. We respond to this process, directing ourselves to the M.I.R., advising it that what it is doing we also propose to do. We do not have the authority to move people. But if we had it, we would not do it like this. We would make demonstrations, meetings, assemblies and makes an organisation of experiences of leadership, without a need for police or judges. This we would do without clashing with the government.

The M.I.R. poses, "it is necessary to dissolve parliament". We are not against this, but we cannot grab hold of a meeting and pose "We have resolved that parliament is no use, it is already decrepid". One cannot act like this. It is true that the initiative has to start somewhere. But it is a question of the government, which is not against this, there is a will of change in the population, but the government is not against this. How is it necessary to go on? It is necessary to try to gain the government to animate it, so that there weighs more within it revolutionary resolution, of not waiting for changes on high, by a majority, which are not going to come, but changes combining the electoral majority and these actions of the population.

Because of this it is necessary to carry forward an intense life of discussion in all the country, showing that it is possible to do this, and showing with example that the justice of the population is superior to bourgeois justice. Intervening like this the petit bourgeoisie is going to see a decided government, and is going to see its superior function. While as things are now, even there being a

very great progress, it sees a very slow and very heavy mechanism. In the two years, which there has been of the government of the U.P., there is a very great progress, but people want to go further. Thus it is necessary to pay attention to the will of people.

It is quite true that the population of Lo Hermida are not the organised proletarian sectors, the ones who have made these actions, who have carried forward these policies. The M.I.R. doesn't understand this. It is not the proletariat organised in the trade unions. But they are not lumpen, they are workers and artisans. The organised proletariat does not make such a policy, but it is not indifferent, nor is it against. There hasn't been any meeting nor trade union assembly against these movements. Neither assemblies nor demonstrations against. Moreover in the assembly, which they have just made in Concepcion, where 5,000 people participated in which there were communist, socialist, trotskysts workers, MAPU and M.I.R., they voted on the resolution "Out with parliament, we will make a popular parliament and popular assembly, which will be very good." A popular assembly based on the workers areas, on the trade unions, on the factories, this they propose. That is to say, that such a resolution plus this movement of Santiga is indicating that it is not a group, but sectors of the population. The M.I.R. is showing in practice that it can do this.

And at the same time we direct ourselves to the M.I.R., showing it that it cannot make a confrontation with the government, but a public discussion. Directing itself to the trade unions and the population, discussions preparing better conditions to direct itself to the petit bourgeoisie, which still partly follows the radical party and the christian democracy.

The development of this process in Chile, in a little time more, is going to provoke an eruption in the Communist Parties, because no longer is it a crisis of the Communist Parties with the M.I.R. or with the Trotskyists, but a crisis with the socialist parties, in which it is openly accusing the communists of containing and breaking the process of the revolution. This creates a crisis in the C.P., because there is a very great wing of the C.P., which is in agreement with Allende. On the contrary, the wing of Millas, which the right has put in the government. The attitude of Allende indicates that he must decide between submitting himself to an alliance with the communist or leaving it. And this alliance signifies an internal deterioration and a weakening faced to the bourgeoisie which leads it to enter into conflict with the socialist and also the communist masses, or to make a front to this. That is to say it opens a crisis.

This crisis in Chile is caused by the contradiction between the necessity for a very profound progress of the revolution, and the limitation in the leadership of the government coalition, even of the sectors of the left, like Vuskovic, who is to the left of the Communist Party. Left does not mean that they are partisan or grabbing hold of and killing all the bourgeoisie, but of making a more audacious and more resolved policy, which is linked more over with the masses, to make the masses participate. This is the left.

The Communist are against this "the masses cannot decide, the masses have to be those of the state". Whilst Allende proposed the formation of popular committees, which was a type of experiment to advance towards popular tribunals. And important sectors of the population have taken this. As also the popular assembly of Concepcion.

The popular assembly is not a substitution for the government, but a deliberative organ which replaces parliament. And now what it is necessary to discuss in Chile is; "good and what function does parliament have?" In whose hands is the power? Is it in the hands of the

government? Who has the forces to decide, the capacity to determine? The people say "we are the forces". Parliament doesn't represent the will of the population. The population are those who work, those who produce. On the other side, on the bourgeois side, a half are people who don't work, who don't intervene in any way in production. And they are simply people, who collect wealth, give orders and impose.

The government must not yield to the blackmail, which the Christian Democracy wants to make. They must make an appeal in which they say that they have a circumstantial majority as regards the popular will, which expresses itself in a thousand forms, which rejects the policy of the right, and which wants the policy which the government is making. But they are subject to the constitutional norms which are false, which are made by the bourgeoisie.

The right may have a parliamentary majority, but what a majority. The government says that the bourgeoisie do not respect the will of the people. And the bourgeoisie say that yes, that it is parliament which has decided, which has been elected by the people. Then it is necessary to discuss what is the parliament, parliament doesn't represent the will of the country. The constitution...? They made the constitution. "It is necessary to respect the judges..." The judges determine everything in accordance with the wishes of those who command. The democratic constitution does not determine what the country is, because 50% of the votes which elect the parliament are useless types, who don't contribute anything to the economic life and the development of the country. They are simply people, who give orders, who have employees or are soldiers, people who have no useful function. Whilst it is the proletariat which determines the economy of the country.

Capitalism is the force which gives the orders because it has the money. And now it has been shown that it is not money which makes progress. Progress is ideas, programme, policy, dedicated to the development of the economy in agreement with the historic function of the classes. They have to discuss this. Parliament doesn't represent the will of the Chilean people. The Chilean people is not the number of inhabitants, who compose it, but those who determine the structure, the development and the movement of the life of Chile. Which is the economy, which are the social relations, which are the ideas, which is all the life of the country—and who determines this? The working class, the sectors who are linked to the working class, the working class made the economy. Then how does one measure its role in society? By its role in production. Agreed. What is the role of the bourgeoisie in production? What role has it? Including the petit bourgeoisie. For half of the petit bourgeoisie what they are doing is unnecessary. We do not say that the petit bourgeoisie are unnecessary, and that it is necessary to suppress them, but that the functions that they develop are unnecessary. They can do something else. They have a thousand better things to do. It is necessary to discuss in this way.

Of the productive forces, which determine the face of the country 90% are for the government of Allende. Well then it is necessary to change things! Parliament doesn't represent the popular will. It is necessary to seek organs which replace it. An important sector of the population is seeking the constitution and the functioning of organs which represent the popular will, which impede the transfer of positions and of means to organs which do not represent with will. People in the workers areas in the TU's in the home feel that they are all unified in anti capitalist measures. The assembly in Concepcion, like the workers areas which the M.I.R. has organised, do not exist to dispute with the government over increases in wages, nor better conditions of life for the worker, but to advance in the expropriation of capitalism. There is a very important sector of the population, in which we are included, which wants to go further, with more resolve and more decided measures than those which the government wishes to put forward, which it can do, and there is a

sector of the socialist party, which is disposed to impel them. Moreover, they have shown this: there were four leaders of the Socialist Party at the funeral of the members of the population assassinated in Hermida, while the Communist Party attacked them as agents of capitalism.

In the Workers States and the Revolutionary State—and not any Revolutionary State—but one which has a marxist base, as in Chile—the essential base of the functioning is that the population should intervene, that it should weigh, that it should decide, that it should give opinions, that it should show where it wants to go. This is the will, which is expressed, not unanimously, but through sectors which represent the will, which tomorrow will be that of the whole country, and not a distant tomorrow, but in a short stage. These sectors express it through particular conditions, which allow them to do it. But the rest of Chile also wants this.

Then why condemn them? Why accuse them of revolting and of being agents which serve capitalism? Why not discuss? It is possible to make a workers area like this in which they eliminate bourgeois justice, the police, the bourgeois medical services? Can it be done or not? The population demonstrates that it can be done. It is necessary to make a much better political social function; we are agreed. But it is a beginning! Marxism is the most powerful instrument of history, which collects all the principles which outside it develop, and show themselves to be right. Because marxism gives methods to interpret and allows them the creation of principles. But if there are others who do it, and show that these principles are just we welcome them.

On the other hand, the communist reject and condemn all those who are against their policy of interpenetration, and in the final analysis conciliation with the capitalist system. Because of this they condemn these comrades of the M.I.R. All initiatives are good and we are not against any which show that there can be an elevation and an example of revolutionary development. But an initiative against the capitalist system is one thing and an initiative against a government which is going towards socialism is another. Therefore the comrades of the M.I.R. have to have historical patience—if they think themselves to be capable—and know how to persuade, to develop the capacity of a team of the population with examples, with analysis, with economic support, which influences the government, while it bases itself on the world process of the revolution.

The impatience of the M.I.R. shows its petit-bourgeois origin. But it takes measures which are not condemnable. It is necessary to discuss the form of organising them, but they are not condemnable. Because of this, the M.I.R. had a reception of such a nature, that it made a meeting of 5 thousand people, even if it was not only the M.I.R., also there were the left socialists, the radical left, the Christian Democrat left, and the trotskysts. All this provokes the crisis of the Communist Party, and not only in Chile but in the world. It is not a Chilean problem. When all the Communist Parties of the world deal with it with such preoccupation, it is because they feel that it is a reflection of the crisis, which there is within the communist movement.

These events in Chile show that the right of the Communist Party is cowardly and conservative. It wants to cover up; and to prevent itself appearing cowardly and conservative, it puts the blame on the "Ultra-lefts". This can last for one week, two, three, four; no more. When it does not have the strength to impose it, they maintain these events for a time in silence. Now they cannot. Because there are forces which impose on them. The M.I.R. is not a putchiste group. The proof is that they drew 12,800 votes in the election of the CUTCH. In the position which they have from one year ago up till now, there is a change favourable to the more conscious development of the political revolution.

This situation is leading to a crisis

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Chile . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

which is going to be accentuated in the next stages, because the Chilean masses want to advance in measures of expropriation, and of control of capitalism; they want leaders who respond to the desire, to the will, and to the immense revolutionary possibilities, which there are in Chile.

Before this crisis there was already a previous one. In Chuquicamata the workers threw two bosses of the Communist Party out of the mine. They threw them out! They said clearly and definitely "We don't have anything against the government, and if we have to work 14 hours a day we will work it, but what are these doing? They are bureaucrats, they are not communist nor socialists". From the coal mines, from saltpetre and from various factories they have rejected as bureaucrats, leaders and managers named by the government. Or even not being bureaucrats, because of their conservative conception of functioning of the factory, of their relation with the workers.

The workers want to discuss, resolve, and participate in the leadership, and in all the problems of the factories, production, distributions and wages. In no case has the Government, nor the Communist Party, nor the Socialist Party, nor the CUTCH been animated or found reason to accuse the workers of wanting to impose the raising of their salaries, of their economic advantages, because they are controlling the factories. They have not done it in a single case. On the other hand the workers have shown to the various bosses and administrators that they are bandits, that they have a mentality of bosses as in the capitalist system; to gain a good salary, and to be well paid, not of playing the role of constructing the Workers State, or of passing from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State, but just of getting well paid for themselves. Not the workers, there is not a single case of this. While the managers increase their wages, the workers increase productivity and production. This shows the basis of the crisis.

It is not a discussion about wages or better working conditions. This is implicit, but it is of less importance. The most important thing is the leadership, the social sense, the programme, the communist objective, which is what the workers are looking for. There is complete unity between the socialist and communist workers.

One expression of this crisis is that after nearly two years of revolutionary government the socialist and communist stood separately in the CUT elections. This shows their criminally Party interest, which goes against the interests of the revolution. Every separate presentation to trade union elections increases the centrifugal tendencies, each one trying to settle things in his own way. The communist and socialist have stood separately for the second time in trade union elections, in Huachipato, in the CUTCH. While the election in Chuquicamata shows how by presenting themselves together they increased the power of attraction, disintegrated the enemy, favouring the attraction of the petty bourgeoisie, helping and elevating its comprehension and decision to unify itself with the proletariat and to follow it.

Allende's reaction in the face of the results of the trade union elections in Huachipato and in the election of the university rector has a very great importance, it is not a peculiar reaction. In part it expresses the degree of maturity which there is in Chile, that one can go much further, and that the communists are backward. This is why we say that Allende has more initiative than the communists. And the vanguard sees that this is so; that Allende has more initiative than the communist with his method of respecting the constitution. But the communist subject themselves to be constitution too. Allende subjects himself to the constitution but he nationalises. And the nationalisation of ITT means the break up of a focus of the counter-revolution.

At the same time as Allende proposes a plan of wage increases, increased pensions, he appeals for the mobilisation of the masses. He appeals for a mobilisation in support of the government, and above all he counterposes the trade union elections—the CUTCH—to parliament, which does not represent the country, and the elections for the rector of the university, who is a student delegate. Here is the country! He opposes one to the other. And although he wants to stop at this, all the workers, petty bourgeois, peasants are going to say "These are the

# The expulsion of the Soviet military technicians from Egypt and the ascent of the revolutionary crisis in the Middle East

J POSADAS 3-8-72

**It is necessary to analyse what the expulsion of the Soviet military technicians from Egypt signifies in Soviet-Egyptian relations, the extent of this crisis, and the deep historic base, which produces it. It is the struggle of the muslim right, which utilises the state, profiting from the circumstances of the war against Israel, and the insecurity, or fear of the bourgeoisie, to see the Soviet intervention increase, and its desire to maintain class property, without the risk of taking any resolutions, which weaken the capitalist system.**

The muslim right takes all this situation of 3 years of hidden war, to accuse the USSR of not having given sufficient support to Egypt, and to try to weaken the links of the left and centre with the Soviet Union, to enable them to maintain private property with greater certainty. But also this is part of a mechanism of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which is seeking to separate itself from pressure, like this one of Soviet assistance, in order that it is a bourgeoisie—without being the muslim right—can profit from freely from the circumstances to go further in its bourgeois interests; so as, among other things to attenuate the weight of the TUs, and impede them developing. This shows the falsity and weakness in various aspects of the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy in countries such as Egypt, in which it gives military support without previous political organisation, or without politically organising at the same time, as it gives military support, or without developing the Communist Parties, which have not accomplished their function, which have not been capable of developing an internal movement of support to Egyptian-Soviet friendship, and the resolution of the struggle to expel Israel, and at the same time to be the basis of continuation of the Socialist revolution. They must combine the expulsion of Israel with the Socialist revolution, nationalising everything. Foreseeing this process, which is going to be carried forward by the masses, even without the leadership of Sadat, or of orders of the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie, the Egyptian right has taken this measure, tending to weaken the force and security of the left, and centre sector. This is their objective. But at the same time, inevitably, the Soviets will have to reconsider their links with the Arab countries, augmenting their relations with the masses, feeling the necessity to create Communist Parties, and seeing the uselessness of the policy of the communists in the previous stage, its lack of capacity, of authority, of development and of strength in the Arab countries. The policy of the Soviets, of agreements with the Arab countries has a very limited effectiveness. It would have had much more if there had been communist parties, which developed the struggle of the masses inside each country. On the other hand, in the way, it has given opportunity for the Soviet bureaucracy to make agreements with apparatuses, and thus the sectors of the centre-right of the Soviet bureaucracy have a means of applying pressure so that things do not go too far.

This is going to alter the policy of the Soviets in the Middle East, and is going to force them to seek a better contact with the masses, with the TUs, and to develop the Communist Parties. It is going to make them feel that the stage of agreements with sectors of the centre, hoping for a progress of these sectors has reached its end, and that it is necessary to take the offensive with a revolutionary policy, inside and outside the Arab States, in the TUs, and in the Communist Parties in the Middle East and in the Workers States and their CP's. As a result it is also going to increase the discussion and crisis in the Soviet Union by reason of the unfavourable consequences of the policy of the bureaucracy in this aspect.

The conclusion is that the Soviet policy, even being convenient in part to Egypt, does not respond to the necessities of the masses. In part it responded to the struggle against Israel. But in not supporting themselves on the mass movement, in not being stimulated by the rest of the Communist Parties—recently now the Communist Parties concern themselves with Egypt—the trade union leadership lack the force, the impulse, and cannot weigh and decide in countries like Egypt. The Soviets developed themselves in the apparatuses as with Ali Sabri. Such a policy not being incorrect was of the apparatus, nothing more, unlinked with the trade unions, with

the workers and peasant masses. The mobilisations, which appeared, show that the Soviet Union has established links with the trade unions, and the peasants, but not links of the Communist Party. A party is needed in the country to undertake this task.

This is going to have repercussions in the Communist Parties in the Middle East, to make them see the lack of utility of the policy, which they push forward until this moment, and the necessity for a more audacious policy, more resolved, and of a closer link with the masses, with slogans and agitation, which tend to nationalisations, distribution of the land, collectivisation: a very audacious policy.

Independently and besides this measure of expulsion of the Soviet military technicians, which weakens the relation of the Soviet Union with Egypt, the Soviet bureaucracy, foreseeing this course, increases its relations with Syria and Iraq. In increasing its relations and its weight, it has a necessary base to be able to exert pressure afterwards much more directly in this way. The entry of the communists into the government of Iraq is an important force. Also before there were communists in the government of Syria, and it is possible that they are going to incorporate them again—which shows that—within a short time, there are going to be much more serious, more profound, more resolved discussions in the Workers States, and in the Communist Parties.

We have entered into a stage of the liquidation of the equilibrium of the Muslim Brotherhood, and one of definition between the right, centre and left wings of the nationalist movement. If locally the trade unions have strength, the Communist Parties do not have it to decide, and do not have an adequate policy. On a world wide scale yes, they have strength: the agreement, which Iraq and Syria made with the Soviet Union does not depend only on local conditions, but on world conditions which the Soviet bureaucracy used. This is going to weigh on the later relation of Iraq, Syria with Egypt, and also with Libya.

It is undoubted that this process is going to lead to consequences in the Communist Parties. There is going to be a discussion about why the Communist Parties do not have weight in the Middle East. And the struggle in the camp of the Muslim brothers, is going to be more evident with the necessity of the revolution, which is going to make the struggle more direct. This indicates also a stage ending the efforts of equilibrium in the relation between the centre, the right and the left, and the leadership of the Muslim brothers, or the weight of these in the Arab governments. This is going to oblige the Soviet bureaucracy to define a policy. Hence Pravda attacked on the fifth day saying that it is the Muslim right, which wants to impede "the influence in Egypt of the socialist countries", to impede the socialist development of the revolution in the Middle East. This is the depth of the problem. It can be linked besides with the problem of the war, and of armaments, but basically it is this.

This obliges then the Soviet bureaucracy to push forward a fight against the Muslim right, to support the left and occasionally the centre. It is going to intensify the class and revolutionary struggle, and favour the taking of positions by the Soviet bureaucracy, and the Communist Parties, linked with the masses, and to stimulate the left wings in these countries for a policy of profound social changes.

The visit of Sadat to Libya is a measure of defence against the advance of the revolution. Ghadaffi seeks support in Sadat to defend himself from the revolution. But he does not take into account that it is a question of world forces, in which they cannot interfere. It is not a result favourable to Ghadaffi, but it is an attempt by him to weigh in Libya and Egypt now to counterbalance the agree-

ment of Syria and Iraq. But these are transitory measures, which historically have very little effect, because what allows the development of the countries, which in the Middle East take the road of the revolution are the social progressive measures which they take in the economy and social development. If they do not take them, they fall. As already Ghadaffi is beginning to fall. The agreement with Sadat is made to sustain himself. But the fact that Sadat does not sign a definitive agreement, shows that he does not think that it is going to last long. In his turn Ghadaffi supports himself on the Muslim right to exert pressure on Sadat. But the homage which the Egyptians have just made to the Soviet technicians does not indicate that they have overthrown them. Sadat does it, not so much to keep in with the Soviet army, as with the Egyptian army. Because when he makes such a homage, it is to say to the Egyptian army "see that we do not break". It is directed to the world press and also to Ghadaffi.

It is necessary to make an appeal, so that the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties intervene more aggressively in this process, to make a balance and a conclusion, to show how the Communist Parties have not been capable of developing through their false policy. This is the most important conclusion, which it is necessary to draw. It was a policy of submission, of adaptation, or of ultra leftism, which has prevented the Communist Parties understanding the revolutionary process. Hence the distrust of the masses for the Communist Parties. This is clear and determining.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union, so that while it makes the effort to maintain relations with the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries, together with the trade unions and the CPSU direct themselves to the masses, to the CPs, to the trade unions of the Middle East, making appeals to elevate the socialist revolution, through nationalisations, workers control, the development of agriculture, planning, monopoly of foreign trade, to make the worker and communist movement of the rest of the world, intervene in the Arab countries.

It is necessary to show that the war in Israel can define itself, and that to define it and to finish it, it is necessary to make an appeal to the masses of Israel to overthrow the capitalist regime, and to unite the right of self determination with the Arab countries in a socialist federation of the Middle East. Israel is anticipating this conclusion. More and more, they are taking restrictive measures and increase their military contribution by 60%. This is to say Israel is only a military country for Yankee Imperialism. It is necessary to make appeals for mobilisations, and anti-capitalist uprisings; to expel Israel from the territories, which it occupied, and at the same time impelling the socialist revolution in Israel, and the development of the revolution in the Middle East, nationalising the land, the principal properties, the bank, planning the economy, installing workers control, and appealing for the socialist unification of all the Arab states, which also includes Israel. It is necessary to make the soviets, and the Communist Parties make this appeal.

This expulsion of the Soviet technicians is not a complete failure, but it shows the weakness of the policy of alliance and agreements at the top only. And it shows that this policy of agreements with the governments of the countries of the Middle East should be accompanied with a policy linked with the mobilisation of the masses, of appeals to the masses, and of direct relations with the CPs and the trade unions of the Workers States, with the masses of these countries appealing to them to continue the socialist revolution; appealing for nationalisations, planning of the economy of all the Arab states with trade union independence, installation of soviets, of the revolutionary, democratic rights, of the masses, appealing to the masses of Israel to take power, to overthrow capitalism, and to enter together with the Arab states into a Soviet Socialist Federation of the Middle East, with the right of self determination.

J. POSADAS 3-8-72

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The revolutionary crisis in Chile . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

country, because these are the ones that produce, that make things, but these others, these are parasites". But the bourgeoisie says "How's this after the election results?" Yes, but in that, even the fleas vote, not here. Here the voters are those that produce, the workers, students, for their leaders, rectors." This is how it has to be posed.

What does the Christian Democracy represent? Half of it represents the exploiters. So the exploiters vote. And who are the exploiters? Do they make the economy? They are parasites on the economy! The trade union and university elections have to be counterposed to the parliamentary elections. This is how it has to be put. The general political elections do not represent the will of the country, because the country is those that make, those that produce. The nazis and fascists cannot be taken as the country, it is those that produce. The others are parasites. The capitalist is the one that has money to invest to rob. Which is to say he is against the economy. He is only for his own economy! It is necessary to pose this.

Allende maintains himself on mobilisations and this is a change; a pretty great change, and it is going to impel Bolivia and Peru a lot. It is going to impel them very much. The governments position is combative. It begins by showing that it is not going to discuss one or another law, but that the basis of the question is that the bourgeoisie wants to impede progress by means of parliament, that it has an occasional majority. And progress cannot be made without taking economic measures, which affect private interests, they do not represent the will of the country, which has already been expressed in the university and trade union elections. This is how Allende poses the problem, but the communists do not reason like this.

With their mobilisation the masses elevate their political quality, and the cadres see that the problem is not parliamentary, and it is not necessary to expect an agreement with the CD, it is necessary to impose it by force. This goes against the policy of conciliation and unnecessary concessions on the part of the communists. It is not that one must never make concessions. To win time, permitting meanwhile a maturation,

one may have to make concessions. But in this case there was no need to make them. On the contrary, they are unnecessary concessions. Because this argument Allende uses now, he did not use before, on the contrary he said, "the enormous number of votes the CD got in the trade union elections shows...". This is wrong, it won nothing. The chiefs and administrative personnel voted, these are the votes they got. In all the workers zones the CUT won, and apart from that there was a 50% abstention, which includes a very large number of workers who could not vote, because they were not paid up. They were workers not paid up, because they do not have the money. The leaders of the CUT were wrong to admit this. They should not have acted like this, because it is not a question of a trade union election, but of a vote against the bourgeoisie. So the trade union leadership has to work as a consequence of this, not as a corporative system. It has to say "Everybody votes, because it is a vote against private property, against the programme, and functioning of the capitalist system. It is against this!" On the other hand, they subject themselves to a corporative movement, not the class, trade union movement. This is corporative, this is why they accept all these norms.

Allendes attitude is important, it tries to break the bureaucratic apparatus, to confront the Communist Party, and to simulate the left tendencies within it, including Figueroa, who is for a harder position against capitalism, and Corvalan. Meanwhile, the others, like Millas, are old communists, from the old team, which has developed in all the interpenetrative, conciliatory apparatus. They go on from the old stage. They identify themselves with the Party, and do not see that it changes, and it has to change. They do not feel this, they go on with the policy of 30 years ago, this can go on no longer. Allende is to the left of them.

A whole layer of old communists, without ceasing to be communists, are all anachronisms, they are things of the past. They developed in the vice of power. Such a process as this does not take account of the fact that there is no revolutionary party, if there was a revolutionary party, it would not happen in this way. The power comes from the factories, and since there is a leadership which responds to this power, it does not bureaucratise. It is wrong to say

that bureaucratisation is inevitable. Why? The administrative function is inevitable. But it has to be an administrative and not bureaucratic function. Which is to say that he functions with affection and love for the administrative function, not like the bureaucrat, who takes it as a way of life. There is no reason for it to have political power. It is an administrative function. It is like when Lenin said "It is a pity that many comrades have to dedicate themselves to the administrative function", he did not say "bureaucratic" nor "leaders of the state", he said the administrative function. It was necessary to understand this. Many comrades said "Oh, they are sending me there." Obviously they wanted to be in the meetings and conferences. No, it was necessary to be there taking statistics, accounts and all the rest of it. It is necessary to do it. There is no doubt that it puts one at a distance from the political life, the contact with the masses, to feel the direct affect, he will, the decision of the masses to feel the force of the masses. Then one is cut of in a life that may be rather separated from them. The bureaucrat comes from here. While if one lives with the party it is an administrative function, it does not become bureaucratic and has no reason to do so, and even less reason to have political force and authority.

The same with the army. Why does the army have to have political authority? Because it has the guns? Then the power is the gun, not the political authority. At a certain point Rakovsky posed the "professional dangers of power". This was at a certain time. Now it is posed as I have posed it. At that time it was the danger because it was the first revolution, and it was not surrounded by a world circle of revolutions. Today it is. There is no longer this danger! Today here is no danger of this. There is no reason to have to pass through a stage of bureaucratic functioning. It is administration by revolutionary militants. The Bolsheviks could not do this, because they killed half the Party, half of the Bolsheviks died in the civil war. So they took whoever there was. This is why it was posed the "professional dangers of power". Not today. Although bureaucratisation is extended through the Communist Party, there is also, as in Italy, a situation where six trade union reviews come out posing how to organise society.

This situation in Chile is very important, because it is going to weigh very

much in the world communist movement, on the tactic, on the relations with the bourgeoisie, how to gain bourgeois sectors, how to influence them. This is very important. It is a decided attitude of Allende, which must now be accompanied by mobilisations of the masses, area assemblies, factory assemblies, posing that it is those that produce, that are of value, they determine the life of the country. The others are all parasites and have no value. This is going to have an immense effect. It is necessary to see the country as it is, to see reality as it is! "Who is the country? You rob me. You are not the country, we are the country!"

This decision of the government is very important, but it is necessary to support it on the mobilisation of the masses, mobilisations, discussions, assemblies where everybody participates. For example, making area meetings, meetings in halls, demonstrations, conferences to discuss the problem of the economy, the problem of power, the problem of the representation of the population. What does the electoral result represent? The people that do nothing or the representatives of production? To go on advancing in this conclusion, because here too is the problem of property, they oppose this, and try to block the structural changes in the country. It is necessary to appeal to the masses to oppose this. It is necessary to do all this together with an appeal for a united movement, to present itself united in elections with a programme of production, of investment and support together with the rest of Latin America. A programme of economic development, advance in nationalisations, workers control, to continue the agrarian reform with the co-operation and collectivisation plan of public works, roads, hospitals, of the land, to advance and extend the electric light, water and houses for the population; to extend and generalise the organs of intervention of the masses, Popular Assembly, factory committees, area committees, peasants committees, trade union democracy, proletarian democracy, the full participation of the masses in all the problems of the country, and appealing to the Latin American masses to defend and support the Chilean revolutionary process.

J. POSADAS 7-8-72

N.B.

The letters "CD" in this document stand for "Christian Democracy".

## World Trotskyist Press

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Arce, Casilla 644 Oruro. (Bolivia).

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquimbo 291. Talcahuano. (Chile).

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

**ECUADOR:** *Lucha Communista*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Fernando Salas, 3726 Quito.

**GREECE:** *Kommunistikipali*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**GERMANY:** *Arbeiter Stimme*, organ of the German militants of the IV International. Ricarda Kruck, 6 Frankfurt/Main, Heiderheimer Landstr. 181.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Rooma-Ostienne.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist).

**MIDDLE EAST:** Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine. (Write to the Belgian, French or Italian addresses).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Montevideo. Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

### PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

*Cuarta Internacional*, Organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, Organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Clandestine.

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

*Marxist Review in Arabic*, organ of the Arab Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. (Obtainable from the address of the British Section).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.(T), Argentina.

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

*Rivista Marxista Europea* (In Italian), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. P. Leone Casella Postale 5059-00153 Roma (Ostienne)—Italy.

*Revue Marxiste Europeane* (In French), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. (M.A. Roc'Hongar, 63 rue Victor Hugo, 92 Courbevoie, France. Claudine Polet, 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

## News of the campaign for the liberation of political prisoners in Brazil

TELEGRAMS OF PROTEST AT THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRAZIL HAVE BEEN SENT BY HATFIELD MAIN BRANCH OF THE N.U.M. AND BY THE COUNCIL OF THE YORKSHIRE AREA N.U.M.

## The results of the Trade . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
the monolithicism of the bureaucracy breaks up, and as in Rumania, criticisms are made of the disparity in wages between workers and bureaucrats, and in Poland there is criticism of the abandonment of Leninist norms. All this increases the attractive force of the Workers States and further diminishes capitalist authority.

The Chairman of the TUC at the beginning of the conference said that the TUC was not an alternative government. To mention such an attitude shows that the working class feel in fact that they have the capacity to be an alternative government. And following this there was the acceptance of communists going as delegates to the national meeting of trades councils. This demonstrates the weight of the Workers States at work in the Labour Party and the trade unions, it shows the weight of the Communist Party, and its vanguard in the unions,

and the factories, and the desire of the Labour Party vanguard to benefit more from its intervention. It poses the need for marxism. This decision at the TUC conference is going to weigh in the Labour Party, posing the need for the abandonment of bans and proscriptions, the need for the right of tendency in the LP of the Communist Party and the IV International. Marxism is more and more necessary to harmonise the world and national struggles to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism. The conclusions of the TUC conference give the most optimistic perspectives both for the unification of the struggles of the masses on a common anti capitalist programme, and for the penetration of marxism into the Labour Party, thus liquidating the heritage of bourgeois empiricism, and forming a new leadership dedicated to the establishment of socialism.

16-9-72

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d. Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**

VIVA THE DEMONSTRATION OF OVER

HALF A MILLION COMMUNISTS IN ROME

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMMUNIST

FESTIVALS

ARTICLE PAGE 3

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 168 2nd Friday of October 1972 PRICE 3p

# The conclusions of the Labour Party Conference, the need to construct the independant class organism, to impel the construction of a new leadership in the L.P.

This year's Labour Party Conference shows a no less significant shift to the left than the TUC Conference a few weeks before. There has not been a change of leadership, and still less of structure, but the discussions, the resolutions, the defeats of the executive positions, above all on housing, indicate the change in the balance of forces in the Labour Party against the pro-capitalist right. This advance of left positions in the LP is not a product simply of the British class struggle, but of the world disintegration of capitalism, and the advance of the world revolution and the Workers States. If, in the conference there were not more profound changes made in the leadership, in the programme, in the structure, it was because the left sectors of the leadership, the Tribune left, did not want to base themselves on the left in the conference, and break their alliance with the centre and the right. They did not want to because they share many of the positions of the right wing, the most important being the one on Ireland—the support for the presence of British imperialist troops—which is a key question on which there can be no room for doubt and vacillation and they have shown that they have more confidence in the good intentions of British Imperialism than they have in the Irish masses. But nevertheless the right wing has suffered a defeat in this conference, and feels it; it felt itself to be in the air without any basis of support, and for this reason it kept its head down and was silent. If Jenkins had felt any confidence, he would have spoken on the EEC debate, but he let it pass without saying a word.

The capitalist class feels that the major prop to its existence, the LP apparatus, is disintegrating, but it cannot give any perspective of development of capitalism, which would encourage the right to fight back. It is an indication of the fear of the bourgeoisie of this process that now through the 'Times' they launch the slogan (backing it up with an opinion poll, which supposedly 'proves' the great desire for it in the country), of a new centre left party of the liberals, and the right wing of the LP. They can see that the pro-capitalist right, the sector which already has one foot outside the LP, is in process of being expelled, (as with Taverne in Lincoln), not because of the conscious activity of Benn or the Tribune left, but by the year of unprecedented class struggle, the miners victory, the flying pickets, the occupations, the mobilisations, which forced the Tory government to release the dockers, and forced the TUC to call for a 24 hour general strike, with demonstrations, fought by the vanguard, which has impelled in all its actions to make itself felt in the LP, to provoke changes in the LP. It is this force of the vanguard making itself felt still only limitedly through the constituency and TU resolutions, which made Jenkins silent, and Taverne decide to get out.

But the force of the vanguard was more present this year; it showed itself in rejecting several of the proposals of the executive, in the resolution on the nationalisation of land, both agricultural and building, nationalisation of the major monopolies, with minimum compensation, implementation of clause 4, nationalisation of the building industry, rented property, and finance, renationalisation without compensation of those industries denationalised by the Tories, repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. etc. It is a new phenomenon, when the National Executive states that it can take no responsibility for the party, or for a future Labour government to recompense those councillors fined for opposing the Housing Finance Act, and 20 hours later the conference passes by a massive 4 to 1 majority a resolution calling on the NEC to do precisely that. It has an importance

not only because it represents a defeat for the apparatus, but because it stimulates actions, which contravene the capitalist law, stimulates extra parliamentary actions, based on mass mobilisations and the formation of organisms. These resolutions showed the existence in the middle ranks and at the base of the LP and TUs, of a revolutionary anti-capitalist current, which is not organised, which function organically, but which is seeking the way to constitute itself as a revolutionary tendency in the LP.

With such a base at the conference, supported on the national and world process of the class struggle, the left in the leadership could have made a much more important struggle. But not only did they not make such a struggle, but they retreated on positions they had already taken. Benn, for example, retreated in relation to what he had previously been saying about the necessity for the democratic control of the LP by the conference. The left in the NEC must take responsibility for the fact that the resolution to expel those Labour MPs who had voted with the Tories, was not allowed to be discussed, when this could have been the centre of a whole discussion and decision to clean out the right from the LP. It expresses that the left in the leadership, although it is not excluded that, impelled by great revolutionary mobilisations, and the complete decadence of capitalism, it may advance and take anticapitalist measures, is not prepared to make a break with the right because this would mean that it would have to base itself on revolutionary sectors, and become a prisoner of a process which it can't control. Thus it tries to maintain the same basic structure of the LP, which prevents the full intervention of the base, and this then leaves a certain capacity for initiative in the hands of the right wing.

The statements of Benn on the general election show the fundamental weakness of the left. He calls for a great struggle to get rid of the Tory government by the end of the year; but a struggle which is solely in parliament, when all the conditions exist for an appeal to the trade unions, to the working class

directly for the general strike with factory occupations, to overthrow the government. There is no other way of doing it! Benn, in many statements tries to respond in words to certain necessities, to certain preoccupations of the workers movement, so as to maintain his authority, but not to respond with a programme, with appeals, with concrete proposals for strikes, occupations, formation of

factory or area committees. Even when he made the statement (which was important) about the workers of the newspaper industry "having a responsibility to see that what is said about the working class movement is true", he did not directly call for action, and two days later he tended once more to retreat on what he originally said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

EXTRACTS OF A LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED BY THE PARTY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE APPEAL OF THE WORKERS COMMISSIONS

## Resolutions, meetings, stoppages in solidarity with the strikers of Vigo, Northern Spain

We, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International, communicate to the British working class movement, the appeal for solidarity made by the workers of VIGO in northern Spain. Their strike, called by the workers commissions (the underground free trade union movement) brought all the industry in the region to a halt, barricades were erected in the streets, and all the working population, including the women, children and so called old people manned the barricades, defying the police of the fascist state. The workers demanded the release of prisoners, the re-instatement of workers sacked from the local Citroen factory, higher wages and shorter hours, and in the middle of the strike the workers commissions issued an appeal for solidarity to all the European workers movement, calling for a general strike.

Even though the Vigo strikers have now returned to work, it is still necessary to take concrete actions of solidarity, meetings in the factory, in the districts, demonstrations and stoppages. If this particular struggle has come to an end, tomorrow there will be others and the Spanish working class, in its struggle against Franco, must feel the active support of all the European proletariat. Even if such support does not yield immediate results, the Spanish workers, peasants and students are going to feel this solidarity, and it is going to increase their confidence, and will to struggle against the Franco dictatorship and Spanish capitalism...

... We make this appeal to the British working class movement, appealing that the demands, resolutions and actions of solidarity be united to the struggle for the general demands of the working class; for higher wages, shorter hours, nationalisation under workers control, factory committees, the struggle against the Industrial Relation Bill, and the Housing Finance Act, the struggle to get rid of the Tory government, and bring back a Labour government, in which the left has taken power within the party. The right wing is not going to be interested in any campaign of solidarity with the Spanish workers, but it will be a stimulus to the left wing, a stimulus to all those forces struggling in the LP, for a new structure, programme, policy and leadership.

FOR AN IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION IN THE FACTORY, IN THE SHOP STEWARD COMMITTEE, IN THE TRADE COUNCILS, ON HOW TO ORGANISE SOLIDARITY WITH THE SPANISH WORKERS.

DEMONSTRATIONS, STOPPAGES, STRIKES WITH THE PERSPECTIVE OF ORGANISING THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE TO OVERTHROW FRANCO.

FOR THE SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE. AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIES—THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE.

2-10-72

# The murder of Lin Piao, the communist insecurity of the present Chinese leadership & the need for the active unification of the World Communist Movement

J. POSADAS 3-8-72

*The disappearance, liquidation, or murder of Lin Piao and some ten other Chinese leaders shows the sharpness of their internal differences, and also the fear of the right wing, which shows a very, very profound communist insecurity. If it were simply a question of political dissent—which there may have been—it would not have gone as far as murder.*

*When a whole team is suppressed, part of which were founding members of the Communist Party, leaders of the revolution, constructors of the Chinese Workers State, organisers of the struggle against the Japanese, against Chiang Kai Shek, against imperialism, as much in Korea, and Indo China itself, it is because the internal divergences are very profound. Whoever commits such a murder does so because they have an insecurity about the communist future. This is why we say that it is the same as Stalin, not just in the method, but because they have the same conception as Stalin. If they had a communist conception, and there were divergences, they would not go this far. It would be settled in the form of discussion, congresses, interior disputes, but not suppression. The one who suppresses is insecure about tomorrow, and has an ambition for power. And power for what? To make a policy which does not correspond to communist aims.*

It is a wing insecure about the future, insecure about communism, insecure about what policy to raise, and which, consequently, wants to withhold and prevent the development of revolutionary tendencies. Hence the assassination of Lin Piao. When it goes as far as a dispute of this nature, it is because the internal conditions of dispute, of discussion are very sharp as well as insecure.

The masses do not participate. There are no pronouncements of the factories, of the trade unions, the communes, universities and colleges. There are no pronouncements from anybody. It is just the Chou En-Lai leadership, which decides that Lin Piao was a traitor, he was going to betray them, he was going to kill Mao Tse Tung. And for what? What policy? What programme? What objective? The people are going to ask "But what for?". When they immediately put the emphasis on "He wanted to overthrow Mao Tse Tung", it is because they have no reply they can make. Because the only reply they have is going to be rejected by the masses. This is why they have to take the road of murder. But it indicates that there is only a very short life span left for the murderers. It is not the epoch of Stalin, nor are the masses as separate from the world revolution as Chou En Lai believes. He thinks that he has closed off the Chinese masses.

This assassination of Lin Piao is a demonstration of the lack of revolutionary policy, of marxism. The absence of marxist application leads them to solve problems by mutual murder. Revolutionary ideas, tendencies and currents are still not represented, they are social currents and tendencies. Even being of the Workers State, they express social tendencies that are insecure, and afraid of the roads and routes towards communism. Together with certain measures of development, of construction or application of the Workers State, they impart and develop social interests whose bourgeois—or whatever—origin makes them insecure, vacillating, doubtful about the future of communism. On the contrary they stimulate national chauvinism.

One cannot stimulate national chauvinism in 1972 without clinging to a bourgeois or mandarin origin. Not to a worker or Bolshevik or Communist Party origin! Anybody in the Communist Party with communist roots, or roots in the masses rejects such measures and conclusions.

Chou En Lai was at the very foundation of the Chinese Communist Party. But the policy is not of development of the struggle for communism. In the life of the Chinese Workers State he has made no documents, no texts, no theses, no programme, there are no important antecedents, apart from one or two articles. He has no tradition as a theoretician, as an organiser of the thought, the programme and policy. Liu Shao Chi has more than him. He had a programme and texts. And they are not all wrong. They are not all, as they say, for "agents of the enemy". Some of them are the texts of a centre communist, not the right. And when he made texts that were closer to the right, it was when all the Party was to the right.

This assassination is a step along the road of the Chinese Communist Party towards becoming a reformist party. It comes from 1962 when the internal struggle, and the "great leap forward" began. A whole insecure and unstable process began. This leadership's fear of being detached or contained made it im-

pel the struggle, deviating it from the theoretical, political and programmatic struggle, to individual assassination. It indicates the absence of the weight of the masses, of intervention of the masses, of functioning of the trade unions, the lack of Party cells, of soviets, of functioning as a Bolshevik Party.

In such conditions it is the summits of the Party that decide, and in these there is all the fear, the terror, the insecurity of the first stage of Stalin. But now there is no longer any reason for this! Today there is a whole world process of the revolution. So what is the essential reason for the fear of this leadership? Fear of the atomic war, fear of being smashed by imperialism, fear of disappearing. They are national chauvinist sentiments that have their roots in their mandarin class origin! This is not of Bolshevik origin!

There is no political document of opposition or discussion with Lin Piao. Even mistakenly and partially, the stage of Lin Piao led to an alliance with the Soviet Union. They themselves said so. Which was progressive. Lin Piao was liquidated by a chauvinist wing of this stage of history, which is no longer the chauvinist stage of Stalin. At that time the USSR was isolated, and this impelled national chauvinism. But in this stage, China is surrounded by the world and the revolution. But instead, all that they see is North America and its atomic arms. Their chauvinism is a direct result of their fear of being extinguished as Chinese, not as revolutionaries. It is the same defect, the same lack, the same falsehood as Stalin, but with the difference that now there exists the world protection of the revolution. In Stalin's epoch there was not this. Such a sentiment has a direct root and link with the social origin of all this wing. If they had the social origin in the revolutionary Party, with revolutionary development and life, this is where they would have found the explanation to see the world. They do not see it. They see China and the Soviet Union.

But at the same time this wing is a result of the previous policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, which in recent years it has sought to compensate for, coming closer by means of Lin Piao, but even so it has not compensated for the previous stages of big chauvinism, in which they wanted to usurp China and submit it to the USSR. This was the stage of Stalin and Khrushchev.

There is no doubt that this chauvinist wing in China is a reaction against this. The Chinese leadership has created a whole anti-soviet sentiment, and it has developed a sentiment of competition and antagonism, that has gone as far as military confrontation. The historic guilt lies with the Soviet bureaucracy. To face this process the Soviet Union must say "Yes, we are guilty. It was Stalin and Khrushchev that made this policy as a product of bureaucratic policy, bureaucratic interest, and they wanted to submit the rest of the communist movement to this". And starting from here to discuss the unification of the world communist movement.

This reaction of the Chinese was the same as there was with the other Communist Parties of the world. But why do the other Communist Parties of the world, including the Yugoslavians, now find the means to coordinate with the Soviet Union? Certainly, the Soviet Union now has a policy closer to these Parties. But it is not just this. It is not a fundamental

change today. Because for the past ten years the Soviet bureaucracy has not had the policy of usurpation and imposition. So why can it be like this in these countries and not in China? These are small countries. Workers States that cannot develop by themselves. While the Chinese leadership feels itself to have a very great power. It is the absence of marxism, the absence of communism and the communist life, which make them develop national chauvinist sentiments, and on the basis of this to try to resolve things by themselves, as Stalin did in his epoch. "Socialism in one country", now it's "China for the Chinese". This is absurd! It is grotesque! There is no reason to raise a policy of isolation. Above all when the Soviets are trying to coordinate, they are seeking an agreement with the Chinese.

There is no doubt that the Soviet bureaucracy defends itself from the Chinese bureaucracy, and the Chinese bureaucracy defends itself from the Soviets. But how are they to coordinate? How are they to discuss? It is necessary to discuss publicly. Appealing for a public discussion in the world communist movement, in the world workers movement, on the sino-soviet divergences, and on the assassination of Lin Piao. To demand a public discussion and condemnation of the murderers, and the necessity of the unification of all the Workers States, including the USSR and China.

To discuss in all the world communist and workers movement, the socialist, communist, left catholic, revolutionary nationalist movements, the trade unions and workers centres. Appealing for a public discussion showing that this is not a consequence of the construction of socialism, but a consequence of the existence of bureaucratic leaderships that are unnecessary for the construction of the Workers State. This is going to serve the education of the North American masses.

All this that is happening in China is of a very great help to Yankee imperialism. Because imperialism turns to the petty bourgeoisie and says "Look at this, this is communism!" Certainly the North

American masses see these murders, but they see too that China came from nothing, and now it has the capacity to make atomic arms, there is no hunger, everyone has work, they export, help Korea and Vietnam. The North American masses, and the masses of the world take account of this. The Yankees believe that it is enough to say "Look here, this is communism!". The masses say "Yes, sure there are some murderers, but twenty years ago they had nothing, look what they've got now! The Workers State shows its historic superiority!" The North American masses judge this. But with the effect of helping them to resolve their essential need for the organisation of the independent revolutionary Party, a world discussion is necessary, and for there to be an open discussion in China. Why was there the assassination of Lin Piao? Why was there the attack? What did he want? What programme? What policy? What are they after? What programme did Lin Piao have if up to the day before he disappeared he was the chief approved by the Communist Party, by Mao Tse Tung and by a great quantity of the masses? It was under Lin Piao's leadership—during the cultural revolution—that the factories came out in lorries singing the International. It was the only time they did this! Ranks in the army were suppressed, and the generals were sent to work in the factories. It was a rather naive attempt to develop collectivisation and the communist fraternal sentiment.

It is necessary to appeal for a public discussion in all the world communist movement of the events in China, to help to develop within China the development of the Workers State, to impel the coordination, centralisation and planning in common of all the Workers States. Appealing for this to be discussed publicly! Appealing for the common planning of all the Workers States, economic, military and political planning, according to the interests of all the Workers States, particularly those that need the most.

At the same time a public discussion of, Why? What are the historic causes that permit this assassination of Lin Piao? CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Viva the publication in Swedish of the texts of Cde. Posadas

Three bulletins containing texts of comrade Posadas, and the IV International have been published in the Swedish language by the comrades in Sweden. One contains the text "the speech of Bilak, and the process of the Political Revolution in the Workers States," J. Posadas, 23 February 72"; the second: "Socialism cannot be constructed without returning to Marxism, J. Posadas, 20 June 71", and the third contains the resolution of the International Secretariat on Ireland of the 6 February 72, and also the resolution of the Political Bureau of the RWP(I) British Section of the IV International, on Ireland. These three bulletins are edited in the name of the "IV International (Trotskyist-Posadist)".

This publication is a new triumph, in the constant progress of the IV International in its' conscious function as a "Public Good" of history.

A publication such as this is possible, because in Sweden there is an ambience, which is very receptive to the texts of J. Posadas. This ambience constantly develops through the advance of the world revolution, through the partial regeneration in the Workers States, and also through the revolutionary progress, which is taking place in Sweden. This progress finds expression in the policy, which the government of the social democratic party is obliged to follow, the official support, which the Swedish government gives to Vietnam, which can be seen by its sending money and its policy of support, and the reserved welcome to North American deserters. This progress can be seen by the open and public support by the Swedish government for the Ost-Politik of Willy Brandt, and the support for the conference on European security, proposed by the Soviets. This progress also expresses itself in the trade unionisation of the soldiers, who henceforth consider themselves as functionaries, who have to struggle against the "State boss". This revolutionary progress also expresses itself through the progress of the CP, which has advanced electorally—and also the CP of Gothenberg, which has pronounced itself for the liberation of political prisoners in Brazil.

We salute with great revolutionary joy comrade J. Posadas, organiser of this permanent progress of the IV International! And the comrades who have accomplished this excellent activity!

# The festival of 'Humanity', the will for power of the masses & the advance of the 'Internal May' in the French Communist Party

In order to understand the significance of the festival of 'Humanity', the centre of preoccupation and of interest that it has been, it is necessary to measure politically the reaction of the communist masses, and the attraction that these have exerted on the rest of the population. The response of the proletarian vanguard and of the masses in general was very good: These have attended, taken part massively in the festival and have led a very large non communist sector. It is a very important indicator of the capacity of attraction and of the influence of the communist mass over the rest of the population. The massive assistance indicates that the population has been attracted by the political perspectives of the CP, which does not mean by the actual programme and policy of the CP.

One must consider also that the large numbers attending, and the combativity shown at the festival of 'Humanity', are part of the world mobilisation of the masses. These have stimulated, impelled, encouraged the masses of France to intervene. The struggles of the masses, and the intervention of the children, and the old people in Ireland, the triumph of the masses in Italy and in England, the defeat of Imperialism in the US, are part of a whole world process, which stimulates, and creates a zone of influence over all the masses of the world, and constitutes one of the bases of the organisation of the sentiments, of the resolution, of the combativity of the masses in France.

Very important layers of the petit bourgeoisie—youth, students, employees, officials—attracted by the weight, and the decision of struggle of the masses, have come to demonstrate and demonstrate by their presence, their support or inclination to find non capitalist solutions. All the success of the fete, are the number present (800,000 people in 2 days), the fraternity and the affection expressed by the mass of the participants, had been prepared by the strikes, by the vote for "NO" in the referendum, despite the fact that the intervention of the masses had been half contained by the CP in the last stage. The mobilisation of the CGT and of the CFDT, on the 23rd of June, has been very short and little followed. There were movements, but only partial ones, yet in spite of all this, the so numerous attendance in the festival, indicates the disposition of the communist masses, to make their presence felt, to go where it is necessary: to march, demonstrate, occupy, lead the factories, make the United Front.

Above all, the fete has shown a very powerful phase of United Front. THE FESTIVAL HAS BEEN AN ACTION OF UNITED FRONT. A whole sector has gone there, which is not communist, or of a communist origin, but which is attracted and influenced by the CP. Among other things, a sector of socialist origin, or under socialist influence. This festival was like a meeting, which lasted 2 days, and which did not have a fixed location. It was a walking meeting. All those who were participating felt themselves in a walking meeting.

In order to measure the social importance of this festival, one must multiply

by 10 the number of people, who were participating. It is the communist masses who move and lead the rest of the population. People did not come to drink, eat or dance. They came to the FESTIVAL FETE OF 'HUMANITY'! One felt that one lived a life superior to the everyday one. People demonstrated it by their internal behaviour of fraternity, affection, attention. They were behaving as if they were in a communist zone. Even without the existence of the material conditions to establish communist relations, there was a conscious communist behaviour of the class and the youth. Many youths came to the First day and many proletarians with their families, on the Sunday. The distribution of the participants was not determined at the last moment; it was the result of a conscious preparation. Although the weather had been bad and rainy, throughout the 2 days. There were even more people on the Sunday than on the Saturday.

If the communist vanguard had developed pessimistic sentiments towards its party, it would not have come to the festival. Before now, it condemned its leadership, when it thought it necessary. It has imposed changes in the CGT, at Renault, and in other factories. It has introduced a preoccupation on the necessity for changes in the CP. It has expressed in this way, its capacity of critical judgement towards its party. But at the same time, by attending en masse to the fete, it showed its disposition, and its decision to support the CP, whilst criticising it, and it sought to make known to the rest of the population that it was with the CP.

The reaction of the masses in front of the speech of Marchais has been a concentrated expression of its will to weigh on its Party. Marchais was welcomed when they announced his presence on the platform. But he made a speech, without ideas, without analysing, which would help to elevate the comprehension of the masses. It was a purely electoral speech, and bad, even from that point of view. There were 150,000 people in the meeting. Hardly 10% applauded it. Afterwards, the 'Marseillaise' was played and a part of the public raised their fists. It was a way to protest and to demand the Internationale. Very few people applauded the Marseillaise. This was an

alarm [signal] for the leadership, which made it play the Internationale. Then, everyone began to sing, fists raised, unanimously and applauding. Such are the means of communication of the vanguard, to lead the rest of the population, and weigh on its Party.

Each time that it could intervene, the communist vanguard has demonstrated its will to go to the power. It has demonstrated it equally in the small conferences that the CP calls "assemblies-debates". We do not agree with this type of functioning, one cannot call this a "debate". A debate means an exchange of ideas, the possibility to express the ideas. The "assemblies-debates", organised by the CP do not permit the development of ideas: the public has only the right to pose brief questions. It cannot give the bases of its question, or organise its thoughts. Only the official speaker can do so. In this way, there is no debate,

there are only questions and answers. We propose to organise real debates in the future reunions, in which the public can pose questions and expound ideas, analysis, positions, and develop them. This is what the Russian Revolution did, and before it, the Paris Commune. It is a noble tradition of the revolutionary movement, sane and scientific, which teaches and inter-influences itself, by exchanging ideas. It is thus that one constructs the bases of the United Front, where everyone has the same objective; crush capitalism, and construct socialism.

The Party, which is a minority in society—even if it constitutes the sector, the most concentrated and capable of deciding—needs public opinion. The most important public opinion is the one of the proletariat, the one that comes from decisive centres of the economy, of the country. It is necessary to make it intervene.

## THE MASSES HAVE SOUGHT TO LIVE COMMUNIST RELATIONS

One must profit from meetings such as the festival of 'Humanity', to discuss the problems of the construction of the Workers State, and of the passing from the Workers State to Socialism. The proletariat has come to the festival of humanity, in search of these discussions, with this preoccupation; it did not only come to eat, drink, and to take a walk. Certainly, it ate, drank, and took a walk, and it did it very well. It expressed in this way the joy of living a life of Communist relations. And its search for revolutionary culture was part of this life. A hundred and fifty thousand people at the Marchais meeting, and more than 2000 in each of the meetings, where the leaders were speaking, are the indicator of a very great cultural preoccupation, in the same way as the fact that the book festival was constantly full of people, mainly of young people, showed.

It is a remarkable fact, that in a festival such as that one, with 400,000 people with motives to get drunk, there was nobody making rows, there was no obscene behaviour. On the other hand, in a capitalist fete, 1% of this amount of people is enough for there to be a debauch, because people are attracted to it by an individual preoccupation, the exitation of drink, sex, individual appropriation, and theft. This festival, on the contrary, was dominated by communist relations, and people were eating and drinking with an affectionate sentiment, of preoccupation for other people, and with sentiment of making a contribution to the Party. The masses have gone to live 2 days of communist relations, and have thus demonstrated their preoccupation to smash the capitalist system, and to live communism. From there the joy and the enthusiasm with which they greeted every reference against the government; not only against Pompidou, or the UDR, but also against the whole of the capitalist and imperialist system. For example: the salute made to the delegation of Hanoi, the enthusiasm to receive the Indochinese delegations, indicated that the crowd had come to

make the communist sentiments, weigh and to push the CP forward.

We salute the communist comrades, who were looking after the stands, and who worked 24 hours out of 24, with an immense preoccupation and love. One must underline the very communicative sentiment, and the militant decision of the comrades of the stand of the German CP, in the same way as those of the Spanish CP. They were discussing, they were singing, and they took the initiative to sing revolutionary songs.

But the leaderships of the CP had not prepared the festival in this way. It committed errors, it showed itself timid and hesitant. It was necessary not to limit oneself to an activity of distractions, or to the sale of drinks or objects. It was necessary to put the political activities as an essential centre of the festival. Certainly there were conferences and meetings. But the central preoccupation of the organisers was not on this, and very few people participated in them. Nothing prevented developing in every meeting and selling place, a political activity of discussions, and of general cultural elevation. It is in this way that it was necessary to show superior relations of the socialist life over the capitalist life. From themselves, the masses were expressing a relationship superior to the one of capitalist system, without conservative or individual interests. But it is not the CP that has prepared this. It is the masses themselves who had the initiative.

Numerous stands carried inscriptions and posters in defence of Vietnam. But it was insufficient. It was necessary to make Vietnam a centre: to give explanations and permanent conferences on Vietnam, to stimulate the development of the discussion, exchanges of ideas. The leadership resisted exchanges of ideas, fearing that this activity would influence the party, and carry it further than the leadership wishes to go. However, one can go infinitely further. This is what happened at the moment of the NO in the referendum, and the leadership of the socialist party has been obliged to accept Popular Union, which it had rejected.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The murder of Lin Piao . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Piao? Condemning it, showing that it is necessary to discuss, that it is necessary to resolve on the basis of experience, historic comparison, and discussion in the communes, the areas, in the colleges, everywhere, from the experiences of the construction of communism, which has to have as its basis the direct intervention of the masses. So that they participate in all problems, in the factory, workshop, school, and to develop the forms of experiences already made in the Soviet Union and the rest of the Workers States.

Appealing for conclusions and experiences to be taken for the construction of communism in China, discussing and showing that one cannot expect any agreement with Yankee imperialism of lasting advantage and benefit for China. Commercial interchange may be made, but nothing more. Not abandoning, or detaining, or containing the policy of appeals to the revolution, to construct the Party and develop the policy of overthrowing imperialism in all the world.

Since Nixon went there the Chinese have diminished by 95% their anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist appeals. They are much less. The commercial and diplomatic agreements with the Yankees can be made, but at the same time with the appeal to organise the struggle to overthrow Yankee imperialism in all the world, including in the United States.

Appealing for the world United Front which at the same time as it resolves all these problems, poses the unconditional defence of Vietnam. Appealing to the USSR and China to a common front of all the Workers States, led by them in particular, to give all necessary aid to Indo China, to throw out imperialism. Profit from this attitude of McGovern! Take this example. But not waiting to see if McGovern wins or not, or waiting to see if he can decide. But taking the offensive now. And saying "We are ready to set free all the prisoners, we are ready to give details of all soldiers killed in Vietnam, but you have to stop the bombing, stop the attack, withdraw all troops, and we ourselves will resolve all the problems of Indochina". We are in

agreement with this, now! At the same time using force, mobilising all the masses of the world, making agitation, mobilisation, sending militias to Indo China to help the Indo Chinese people. Breaking the blockade of the ports by force! Break it with force! Give them arms to bring down all the planes that are destroying Hanoi! Appealing for this. Insisting and showing the North American masses the murder the Yankees are committing, and the legitimate right of the Workers States, to defend themselves from imperialism, destroying the sources of arms production of imperialism. So that the North American masses see that it is not an attack on them, but that it is an attack on the apparatus of capitalist production. To pose the bombing of the zones of industrial and military production of the United States! What is imperialism doing in Hanoi? It is bombing schools, colleges, streets, factories, offices! It bombs everything. It is necessary to respond to this with the same bombardment, and appealing to the masses to mobilise in this sense.

J. POSADAS 3-8-72

SUBSCRIBE TO

Red Flag

80p. PER WEEK

# THE FESTIVAL OF 'HUMANITY' . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ed until then. The NO concentrated the influence of the working class and the factory. And that has weighed on the socialist party. The festival of humanity has the same sense.

It was correct to insist on the slogan of "Popular government". Marchais spoke of it in his discourse. But all this does not go beyond electoral propaganda. The specific activity of the trade unions was absent. It was necessary to invite the CGT and the other trade union

centres to intervene. The CGT must participate with an appeal to the United Front of the workers centres, for the discussion of the necessity of a single centre. It was necessary to invite all the communist parties of the world and the trade unions to participate in a public discussion to show to all the population that the communists discuss publicly all the problems without fear of polemic. The masses are very avid for revolutionary culture, and will be very influenced by it.

## ORGANISE THE FESTIVAL AS A CENTRE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY ELEVATION OF THE MASSES.

On of the objectives of the festival of 'Humanity' was to seek a base of support in the non communist population. But one cannot get very far if there is not at the same time a programme of political activity. It is necessary to discuss all the essential problems of the world situation: the war in Vietnam, the Middle East, theoretical and political discussion. Such an activity was realised this year to a greater extent than at other times. We find that very good, but it is possible to do this much more. It is very necessary to discuss concretely, for example, how to construct socialism in France. But the principal preoccupation of the organisers was not to collide the socialists, whereas this festival represented a political action of the very greatest importance; it united a great number of people, and served as a base of preparation for very important decisions. The leadership of the Communist Party did not profit much from this opportunity. It was afraid of being bypassed by the masses who had superior political intentions to it.

The discussion, which have taken place in relation to culture, are an example of it; the problems were badly posed. Culture is not a specific instrument of the progress of society. It is the party which is the essential instrument with the programme and the policy of the United Front, of a unification between party and trade unions. The essential base of culture is the cultural life, which the masses can develop within the party and the trade unions. It is there that it is necessary to concentrate the concern for democracy. In the "assembly debates" on the contrary, the speakers have declared that a Socialist-Communist government was going to abolish every type of censorship, and then allow any initiative for cultural or artistic creation. We are against! We must combat all the initiatives, which do not tend to impel the revolutionary progress of society. Such initiatives mean a retreat on the scientific level reached by humanity. This is neither art or culture.

The fete of humanity was a formidable occasion to develop the revolutionary, cultural life of the masses. It is necessary to do it throughout the whole year, but, during these two days eight hundred thousand people concentrated themselves in an immense meeting; it was a magnificent occasion to combine amusements with a cultural activity. This, for example, to make a constant activity of meetings, of discussions, of songs, which explain the history of the revolution, the struggle of the proletariat in different parts of the world, the unity existing among the revolutionary struggles of the entire world; to show that there exists no separation between the revolutionary struggles of the masses in no matter what corner of the earth, to show that the nationalist revolutions are only an aspect of a world process, to educate the masses so that they understand the world process, and so that they know how to utilise it, to educate and to organise the rest of the population.

It is necessary to organise theatre, films, to lead discussions, retaking the traditions of the Commune, of the Russian revolution, and of the Chinese re-

volution. Each artistic manifestation must elevate the culture of the human being. Culture, that is to say, the collective sentiments, the socialist relations, human fraternity, affection, the union of children, of the old and of the adults, with the object of elevating human fraternity. An artistic activity, which does not seek this finality, stimulates inevitably interests, egoistic, conservative interests. Each cultural activity must tend to elevate the collective sentiments of humanity. It is necessary to utilise all artistic resources from the simplest song, to the choirs, to the symphonies, to aid the masses to elevate their capacity to understand all these problems rapidly.

The artists must mix with the public as did the Bolsheviks, and the Communards. The comrades of the German CP stand sought to act in this way. It is necessary that the artist be united to people, even if he exercises a particular function. It is necessary to find the means to make people participate in the theatre.

It is quite possible to organise the festival of 'Humanity', so that it might be a centre of revolutionary cultural activity without increasing the cost. What it is necessary to modify, is the conception of the festival. And it is necessary also to elevate the life of the party, and of the trade unions for a whole year, to prepare that. It is necessary to suppress the fireworks. We condemn with all our severity and indignation the termination of the festival with a firework display. Why imitate capitalism? It was necessary to finish with the song of the International! In such a manifestation, where the masses have expressed their conscious adhesion to the struggle for workers power, it is necessary to conclude with acts, which unify all the present population, and which put into communication the participants in the festival and the whole of the population. It was necessary to conclude with meetings on the Government of the Left, in all the streets, and with the song of the International. The leaders of the Communist Party must be on the central platform singing the International, raising the fist with everybody.

## DEVELOP THE FESTIVAL AS A CENTRE FOR A DISCUSSION AMONGST THE WORKER AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT ON PROGRAMME, IDEAS, POSITIONS.

We think also that it is necessary to allow the intervention of all the currents of the worker and revolutionary movement in such a festival the socialists, the Trotskyists, and even the "gauchists", and to develop a polemic on the basis of ideas, positions. We invite the Communist Party to prepare these discussions with a previous orientation, with an exposition of themes to discuss, to facilitate the debates. The French Communist Party has the means—and the other organisations do not have—to give to the different revolutionary currents a stand or the possibility to show themselves, to polemicise. The base of this polemic must be the discussion, the exchange of ideas. This is how Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and the Soviet Workers State, and the Bolshevik Party acted in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. Public discussions allow the elevation of the assurance of the working class, and its capacity to lead other layers of the population, which see also that the proletariat discusses everything and is capable of constructing communism, without any fear. All the tendencies, all the groups and movements, which have no historic justification, do not resist a public discussion.

It is necessary to have complete confidence in the objectivity of the masses. The existence, even of 14 Workers States, is the proof that the masses do not centralise themselves in movements, which go against the socialist progress of history. The workers never accept going back on conquests that have been obtained. There is no reason to distrust public discussion among all the tendencies of the workers movement. If the putschists exaggerate to defend idealist positions, the masses are going to refute them. Certain sectors can be drawn in one or the other strike, but the masses do not give a lasting support to the putschists. What they do, is to oblige their leadership to ameliorate their policy, their programme, their organisation. When one is not against democratic functioning, revolutionary functioning of the trade unions, or of the party, it is necessary to exchange ideas. We invite the Communist Party to act in this way the next time.

Our party intervened in the festival of 'Humanity' with a lot of decision and dynamism. It intervened in the debates to discuss the essential problems, which humanity poses, culture, revolution, atomic war, socialism, problems of revolutionary

nationalism, Peronism, problems of the trade unions and the party. Our comrades felt the necessity and the force of the theoretical and political preparation. Our party is prepared to intervene in the Festival of 'Humanity' as a part of the communist movement, as "the Trotskyist Posadist wing of the communist movement".

It intervened to give concrete and precise answers to all the problems, which were posed in the discussions, to elevate the concern of the communist cadres to understand theoretically and scientifically. It is thus that the communist vanguard has received and supported the intervention of our party. And it is with this same objective, to impel the Communist Party to utilise the immense forces, which have shown themselves once more in the Festival of Humanity, that we make this balance. We call upon all the militant comrades and leaders, and all the tendencies of the workers movement, to make this balance in all the cells, the meetings, the assemblies, in the factories and the workers areas, to put all these forces into operation in the daily struggle towards the conquest of the government of the left.

PB of the RCP(T) 14-9-72

SELL RED FLAG IN YOUR FACTORY, COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY,  
AVAILABLE SALE OR RETURN FROM  
IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

But the importance of this conference, even if the Wilsons and Jenkins still remain, is immense. The executive had to put a resolution on the Common Market which pledged them to renegotiate the terms of entry, while the Engineers resolution of complete rejection was only narrowly defeated. The left gained in votes and in positions. It has reflected the 'world moving to the left', as Posadas has put it, the disintegration of capitalism and its authority, which has given the emergence of such tendencies as that of McGovern in the USA, or the pessimistic statements of Maulding in Britain. As capitalism goes from scandal to scandal, crisis to crisis, as each capitalist class seeks its own solutions, organising visits, delegations, trade agreements with the Workers States, weakening the centralisation of the world capitalist system around US Imperialism, the world revolutionary movement unifies itself, and concentrates around the Workers States. Iraq becomes the first Arab country to apply to be an observer in COMECON (the economic organisation linking the Workers States), the Spanish workers commissions appeal to the European workers movement to make strike actions in support of the Spanish masses, hundreds of thousands of workers attend the festivals of the Communist papers of France and Italy, while in the Workers States themselves, the discussion on the need to change the CPs, the need for marxism, the need for the intervention of the masses, is developing. This is the world reality, which weighs in Britain and was present in the LP conference.

All the left, be it in the LP the CP or the unions, in the movement in Ireland can draw encouragement from this con-

ference, but at the same time must draw certain conclusions on its limitations. The LP is an apparatus, which cannot respond to the dynamism of the situation, its structure allows a pro-capitalist sector to remain and continue to formulate programme and policy, in spite of all the combativity expressed by the base. Capitalism prepares to repress in Britain the way it is doing already in Ireland, it has no other way to survive. How can the vanguard respond to these two things and at the same time to organise the enormous revolutionary potential, which the class is expressing? Certainly using the trade union branches, the LP branches, the trades councils, where now the CP can intervene more freely and openly than in the past (as the result of the conscious intervention of the LP vanguard to make the communist militant an ally, and not competitor), but as there is still an enormous difficulty in this direction, it is necessary to construct organisms in the factory, in the workers area, committees, which link the factory with the workers areas, committees of united front, linking the LP, the CP, the trotskyists, the factories and the workers areas, all types of committees, which permit a greater communication of the vanguard with the rest of the class, which allow the masses to discuss and decide on all the problems. This will give an organic basis to the forces within the LP, who are fighting to change the structure, the programme and the leadership, it will give an organised expression to the will of the vanguard, to advance towards the taking of power, will be able to resist all the policies, on housing, wages, trade union rights, which the Tories are going to try to impose in the next period.

10-10-72

### IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG

**"THE TRIALS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE FUNCTION OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATE"**

J. POSADAS 2-8-72

### DEMAND FREEDOM FOR THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN OF LETTERS AND RESOLUTIONS, PROTESTS TO THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE EMBASSY IN LONDON

BRAZILIAN EMBASSY

32 Green Street, London, W.1.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d. Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 169 4th Friday of October 1972 PRICE 3p

VIVA THE RELEASE OF OUR COMRADE

CLAUDIO ANTONIO DE SOUZA FROM

JAIL IN BRAZIL

## Unite the struggle of the Irish and British masses on the anti-capitalist programme. Out with British troops from Northern Ireland

The violent encounters between British troops and the Protestant masses, the extreme brutality of the measures taken by the army shown particularly in the deliberate physical crushing of a youth, indicates the new qualitative changes in the situation in Northern Ireland. British imperialism is preparing for a new and bloodier repression against all the masses in Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, because there is no other perspective for capitalism. The reign of terror unleashed since 1968 when the civil rights movement began to intervene against the unionist dictatorship has failed utterly. The wave of arrests, the massacres of Derry, the numberless tortures and beatings, the avalanche of "mysterious" assassinations (not mysterious at all as correctly posed by the official IRA, because they are carried out by the professional executioners of the British political police) have failed to deter the resistance of the masses in Northern Ireland. In practice nothing has succeeded in stopping the steady deterioration and decomposition of capitalist authority in Northern Ireland. Imperialism won nothing when it invaded the free zones in Derry. It has not succeeded in breaking the rent and rates strike. The Unionist Party is in ruins, the Faulkners, the Craigs have become in effect political exiles surviving because of British bayonets. Unionism is fragmented into a thousand different positions.

The most recent events show that the old structure of unionism cannot any longer contain the independent class action of the Protestant masses. Recent articles in the press show the awareness of the bourgeois that the attempt to clothe the struggle in sectarian terms has failed, now they admit the Protestant masses are beginning to search for class orientations, ignoring the fossilised bourgeois politicians who have tried to contain the process. Craigs speech at the Monday Club is an expression of the hopeless impasse of the unionist politicians a despairing gesture to stimulate the fascist right to kill the enemies of private property. This sector finds its counterparts in Britain, in the Powellites, but in practice they are socially insignificant. The main sections of big business do not support them, because they sense there is no perspective for a large scale fascist movement. Undoubtedly British imperialism has encouraged and will encourage fascist methods, but there is no perspective for a fascist movement to break the combativity of the masses, for the basic reason that the petit bourgeois masses feel the weight and influence of the Workers States, and the massive weight of the world proletariat.

The clashes of Imperialism with the Protestant masses, the final decomposition

of the unionist apparatus, the search for a deeper understanding of the world and national situation in the Irish revolutionary movements permits all the time, the opportunity for a far superior intervention by the British trade unions, Labour Party and Communist Party in the Irish situation. What is required is a programme to unite the struggles of the Irish and British masses, a programme uniting the struggle for the expulsion of British troops with a comprehensive programme for the expropriation of capitalist property throughout Ireland, with the objectives of a workers and peasants government, a united socialist Ireland, united with Britain in a UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE.

To do this, it is necessary for the Trade unions in particular at this stage—because of the weakness of the organised left in the LP and the prostration of the parliamentary left in front of the union jack—to campaign with demonstrations, strikes etc. for the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS, and with declarations of support for the united front of Catholic and Protestant masses to throw out British Imperialism. N. Ireland is a Vietnam. The unions condemn Vietnam, they must condemn what British Imperialism is doing in N. Ireland. They must launch the programme of nationalisations of all key industries in Britain and Ireland under workers control and without compensation, with the perspective of a joint planned economy in Britain and Ireland. They must launch appeals for an IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS to solve the problem of unemployment in N. Ireland, tied to demands for all wages to rise with the cost of living and the imposition of price controls. And this has all to be linked with a workers plan of production posing solutions for the problems of transport, housing, education, medical services, so that the masses are given a perspective by their organisations. Many workers in N. Ireland belong to British Unions. This gives an immense opportunity for the British Unions to intervene with all the authority of the British proletariat which has imposed changes in the programme of the Labour Party, and is preparing for even more decisive confrontations with British capitalism, after the victory of the miners, the release of the five dockers etc. At the same time this must be linked with appeals directed at the small farmers North and South to ally themselves with the struggles of the masses in the North, and posing the perspective for the confiscation of the large landowners and the organisation of farming on a collective basis, supported by technical aid from the state. Above all

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

EDITORIAL

## Build factory & workers area committees against unemployment & rising prices

With all the confidence which comes from the defeats which the world masses are inflicting on imperialism and world capitalism, encouraged by the victories of the Vietnamese masses and the struggle of the workers of Vigo, the British working class prepares for another major confrontation with capitalism. As at the time of the imprisonment of the dockers leaders a few months ago the conditions exist for the launching of the General Strike to overthrow the Tory government. The Tories are saying that whatever the outcome of the TUC/CBI/Government talks at Chequers they will not concede more than a £2 wage increase in the 'public sector'. Since the Power workers are demanding £5 and are prepared to take industrial action to get it, a major confrontation is inevitable. The Tories did not come out of the last struggle with the power workers very well and since then the class has won a whole series of victories like the miners strike, the liberation of the imprisoned dockers, the railway strike; and they compelled the TUC to call a 24 hour General strike. Of course the Tories are not only facing the power workers but the municipal workers, the teachers, the police and the miners. To say nothing of three factories occupied by workers, the struggle against the Housing Finance Act, the development of a campaign by the unions for higher pensions and the struggle in Ireland. In these conditions the policy being followed by the 'economic committee' of the TUC in negotiating with the CBI and government on a 'ceiling' for wage increases and price control has absolutely no perspective. How can it? These trade union leaders are engaged in the impossible task of trying to gain concessions on prices which capitalism is completely incapable of giving—on their own admission—in exchange for a limitation of wage demands, which the working class is not prepared to accept.

Undeterred by the lack of leadership in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, in this struggle, the class by its independent action confronts capitalism directly and, at the same time, seeks to impel a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. This process is more clearly expressed in the trade unions, but since the Labour Party is a party based on the trade unions, the crisis in the leadership of the Trade Unions find its expression in the Labour Party. This is what decides, for example, the attitude of Ray Buckton (General Secretary of ASLEF) who denounced the TUC's participation in the 'Chequers' talks; he insisted that his union would not accept any wage freeze, that the TUC had no right to negotiate on behalf of the unions since it was not a decision of the TUC conference, and that he expected nothing from the Tory government; he just wanted to get rid of it. He also raised the demand for a recall of the TUC conference, a demand which has been taken by Jones (of the TGWU), Scanlon (of the AUEW) and many other trade union leaders. Even Frank Chapple (of the Electrical Trade Union) who is one of the most conciliatory of the trade unions leaders, has been forced to denounce any attempt to limit wage increases. Clearly the change in the balance of forces in the Trade Union bureaucracy is an expression of the level of preparation and determination of the vanguard of the working class at this time. Full advantage has to be taken of the advances made by the 'left' in the TUC and every means must be used to ensure that the TUC conference is recalled im-

mediately. Resolutions from Trade Union branches are one method, but the most effective method is the use of the centralised strength of the class in the factories, with the calling of meetings, in the factory—and in working time—to discuss the policy of the TUC, to send resolutions to the TUC. Delegates should be elected to lobby the TUC with the demand for an end to the TUC's conciliation with the Tory government, the organisation of a struggle to impose the decisions of the last TUC conference, and to overthrow the Tory government.

As we said previously, the resolutions of the Labour Party conference showed some advance, but the conference did not result in any change in the structure of the Labour Party itself, which means that the class will continue to use the Trade Unions as a means to centralise its struggle. Without being able to actually substitute the TUC with the political party, the Trade Unions are acting like a political party. For example, the intervention of the AUEW with a programme for housing, and its participation in the struggle against the Housing Finance Act, and the TUC's campaign for higher pensions are not simple Trade Union issues. Even the demand by the TUC at the 'Chequers' talks for a price 'freeze' is beyond the purely Trade Union demands. However, the structure and the leadership of the Trade Unions, created as it was, in a period when it was still possible to negotiate quite considerable concessions from capitalism, is not capable of answering the needs of the present phase of the class struggle.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# The assassination by imperialism and the Israeli government in Munich & the necessity of the elevation of the Palestinian guerrilla movement to the programme of the world socialist revolution

6th September 1972

## INTRODUCTION

We appeal to the Labour, Communist and Trade Union vanguard to make a deep study and discussion of this resolution of the I.S. of the IV International, which corrects all the limited, sectarian, and mistaken analyses, which the leaderships of the Communist and Workers Parties have made on the events in Munich. As it says, what the Palestinian guerrillas need is not condemnation, but help; above all political and programmatic help which it does not get from the world communist movement. The British working class movement has to weigh on its leadership forcing it to take up a position condemning Israel, not the guerrillas, obliging them to take up a position in support of the Palestinian masses. Such positions are directly against the right wing of the LP, who have always supported Zionism, and thus a struggle for these positions is very closely tied to the struggle for the expulsion of the right and the construction of a new leadership in the LP.

The action realised by the Palestinian guerrillas during the (Munich) Olympics is part of the world class struggle. But it does not present the Marxist organisational and revolutionary aspect. One must take this intervention as the action of a nationalist commando which gives itself the aim of the expulsion of Israel and its army from the territories which they occupy. This action does not have a socialist objective, it is not a clear and outright expression of the class struggle. Whilst being a part of the class struggle, it is one of the most backward expressions of it as much by the objectives that it sets itself as by the methods used. It is a residual part of the world process of the world revolution; residual, because these problems can only be resolved with gun fire, with the sacrifice of tens of thousands of human beings, assassinated by the Israelis, with the sacrifice of tens of Palestinian revolutionaries—such as those who just died. All this is part of the task of this stage of history, which should have been realised by the Workers State and by the Communist Parties. In the extent in which it has not been done, a deficit remains in history.

The leaderships of bourgeois nationalist origin try to give a reply to this necessity by utilising methods, which, in part, are those of the proletariat, in order to realise bourgeois objectives. The methods used are only partially those of the proletariat; they are not the methods, and the cycle of the proletarian class struggle, and are not accompanied with an objective socialist finality. It is for this reason that all these movements do not make appeals to the masses. The objectives that they still set themselves are, from the historical point of view, bourgeois objectives. What they want is not the formation of Workers States, or the socialist unification of all the Arab countries, but the formation of a national Palestinian State, which is still a bourgeois aim. And from this comes the limitations of these nationalist sectors.

If it was a matter of a consistent revolutionary movement, it should unite the immediate objective of the formation of a State with the historic objective of this State. What are these objectives? From the historical point of view, it is obvious that the formation of a State, of a small State has little or no significance. It cannot enter in competition with the rest of the world economically or socially. It can only answer to the aspiration, to the preoccupation, or to the intellectual conclusions of the leaders, but it cannot be any historical solution.

We are not against the formation of a Palestinian State, but it is not a historic solution. The only historic solution is the unification of all the Arab countries in one SOCIALIST FEDERATION, IN THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

In order to expel the Israelis, it is necessary to base oneself on superior reasons to those of the constitution of a Palestinian national State. The Israelis occupy the lands, serve imperialism, and oppose the development of the nationalist and socialist Arab revolution. We do not defend the national rights of any particular State. We defend the rights of all the States, to develop themselves in the socialist revolution, because history and the development of the revolution itself have already shown that no national State is capable of resolving the problems of the economy, of language or of society. None of these problems

can be resolved, outside the social and economic socialist development of these countries... For the Middle East the solution is the Socialist Federation, which encompasses all the Arab countries and Israel.

The movement gives itself as an aim the constitution of a Palestinian State. We are not against, because in any case, it is an objective that goes against the American Imperialist base, which Israel represents in the Middle East. But why an independent Palestinian State? Taken separately as an objective, it is a retreat in relation to the levels already reached by the revolution in the Middle East. It has already been demonstrated that the creation of a new State between Jordan and Israel requires certain historical conditions. What are they? Before all, it is necessary to pose: What is Palestine going to do once created? We are not against, we repeat, but: what can the Palestinians do all alone? They have no industry, there hardly exist an agriculture in these regions. They do not have the means of subsistence. The new Palestinian State would be created in conditions of an immense poverty. And its development would remain in the hands of the leading layers, which would exploit the masses. If, on the contrary, the new State unified with the other Arab countries in a Socialist Federation, and organised its economy with the other countries in the framework of the socialist planning, it is completely different. The fact of not posing this, shows how much this movement is limited.

As the problems of Arab unification and development of the world socialist revolution, in these countries are not solved, as the development of the nationalist movement towards its transformation into a movement for the socialist revolution, is still limited, these problems remain to be solved. This situation stimulates, provokes and impels demands which, without being quite backward objectively, since in any case they go against imperialism, are however, backward in relation to the historical necessities, because they give birth to a movement, which, historically, is backward: a movement for the creation of a national State. It is for this reason that these organisations do not appeal to the masses and have no access to them. Why, and in the name of what should they call on the masses? It is one of the enormous

advantages, which Israel exploits, in the same way as the Egyptian bourgeoisie. The latter provides arms, money, a certain military training to the Palestinians, and then, it lets them be killed. This allows the bourgeoisie to gain a certain authority among the masses by presenting its action as a defense of the Arab fatherland. Thus it exhorts the national sentiment, the religious, linguistic links, which permit it to maintain its domination over the masses.

It is in this framework that one must discuss this problem. Another concrete point to discuss, is the action of Munich in itself, and what has led the Palestinians to realise such an action.

We appeal to the Palestinian movement to maintain its struggle against Israel, but by appealing at the same time for the socialist Arab unification, and for the development of Palestine, Jordan, and the rest of the Arab countries in a Socialist Soviet Arab Federation, based on centralised planning of the economy, appealing to the masses of Israel to incorporate themselves to this federation by guaranteeing to them the right of self-determination in the framework of a unified movement of all the countries of the Middle East. In order to reach this, it is necessary to appeal to the Arab and Israeli masses to overthrow what is left of the capitalist regime and establish the socialist planning for the economy. At the same time as the Palestinians pursue this struggle, they must appeal for the unification of their movement with the one that develops itself in Israel. The Palestinian organisations do not address any appeal to the masses of Israel, they must do it!

It must in this aim, support itself on the development of strikes and struggles of the masses in Israel, which limit the murderous action of the government against the Arab revolution. At its last Congress, the CP of Israel has adopted as a central slogan the demand for the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied zones. One must support oneself on this resolution by appealing with this aim for the United Front of the CP, of the TUs and other workers and anti-imperialist parties in Israel. One must show that the war expenditures are paid for by the masses of Israel at the cost of their standard of living, and this goes against their interest, and for the counter revolutionary benefit of imperialism.

This movement, and the action of Munich itself, expresses a very great revolutionary will to expel imperialism. But this movement has neither programme nor policy. It is for this reason that the struggle of the Fedayeen is not made in the name of anti-imperialism. In place of a programmatic struggle against imperialism, they still pose Israel, as the enemy. Whilst it is Yankee imperialism that sustains Israel, one must then unite the struggle against Israel to all struggles tending to expel imperialism. If it is not yet possible to do it organically, one must do it through the programme, the policy, by orientating oneself to arouse the masses.

This movement of the Palestinians is not partial: it expresses itself in a partial way, but it situates itself in the framework of the world elevation of the revolution. Its range is stimulated by

the world revolution, and not only by the nationalist movement. It is a matter of a class movement, which supports itself on nationalism, but which tends to develop itself as class movement. In the framework of this process, the nationalist leaderships limit the range of the revolutionary will of the masses. They utilise the revolutionary decision of the masses—on which they support themselves, because they are determined revolutionaries, but on political conclusions of a very limited political range. In these conditions, they do not mobilise the masses.

But at the same time, it is necessary to recognise that there are very serious and very profound difficulties to mobilise the masses. It is not a matter of organised masses, regrouped, structured by the organisation of the economic, or industrial, or agricultural production; they are masses nomadic in the majority, who do not possess anything, and on whom weighs the problem that their country has been expropriated by Israel. There are no industries to re-group them and structure them, they have no place to live, they live under tents. They have an immense spirit of sacrifice, but at the same time, they retain a certain political and programmatic backwardness. The great revolutionary will and decision of these masses is still mingled with a deep religious, Moslem sentiment. It is for this reason that the Palestinian movement is not yet a movement orientated to impel, from the point of view of leadership and programme, the struggle to expel imperialism, and to structure a socialist movement. However, this expresses their abnegation, their spirit of sacrifice and their resolution. They do not possess anything, and they dedicate themselves entirely to this struggle, demonstrating in this way the inexhaustible decision of their spirit of abnegation.

The absence of a socialist revolutionary programme, of a link with the rest of the socialist revolutionary movement in the rest of the Middle East, and in the world, limits the range and the possibilities of expression, of this revolutionary will of the Palestinian and Arab masses, and of their leaderships themselves, as this has just been demonstrated in the case of these Palestinians who have just been assassinated in Munich. The problem of this movement does not consist only simply in that it makes these surprise attacks. It is a movement which still lack a programmatic centre and a political leadership. Arafat himself does not have any.

It is for this reason that for years we have insisted, in all our appeals on the fact that this movement must call for the struggle for a revolutionary political programme, for a programme of historic and concrete demands, and call on the Palestinian masses to struggle for these demands by unifying themselves to the rest of the world proletariat. We call on it to link all the movement for the territorial demands—as in the case of Palestine—with the development of the struggle against imperialism, and for the socialist revolution.

Such is basically the essence of the Palestinian problem. The concrete fact of the kidnapping of Munich does not eliminate or diminish the fact that the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## NEW BULLETIN JUST PUBLISHED

LETTER OF J. POSADAS TO THE CHILEAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS, THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILEAN REVOLUTIONARY STATE INTO A WORKERS STATE 10-8-71 10p.

# The assassination by imperialism . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

essential problems to solve is the one that we are posing. The appeal to the Palestinian masses must be done on the basis of the development of the Socialist Revolution in the Arab countries, by combining the struggle for the expulsion of Israel, and of imperialism from the Arab territories, with the constitution of a Palestinian State on the basis of a SOVIET SOCIALIST FEDERATION of the Middle East, that would include Palestine and the Israeli masses, with the right for the self-determination for these.

One must appeal for a world class mobilisation in support of the armed struggle for the expulsion of imperialism from the Middle East, as one does for Vietnam. The Palestinian masses see that it is in this way that they cannot hope for any decision by means of the game of parliamentary majorities or resolutions from the United Nations. They know that it is the force, the force of arms which decide.

ies and the Workers States to aid completely the Palestinian masses. It is to laugh at them to tell them that they can hope for something from the resolutions of the United Nations. The United Nations, have voted 10, or 100 times for resolutions demanding the end of the bombing of Vietnam, and these continue, and will continue. For years the United Nations have pronounced themselves on the fact that Israel should evacuate the occupied territories, and the Israeli occupation continues, thanks to the force of arms. The United Nations have taken heaps of resolutions on Korea, on Rhodesia, but what imposes itself is not the voted resolution, but is the relationship of forces, and the force of the arms. It is to laugh at the Palestinians to ask them to trust in the United Nations! The ones who have an apparatus which decides, is imperialism, and capitalism, and the leaderships of the Workers States, and UNO is an organism, which does not resolve anything at all!

communist movement, that it mobilises the masses, that it appeals for a world class mobilisation and for the armed struggle, supported by the intervention of the Workers States, to expel imperialism from the Middle East, as from Vietnam. The communist movement, must appeal for a mobilisation which links the struggles of the workers movement, the strikes, the demonstrations, the United Front between communists, socialists, trotskys, nationalists, left catholics, with the mobilisation to expel imperialism from the Middle East and from Vietnam, and overthrow what is still left of the capitalist system.

in favour of the Palestinian masses, and the revolutionaries assassinated or made prisoners in Munich.

We criticise their action from the point of view of its political usefulness, but we do not criticise their objective, which was and is to liberate the Palestinian people. One must appeal to them, for them to include themselves in the world process, and to aid them, not to condemn them, the aim of criticism must be to aid them. It is not them, who have assassinated the hostages. It is the CIA which, utilising a sector of the German bourgeoisie, has set up this provocative action, in order to kill the fedayeen, and the hostages as well, because it had no interest in discussing. Neither imperialism, nor Israel have shown the least interest in discussing, neither in the Middle East, or in Vietnam. Imperialism is preparing itself for the atomic war, and this criminal action of Munich is part of the preparation for the atomic war and one must take it like this.

Then the Palestinian masses will see a perspective, they will see in these movements a programmatic base to unify their own struggle for the expulsion of Israeli imperialism with the socialist future. They are going to see there a logical and just perspective.

It is to commit an injustice against the masses to limit oneself to condemn the action of Munich, and to call the Palestinian commandos 'adventurers', and 'criminals'. It is an insult towards the Palestinian masses and the Palestinian guerrillas, who have realised this action. It is not the Palestinian commando who has assassinated: it is the CIA, the Israelis and a sector of the German police! The guerrillas have done this kidnapping with the aim of exchanging their hostages against the Palestinians, which Israeli Imperialism has made prisoners at the same time as it has invaded their countries. The aim of the guerrillas was to negotiate. This is what it is necessary to say! What they have done there was just and legitimate. What is not just, is the method employed, which is not to mobilise the masses. It is not enough to take hostages: an appeal to the Israeli masses would have an importance and an immense echo, by making the Israeli masses feel that their internal struggles are linked to the struggles of the world proletariat. It is in this sense that we criticise the action of the Palestinian commandos, but we do not call them, assassins, or bandits, or diversionists, who favour the action of imperialism, the class enemy. We are against this type of action, because politically, they have no meaning and because there are methods—such as the mobilisation of the masses—which are infinitely superior to these. And it is precisely for this reason that this movement has need of help and not condemnation, from the Communist Parties and from the Workers States.

The Israelis have refused any negotiation, whilst the guerrillas were asking for the exchange of the hostages against some prisoners, against guerrillas and imprisoned Palestinian civilians. The attack of the Communist Parties against the Palestinians is unfair. The political criticism, which we are now making, has a logical sense: we criticise them for not resorting to the mobilisation of the masses, which is a superior means of struggle. But it is not possible to criticise them for this action, whilst they had no other means, and without proposing them other means. It is because they do not see anything else that they utilise these means.

The Vietnamese masses are sure and firm, because they are supported by the world workers and revolutionary movement, because they are directed by the world communist movement. Then, one must call on the Palestinian movement to do the same thing. The Communist Parties must demonstrate that they respect this movement, that they organise and accept the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United Front. This will then be a formidable impulsion for all these leaderships in the Middle East and of Asia, to aid them to organise themselves to overthrow the capitalist system. The method of taking hostages will then be surpassed by the one of the political organisation of the masses. One must aid these movements, and make them understand that they are a part of the struggles of the world.

And the masses of Northern Ireland? Are they making attacks, yes or no? Every day, the masses of Ireland are massacred, the masses of Vietnam are massacred, the Palestinian are massacred, not only they are bombed, they are assassinated, but their houses are broken into, and everyone they find there are shot and killed. It is in this manner that imperialism behaves and resolves all the problems. In the present stage of history, whilst imperialism assassinates and kills every day, and accepts and respects only what is imposed on it by force, to demand from the Palestinian masses that they wait the application of the resolutions of the United Nations, is to laugh at them. The communist base rejects such a taking of position, and we call on it to intervene with all its indignation in order to oblige its leadership to intervene

The assassination of Munich are the work of the police. It is a provocation which has been equally utilised against Brandt: a provocation against the guerrilla movement to try to stimulate the repression against the German masses, to try to prepare a repression against them and those of the rest of the world. This action demonstrates all the weakness and the hopelessness of the imperialism which has organised this action, which goes against itself, because the world crisis of the capitalist system, the dispute of the capitalist governments between themselves, which is one of the bases for the aggravation of the world crisis of the system, prevents them from drawing profit from this killing. A sector of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Full support to the Chilean masses and government against the owners lock-out

*The Popular Government in Chile is facing the possibility of a counter revolutionary coup, launched by imperialism, allied with the local forces of the bourgeoisie, in order to try to stop the process of advance of the Chilean revolution. Capitalism sees that it is being expropriated more and more each day, and that its social force is being constantly weakened as a consequence of the growing role of the masses. This projected coup d'etat shows capitalism in all its weakness because it is incapable of defending itself by any other means, and so it seeks military solutions; this doesn't mean that the bourgeoisie will succeed in its attempt, but simply that it has to try this road, because it is constantly losing social support. As they are losing on the social and parliamentary planes, they will seek to utilise more the apparatuses which they control, in order to attempt an offensive against the masses.*

*These so-called strikes of professional people and small owners, express all the weakness of the bourgeoisie, which has to utilise these methods of struggle as a means of rallying and encouraging its forces to launch a coup against the Popular Unity government, in order to strikes at the advances made by the mass movement in the last period.*

*They cannot wait for the next elections, because they know very well that it is not in Parliament where the important decisions are made, or where the important battles are fought, the ones which change the condition of humanity. Without the mobilisations of the masses, without their active vigilance street by street, the bourgeoisie would already have taken its power back. The constant process of crisis of the Christian Democrats has been provoked by the masses. If the masses hadn't mobilised themselves, if they hadn't occupied the streets and factories, today the Christian Democrats would stand united. The peasants under the impulse of the MIR, occupied land, the police intervened and repressed, but then the government had to distribute the land. This struggle is not only breaking the Christian Democrats, but the bourgeoisie as well. When the Socialists promoted the land occupations, this was already being done at the base.*

*These mobilisations of the masses break the Christian Democracy, and gain sectors of the army. If the mobilisations of the masses were accompanied by a PROGRAM OF PRODUCTION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL this would give a clear vision of the economic possibilities, there could be if only a program of development of the country, and of elevation of the level of living of the masses, would be applied on this basis. Even if the situation is not the same, it is possible to generalise some of the positions, which are valid for Chile, for France, Italy and this country as well. Even if the force, and the representation of the Socialist and Communist parties is different between LP and CP; in this country, the importance of the party is as an organising centre of society, and for the construction of socialism. There is a very marked difference between the leadership of the Chilean Socialist Party, which undoubtedly wants socialism, and the LP here, which is still hindered by a right wing, which makes it necessary to impose changes. But this doesn't contradict, on the contrary, it emphasizes the necessity to be based on mobilisations of the masses. The complete intervention of the masses through their organisms is necessary, discussing an anticapitalist PROGRAM with its central points in the NATIONALISATION OF THE ECONOMY as the only possible way to influence and attract the petit bourgeoisie, and to gain it to the perspective of socialism, and to prepare for that process of civil war, that is so obvious in Chile, but that has already started in Northern Ireland, and in the badly concealed intentions of the Heath Government.*

*We appeal to the Labour and Communist vanguard to discuss measures of solidarity with the Chilean revolution. Strikes, meetings, mass assemblies, calling for the boycott of goods belonging to companies such as the Kennecott, which are in dispute with the Chilean government, and utilizing international law against it.*

*In expressing all our solidarity with the Chilean masses in their struggle for socialism, we appeal for a discussion throughout the Labour movement on the significance of the struggle in Chile for the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Britain.*

*Long Live the Chilean masses and the masses of all the world, who struggle for the construction of Socialism!*

*Long Live the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, which is a constant element of stimulus to the masses of the whole of the world!*

*Long Live the World Anti-Imperialist United Front!*

## Northern Ireland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

it is essential to pose the formation of the organisms of mass power and discussion, factory committees, workers area committees to allow the independent functioning of the masses.

We appeal to the unions, LP, CP to organise conferences with the Irish LPs North and South, with the SDLP, with the trade unions, the IRA to discuss the problem of unified struggles, unified strike actions, unified objectives, condemning for a start the holding of phoney local elections in the North, under conditions of terrorism, boycotting them, but at the same time organising a general strike with factory occupations, involving all the Catholic and Protestant workers. More elevated appeals now, particularly by the revolutionary forces of the IRA, and the communist parties, here and in Ireland, explaining the social objectives of the civil war in the North, linking them with the struggles to overthrow the Heath

government in England, abandoning any conception that any serious concession can be extracted from Imperialism in its present desperate condition, preparing as it is to unleash world civil war at any moment, explaining the great advances of the world socialist revolution, the communist spirit of the world masses, is going to save historic time, is going to give a clear perspective to the Protestant masses, freeing themselves from the dead weight of the unionist dictatorship and facilitate the smashing of British imperialism both in Ireland and Britain.

SUBSCRIBE TO

RED FLAG

80p. PER YEAR

# The process in Czechoslovakia & the role of Soviet democracy in the construction of Socialism

J. POSADAS 3-8-72

The basis of the trials in Czechoslovakia is the absence of a revolutionary policy, and the application of marxism, the lack of soviet democracy, which makes the Workers State appear powerless, unstable and weak to judge these people, because it is simply the bureaucratic apparatus that judges them.

These that have to be judged, have to be judged politically, and instead of condemning them to a hundred years in prison, these writers should be condemned to reading all the articles they have written, and the political divergences of the others has to be shown. So it is necessary to ask, what are these divergences? What disagreements? Sending letters to Berlinguer? But doesn't Breznev send letters to Gierek? And didn't he send a salute to Berlinguer too? Didn't he send a salute to Longo? This has to be shown to be a lie, the motive for their judgement is not the letter, but that they wanted to condemn them to put pressure on those tendencies, that are trying to make the Communist Parties weigh in Czechoslovakia. It is possible that these people were not agents of the Soviets, but acting on their own account, made this policy, and the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy took these measures in part against the Soviets.

It is necessary to make a public discussion. We are not afraid to discuss anything publically. Respecting the highest democratic rights—agreed—but with the condition that democracy is for the development of the Workers State, not to be against the Workers State. All the problems they want to discuss can be discussed. If there is painter, who wants to paint with a donkeys tail, then let him! But it is not these problems that have to be discussed. Demanding then that the painters discuss the problems of the construction of socialism, not their mothers or grandmothers problems. These are not important to humanity. This is wrong. This is another stage of history. It is the stage in which individualism exacerbated by the development of capitalism, was foremost. We are in the stage where there are 14 Workers States! The pre-occupation of the writer must be for humanity. Not one or another, one or another writer or painter. We don't care what colour he paints in. What we are interested in what orientation he has, what his objectives are. If it is not useful, we say so, we criticise it, and that is all. It is necessary to demand that he who asks for liberty, uses it as a factor in the development of the revolution and the Workers State. Not their individual interest.

When this problem is still posed in the Czechoslovakian Workers State, it is because the leadership is bureaucratic, it has no authority, and merely defends itself from the criticisms that are made of it. If it had authority with the masses, the masses would have intervened. Why is it that the trade unions do not give an opinion? We propose that tribunals are made in Czechoslovakia, in which the trade unions intervene and decide. With the broadest rights of criticisms, of painting, sculpture, literature, everything. But we too make judgements, and we have the right to judge, and to historically and concretely condemn what is of no use. To condemn means saying that they are of no use, that is all. Not condemning them, and sending them to prison. A bad painter or writer is one who makes propaganda against the Czechoslovakian Workers State, and there has to be a public judgement by the trade unions and the workers. To show that what they say and do is wrong, and that they have to work. Which is to say, using Soviet democracy with the aim of constructing the Soviet Workers State. Not fearing polemic, leading the polemic as a factor in the construction of the Workers State, not as a factor of "liberty", but what liberty? for what?

Capitalism wants to give liberty in self defence. If it has to permit the liberty of revolutionary development, it is because it cannot prevent it, because the internal relationship of forces impedes it. But capitalism is a reactionary regime. The Workers State is a revolutionary regime which progresses. Any activity in the Workers State has to be dedicated and directed towards supporting and developing the Workers State. If it is against the Workers State it has no right to live or remain in the Workers State. We are against it! All those that are against the Workers State have no right to live there. Because, the Workers State is a regime of progress, compared with any other regime in history! What it is necessary to help develop are the organs of political leadership, the organs of popular democracy.

For example, none of these people discuss why there is no trade union democracy. Why aren't we united in defence of Vietnam? Why don't we develop the will, the organisation, the activity to expel imperialism from Vietnam, appeal-

ing to the masses of the world to defeat the capitalist system on a world scale. This is the campaign, which has to be raised. Their literature, writing, their novels, their work has to be directed by this necessity. This is the scientific way of individual liberty. Ultimately, there will be not individual liberty, only individual activity, because the human being will not defend his individual liberty, he will defend the liberty, which is the base for the construction of the progress of history.

We are against every trial for revolutionary ideas, or ideas that tend to support and develop the revolutionary regime or the Workers States. We are not afraid of the formulation of ideas against the Workers States, but then we add that people who think like this are not needed in the Workers State. So we discuss, and show that the Workers State is superior. To polemicise, discuss and show "You are not needed here. Go and live where you want, not here."

It is necessary to show how the Workers State is superior. To explain why. It is necessary to be preoccupied with painting, writing, discussing according to the interests of the revolutionary education of humanity, of socialism, of collectivisation. While these people have individual interests, this is why they are not preoccupied with Vietnam or the French May. And when they speak of the French May they say "Liberty!". They do not talk about the fact that the masses wanted to take power and defeat the capitalist system. Not this, this does not interest them. Instead they want to use the power of the Workers State for themselves.

In Czechoslovakia, as much as China, it is necessary to appeal for the unification of all the Workers States, economically, socially, politically, and militarily. Centralised planning, a common anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist policy. That the trade unions and all the workers centres of the Workers States appeal to all the trade unions and all the workers parties of the world for the anti-capitalist struggle, to defeat what remains of the capitalist system. Appealing for unconditional support for Vietnam, organising militias for Vietnam, and organising the defeat of Yankee imperialism, and the bombing of the factories of Yankee imperialism communicating with the North America proletariat and the North American masses, and appealing to them that they themselves intervene in this activity. Already the North American soldiers have partially begun to take the road of defeatism. Basically, the North American soldiers speak about not struggling, not going to war. This is defeatism in their own country. This indicates that they would prefer the defeat of their own country to the war. Even if they deduce that they are not going to be defeated. But this expresses the fact, that they are not worried about the defeat, the blow, the retreat, the diminution of the authority of North American imperialism.

It is necessary to base oneself on this so, that the masses of the world help the North American masses to organise themselves in the marxist workers party whose aim is the destruction of the capitalist system, and the construction of socialism. For this all the trade unions and Communist Parties of the Workers States have to appeal for a world conference to co-ordinate the anti-imperialist struggle. At the same time as defending Vietnam, co-ordinating the anti-imperialist struggle. To discuss the construction of socialism in all the trade unions, publically. To discuss the development of soviet democracy, the planning of all the Workers States, the unconditional sup-

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The prime necessity is, then, the creation of the organism to impose a programme of demands, which pose a class solution to the problems of capitalism; the immediate 32 hour (4 days 8 hour shifts) without loss of pay, no worker to be sacked—work sharing and the immediate occupation and running under workers control of all factories about to be closed, to combat unemployment; all wages to rise with the cost of living, and control of prices to combat inflation; the end of the Housing Finance Act, the occupation of all empty and luxury property (royal palaces, office blocks etc.) to ease the housing shortage, rents no more than 10% of the average workers wage, and the nationalisation of the land, building industry, banks, building societies etc. to solve the problem of housing

And since the point from which the struggle arises is the factories, the creation of factory committees is basic. Factory committees based on the organisation of workers in each shop or department, who meet and discuss not only the problems of the factory, but all the problems of the class, and who elect delegates, subject to instant recall, to a central committee of the factory. However whilst the struggle arises from the factory it does not remain there—all the problems of the class cannot be solved within the factory. It is necessary to link the factory with the workers areas, with other sectors of the class.

Already this form of organisation has appeared in the struggle against the Tory Housing Finance Act with the organisation of 'action committees', which link the shop stewards committees with sectors of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Trades Councils, Tenants Committee etc. In this the Trades Councils can play an important role by basing themselves on the factories, and adopting a programme, which attracts other sectors of the population. Liverpool Trades Council, for example, is proposing a

committee to co-ordinate the factory occupations in its area and the North West Federation of Trades Councils is calling for stoppages of work—and meetings in work time at the factory gates—on demands for higher pensions.

The TUC is not going to get capitalism to 'freeze' prices, but a workers area committee can impose price control. It was done in France during the Revolutionary General Strike of May 1968 and it is being done now, in part, by committees of workers (JAPs) in Chile. On this basis it is possible to attract great sectors of the population, who are outside the factory—housewives, office workers etc. In conditions where most shops are branches of big enterprises the shop workers themselves can be co-ordinated in the Workers Area Committee on the basis of imposing not only prices, but also working conditions of those employed in the supermarkets.

The independant organisation and struggle of the class is part of the struggle for power, which goes through the stage of the overthrow of the Tory government, and the imposition of a Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme. Thus all the struggles of the class are directed to impelling a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. However, it is likely that a Labour government will reach office before an effective revolutionary leadership has been created.

As J. Gollan, the secretary of the Communist Party, said the necessity is for a left Labour government, which will be compelled to take socialist measures. Well what will compel it? The working class and other sectors of the exploited masses using the independant organisms—factory committees, workers area committees etc.—which they are now in the course of constructing. We call on, the CP militants, militants of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions to take these conclusions and to impel the discussion on the tasks, which the present level of the class and revolutionary struggle, both nationally and on a world scale, pose.

## The assassination...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

bourgeoisie itself, accuses the other of being responsible for this assassination, which shows their division clearly. This indicates at the same time that the masses do no longer believe the lies of the capitalist system, and do not let themselves be fooled: "It is them who have killed, they are the assassins!"

The palestinian guerrillas did not have the intention of killing, but of realising an action of class war, led in a way doubtless limited politically, because it was insufficient and it could have only limited consequences. But they had the human intention to struggle for the liberation of a million and a half Palestians, who are enclosed in concentration camps, and are daily assassinated. It is thus that one must pose the problem. One must condemn neither the fedayins, nor the revolutionaries, nor the Palestians, but Yankee imperialism, Israeli and German, and also the leaderships of the workers and revolutionary movement, which do not take all the possible and necessary measures to help in the defence of the liberty of these populations and those countries.

One must criticise all the political leaderships, communists, socialists, nationalists, who have condemned the fed-

port to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle of all the masses of the world.

We are against condemnation and every trial of revolutionary political polemic. We are for the organised acceptance and discussion of every revolutionary political controversy. That is, if they have as their aim the impulsion of the revolutionary process. We are in agreement with discussion, so long as it permits activity. We appeal for the independant functioning of the trade unions, for them to take positions and participate in the activity of the construction of the Workers State, that the Communist Parties organise themselves and live in cells. That each cell discusses and takes positions. That the soviets and trade union democracy are organised. That the Party, trade unions and soviets take positions in all problems. But at the same time, that the most complete information is given to all the masses, that they have access to all information and discussion. This is the most complete way to stimulate their intervention, and to develop the intelligence and capacity of the masses.

J. POSADAS 2-8-72

dayeen in place of helping these movements to organise themselves in a revolutionary manner, and to help them to liberate themselves from Israeli oppression by giving them, through the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist world United Front, the perspective to organise themselves with the programme of the Socialist Soviet Arab Federation, including Israel, in this federation. Such is the policy that must be made. It is not the Feddayeen who must be criticised, but imperialism, which has realised the provocation and the assassination. And one must criticise also the lack of capacity and of political comprehension of the leadership of the workers, communist, socialist, nationalist movement, in relation to such movements, which spring up as the product of a historic necessity, to which it is necessary to respond, and to which it is not possible to respond, neither with Parliament, nor with resolutions of the United Nations, which are organisms incapable to resolve anything. It is demonstrated that imperialism accepts and respects only the resolution by arms, as Vietnam shows. Such is the conclusion which imposes itself.

We call for the World United Front and we call on the Communist Parties, socialists, left nationalists, the left catholic movements, to develop an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist world movement, and, as part of this movement, to struggle for the constitution of the Socialist Federation of the Middle East, by incorporating Israel in it, with the right of self-determination of the populations. We appeal to the Arab countries like Algeria, South Yemen, Syria and Irak, to take the initiative to lead forward the nationalist and revolutionary Arab movement. It is necessary to call on the Workers States and the revolutionary world movement, to give their unconditional support to the masses of Palestine. These have already created the Soviet of Irbid. They have demonstrated an elevated preoccupation, a responsibility and a historic resolution: without economic means, and in the most difficult conditions, as soon as they could, they created soviets. It is this conclusion that one must start from the programme, the policy, the organisation of this movement, and the unconditional support, by all means, to the Palestinian and Arab masses.

IS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
6th Sept. 1972

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d. Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**

PAGE 4

**Vietnam**

THE PROPOSED  
PEACE AGREEMENT  
IN VIETNAM UNDERLINES  
THE SOCIAL WEAKNESS OF  
IMPERIALISM

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 170 2nd Friday of November 1972 PRICE 3p

Make capitalism Pay for its' own crisis!

# BREAK THE WAGE FREEZE!

## For a workers plan of production and economic policy

*The latest complete change of policy of the Tory government is an expression of the empiricism of the ruling class, and its political representatives in this crisis, that finds in Britain the local expression of a world process! It is now the moment of the pay freeze: the last of a series of different ultimate cures applied to the corpse of capitalism. Davies had to go, and someone else moves in. But it won't make any difference. The crisis of capitalism is in fact much deeper than its economic crisis. The TUC leadership couldn't bring itself to reach an agreement with the government over wage controls, it didn't feel sufficiently confident in its own authority over the working class to want to be involved in such a deal. This is a basis of confidence for the whole of the Labour movement, for the proletarian vanguard carries an enormous weight, as we have already seen at the time of the struggle against the imprisonment of the dockers' leaders, when the TUC was impelled to call for a 24 hour general strike. When the labour and communist vanguard have such an authority over the movement, that Vic Feather and Co. fear a confrontation with it, it's because they don't feel that there is anything behind them on which to base themselves, and so they have to move with the movement, slowing down, braking instead of leading, but going with it.*

*The wage freeze won't solve any of the problems of the economy, because it attempts to deal only with the symptoms.*

The very high cost of living is the effect and not the cause of the economic crisis. It is the result of the crisis of capitalism, of its structure in Europe and the world. Why is there inflation, stagnation, a high cost of living throughout the capitalist world, while in the Workers States, there is nothing of all this? Inflation, expressed in the high cost of living, has its origins in the orientation of the economy towards the preparation for war, and in the American war expenses, which all countries pay for, because of their subordination to the US dollar.

A gigantic productive apparatus that doesn't produce consumer goods, but war products, and therefore wages don't have a correspondence in the presence of consumer goods, this is the basis of inflation. It is an economy orientated towards waste, towards luxury goods, towards totally unnecessary things, and not towards the production of food, clothing, housing etc.

While, in the Workers States, the planning of the economy establishes the priorities, and eliminates the unnecessary expenses, created by the competition between similar products, by advertising, by the blind law of the market, and this

allows a healthy and continuous growth despite the incapacity, and the waste caused by the bureaucracy. In capitalism the economy is based on the profit motive not on the social necessity of the products. The masses pay for this with the high cost of living. The high cost of living has its causes, therefore, in the laws of profit. The production of food is less profitable than production of useless articles.

The capitalist state, at the service of exploiters and profiteers, favours with the tax system the high cost of living and exploitation. The system of indirect taxation is paid for by the masses, and considerably increases the cost of products.

So, at the same time as the government is introducing this wage freeze, it is planning to introduce VAT, which is going to cause an enormous rise in the cost of living, particularly hitting the working class, because a flat rate of increase on clothing or food is going to subtract far more, proportionally, from those, whose wages almost entirely go on such essentials, as food, rent and clothing, the majority of this country.

Clearly, there is general agreement throughout the labour movement on the need, to fight this government, in order to fight this piece of legislation, and other of a similar nature, such as Industrial Relations Bill, the Housing Finance Act. The task of the vanguard is to organise this sentiment into a concrete and organic capacity of the work-

ing class, to attract into a political alliance all those sectors of the population that suffer from the exploitation of capitalism, but who cannot express their sentiment in a direct way, by striking. This means the discussion and elaboration of a programme, and policy to fight the consequences of inflation on the masses.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER BY CDE J. POSADAS

21-10-72

## Our critical support for the candidates of the Communist Party in the USA elections!

This presentation of the United States Communist Party in 30 states in the coming elections is more important than the McGovern candidature.

This is indicating the polarisation in North America between imperialism, which is preparing for the atomic war, and the masses, who are looking for a centre in order to oppose the capitalist system and the atomic war. This is why the presentation of Communist Party candidates in 30 states has such a great importance. This will have an echo and influence.

We give a critical support to this presentation in the elections by the United States Communist Party. But we support them, and even though it is a critical support, we recognise that there is a very great progress in the programme of the Communist Party, in which it has come to admit that Yankee imperialism is preparing the atomic war, and is going to make the atomic war.

We make an appeal in this critical support to the United States Communist Party for a programme, much more directed towards the exploited masses, for a socialist unification of the United States, with the rest of the world, and to see and consider the need for appeals, for interventions with the masses to unite the opposition to the war in Vietnam, with the trade union struggle, with the struggle for progress and for the elevation of the masses, to construct organisms of struggle, the areas, states, trade unions, factories.

We appeal for discussion of all the problems of society, putting foremost the solution of these problems on the basis of the social and economic demands of the working class, the struggle against the war in Vietnam, and opposition to imperialism's war against the Workers States. At the same time it has to appeal for the defence of democratic rights, using whatever means, which are necessary. Democratic rights means opposition to the war, which imperialism is preparing.

We make an appeal to the United States Communist Party for a united front, and for the organisation of a party based on the trade unions, which has the Communist Party as its base. That the Communist Party calls for the organisation of a Workers Party, based on the Trade Unions, with the Communist Party at the base, and we would support and impel such a resolution.

IN THE 55th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION  
AND 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE  
U.S.S.R.

FORWARD TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE  
WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT  
TO DESTROY WHAT IS LEFT OF CAPITALISM

# The crisis in the Yugoslav Communist Party and the necessity of Soviets in order to construct Socialism

## J. Posadas

(Second Edition) 26-9-72

### INTRODUCTION

We publish this document for the second time in a few weeks. It was first published by a bulletin.

This document by comrade Posadas, responds, analyses, and gives concrete organisational proposals to the very dynamic process of partial regeneration, which is now showing itself in Yugoslavia. Tito's latest letter to the League of Communists insisting on the need for a purge of the party, the previous meetings of the party reported in the Yugoslav press, radio and television, where 'opportunism' and 'Technocrats' social inequality and 'unjustified getting rich' have been violently denounced, are expressions of the partial regeneration and historic re-encounter, the necessity to return to marxism, to return to the party.

It is an enforced necessity; Tito does not talk of marxism or the party, because he wants to, but because the pressures within Yugoslavia, and (as the document explains), above all from the world, forces him to. He does not abandon completely his old policy, of conciliation with capitalism, as the visit of the Queen to Yugoslavia shows, but he is taking a road of depending more on the masses; and it is this aspect of his contradictory behaviour that the world communist and socialist vanguard bases itself on to determine its action in its own parties.

Thus the importance of this document is not just to understand Yugoslavia, but to understand the world structure of the revolution, which has weighed on Yugoslavia preventing its return to capitalism. If in spite of all the problems in Yugoslavia, the problem of the federation of states, the problems caused by the Stalinist policy towards it, the lack of marxist traditions in the Yugoslav C.P., it has not returned to capitalism, and moreover Tito must make a complete change in relation to his earlier policy on decentralisation, this is not merely the force of the Yugoslav workers, peasants and students, which is small, but a result of Vietnam, of the process in Chile, the decline and pessimism of capitalism and imperialism (expressed by McGovern for example), which has no social force to attract and stimulate the pro-capitalist forces, of the mobilisations in Stettin and Danzig, the letter of Breznev to Gierak, the whole process of partial regeneration in the Workers States.

The scope which these reforms decided by the Party have in Yugoslavia, can be superior to what it appears externally. The preoccupation of the journalists of the bourgeoisie is to inform capitalism and the petit bourgeoisie warning them of the dangers, which there are in relations with Yugoslavia, in where Yugoslavia is going. This is their interest. Thus they hide news, which express a greater deepening of the partial regeneration. On the other hand, they underline news, which makes it clear that Yugoslavia has to take the road of centralisation. This takes away from capitalism points of contact with each republic in particular. Because of this they warn world capitalism that the danger for them is centralisation, the functioning of the party linked to the masses and the return to marxism. But they don't speak of the functioning of the organs, of the soviets, of the factory councils, of the trade unions, of the neighbourhood committees.

One year ago, Tito himself condemned all those who proposed to impel the re-birth, or the reanimation of marxism in Yugoslavia. Five years ago, when the mobilisations of the workers and students began in Yugoslavia, it was Tito himself who condemned it. He was not the one with the most reactionary attitude; but he condemned them. On the other hand the Communist League repressed the mobilisations. It was not Tito who had the most reactionary position; he had an attitude of keeping a certain distance from these condemnations and considering them unnecessary. The Communist League as such, was the one who condemned, imprisoned and expelled hundreds of workers and militants of the Party. The Communist League was in the hands of the Croats, the bourgeois nationalist sectors. They dominated the Party. Now they have cleaned out the Party. Because of this the journalists of the bourgeois speak of the "general cleaning out in Yugoslavia". They don't speak of "cleaning in particular", but of a "general cleaning out of the party". They see that it is the party which has the weight, the capacity of decision, is the one which has the reins to direct. They see the

change as catastrophic, because it is the party, which is the one, which changes. They see that they are changing the bases of the structure of the party; "returning to Marxism." One cannot expect that they are really going to return to marxism. It is necessary to expect a process of changes, of transformations. Before the party was an instrument of liaison with capitalism, now the party changes, they force it to change, and to declare that it has to return to marxism.

This is not done through the decision of the leadership, but because in the factories, in the countryside, in the party, in the barracks, in the offices they are discussing all this, and it is carrying them forward. There are Trotskyist groups in Yugoslavia, and also there are reformist currents of the type of Solzhenitsen, and the other writers of this nature, who have had a lot of freedom, they have written, have dominated the theatre, the films, literature, the trade unions. All of them had the power in their hands before.

Five years ago a Yugoslav review published an extract from an article by J. Posadas. And there are superior experiences to this, as that of Tito himself and the Yugoslav C.P., when they confronted

the Soviet bureaucracy and Stalin. Between then and now the Communist Party was liquidated, and they accommodated themselves to relations with the capitalist system. It passed to being the Communist League. It was the party which made relations, more and deepened these relations with the capitalist system. Today it is the party, joined with the Rumanians and the Soviets, which gets closer to the necessity of a communist functioning.

These changes, which take place are not changes of form. They are a reaction against the measures which Tito himself made previously; they are changes against the elevation and the structuring of the economic and technical bureaucracy which dominated the party. Through them there was a bridge, which communicated with the bourgeois nationalists of all the Yugoslav republics. Now they bar this way. Not only of one republic but of all! They impose the dominion of the party in all the republics. These changes are against resolutions which they adopted three years ago, of the freedom of each republic. They are against. Because this was the freedom of each republic to negotiate directly with capitalism. A sector of the republic

of Croatia reached the stage of proposing the right to negotiate directly with capitalism, to enter the United Nations as a republic, to enter into the International Monetary Fund, as a republic having its own army. And this is the response to this.

Neither the Communist Party, nor the literature of the government had dealt with, nor discussed, nor considered any of these problems. None. There is no immediate antecedent, which indicates political life, either theoretical or practical, of discussion of these problems. They emerge suddenly. Why? What is the force which makes them emerge? Tito went along with all this, allowed it, was attracted by it. This came from the factories, from the countryside, from the schools, from the offices, and from the army. With a greater force than in the capitalist countries in Yugoslavia it comes from the base of revolutionary tradition which exists. Not a Marxist tradition, but a revolutionary one, because they were capable of taking power, breaking with Stalin and sustaining themselves. The lack of tradition, of Marxist organisms led them to almost capitulate to capitalism.

## The sending of weapons from the USSR to Syria and the need for the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Middle East

A confirmation of this analysis of Posadas has since come with the sacking of the Egyptian war minister, Ahmed Sadek, and his replacement by Ahmed Ismail; the latter being much closer, more favourable to the Soviet Union. It is a blow against the Egyptian bourgeoisie, and the muslim right. The significance of the sending of arms to Syria is not simply in the fact that it is a means of influencing Egypt—which is important because Egypt still has a great weight, and influence in the Middle East—but that it is also a direct intervention to oppose Israeli imperialism.

J. POSADAS 25-9-72

The attitude of the Soviets in sending weapons to Syria, and calling it to repel the aggression of Israel by all means, takes into account the beginning of the failure of the Soviet policy with the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Now they are trying to compensate for this, by seeking a success, so as to influence part of the Egyptian army. The bureaucracy has to show that it is disposed to advance. It seeks to have another point of support, of competition, to have a base to influence Egypt. At the same time, it gives arms to Syria, to contain Israel, because a triumph of Israel would have very great consequences within the Soviet Union. The Soviet masses would not accept an advance or a success for Israeli Imperialism.

This attitude of the Soviets is an opening up towards a policy, which necessarily leads them further, and tends to influence within the Egyptian army against the Egyptian bourgeoisie. They seek to make the weakness of Egypt felt, putting Syria—as also Algeria and Irak—in competition with Egypt. They are three countries, which compete with Egypt for the leadership of the Arab countries. Without doubt Syria does not have the military means. It is the Soviets who provide them. The Soviets would not take such a decision if they were not disposed to go quite a way forward; otherwise, they would not compromise their authority. They take this attitude, because they see that the masses are disposed to go much further. If the Soviets maintain this new political attitude, it is going to cause a change in the relation within the Middle East, because it is going to influence the internal struggles very profoundly, against the right and the bourgeois military wing, which prefers, and has openly declared it, that Israel should win, so as to maintain private property in Egypt. The attitude of the Soviets is a blow against this.

This sending of arms is a blow made bureaucratically, because the Trade Unions, the Communist Party, the Soviet population does not say anything, does not intervene. There is not a single appeal. It is an arrangement made at the summit, but which nevertheless has an effect, and is going to mobilise the masses, but with less force and capacity to influence.

It is necessary to accept this attitude of the Soviets, but at the same time it

is necessary to call them so that they make appeals for mobilisations of the masses in Syria and in the USSR as well; to make mobilisations of the trade unions with the purpose of posing that the military armament to Syria is to defeat Israeli Imperialism, calling to the Israeli masses to associate with the Arab masses to overthrow capitalism in Israel, and to unify themselves fraternally as a socialist federation, with self-determination for Israel. It is necessary to maintain such resolution. These appeals are not solely for the Israeli proletariat, but also for the world proletariat, so that they see that the trade unions, the Arab masses are not disposed to smash Israel, even though it is an invented country, even with a invented concentration of progress, but that starting from an established situation, they give a solution superior to the capitalist system.

We appeal for the organisation of the Socialist Soviet Federation in the Middle East, with self determination for Israel. We appeal to Israel so that it, jointly with the Arab countries, forms a single country, where Israel is incorporated with all its technical and scientific capacity, to the anti-capitalist development of the Arab countries towards socialism, calling for the nationalisation of property, for the centralised planning of the economy, for the monopoly of foreign trade, for the nationalisation of the banks, for the agrarian revolution. To call for the participation of the masses with workers control, and through their organisms; trade unions, soviets; Party, in the application of this programme of the socialist revolution.

TELEGRAM SENT BY THE C.U.T. (Chilean T.U.C.) FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

WE PUBLISHED THE TEXT OF THIS TELEGRAM AS PART OF THE WORLD CAMPAIGN ORGANISED BY THE INTERNATIONAL FOR THE LIBERATION OF BRAZILIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

2nd OCTOBER

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE  
BRAZIL

NATIONAL DIRECTIVE COUNCIL SINGLE WORKERS' CENTRE CHILE IN NAME OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEMANDS IMMEDIATE LIBERATION FOR CLAUDIO VASCONCELLOS CALVANTI. DEMANDS END TORTURE POLITICAL PRISONERS NOT PROPER CIVILIZED COUNTRIES AS BRAZILIAN PEOPLE.  
NATIONAL DIRECTIVE COUNCIL

# The crisis of the Yugoslav . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

These reforms, which they are doing now, which still are reforms, lead them to elevate the level of class and revolutionary relations in Yugoslavia. They are going to pose all the other problems. They were not prepared by Tito, nor by the Communist League. It was Tito himself, who one year ago conceded the freedom and independence of the republics. Now he has to transform everything and put the party as the centre of the country. He is mistaken in many things. Without doubt he is mistaken, he is erroneous and he is bureaucratic. But he has to pose as the centre; it is the party which organises the country. The party is the direct instrument, joined with the trade union in which the masses express themselves. Why are they doing this? Why doesn't he speak of the independence of the government? On the contrary he submits the government to the party, because he poses "that the party does not direct the economy but controls it". This approximates to the truth, but it is not the truth. The truth is that the party determines the life of the country through its organs, and influences and directs the government through the soviets. Thus all the population carries out the leadership of the country, influenced, organised and directed by the party. Then the party does not direct the government, it directs the country. And the country has the government which it wants. It is through the party, the trade unions, the soviets, all the mass organs that it does this.

On the other hand, there is an atrocious mistake in these declarations, which is common to all of them, when they say "we will not return to state socialism". There isn't any state socialism. It is a historic falsehood and shows their insufficient preparation. Lenin made in two or three occasions the statement "our state socialism". But it did not occur to him nor did he theorize about, or anal-

use demonstrating that "State Socialism" existed. Socialism is a regime not a state, it is a regime of superior social relations, which are based on collective property and in the monopoly of foreign trade, in the planning of production and in the development of the economy, which succeeds in satisfying the needs of the population. Even without reaching the level of satisfying them, it is based on these relations and permits the elevation of human consciousness, the capacity of understanding, because it incorporates the organs, and if there aren't any, it creates organs, which join the population together in their place of residence or of work.

Life is made in two forms; where one lives and where one works. The other places are transitory displacements. The places of concentration are; where one lives and where one works. It is going to change tomorrow, but it is like this now. From the relation with the place where one lives and where one works, there emerges, has to emerge the organs, organised in this form. They are the organs which lead, which determine. Thus this is the power in socialism. Socialism is not a state.

Neither "State Socialism" or "State Capitalism" exist. Neither one nor the other. Capitalism is not a state. Otherwise it would be a class, a human entity. The state is a form of organisation, which represents interests. The organs are determined and qualified in agreement with who leads them, who they serve, what historic objective they serve. They called fascism "State Socialism" it is a lie! It was not "State Capitalism" either. Fascism nationalised some essential enterprises for military needs and because they were in deficit. Thus the state absorbed this, and afterwards it was given to the bosses, but they were small enterprises to co-ordinate and centralise the preparation for the war. Trotsky explained this very well in various of his texts about Europe. If the state was capable

of concentrating property and making a new class, it would be a new stage in history, it would be a new form of property and of society.

"State Socialism" or "State Capitalism" means that the state is the owners. The only owners which there are, are classes. Which class is the master? "State Capitalism" or "State Socialism", who do they represent, what class do they represent? If nationalised property is of the proletariat, it is not "State Socialism", it is nationalised property. How must one qualify, whoever directs this? It is the proletariat, which directs, because of this it is a Workers State.

When they qualify it as "State Socialism" it is because they have no notion, nor preoccupation, of theoretically learning the conception of the economy. Because of this they have just come out from three crises in three years. One, in which they confronted the mobilisations of the masses, and in which the effigy of Tito as a guerrilla was carried, they took prisoners and repressed. The other was the crisis of the Yugoslav nationalists, and now this is the third. That is to say, there is no party.

This present change is an attempt to go back to the party, which we support. It demonstrates that all the reactionary nationalist tendencies, which are developing in the Workers States cannot be made firm, cannot and will not be able to develop themselves. There are no perspectives for them. Because of this, in spite of the repression of the masses and of the workers, and the students, Tito has to turn to resort to this. The structure of the economy, and of Yugoslav society imposes such measures on him; otherwise he would have yielded to the Croats, Montenegrins, the Macedonians. When he cannot yield to the individual interest of each one, it is because the structure of the Workers States unifies the necessity to continue planned development. This is against the federations, it clashes, repels! Because of this Tito has to turn back, but he returns bureaucratically. There is not an appeal to the trade unions, to the party, to the workers areas, to the soviets. There is not an appeal. He tries to do it bureaucratically. But what is underlined in the situation, is that, even bureaucratically, he has to take the road of depending on the masses, against the interests of the technocrats, of the administrators, of the planners, of the bourgeois nationalists of each region. This is an example, which has to serve for a constant inspiration for a discussion with the communists.

Yugoslavia is the Workers State, whose relationship is closest to the capitalist system, it was the one, which was closest to passing to the capitalist system. In 1951 Pablo and Mandel (?) said, "Yugoslavia is finished, it has gone back to capitalism... it is a good experience." The world proletariat and of the USSR said "No the experience hasn't finished yet, it is still necessary to continue it." They didn't believe either in the masses nor in the world revolutionary process. Because of this they capitulated. Twenty years later Yugoslavia continues being a Workers State, and now it reanimates itself and enters into a very dynamic process of partial regeneration. We are going to intervene on all the problems.

It is evident that this is not the reaction of Tito, but is a reaction of the Yugoslav masses. Tito and company would have already capitulated. This is the reaction of the Yugoslav masses, which has prevented a greater retreat. It was the mobilisation of the workers, of the students, of certain sectors of the peasantry who were opposed to the independence, the autonomy of each region. The Yugoslav government resolved the autonomy of each region. Autonomy included political autonomy, the mobilisation of the workers and peasants was against autonomy. The mobilisations of the workers and student won. What was the force of the workers and the students. They don't have any in Yugoslavia. But on a world scale they do. Because on a world scale the advance of the struggles of the proletariat demonstrated that it was the determining factor in paralysing capitalism, be it in Vietnam, be it in the Middle East, it was a determining factor. The whole weight of the USSR, the mobilisations in Poland and Czechoslovakia meant an impulse for progress for the Yugoslav masses.

While the Communist Parties saw the affair of Czechoslovakia in the first stage as catastrophic, as an influence which depressed, as a deception, a blow and a world retreat of communisms, the Yugoslav masses did not let themselves be intimidated, and interpreted the process very well. There is a clear and concrete example. If the Yugoslav masses had interpreted that it was a blow against the

world communist movement, and that it was a defeat and retreat, they would have been disheartened, deceived and they would have retreated. They interpret well that it was an internal struggle. They saw the behaviour of the Czechoslovak working class, which did not support either Oto Sik or Dubcek, and did not oppose the Soviets. It was the same Czechoslovakian working class, who gave its life against Nazism, and who triumphed against nazism! Nevertheless it didn't rise up against the entry of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, it didn't confuse the entry of Soviet tanks with the entry of Nazi tanks. It was opposed, because it saw that this wasn't the form to develop the action. It was frightened of a new emergence of a Stalin type. But it interpreted and understood well that it wasn't a question of this. Because of this the masses came out to discuss with the soldiers and the officers in the tanks to convince and persuade them, and to develop Czechoslovakia towards socialism. They wanted to persuade the Soviet military, to say to it, that they were not against, that they would help them, but they wanted to intervene and were weighing to contain a repetition of Stalin. This was the attitude of the Czechoslovak working class, because of this the right didn't obtain one strike, not a stoppage, not a minute of silence for the guy(?) who warned himself up, by setting fire to himself.

It is the same attitude, which the Yugoslav proletariat took. Here, there is a source of revolutionary inspiration and security. Not of political inspiration and analysis, because the class doesn't have the organisms to be able to do it, but certainly it felt historically with its instinct, and its historic understanding, what the question was about. It wasn't mistaken, in this way it was demonstrated. Tito did everything possible, to overthrow the Workers State, but the proletariat sustained it, threw out the bourgeois nationalists, and obliged Tito to march forward.

It is necessary to salute this resolution of the Yugoslav Communist Party as an immense progress of the world communist movement, and of ourselves among it, who have collaborated with this. In 1948 they sought contacts and points of support in the world revolution. The absence of capacity of the ex-leadership of the IV International, the lack of our means, the lack of marxist tradition in the Yugoslav Communist Party (it has a revolutionary tradition, because it defeated the Nazis, but not a marxist one), the offensive of Stalinism, the weight of the Workers States dominated by a Stalinist conception formed by the prolongation of the dictatorship of Stalin, prevented the Yugoslav working class, and the Yugoslav Communist Party from having access to the world revolutionary movement, from having points of support where it could base itself. Thus it yielded in its weakest point. What Tito did in Yugoslavia corresponds to the "Socialism in one country" of Stalin. But like Stalin, Tito didn't find points of world support to develop this policy; neither Stalin with "socialism in one country", which was shown to be incorrect, nor Tito found the bases to change from the Workers State to "democracy" and capitalism. It was the world action of the working class with its struggles, which created the bases to maintain at a higher level the world class struggle, the progress of the revolution, of the revolutionary struggle and consequently, also gave a stimulus, security to the proletariat, and to the revolutionary militants, and to the militant cadres of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to have a point of support to maintain themselves, and carry forward this struggle and triumph.

It is necessary to install soviets in Yugoslavia, organisms of soviet democracy in the factories, and the independent functioning of the trade unions, which have as a programme of action the stimulation of Yugoslavia as a Workers State. It is not necessary to enter into a polemic, into a dispute with self management. It is necessary to qualify self management as an insufficient, incorrect

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

\*\*\*\*\*  
**SUBSCRIBE TO**  
**RED FLAG**  
 FORTHNIGHTLY PAPER  
 OF THE  
 REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
 (TROTSKYIST)  
 BRITISH SECTION OF THE  
 IV INTERNATIONAL  
 6 month 65p.  
 12 months 125p.  
 SUPPORTER'S ONE YEAR  
 SUBSCRIPTION ... .. £2.50  
 FROM  
 24 CRANBOURN ST. LONDON, W.C.2.

**PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO (TROTSKISTA)**  
**IV INTERNATIONAL (Chilean Section)**

**DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU**

*Our Party salutes, with immense revolutionary joy the recent decision of the Popular Government, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, to establish diplomatic ties, and very close relations, at the level of Embassies. This resolution is an expression of the will, and the sentiment of all the revolutionary masses in Chile, who feel in the struggles of the masses in Vietnam, the historical example of social heroism in confrontation to the criminal attack of Yankee Imperialism. This measure has a great revolutionary significance, in recognising as the South Vietnamese government the comrades of the Revolutionary provisional government, and not the assassins in the service of imperialism, who govern in Saigon. It isn't any more a diplomatic measure, adopted by the popular government, but it is a part of the conquest of the stage of the world socialist revolution, that in all the world develops, and increases its support, and centralised solidarity with Vietnam, like the decision, which humanity, already has of not allowing imperialism, to continue its murders, and to be once and for all routed, and thrown out of Indo-China.*

*Our party directs itself especially to the comrades of the MIR, CUT and of the FECH, for them to base themselves on this immensely important initiative in order to begin an immense campaign of MOBILISATION in support and unity with the WORLD REVOLUTION. It is the way to STRENGTHEN AND DEEPEN the process towards a Workers State and the conquest of power. We propose assemblies and discussions in the factories, schools, fields, in all popular organisms, Trade Unions, in the CERA, area committees, CUP and in the committees of vigilance, on the profound revolutionary and anti-imperialist significance of this measure. We propose that the CUT organises a massive publicity campaign, utilising the press, radio and television, in all the densely populated areas in the country in order to make appeals to elevate the Chilean revolution's relations with the world.*

*Through the world, and in particular in Latin America, there exists a vast movement, which supports the process in Chile, that has been expressed through the telegrams, and resolutions sent to the government, to the US, to the CUT that is expressed in the solidarity, and support of the Workers States, in the delegations, which constantly are visiting Chile. An example is the recent visit of the commander of the Soviet Union Air Force, who took part in the military parade of the nineteenth, which we salute for the importance, which it had, that the Soviet Workers State sent its representative to this show, which by tradition was used by capitalist governments to show their military strength, and to confront the masses. And now—even though the army hasn't changed as an institution—with these measures, it is influenced by the social and historic superiority of the Workers State. At the same time, we make an appeal to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, that it accompanies the technical aid, the diplomatic visits and economic missions, with political activity, and revolutionary culture, to diffuse amongst the masses the conquests achieved by the Worker State.*

*Conditions exist for a WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT, in which the Chilean revolution must intervene with all its force, as a way of strengthening the struggle to break the imperialist blockade, the threats by Kenecot. To answer with an APPEL FOR WORLD SOLIDARITY AND A CONDEMNATION OF IMPERIALISM: TO SUPPORT THE APPEAL MADE BY THE CUT FOR A BLOCKADE OF THE KENECOT BY ALL COPPER PRODUCING COUNTRIES.*

# The proposed peace agreement in Vietnam underlines the social weakness of Imperialism

*The proposed Vietnam peace agreement will be a defeat inflicted on US Imperialism by the NLF and the North Vietnamese, supported by the USSR and China and by the masses of the whole world, but it will in no way change the counter-revolutionary intentions and objectives of Imperialism. This agreement has to be seen within the context of the approach of the final settlement of accounts, the launching of the world counter-revolutionary war by US Imperialism. To prepare the conditions to launch the war, which it fears it is going to lose, but to which it has no alternative imperialism seeks to calm the internal situation within the USA, to try to show to the masses that it is responding to the tremendous climate of hatred and repudiation for the war, so as to have its hands free to launch the war in the best conditions for itself.*

But at the same time this agreement shows the disintegration of US Imperialism, its lack of internal homogeneity. In the middle of the peace negotiations the French embassy in Hanoi is bombed, as a warning from a military sector, which wants to go further now, which does not accept withdrawal from Vietnam, and therefore intensifies the bombing.

On the other hand, a sector of the US ruling class, the one more linked to the development of the internal market, and less to the war economy, represented by McGovern, wants to try to make a policy of agreements and of conciliation with the world revolution, because they see it as the lesser evil. They are completely defeatist; they see communism advancing, and they know that capitalism does not have the social, political, or even military force to stop it. When there are such differences, when there is a difference also between the Kissinger/Nixon sector, and a sector of the military (which are tactical differences, not ones of objectives), it is an expression of the tremendous insecurity in the future of the American ruling class.

The proposal of the NLF and North Vietnamese to sign an agreement is limited, but not incorrect, because they are dictating the terms, they are demanding the withdrawal of US troops, and are not making similar concessions. They say to US Imperialism—'Sign, or you are in for some nasty military surprises', and imperialism, deserting its former ally Thieu, prepares to sign. This does not mean that imperialism is necessarily going to leave Vietnam; it could launch the war tomorrow, or finally refuse to sign, but the important thing is that it publicly accepts the conditions of the North Vietnamese and NLF. It is a tremendous blow at the social authority of US Imperialism, which for years has been fighting to "defend democracy against communism", which only months ago in-

roduced the blockade of Haiphong, and whose generals have said that they were going to "bomb North Vietnam back to the stone age"; and now they discuss accepting an agreement. It is true that there is the electoral interest of Nixon expressed in all this, but the roots are more profound than this. North Vietnam has shown its social superiority, the historic heroism of the Vietnamese masses (as Posadas characterised at the time of the Tet offensive of 68) has weighed on the US Imperialist army, and the masses of America. It is not arms, which have decided, or the level of economic development, but the superior social relations of the Workers State and the revolutionary masses.

At the same time the discussion brings the nuclear war closer, because imperialism sees that it cannot impose its policy by limited and localised wars. It can't repeat the experience of the invasion of the Dominican Republic, for example. Its war against the revolution has to be made with nuclear weapons, and it has to be made against the centre, which stimulates, and gives military and economic support to the revolution; the Workers States, and above all the USSR.

The proposal of the North Vietnamese and NLF to allow Thieu to remain, and make a non-communist government, is a diplomatic manoeuvre to try to attract part of the population of South Vietnam against the US, but it is incorrect in so much as it does not utilise all the tremendous force which they have in their hands. If they made appeals for the collectivisation of the land, taking the land from the landlords, and calling to make local popular governments, this would have a much stronger effect. But in the situation, which exists, whatever government is made, with the yanks out, with the masses armed, and in control of 4/5 of the territory, with the world conditions of disintegration of imperialism, and

the advance of the Workers States, it is going to be a short transition to the communist government and the Workers State, in South Vietnam.

This defeat of imperialism is not just the result of the actions of the Vietnamese masses, but of all humanity. As the resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International said, (Answer the blockade of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam with the World Anti-imperialist United Front to smash what remains of the Capitalist system. 12-5-72). "There is a world mobilisation of repudiation against the blockade. HUMANITY IS CONCENTRATING AGAINST IMPERIALISM". Now we see the result of that mobilisation, and now it is necessary in all the organisations of the class, the TUs, the LP and CP, the trade councils, in the factories, the shop steward committees, in the student movement, the tenants movement, to intensify the mobilisations for the complete withdrawal of all US land, sea and air forces from Vietnam and South East Asia. Such mobilisations, together with appeals to the Workers States, to the Revolutionary States, and the world workers movement to intervene, to smash imperialism in every part of the world, would represent an important step forward in the construction of the world anti-imperialist front.

It is particularly important for the British workers and progressive movement to address itself to the American working class, helping it to advance towards the formation of its own party, which in the world and national conditions of the USA can begin directly on a marxist programme, based on the trade unions. It is necessary to direct appeals to the US workers movement, calling it to make meetings in the factories, all the places of work, in the universities, to discuss Vietnam, uniting this discussion to all the problems of the USA itself, the bad housing, the enormous unemployment, the lack of health, education and cultural facilities, the lack of civil rights for the Blacks, Mexicans and Indians, advancing in this discussion towards laying down the organisational and programmatic bases for the Marxist Party based on the TUs. The phenomenon of McGovern, and more important the support, which the CP has won in the presidential campaign indicate that the bases exist for such a party.

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

For a minimum national wage of £25 for employed and unemployed, for all wages to rise with the cost of living, abolition of all forms of indirect taxation, no more tax benefits for industry. A programme to be fought for by the trade unions and the Labour Party starting from now, without waiting to go into office!

It is not sufficient in fact to pass anti-capitalist resolutions without organising the struggle to impose them on capitalism starting from now. This would be to leave capitalism with a margin of initiative that it needn't have. The discussion of a programme of this kind in the Labour and trade union movement stimulating the discussion in Trade Union branches, at the factory gates, in the trades councils and in the councils of action, and in the Labour Party branches, is going to be the task of the proletarian vanguard in the next stage as the way of preparation of the struggle for the overthrow of this Tory government, and the imposition of a Labour government on a socialist programme. This doesn't mean to say that the overthrow of this government should wait for the full development of this discussion, but rather that it would allow the labour leadership little or no space for procapitalist manoeuvre.

This government is as weak as capitalism, but the construction of socialism is not a process, which begins tomorrow, but now, through the construction of the organisations and leadership which have, as their programme, the construction of socialism.

# The crisis of the Yugoslav Communist Party

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

method, which doesn't lead to the objective development of Yugoslavia towards socialism.

It is necessary to make discussions which have a persuasive character of revolutionary culture and education at the same time as being a revolutionary polemic. Not a polemic or a dispute of the party, a revolutionary polemic. Demonstrating that all this is a consequence of having to confront those sectors who want to return to capitalism, it is a result of the false policy of self management, which does not respond to the march towards socialism, but defends individual interests of a caste, of a sect, and of a factory; and thus it stimulates interests, currents and disputes of layers, sectors and currents interested in local interests.

At the same time all this is a consequence of the lack of soviets. The workers cannot give their opinions, the masses cannot give their opinions, they have no means of demonstrating; while the bureaucrats do. The apparatus demonstrates, decides the opinion of the masses. Who controls it? It is demonstrated that the functioning of the party of the government, is insufficient, because the party and the government are infact, developed and structured by bureaucrats, by careerists, who through the interests developed by self management, are linked to the capitalist system. Because of this Tito reaches the point of saying: "We prefer a party of 500,000 instead of 1,000,000 but of people who are communists." They throw out half, and where did this half emerge from?

The declaration of Yugoslavia that it is opposed to centralisation with the Soviet Union is a measure of self defence, but not a policy which off-sets the resistance or the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy. The best way to defend oneself against the return-to-bureaucracy, or of bureaucratic methods, is soviet functioning and a planning, which develops all the Workers States. The party does not intervene, the masses do not intervene, there is no intervention of the masses, of the party, of the revolutionary students, there is the opinion of the bureaucrats, who do not have revolutionary interests; because of this Tito says that he is going to throw out half. They allow the workers to enter and participate, and the students and the revolutionary peasants, those who want to impel socialist Yugoslavia. Thus they have to be socialist methods, methods of organisation, of centralisation, of planning, and of soviet functioning. It is necessary to feel that the progress of partial regeneration is not made uninterruptedly, its a whole structure, which it is necessary to abolish.

One cannot abolish it in one Congress, in one meeting, or in one conference of the Communist Parties; they still have the power and are very powerful. It is a power, structured so that they have all the levers of the economy, and it is necessary to destroy this in the life of the Communist Party, linked to the world class struggle.

We call the Yugoslav Communist Party, so that it returns to being a true Communist Party. We call it to eliminate the Communist League, and that it organises the centralised Communist Party. We call to eliminate the federation of parties, that it be a Communist Party centralised on a programme of soviet functioning, of a centralised planning of production, which carries forward the campaign demanding the Communist International with the complete right of all the Communist Parties to discuss a programme of planning, centralised in agreement with a plan of development of all the Workers States, not of one or another, of all! The programme of planning must be based on the interests of elevating the small Workers States before the big ones. This would be an example and an immense impulse for the whole of capitalist Europe and North America. It is necessary to prepare at the same time the planning and military centralisation to confront the atomic war which capitalism is preparing.

J. POSADAS 26-9-1972

(<sup>1</sup>) Ex leaders of the IV International expelled by the Resolution of the Conference in April 1962.

(<sup>2</sup>) Referring to the student Palach.

## World Trotskyist Press

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Arce, Casilla 644 Oruro. (Bolivia).

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Juan Urrutia Munos, Coquimbo 291. Talcahuano (Chile).

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

**ECUADOR:** *Lucha Comunista*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Fernando Salas, 3726 Quito.

**GREECE:** *Kommunistikipali*, Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**GERMANY:** *Arbeiter Stimme*, organ of the German militants of the IV International. Ricarda Kruck, 6 Frankfurt/Main, Heiderheimer Landstr. 181.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Rooma Ostiense.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist).

**MIDDLE EAST:** Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine. (Write to the Belgian, French or Italian addresses).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Montevideo. Luis Naguil, Casilla de Correo 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:**

*Cuarta Internacional*, Organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, Organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International, Luis Naguil, Casilla 1204, Montevideo (Uruguay).

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, organ of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Clandestine.

*Revista Marxista Latino-Americana*, reproduced by the P.O.R.(T), Mexican Section of the IV International.

*Marxist Review in Arabic*, organ of the Arab Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. (Obtainable from the address of the British Section).

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (TU) 86d, Lillie Rd., London, S.W.6. Tel.: 01-385 8637

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 171 4th Friday of November 1972 PRICE 3p

PUBLIC MEETING

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN

REVOLUTIONARY STATE

CONWAY HALL

TUESDAY 5th DECEMBER 7.30 p.m.

## U.S.A. ELECTIONS

# DEFEAT FOR THE 2 BOURGEOIS CANDIDATES

*With immense revolutionary joy we are publishing these two texts of comrade Posadas on the American election, which orientate and organise the understanding, and the security of the world communist and workers movement on the elections and the situation of the United States. We publish these two texts together, one of them written the day before the elections, and the other two days afterwards, because they have a historic importance, not only from*

*the point of view of the capacity of Posadas to foresee the course of the elections, but to organise anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist forces which, as these elections have shown, exist within the USA.*

### THE S.P.D. VICTORY IN GERMANY

## A stimulus for the whole European Workers Movement

The resounding victory of Willy Brandt and the Social Democrats in the German elections, is a blow against all the European bourgeoisie. The centre of Brandt's policy has been the Ostpolitik—the treaties with the USSR, Poland and the German Democratic Republic—and it is this policy, which the German workers and poor petit bourgeoisie have supported massively. It was a victory already prepared by the strikes and demonstrations of the engineering workers and other sectors, against the attempts of the right wing inside and out of the government coalition, to defeat the Ostpolitik. Now the strikes have stimulated all the masses to intervene in the elections and, with the highest poll since the war, Brandt wins the vote of the youth, the trade unions, the students and large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. It is an expression of the influence, which the Workers State, and particularly the German Democratic Republic, its economic, social and cultural development have exerted through the German proletariat on the Federal Republic. Germany was the corner-stone of the counter revolutionary imperialist strategy in Europe, and now all this strategy is crumbling. This is going to have important consequences and repercussions in NATO, in the EEC, as well as stimulating all the European workers movement.

It is necessary to draw conclusions from this victory for the crisis of the Labour Party here. The German working class has had a different attitude to the S.P.D., than the workers did here to Wilson in the last election. Here a large sector of the vanguard abstained, there they voted massively. Why? There was this different attitude, because in Britain Wilson tried to apply purely and simply a capitalist, imperialist policy, while in Germany, even if Brandt made no important measures in relation to nationalisations, the masses could see that the centre of his policy—the Ostpolitik—was damaging to the world capitalist system, because it affected its internal cohesion and security. For this reason, showing the very high level of maturity, expressing the marxist tradition of the German working class movement, the German workers voted for Brandt. Moreover, they could see that the right wing of the SPD, of Schiller, who wanted an economic policy, who's central objective was to sustain the dollar, being weakened and expelled. Thus it felt that the SPD was becoming more responsive to its worker base.

In the same way the left in the LP can have a greater audacity in its struggle against the right wing. The experience of Germany shows that the expulsion of the right wing of the leadership does not cause problems, or damage to the party, but on the contrary strengthens it, and allows it to attract sectors which previously it wasn't capable of attracting. This is the conclusion to be drawn in relation to Jenkins and the pro-marketeters. The right feels weak in the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

### J. POSADAS

## The elections in the USA, the class struggle and the world course of the Socialist Revolution

6-11-72

We have already given a precise orientation on the elections in the United States: the two lose. Vietnam is voting in the United States. There is already a connection between the United States and the masses of the world.

The objective of Yankee imperialism in these elections is to maintain, achieve, or develop the authority to launch the war afterwards. And if they cannot do it immediately, they intend to prepare an offensive that will reach a policy of blackmail of the Workers States, basing themselves on commerce and negotiations with China. To do this it needs the support of the American masses, showing itself capable of deciding, with all the flexibility, the mastery and the economic, political and military means to be capable to negotiate with the Workers States. It has done part of this by going to China and Moscow. This weighs a great deal on the north-American electorate, on the upper strata of the petit bourgeoisie. Because it gives them the sensation, because of their individualist conception of private property—that is the extreme of individualism—that this government is going to prevent the atomic war. This is the objective of the trips of Nixon: To show that he is preoccupied with stopping the atomic war. This is their essential argument.

It seeks to appear in front of the petit bourgeoisie and capitalism in general, as capable of having means, to contain, conciliate and maintain an agreement with the Workers States in order to stop the atomic war, or to stretch it out as long as it is convenient for them. Nixon's policy is directed towards this. None of Nixon's activity was about democratic rights, wages or conditions of

life. The whole of Nixon's campaign was exclusively about world problems, and this was directed towards the top layers of the petit bourgeoisie.

Such has been the campaign of both, the one of McGovern a bit better. Neither one nor the other sought to attract and to impel mass currents of the American masses. Neither of the two: they both lost.

*There is no comprehension of this election in the leadership of the world communist movement. The first reaction of "Humanite" (the paper of the French Communist Party), for example, was to say that the vote for Nixon was a "a vote for peace". And the opposite is true, as this analysis shows: it is the vote of the bourgeoisie and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie from both Republican and Democratic parties, concentrated in Nixon as the most secure candidate, the one more immune to mass pressures, the one more linked to the CIA, ready to prepare and launch the war. But 45% of the electorate, the trade unionists, the youth, the blacks, those who have participated in the great mobilisations for Vietnam, have not voted, were against both candidates and for this reason as Posadas has said "the two candidates lose". It is a massive defeat for imperialism.*

*Starting from the conditions, which exist in the USA, as expressed in these elections, Posadas orientates and organises the forces within the USA to accomplish the necessary task, which confronts the American working class movement; the formation of the workers party based on the T.U.'s. The elections show that there is a mass current for this in the US as did also the great reception, which the C.P. found in its election campaign. Still the votes gained by the C.P. are not fully known, and perhaps Imperialism will never fully disclose them, but its national presentation, its political advance, for which the IV International gave it critical support in the elections, make it the necessary political base, on which the workers party, based on the trade union can be organised.*

*We appeal to the Labour Party and the Communist Party, to the trade unions, and to the student organisations to discuss these texts to distribute them, and make discussions based on them in the factories, and in the places of work and study. Such a discussion will also impel the development of the left wing, already stimulated by the victory of the S.P.D. in Germany, to advance much more in the Labour Party.*

From this, their defeat comes. To achieve their objectives they should have made mass movements. They didn't do it, they lost. They entered the elections, and they come out of the elections without any current of public opinion, favourable to the government among the masses, or the lower sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, favourable to the government, to the policy of the government, or favourable to imperialism. Whereas the masses of the world are in communication with the North American masses, as was expressed in the release of Angela Davis. The release of Angela Davis was the result of a world campaign. And also that this world campaign weighed on the Nixon apparatus, and obliged it to set her free. This is relatively important. Because the judicial apparatus maintains a certain independence and was subjected to world pressure. There is no doubt that the jury nominated to judge Angela Davis was not an impartial jury, nor one elected by chance. They elected a jury, which they knew which way it was going to vote. But they had to elect a jury which was going to determine this. Earlier they would have elected an-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

# The market economy, the Workers State and the construction of Socialism

## INTRODUCTION

J. POSADAS 20-9-72

The revolutionary vanguard in this country, in the Labour and Communist Parties and the trade unions, and the revolutionary masses of Northern Ireland, depend for their security and indomitable will to struggle, on the world process of advance of the World Socialist Revolution. To gain the theoretical comprehension of the world process, and how this expresses itself in particular places, means to gain the essential ele-

ments of the marxist instrument, necessary for the construction of the revolutionary leadership in this country, and completely irreplaceable for the construction of socialism. For this reason we appeal for the study and discussion of this article of J. Posadas, a document that is not only simply expressed and yet a very profound and precise economic analysis of the contradictory and transitory regime of the Workers State, but also

a very fine expression of the marxist conception of the epoch in which we live, the epoch in which the struggle of humanity reaches such an elevated degree that a partial process of regeneration is imposed in the Workers States, and the Communist Parties thus facilitating the further deepening of the political revolution, that whole nationalist and military teams of bourgeois origins are gained to the socialist revolution, that all

humanity is unified in "intelligence and reason" and the sentiment of power. Such a comprehension is not only necessary in order to face the world problems of communism, but also in order to be aware of, and to base oneself upon all the forces intervening in this country—in Ireland in particular—and in the construction of the new leadership in the Labour Party.

28. 10. 72

*The economy was not invented by capitalism. The capitalist economy is a system of production, based on the private property of the means of production. Private property has always existed since the epoch of the Egyptians, since what we take as the beginning of written history, up to today. The difference between one regime and another is in the system of production. One is based on the slave system of production, another is the feudal, and another is the capitalist system. And in the Workers State it is the Workers State system of production. It is a combination of nationalised property forms and capitalist distribution "according to capacity". Consequently the actual forms of production are a result of the previous accumulation, the previous structure of the capitalist regime of which it is the continuation and development. The unity between the different regions of private property is that production has been determined by the interests of accumulation, the interests of property. This is how the human mind has developed, and this is how the development of production has impelled the human conception of property. But not all human activity has always been determined by property. Even in the most distant epochs there have been thinkers, or philosophers or politicians against private property. In this sense it is very important to read and study Engels' book "The origin of the family, private property, and the state". It goes from the first human groupings to today. Engels shows how private property arose from the disharmony between the advance of human needs and the small progress of production. Because at that time, millions of years ago, human reproduction was much bigger, faster, more dynamic than economic reproduction. Humanity was reproducing more rapidly than the economy. Then there was the beginning of the creation of needs that created the bases of property, of egoism and conservatism. The human mind is a result of its relationship with the economy and nature. It is expressed in a social way, as social groupings.*

Neither property nor the market were invented by capitalism. It is simply the form in which private property has developed. The market is a necessity for commerce, when production is for accumulation. Capitalism did not make this, there was already the market by the time of the Egyptians. In the development of society each new regime continues to incorporate the progresses made previously, and responding to the needs and expansion of humanity and society, as expressed through the market.

The market leads to blind, not planned, results. It is a means of testing, in which the capitalist sends his goods, and the market determines whether or not they will be bought. It is ultimately the market that fixes the selling price. Although the capitalist sets the price at the cost of production plus his profit, when he launches it on the market it is the overall competition that determines whether or not it is bought. This makes the price oscillate, up or down. But competition is not simply the fact that there are different goods competing to be bought, but also the lack of money. The capitalist greedily seeks money, getting people to buy from him, not the others. This is a form of competition that becomes increasingly important.

In socialism there is no need for the market, because the market is the result of the forms of materialisation of the production, and profit of the seller. In socialism there is not this, because production is not for accumulation or profit, it is to provide what is necessary. This is planned.

The market is a creation of private property, which expresses itself in the development of private economy through what they call trade. The market is the mode of functioning lying between the seller and the one that is going to buy. It is not a question of a particular place, it is not just the place where goods are taken to be sold. The market is the whole relationship between the one that sells and the one that buys. This is the market. And society's capacity of absorption, of buying is in this market. Even the humblest things have a relation to it—although not an important effect on it—because it is determined by the capacity to buy and the inclination of the buyer, where he goes to buy, determines the prices. In socialism there will be no

need, because nobody will produce to accumulate, production is centralised and planned, and it is not done to accumulate. There are no capitalists, society plans so why have a market? There is no need. The market does not arise, because it is installed by force, it is not the result of force, it is the necessary result of the forms of production of private property. Since in socialism there is no such necessity, the market does not exist.

On the other hand, in the Workers State there is a market, and this is why it is a Workers State and not socialism. It means a stage of transition between the capitalist state and socialism. The Workers State is a stage, which combines two essential factors at the same time;—the nationalised, anti-capitalist form of property, and the form of distribution, according to the market, the capitalist form of distribution. The relation between the human being and production is the wage—the capitalist form. The conclusion, orientation and political finality is the anti-capitalist revolution. We do not invent this, this is so, these are the contradictions of the Workers State. This is why the Workers State is a contradictory state, it is contradictory, but the essential base of the contradiction is the progress of the revolution. This is why there is no need for the market in the Workers State, nor the economic structure and functioning the market requires. The market arises through the necessity of relating property, production and accumulation. There is accumulation in the Workers State too, but it is not private accumulation, but accumulation in the state for broader reproduction.

Market relations still exist in the Workers State, because it is a transitory stage in which it is not possible to pass directly to socialism. The slowness is because of the bureaucracy, which prevents the advance to socialism. Socialism should already be in existence. Already! For example Germany, England, France grouped under the Soviet Union, and producing collectively. In socialism there will be no need for the market, it will not arise, because the structure of the economy, the form of property, and the form of communication between production and distribution, do not require the market. It is simply according to needs; if a pair of shoes are needed—a pair of shoes are made.

Engels says that it is going to be a question of accountability, to know what is used and the quantity that has to be produced, nothing more than this. You just go and get a pair of shoes and put them on.

Nothing is lacking in order to pass from the whole previous cycle, in its mind humanity has already acquired the need for socialism. Any country that develops its economy adopts forms of the Workers State, any country! And there is one very notable fact with regard to the peasantry. One of the fundamental problems, which had to be faced in Lenin's epoch was the individual vision of the peasant. This is no longer so, the peasant now has a tendency for co-operation, for collectivisation, for centralised and co-operative production. He is already influenced by the progress of the Workers States and socialism. Because the peasant is no longer isolated in his workplace, he is isolated, because he has a pile of earth, preventing him from having contact, but he has a radio, he has communication, he has news, everyday he sees the progress of the masses of the world. And he goes on being educated, and won. It is not necessary to measure the peasantry by the French or German peasant, it is necessary to see the peasant in the backward countries, which, essentially, are the ones that decide. These are the immense masses, millions and millions of peasants that are decisive in the step from the capitalist state to the Workers State. And the peasants of latin America, of Africa and Asia—even the most backward—immediately adopt forms of co-operative production and socialist co-operatives. Even the Indian masses of Peru and Bolivia, who are still influenced by tribal traditions, the traditions of the old Inca empire, today adopt co-operative forms, and they do not demand the Quechua as the basic language, not even in Bolivia (Quechua is the Indians language, but they all speak Spanish as well), and they demand colleges for their sons to learn Spanish, and science, and technology, and they pay for them. The Indians do not ask for the history of the Incas, it is marxism they want in order to continue the history of humanity.

The market economy developed the

sentiment of property. And joined with it the qualities it creates; conservatism, dispute, egoism, aggression. These are consequences of the mind that private property creates. The peasant has been educated with all these notions. His distance from the decisive centres of production had an influence, and in certain sectors and certain countries it was decisive, but it is not the only historic cause. The origin is in private property. The dispute, the habit of dispute, of egoism, of vanity, of conservatism, of fear, are a result of the struggle for oneself, for private property. Eliminate private property, and the education of humanity is different, it is superior.

Private property is still not eliminated in the world, there is still not socialism. But the existence of 14 Workers States, of the Soviet Workers State, which has lasted 54 years, endured the imperialist invasion, endured and defeated German fascism, irradiated its influence through the rest of the world making new Workers States, all this shows how even without the Workers State being in a legitimate form, but still degenerated, and in the process of partial regeneration, without socialism, it already irradiates the bases of collective education, confidence and relations of humanity. Still without the triumph of socialism. And this is the conduct of the peasants of the world. Vietnam confirms it! Vietnam signs the text written by the Workers States, showing the peasants of the world; This is the future!

Algeria is another example. Algeria is one of the most backward countries in the world, but also one of the most advanced. It passed through a stage of struggle, which at the same time, as being a social struggle against French imperialism was an education in the collective sentiment. They stepped from barbarity to co-operative production. There are some precedents in Algeria—as in every backward economy of these countries—of co-operative forms of production that are now associated with the Revolutionary State, close to the Workers State. The peasant is gained by the influence of the development of the revolution, not by the sentiment of private property.

J. POSADAS 20-9-72

VIVA THE WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF

"LUCHA OBRERA"

THE ORGAN OF THE P.O.R.(T) CHILEAN SECTION OF THE

IV INTERNATIONAL!

## The election in the U.S.A....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

student, intellectual and worker masses against the Vietnam war. It is necessary to maintain this.

It is necessary to make appeals showing that imperialism is preparing for the war in order to pass from this stage of the electoral campaign to a general stage for mobilisations of the masses against the war that Yankee imperialism is preparing for a program of nationalisations, of elimination of atomic weapons, and for the transformation of the war industry to produce what is necessary for consumption. With respect to the

democratic rights of the masses: Extend them! Mobilisations to oppose Yankee imperialism, launching the war: To struggle for the Socialist United States of North America. Launch the slogan: Socialist United States of North America! Make a campaign now! This is going to have an immense influence on the American masses, it is going to have an enormous effect in the United States, and it will prepare the conditions for Revolutionary defeatism in the atomic war that imperialism is preparing.

J. POSADAS  
6th November 1972

# The revolutionary process in Europe and the alternative of the Revolutionary State for the construction of the Workers State

J. POSADAS 29-9-72

*The text, which we are publishing below, is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the revolutionary process in Europe, and above all Italy, France and Britain.*

*The crisis of capitalism, the policy of the Italian and French Communist Parties, and the British L.P., give the possibilities, if they go to the government of the creation of revolutionary states. In this eventuality Comrade Posadas develops the line of intervention for the political and Trade Union organisations. We appeal to all the tendencies of the workers movement to discuss this text, and to intervene in relation to the Labour Party in the perspective of such a revolutionary state.*

*The Revolutionary State is a result, a consequence of an objective process. It is not determined by any leadership, it is an objective process, in which a series of factors are joined together independently of the leaderships. An economic structure is created, which attracts a part of society. It establishes a degree, a means of the development of economic, social and political relations, which escape the control of the capitalist system, and which through its own structure, impels and obliges the process to go further forward. The leaderships do not correspond to the necessity of the conscious progress towards the Workers State, and from the Workers State to socialism. It is an intermediary state between a capitalist state and a Workers State.*

In another stage of history, such a process corresponded to Bonapartism. But even the most elevated Bonapartist processes never attained the same structure as the revolutionary State. For example the government of Cardenas was a Bonapartist government. Kerensky also wanted to constitute a type of power which opposed, or sought to oppose Tsarism. But the solution did not consist in eliminating the Tsar, but in finishing the war and making peace. It could only be done by taking power. It is no longer possible to have Bonapartist processes of the Kerensky type now.

The process of the formation of Revolutionary States has above all taken place in the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in which the eruption of the revolutionary process is produced through layers, sectors and organs, which have emerged from the bourgeois camp, and not organs which have emerged from the workers camp. The best examples of it are in Peru, Bolivia and Mexico.

In a situation as in Chile, where big communist and socialist parties exist, this process has impelled a structure of the economy, which already escapes capitalists control. But it is not a Bonapartist government, because it does not doubt where it wants to go, it has a firm resolved resolution of where it wants to go. It is a political leadership, which aspires, which consciously seeks to go to the Workers State. But its policy and its activity do not lead them to the necessary changes, to the necessary transformations to pass from the capitalist state to the Workers State. The Chileans nationalise a series of important branch-

es of the economy, but the juridical structure of the country continues to be bourgeois.

Every revolutionary state is defined independently of its leadership. It is defined by the structure, the economic and social relations attained, and the relations between these and the juridical structure, independently of who leads. Chile has nationalised a quantity of important enterprises; but not the land. Even in nationalising it, if it does not overthrow and destroy the existing juridical structures, it will continue to be a Revolutionary State. On the other hand, if the Revolutionary State, be it Chile or any other, destroys the bourgeois juridical structure, if its leadership is revolutionary it can become a Workers State immediately. This is what Lenin did.

Such a transformation depends on the leadership and on its programme, independently of the delay in applying it. Even though, after a certain time, this delay does count. What is most decisive is the world process, with which any leadership of the Revolutionary State must count. Panama is an example of it. In itself it is a very little country without industrial production, and nevertheless it puts up with and confronts the Yanks. Panama has gone through a great development. The product of the circulation of currency, and of financial investments which imperialism has made using what they call the "free zone" is not re-invested in Panama. Perhaps capitalism had the intention of establishing some industries there, but Panama has not gone through any industrial development, and the agricultural development is very weak.

## THE WORLD CONDITIONS DETERMINE THE LOCAL CONDITIONS

Panama doesn't have anything, nevertheless it resists Yankee imperialism. On what does it base itself? On the fact that imperialism needs the canal, on the intervention of the Soviet Union, the existence of Cuba, and the revolutionary process in Latin America, which subdues imperialism. And every revolutionary State must count on these factors. They are the world conditions, which permit locally any type of revolutionary action, even if they don't determine it. Without programme, without party, without audacity it is not possible to profit from the world conditions. They are what determine the local conditions. The existence of a party, which sees this, which analyses it and knows how to profit from it, brings together the understanding of the world process, which limits and diminishes the capacity of action of imperialism and capitalism and increases consequently the action of the masses. The party limits the decision of the bourgeoisie, prevents it from realising an internal cohesion, and allows a small group to triumph. This is what Lenin did.

Peru has nationalised the principal sources of production, and already a part of the juridical structure is no longer bourgeois. But the juridical conception of the relation between the economy and society, continues to be bourgeois. In Peru as also in Chile, but more in Chile than Peru. In Chile the juridical structure of the capitalist system is intact, justice, law, parliament, judges, army, police, are intact. In Peru there are important advances. They have taken from the bourgeoisie, the land property, and the government has already taken measures, which eliminate the juridical legality of property. In a certain sense, Peru is more advanced than Chile. But

overall, Chile is much more advanced because there is a conscious power there, which can advance a lot more, and which is going to do it, because the masses are intervening as an essential factor.

We call this process a Revolutionary State, because it is a question of neither a capitalist State, nor a Workers State. But the structure which it has, has a dynamism, which leads to either the Revolutionary State being crushed, or to this dynamism winning, and forcing the Revolutionary State to advance, because already the structure determines the economic links, and establishes in the mentality of people, of the petit-bourgeoisie above all, and of the peasantry, a super-

ior social conception.

This process is not only possible in Chile, in Latin America, in Africa and Asia. It can be developed also in the great capitalist countries as Italy, where the example of Chile can be repeated. There is a similarity between Chile and Italy.

Chile is a relatively backward country, but one of the essential bases of this backwardness is the fact that the Communist Party of Chile is a backward 'colonial' party. It is not a party, which responds to the necessities of the dynamic of the revolutionary programme and objective. It only responds to it very distantly. It is enough to see what the masses want, what they are disposed to do, and what the communist are doing! They are behind the masses, very far behind! There can take place, in Italy as in France a process in which the Communist Party goes to the government and nationalises, but leaves the bourgeois institutions intact. This would mean some

economic institutions nationalised, with a bourgeois juridical power. What is this? A Revolutionary State!

The Revolutionary States is a process which can happen in France, Italy and England; and then we have to see what slogans to employ. What is the technique of the tactic. What slogans to pose? Even if it is only for one week. They are the problems which are posed in this stage, of the existence of 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States, and there isn't a revolutionary leadership. Then all these problems are created, because the impulse of the revolution is immense, the leadership is opposed, and therefore it is necessary to intervene with a slogan, which permits the grouping together of the forces of the moment in order to progress. It is not the slogan of a short stage, or to gain the leadership, but slogans which move the parties, and in the march of the process a new leadership is established.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## TEXT OF AN APPEAL PUBLISHED IN LUCHA OBRERA, THE ORGAN OF THE P.O.R.(T) THE CHILEAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

### CHILE

#### "ALL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY TO THE WORKERS OF 'EL SUR'"

*Introductory note by the editorial board of Red Flag.*

*This take over of the reactionary newspaper 'El Sur' by its workers, is an important experience to be discussed in the British Workers movement. It is relevant to the discussion, which has recently been raised by Wedgwood Benn and others about the attitude of the British capitalist press to the Labour Party, and to the workers struggles. Benn attacked the press, and made a veiled appeal to the print workers (which he afterwards tended to retract) to intervene as members of the working class to control the content of the reports, and analyses about the workers movement. In the event of another Labour government which attacks capitalism, this form of control is going to be doubly necessary. The actions of the Chilean masses are providing a whole wealth of experiences on how the class must act in a revolutionary State, and this action of the print workers of 'EL SUR' is one of the most beautiful, most conscious, and most mature actions of all.*

The workers of the daily paper 'EL SUR' (the South) of Concepcion have maintained a strike with an occupation for 20 days now, publishing under the auspices and leadership of the printing trade union, the daily paper 'Surazo' (Southenor), made up in the same workshops. This movement has a very great importance, and has a very great anti-capitalist content, because it is made in the middle of the reactionary stoppages, organised by 'El Sur' at the service of the counter-revolutionary objectives of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. The workers of the enterprise demanded of the bosses of this print shop that they stop the seditious campaign of the paper against the government and the workers and popular movement, and that it should publish the insertions of the trade union, which it refused to publish. In response to this the workers stopped, took over the paper, and commenced to publish 'Surazo' under their own direction, and at the service of all the Trade Unions, and left parties of the zone.

Our party salutes this movement, which is one of the most advanced, and which shows a progress in the struggle for power for the masses, in the struggle to construct the organisms of proletarian power, and to place all the means of communication at the service of the masses, as is expressed in this elevated decision of the workers of the paper 'El Sur'. We appeal for the realisation of a national campaign in support of the brothers of 'EL SUR', and we criticise the leadership of the CUT, which has not brought out one declaration in their support, and which has fallen down on its obligation to call, and organise solidarity and support to this movement. We appeal for the bringing out of declarations of support in every centre of work, teaching and journalism. The regional Committee of our party in Concepcion took a note of solidarity and support to the brothers of 'EL SUR', and they in their journal 'Surazo' published a resolution of the regional committee of the POR(T) of Concepcion with our position in front of the reactionary stoppages of the right, and at the same time calling to the government to requisition this daily, and make it the property of the regional CUT, for the use of all the TUs of the zone.

*Lucha Obrera No. 93 9th of Nov. 72*

# The alternative of the Revolutionary State....

TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY STATE IN FRANCE AND ITALY

FROM PAGE 3

In the case of the government of the "Democratic Turn" in Italy, as the Communists propose, or even in the case of government of the left in Italy, and of the Popular Union in France, what condition is established? What does the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in France propose. The taking over by the State of private enterprises. It is a progress in relation to a capitalist state, but it is not a Workers State. Juridically the structure of the capitalist system is maintained, but not economically, because this measure breaks the hegemony of the capitalist system, and effects it profoundly, even if capitalist enterprises are continued to be created. But it effects it in a way such that in a short stage the economic structure, which emerges from these nationalisations is going to demand; either the nationalisation of other industries of production, or the measure is going to go backwards. Given that the juridical structure is capitalist, what to call this? It is necessary to define it, to determine what the stages are.

This is the reason for our slogans, and because of this comes the technique of the tactic, which is not solely what tactic we make for a period. No. No. They are slogans which are given for a particular stage, which didn't exist before. But even still being particular, now it is going more and more to be the norm.

Imperialism can make the war, but this doesn't modify this situation, this structure reached, does not alter it, but the war can permit a dynamic acceleration, of a process, as the war accelerated the revolution in Russia. What it is necessary to consider, is the structure which is reached, or which can be established, be it economic or political. In France the structure, which will be reached with the Popular Union and the application of its programme, would mean a very great blow to the capitalist system. But it would not be the destruction of the capitalist system, because, juridically it continues with all the bourgeois structure in place. It is this structure which has to be destroyed.

The essential condition to pass from a capitalist state, or a Revolutionary State to a Workers State is the demolition, breaking up of the juridical structure of the capitalist system. What orders the thinking, the judgement and the orientation are the measures, which are determined by the anti-capitalist conception. While the present structure remains capitalist, the way of thinking, of deciding, of determining with respect to property, and the social and economic relations, are capitalist. The Popular Union can triumph, imperialism can intervene, make war, and even invade France, but this doesn't alter the conditions which exist. It facilitates or obstructs the action, but doesn't alter it. And what is of interest is to see what revolutionary situation is established, and the limitation of this revolutionary action.

If the Popular Union in France triumphs, imperialism is going to try to intervene with NATO, but the Soviet Union is also going to intervene. Moreover, the Soviet Union cannot allow that Imperialism progresses getting military bases, or making pressures, or political progress in Europe; for it would affect all its structure directly. It is because of this, it makes the present policy of "European Security". It is bureaucratic, but it tends to contain the dominion and intervention of Imperialism in Europe.

The importance of giving this definition of Revolutionary State is because it determines our tasks. If it was solely a juridical, or political, or theoretical appreciation, it would have little importance, because the practical consequences for our activity, and the tactic would be very small. But instead they are decisive. In Chile, as in Italy. In the Italian Communist Party they propose the government of the "Democratic Turn" it is an invention; and a bad invention, which hides, masks the progress of the revolution.

We propose a government of the left with a programme, which expropriates and plans. This programme is directed at gaining the petit bourgeoisie, organised behind the Christian Democracy, which is a great number, they are workers, peasants, clerks, part of the army, part of the functionaries of the nationalised industry, who represent a quite a great proportion. To gain these sectors, so that once incorporated in the camp of the revolution, they go on ascending in historical understanding and decision, is why we propose government of the left. If the Communist Party was disposed to carry forward a revolutionary policy, we would propose directly the struggle for power. But the Communist Party doesn't want it, it is opposed to this conclusion.

Thus it is necessary to decide today! It is necessary to decide immediately, not tomorrow! If we do not decide now, stages pass, therefore it is necessary to agitate slogans, which allow the putting into mobilisation of the forces of society and which advance. In the advance it is necessary to influence the left of the Christian Democracy. Because of this we propose government of the left. On the other hand "The Democratic Turn", as they propose it is a limitation, which doesn't gain the petit bourgeoisie, but on the contrary maintains it in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

This situation of the "Government of

the Left" could be produced in Italy. In such a situation it would not be a Workers State, nor a capitalist state, even if juridically it would still be. In France, if the Communists and Socialists won with the Popular Union with the programme which it has and nationalising the fundamental sources of production, but without transforming the structure of the state, which would juridically continue being a Capitalist State (not because it still has great capitalist enterprises, but because all the juridical institutions, and the structure of the state continues being capitalist); what do we call this phenomenon? It is not bonapartism!

## THE PRESENT STAGE IS THE RESULT OF THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE C.P.

It is necessary to qualify a stage. This permits us to agitate slogans, establish the programme, the objectives, which permit passing from a concrete situation to the Workers State. And the slogans, which emerge from the definition of the Revolutionary State, is to impel these, who direct the apparatus of the state. But not without separating this from the agitation and mobilisation of the masses. It is a question of agitating the programme, developing an activity, which combines the pressures, the agitation, and propaganda, addressed to the leadership, which is in power, and which is Communist, Socialist, petit bourgeois, accompanying it with the mobilisation of the masses. Not being against this government to overthrow it, but to impel this government, and to pass in a determined moment over it. But not treating it as an enemy, but organising a new leadership.

If it was a capitalist government, we would not do this, we would throw it out. But we do not propose to overthrow either the government of Velasco Alvarado, nor that of Allende, but we do not submit ourselves to the limitations of their policy and their objectives.

It is this process, which is developing in a regular way in nearly all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is a stage, which it will not be possible to avoid, because it is a consequence of the weakness and the colonial backwardness of the C.P.'s of these countries. They are the cause of it. If they had developed a revolutionary policy, the masses would have incorporated themselves into the revolutionary policy. This would not have suppressed the stage of the nationalist petit bourgeoisie government, but this would be short, very short.

On the other hand, as the C.P.'s haven't developed, and haven't functioned as mass parties, as their policy went against the revolutionary policy, as they were nil in so far as capacity to interpret it, they haven't understood the mass movement as it developed through petit bourgeoisie and bourgeois nationalist movements, some of them of the left, like Peron, in his first stage, or as Velasco Alvarado, Torres and before them Cardenas. The Communist Parties did not understand that it was a question of all the economic, political, theoretical and practical structures to organise the movement capable of solving all the problems of the backwardness of these countries, by mobilising the worker and peasant masses, by resolving the bourgeoisie democratic tasks at the same time by means of the proletarian revolution.

It is for this reason that there is now such a stage. It was not absolutely indispensable. It is the result of the slowness of the Communist Parties. This aspect, this developing of the revolution in Latin America, in Africa and Asia, weighed and exerts an immense influence on the local Communist Parties, in each country, and in general inside the Workers States. This develops conditions, internal crises, which shake the cadres, the militants, the leaders, and arouse in them the logical concern to understand; why has such a process of the Revolutionary States taken place? What they don't understand is the structure! It is the world structure, which makes it so that world capitalism could not and will not be able to prevent such a process. It is the world structure attained by the revolution which makes it that Imperialism can no longer prevent it. The Communist Parties do not understand this.

The leaderships of the Workers States are, on the other hand, forced to understand, principally the Workers States of the USSR and Cuba. Without having completely understood and assimilated this process, the leadership of the Cuban revolution has developed a policy, which was at the beginning the one of the Communists, and then it changed and adopted the policy of the permanent revolution. It did this by the combination of economic, social, and political factors of the

crisis of the capitalist system, and the needs of the policy of the Soviet Union. Cuba passed from a semi-colonial state to a Workers State without any stable stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution. On the contrary. This bourgeois democratic revolution, which Fidel Castro wanted to realise with Urrutia and Grau Sanmartin failed. There was a struggle which developed between them. This brief struggle against Grau San Martin and Urrutia corresponded to the bourgeois democratic revolution. All in just this brief period! Fidel Castro didn't understand this. If he had done this, he would have said "It is true, we made the bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the course of the period of the struggle against Urrutia." The length of time doesn't count.

In Russia the bourgeois democratic revolution lasted 7 months; in Cuba less than one year, much less. On the following day the struggle to take power commenced. The process of bourgeois democratic revolution gave a point of support to install the Workers State, thanks to the great mobilisation of all the masses. Without this, Fidel Castro would not have triumphed. There has not been the Revolutionary State in Cuba, for the process developed without interruption, starting from the armed struggle to conquer the government. At that same moment, the dispute, the struggle for the Workers State was produced. This is why there wasn't the revolutionary state, not even during a brief period. No sooner had Fidel Castro begun to assume power than he nationalised everything, and passed directly to the Workers State.

These are the vital problems for this stage. It is necessary to pay attention to this, and elevate the comprehension, assimilate theoretically and politically such a process. In effect, such situations are going to be reproduced in other countries but the stages will be much shorter than in Cuba, much shorter.

J. POSADAS 29-9-72



LATEST DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY

THE SECTION ON CHILE.

"THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS, THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILEAN REVOLUTIONARY STATE INTO A WORKERS STATE".

J. POSADAS 10-8-71



### MEETING HELD IN LONDON

#### FOR BRAZILIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

As part of the campaign, which the IV International has organised on a world scale, to secure the lives and freedom of all the political prisoners in Brazil, we, together with other organisations (the Communist Party, Liberation, Young Liberals, the N.U.S., Pax Christi, Brazilian students in this country, and other individuals) working in the Committee against the Dictatorship in Brazil, organised a meeting in the Conway Hall on November 10th. The objective of the meeting was to bring to the notice of all progressive public opinion the situation in Brazil, and show how the organisations of the class here, can help the masses in Brazil.

The speakers included Cdes. Nan Green of the Communist Party, Ernie Roberts of the A.U.E.W., Vincent Flynn of S.O.G.A.T. a worker priest and ex political prisoners from Brazil, Tracey Moe, who has worked for Amnesty International, and John Davis of the IV International.

Some 60 people attended the meeting. Ernie Roberts spoke on the necessity of seeing the struggle in Brazil, and the struggle against the Tories here as one fight. He drew the attention of the audience to the posters decorating the hall, which listed all the trade unions and workers parties throughout the world, who had supported the campaign of the IV International for the release of all the Communist, Trotskyist, Nationalist and left Catholic political prisoners in Brazil, and said that it was necessary for the T.U.C. to add its name to this campaign, and that the international trade union organisations should make declarations.

Comrade John Davis spoke of the world campaign of the IV International, and how in this stage of the world social and economic weakness of imperialism it was possible to exert pressure on regimes such as in Brazil. He spoke of the release of Angela Davis in the USA as an example of how world public opinion can gain the release of militants. And he emphasised how the campaign, being waged on a world scale, for the prisoners in Brazil will stimulate, nationalist militant sectors, trade unionists and students, forces which are in opposition to the military dictatorship.

A collection was taken, and wide sale of literature was made.

We take the opportunity to invite YCL and YS branches Labour Party branches, T.U. branches, Trades Councils, student organisations to contact the committee and to affiliate to it. For details write to Committee against the Dictatorship in Brazil, c/o Liberation, 313 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

# The electoral triumph of Nixon, the enormous abstention & the necessity for the Workers Party based on the trade unions in the U.S.A.

J. POSADAS 9-11-72

*The elections in the United States show the crisis of Yankee imperialism, its failure to attract, or to organise a mass movement. The clear thing about the elections, is the great abstention, the absence of the Youth, of the proletarian zones, and of the Blacks in the voting. The most incorporated part, the part which lives, and which feels the world revolution, the part which transmits and brings to the American people the influences of the world revolution, have been absent from the elections. They did not want to vote. They did not believe either in Nixon or in McGovern.*

*Even if we do not know the votes, which the Communist Party obtained, it is very important if they obtained quite a lot of votes, because it indicates the basis for an organisation of currents, of tendencies, to organise the workers party based on the Trade Unions, on the basis of the Communist Party, for the task of the revolution in America.*

The enormous abstention in these elections in the United States, shows that the masses do not feel attracted by either of the two candidates, because neither of the two, expressed, nor communicated, nor responded to the needs of the masses. Previous to the elections, there had been strikes, mobilisations, and a great activity of the masses, which were not shown afterwards in the elections. The votes to Nixon are a vote of the great bourgeoisie, of the bourgeoisie in general, and the sector of the middle and upper petit bourgeoisie, as much Republican as Democrat. It has not been a vote for two parties, but the election of a single party, the party of Yankee imperialism, to prepare the atomic war. This is the result of the elections. While Nixon got a majority of 20% over McGovern, he lost in the elections to the Senate, the Democratic Party won. Which expresses that there has been a vote which is interested, and concentrated in one objective. A candidate, who was a firm representative of the C.I.A., and who was amenable to this, a candidate who would not receive influences, nor pressures, nor have tendencies, which could escape the control, or the immediate directives of the C.I.A., or who would resist, or have a social base of resistance to the C.I.A.

McGovern, with his programme, tried to canalise one of the aspects of the hatred of the American masses, which is against the war in Vietnam, but he was no more than declamatory. He did not make either a campaign, or a policy, or a mobilisation, so as to attract masses. Moreover, the American masses are interested by Vietnam and also by America. As neither of the two candidates have launched a programme of reform, of progress, of social conquest, the masses have not been interested. McGovern spoke against the war in Vietnam, but he lacked a programme of social interest for the masses. It is the same masses who have mobilised for Vietnam, for Angela Davis, in the great strikes which there have been in the United States. The resistance to vote, shown by a very great quantity, because nearly half of the electorate have not voted, indicates that the masses were disinterested, because they felt that neither one or the other candidates represented the aspirations, the struggles, which they were disposed to carry forward, and their decision which the campaign against the war in Vietnam, for the liberation of A. Davis, for the support of the strikes, and the resistance to Nixon, have shown.

## THE ELECTIONS IN THE USA... FROM PAGE 1

other jury. Because they could have done it, they could have done a thousand manoeuvres, to stretch out, and prolong things, as they did about the assassination of Kennedy. When they do this it is because they want to appear before the petit bourgeoisie, and also the blacks as, though they concede democratic liberties and democratic social rights, to certain sectors, even of public opinion, even communist, in order to gain authority with the petit bourgeoisie.

Throughout Nixon's campaign—also McGovern's, but particularly Nixon's—there wasn't a concentrated attack on communism, as would have seemed likely. To have done so would have clashed with public opinion, which no longer is taken in by anti-communism. Because they have seen and verified that Nixon had to go to China and had to go to Moscow. That is to say that it is pure defeat for Yankee imperialism and pure

The votes for Nixon, are votes for the war, they are not for peace in Vietnam. The votes of Nixon are the votes of the Big Bourgeoisie, who have a candidate prepared, to unleash the war, when they believe it convenient, or when they can do it. In the votes for McGovern, there was a great important quantity of votes for peace in Vietnam, but also of a sector of the bourgeoisie, which sees in an agreement in Vietnam, the possibility of a commercial, economic development, internally, and externally. Because of this, McGovern, had a very superficial programme, which did not interest, could not interest the masses, least of all the Negroe masses, which, like the youth and the majority of the proletariat, was absent.

These votes signify that the bourgeoisie prepares for the war. It is a vote of confidence for the candidate, who is disposed to any type of mobilisation to maintain the Yankee apparatus in condition of competition with the W. S. S. But also, disposed to launch the war. The measures of Nixon, are showing that if he does not go further, be it in the blockade, be it in the bombardment of Vietnam, it is because he encounters the resistance of the masses of Vietnam, of the masses of the world, and of the Workers States, particularly of the Soviet Union. This election shows that imperialism is preparing for the war, not for peace, nor for an agreement. It prepares for the war. It prepares for a candidate who is more malleable to the interests of the C.I.A.

The composition of the Chamber, being against Nixon, creates complications for Yankee imperialism. Which indicates at the same time, that the Democrats having voted for Nixon, afterwards voted for Democrats in the Chamber of Deputies and Representatives. They are negotiating and blackmailing, and the election of Deputies and Senators, is in the direct interest of each constituency, of each local boss, of each group linked to the internal policy. This is the way they blackmail Nixon.

The essential response to this process, which there is in the USA, is: Why has a president been elected, who, it is clear has been elected by Democrats, and yet they have a Chamber of Deputies and Senators, which do not respond to the president? It is the play of local interests, the electoral structure of the United States, which allows this game. It indicates, that they could permit that the constituencies be allowed to vote for Ni-

gain for us.

A very large abstention is to be expected, which is the only way to beat Nixon, or else a victory for McGovern. There are going to be very large abstentions. The masses are going to either abstain or else vote against Nixon. It's a repetition of the previous elections, but more concentrated this time. Nixon can even gain, or obtain certain gains from the petit bourgeoisie, which before voted for the democrats, by the fact of having gone to Moscow and to China. The visit to Moscow and to China was aimed at this public, because it is a public which already sees that things are decided between the Soviet Union, the United States and China. French and German Imperialisms don't enter into the game of the major powers. They are all appendices.

Yankee imperialism was hoping for a publicity stunt, being able to reach

xon, but in the election of candidates for Deputies and Senators, there is a local interest of each group, they have an interest of cliques, because of this, without being in disagreement, they were able to blackmail, and sell themselves in their majority. A proof, that this was a vote for the war, is that in the most reactionary states as Alabama and Mississippi, which voted for Wallace and Goldwater, and where Nixon, in previous elections, obtained less than 20% of the votes, this is where this time, he obtained the highest percentages, receiving up to 70% of the votes.

This signifies that there is not—as the bourgeois dailies want to show—any 'maturity' in the election of the American people. The majority of the American people have not voted. The bulk, the ones who decide, who have the social weight, did not vote. All the bourgeoisie voted, all the rich petit-bourgeois, have voted. Those who have not voted are the workers, the Negroes, the poor petit bourgeoisie, these are the sectors who have not voted. It is necessary to count that with those who have not voted, and with the votes for McGovern which are against the war in Vietnam, there is an immense majority with respect to Nixon.

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Labour Party; for this reason Barbara Castle, the architect of 'In Place of Strife' shifts her position to the left again.

This victory of Brandt is a blow to the Tories, and to all their policy of wage freeze and repression, it is going to increase the pessimism of the British bourgeoisie, reduce their capacity and their insecurity to repress. Without any doubt they plan to extend the wage freeze, but they are not going to be able to impose it, because the balance of forces in the country is not just determined by local conditions but by the world. If the success or failure of Heath's policy depended only on the union leaderships the government would win. Because the TUC has organised nothing against the freeze; talked before the freeze, and now continue in secret (trying to keep their actions from the union rank and file), their discussions with the government and the C.B.I. But this attempt at conciliation, this passivity is not what determines, and does not lead to a disheartening, or a retreat by the masses in their struggle. The class receives all the influences of the world revolution, the German elections, the defeat of US Imperialism in Vietnam, the great strikes in Italy, France and Spain, the struggle of the masses in Ireland, and this has a powerful affect on them, which in part compensates for the absence of a leadership.

The class uses what means it can to express its opposition to the Tory government and the capitalist system. At this moment it uses the pensioners lobby, organised by the TUC, organising in great strength, to show the willingness of the working class to solve this problem, which is not a trade union one, but a social one, produced by the lack of interest, as well as lack of economic capacity of the capitalist class. In the near future it is going to intervene more massively, because all the social climate as shown by the strike of the teachers,

an agreement in Vietnam, and obtain a massive vote, to gain confidence so as to have time to prepare or develop the military apparatus. The reason why it wasn't able to do so, was because the CIA and the military high command could see the risk that this signified. Which shows that there are the conditions for the launching of the war at any moment. This is the conclusion. When the imperialist political apparatus has had to yield to the financial military apparatus of the CIA, it is because there cannot be agreements. But even so, they had to hold the elections, because of the internal dispute between these sectors.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6 COLUMN 1

Of 150,000,000, who are eligible to vote, Nixon drew scarcely 43,000,000 and McGovern 31,000,000. It is enough to compare that Nixon drew these 43,000,000 votes, and that on the Moratorium Day, 40,000,000 demonstrated against the war in Vietnam. That is to say, that Nixon drew scarcely 35% of the electorate, it is a very weak position, which indicates that he cannot expect a social support for the policy of the war. He is going to find the same resistance, and the previous resistance is going to increase.

This behaviour of the North American masses, of political maturity, is at the same time one of indecision and insecurity, because they do not know what to do, they do not have organisms. It is the result of the influence on them of the world revolution. They are the representatives of this pressure, and the world influence of this revolution. They are not in contact with North American organisms, there are none which orientate them politically. And why have they orientated themselves politically with abstention, which was a condemnation of the government and capitalism? Because

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6, COL. 4

of the junior hospital doctors, of white collar and marginal sectors, is ripe for the organisation of a general strike. What still impedes the class from utilising all the force of the world balance of forces, from taking advantage of the lack of initiative of capitalism, is its own lack of organisms, which would allow it to weigh, and decide, to take action independently of the union leaderships.

But this does not mean that the process of construction of new organisms and a new leadership is standing still. There is a process of active reflection, of political discussion and of construction of new types of organisms, such as the Action Committees, which unify the shop stewards committees, tenants committees, the LP, the Communist Party and the left groups. When such committees can now be set up, and organise important activities against the Housing Finance Act, against the opposition of the right, it is an expression of the will of the class to overcome all the bureaucratically imposed divisions between organisations, and to use all the forces, all the ideas in the struggle against the capitalist system.

But it is necessary to take greater profit from this world weakness of capitalism, by the construction of organisms which can discuss, understand, and utilise this weakness in order to organise the offensive against capitalism. It is clear that the wage freeze is going to remain, the unemployment is going to increase, the attacks on the workers movement are going to increase. How to respond to all this? The factories have to intervene more in the life of the class, in the problems of the class, and in the Labour Party. To do this it is necessary to organise in the factories workshop by workshop, making political discussions on the significance of the Brandt elections, on the whole of the world revolution, electing delegates subject to instant recall, making a central factory committee, which decides on all the problems of the factory and of the workers areas. It is necessary to discuss a whole programme, which makes capitalism pay for its own crisis; a programme of all wages, pensions, and students grants to rise with the cost of living, work sharing without loss of pay to combat unemployment, all profit of automation to the workers, a workers plan of production, of houses, transport, to satisfy the needs of the masses in this period of the decay of capitalism. This is the way to impel the programmatic discussion in the Labour Party accelerating the elimination of the right, and helping the left to advance to take power in the party. These must be the conclusions of the success of the German working class, which the British working class vanguard must draw.

# The elections in the USA, the class struggle . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

ors about the time, the form, the level of launching the atomic war. This is the dispute that there is within Yankee imperialism.

The dispute between McGovern and Nixon isn't over who gives more and who less democracy, but it is the dispute between two agents of different sectors of Yankee imperialism. For this reason we haven't been involved in previous texts in saying, who the one and the other represent. Nixon and McGovern don't represent exact sectors, but they both correspond to high finance. Those who have more weight and decide in economy are those sectors of high finance that hold the power in the CIA and have their finger on the control of atomic weapons, and it is them that Nixon represents. The ones of McGovern are sectors that have interests in world commerce, in the development of the economy, in the internal market, and they, also have an interest in the war, but they don't have an urgent interest now. It is because of this that Nixon went to China and to the Soviet Union, he yielded to this with his trips. This shows the indecision of imperialism as well, its vacillation in deciding when to launch the atomic war. Otherwise they wouldn't do this, because it is weakening its internal apparatus.

The same is true for the army in Allende's government. It is pure defeat for them as well. The army in Chile was the coup against the government, and now they have to go to the government for a while. The army is being decomposed from inside. They enter with the objective of controlling, and they end up being controlled. Not because this is the correct policy, but because the others have no other remedy. The one of Allende is a very slow policy, because it means that when the army does this, it is because it is ready to be dominated, influenced, attracted by the masses. There is already the antecedent of the role of a sector of the army in Peru and Bolivia, a sector that can be attracted to stop acting as a direct agent of capitalism, and that can be elevated to be a point of support for progress.

But it is not this policy that can impose this on the army, but rather it must be the action of the masses, their progress, and the progress of the revolution that obliges the army to accept this. The mobilisation of the masses, and the anti-capitalist programme are the necessary conditions, otherwise there is the danger that the military within the government, because of its own structure, could be attracted or influenced into playing an arbitrary role by the capitalist sectors. But the army is likely to be influenced, attracted by the mobilisations of the masses. Besides, the attitude of Prats towards Allende has repercussions within the army, which sees that it can go along with this policy of Allende. It is a manoeuvre, but one done with the mass movement, it is not allowed to do it with the right. It is the lesser evil for them. It is the opposite from in the epoch of Stalin, in that he and the stalinist leaderships yielded, yielded and yielded. Now these present leaderships have to advance with a policy of interpenetration, of agreements, and alliance with a sector of the army.

The North American elections show, in a very decided form, that the world masses intervene in North America, through their support for Vietnam, for the struggle in Vietnam, for the decision of the Vietnamese masses in not allowing themselves to be deceived. All these attempts by imperialism to make negotiations and agreements for a cessation of the war, which doesn't mean peace, soften the apparatus. The policy of imperialism sought to mollify the world masses, to make them lose interest, abandon their support, the massive concentration of support for the Vietnamese masses. On the contrary this increased, it is continuing and it is increasing. The Vietnamese masses continue in their struggle, there isn't any abandoning of the activity or the offensive. There is a larger offensive, and a decomposition of the South Vietnamese apparatus, because already there is this sector of the South Vietnamese general Minh, who proposes himself as a valid interlocutor. Which is to say, he is a type who wants to make an agreement, and is prepared to make an agreement with the Vietnamese. This shows how much their apparatus is decomposing.

The world masses, with the advance of the world struggle, weigh on, and support the masses of Vietnam. The Workers States, the Communist Parties, and the Trade Unions support Vietnam, and this influences the North American

masses. And, through this they are intervening in the American elections. To intervene in the elections doesn't mean to vote. The abstention is the form in which the American masses express, and are going to express massively their rejection of the bourgeois candidates. Not against Nixon or McGovern in particular, but rather against the bourgeois candidatures.

The masses want and are seeking a class policy. For this reason the standing of Communist candidates has a very great importance, because it opens a perspective, it stimulates a centre within the intellectuals and the workers movement that is differentiating from the capitalist system. Now they openly dispute. Previously they supported one or the other bourgeois candidate, or they were abstaining. Now they come out with a workers candidate, and with a programme that is against the atomic war, and with measures that, without being nationalisations, represent a certain progress with respect to the capitalist system, democratic, social or economic progress. There aren't any important measures. For this reason we make an appeal to the Communist Party of the United States to take this programme. But at the same time it opens a perspective for the people, who are in opposition: workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, who seek a means to oppose Yankee imperialism. For the first time a movement that has a certain important basis, presents this perspective. Clearly it is the Communist Party's fault if this has to happen with a delay. It should have been done at least twenty years ago. If the Communists didn't do it, it is because they didn't have a policy. For this reason in the stage of Browder they supported Yankee imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The movement, the Communist Party of the United States and the world Communist movement, including ourselves, has to discuss what we proposed: **Critical support for the United States Communist Party in the elections.** We support them critically, because it is fundamentally their fault, if there isn't a revolutionary current in the United States. The proof of the fact that there was the basis for it, is in the fact that there have been large student movements; in the liberation of Angela Davis, in the fact that 40 millions demonstrated against the Vietnam war. Where are these people? Where is the support for Vietnam? On the other hand there hasn't been any support for Nixon or McGovern. These 40 millions of "Moratorium Day", where are they? This means there is a sector that seeks to demonstrate its opposition to the atomic war in not supporting any of the two candidates. It receives the world influences that make it see these candidates in a pessimistic way.

But it doesn't see the centre. The Communist Party has to understand this. In the United States there were the conditions, the social basis for a mass development! Not just now, these conditions have existed for twenty years.

It wasn't the economic situation in the United States that allowed Yankee imperialism to have an authority with the masses and the Trade Unions. It was the absence of a polarising centre, which historically had a world force, such as the Communist Party, that could have done it supporting itself on the development of the Workers States. This conclusion is now apparent. For this reason the world masses vote in the United States. They are voting! To vote doesn't mean to give the vote, but means expressing oneself socially in an electoral form, either with abstention or by the vote, showing that they want a superior policy to the one of the democratic or republican candidate, a class policy. For this reason the attitude of the Communist Party in standing for these elections has a great importance.

Neither of the two candidates, Nixon or McGovern succeeded in canalizing the masses. Neither of them. It is a defeat for both candidates! As never before in the United States—and in the rest of the world—this electoral campaign is a silent one, done on tip-toes. Touching only on very circumstantial issues, whereas the essential issue was "We are at peace with USSR and China". This is the central subject. Democratic rights, growth in the standard of living of the masses, Trade Union rights, the progress of the masses in the United States, all these are absent from the electoral campaign. McGovern only touched certain aspects. None of them has an interest in promoting mass movements.

All the campaign developed by McGovern—and Nixon as well—shows and expresses an agreement between the two in order not to cause mass currents that

could give rise to anticapitalist movements. This is the agreement they have reached. Without abandoning the electoral dispute, there is an agreement between the two. This agreement is expressed in the Democratic Party voting for Nixon, the big democratic apparatus votes for Nixon. It doesn't vote for the party, it votes for a policy, for the final settlement of accounts. This is the most important significance of these elections in the United States.

It is an expression of the fact that imperialism needs to win this stage in order to have a certain mass support, a certain authority on the petit bourgeoisie, in order to prepare and develop the measures for the atomic war. After these elections they won't be able to have a policy superior to the one of Nixon. They cannot have a better policy, economically, socially or military, so as to respond to the necessities of the masses for higher wages, for better conditions of living, and for the development of democratic rights in the United States. Quite the contrary, this process leads Yankee imperialism to undermine each time more the democratic rights: each time more, more and more.

Imperialism is preparing the atomic war. The agreement with the Chinese and the Soviets, but above all, with the Chinese has the objective of gaining historic time. The Chinese cannot give Yankee imperialism what it wants. And economically China is not a market that could satisfy the great necessity of export which they have, nor of investment of capital or of security for military agreements. The whole thing is completely transitional, and it is exposed to changes in China at any moment. And anyway, even without changes in China the Chinese cannot reach any agreement with the Yankees. They clash, historically and concretely they clash! There cannot be any agreements between China and the United States, other than transitory ones. What therefore is the future of the United States policy? The same as now: to prepare for the atomic war.

For this reason both candidates were defeated. There isn't any mass movement that is going to support Nixon or McGovern. If they will support McGovern—there could be a last minute swing, as at the time of Roosevelt—if the world pressure of the historic process turns the masses to vote for McGovern, this would be against Nixon, but also against McGovern. It is not a movement of support for them, and it is going to be expressed internally. For this reason the policy of both is to maintain calm in the Trade Union field. It is the class interest of both, the preparation for the final settlement of accounts, for the atomic war against the Workers States that determined their policy. But it is a defeat for both, because the North American masses weren't attracted to the policy of trips to China or the USSR. The masses took this as a visit. The top sectors of the petit bourgeoisie received it favourably, because this is in their capitalist interest. The lower sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are repudiating this. Proof of this is the fact that Nixon didn't organised even one mass mobilisation. Not one! And the same with McGovern. Despite the fact that McGovern made mobilisations of thousands and thousands, these are normal mobilisations, not like the ones that opposed the war. There have been mobilisations of students against the war, not of Trade Unions. Despite the fact that there are Trade Unions that support McGovern, there haven't been Trade Union mobilisations. But there has been a student and general movement against the war, and these could impose a turn, and make McGovern win against Nixon. But even if McGovern wins, this won't solve the problem of Yankee imperialism; it needs to prepare for the atomic war. Either they will kill McGovern, or they will liquidate him in any sort of way, or they will create the condition for a dictatorship, for a military coup d'etat.

Imperialism needs to prepare for the atomic war in these elections. It cannot accept any democratic alternative. It is not in condition to accept it, nor it has the interest, on the contrary, it realises that its last hour is coming. For this reason the two have lost. They have not developed, nor can they make mass movements that would support the policy of Yankee imperialism, with this appearance that Nixon made in going to China and Moscow, as if he had been there to settle whether to make or not to make war. The masses have understood and understand the language of the revolution, that has a much greater effect than Yankee imperialism.

It is a deficit of the world Communist Parties, of the US Communist Party and of the Workers State not helping the North American masses in this activity. The Soviet Trade Unions, the Communist and Socialist parties of the world should have intervened in this campaign in the United States, making appeals to the masses to vote against the war, and to support the Communist Party, in order to create a mass movement, a very sizeable beginning, to attract and then gain mass movements, mobilising against the war preparations, and to throw imperialism out of Vietnam. There are the conclusions of this activity.

Whatever the electoral result, it is necessary to make this appeal: **FOR A MASS MOVEMENT; FOR A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS, ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH IS A PARTY THAT HAS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL BASIS!** The fact that the Supreme Court of the United States sabotages them, and that the Communists couldn't stand in fifteen states shows the fear that imperialism has. Otherwise, on the contrary, this would be a basis of agreement with the Soviet Union. When they do this, it is because they fear the pressure that is going to be on the petit bourgeoisie, and for this reason they deny the Communist Party the right to stand in these States.

The importance of the candidature of the Communist Party is that it stimulates and impels class currents to elaborate, to mature as revolutionary currents, to oppose Yankee imperialism as a class. The essential force of the Communist Party is in the struggles of the masses in Vietnam, the world mobilisation against imperialism, the mobilisation of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## THE ELECTORAL TRIUMPH OF NIXON

FROM PAGE 5

there was the world influence of the revolution. The Communist Parties must launch themselves to organise on the base of the American Communist Party, the workers party based on the trade unions. The masses do not have means of placing themselves in contact among themselves, because there are no mass organisms. The trade unions are corporative where the gangster bureaucracy impedes the communication of the masses among themselves. But the world revolution places them in contact, and is elevating the consciousness, the capacity for political action, resolution and action of the masses. It is the third election which sees an increase in the abstention, and which shows the vigour of combat of the masses, and which comes after the struggle, and the mobilisations for the freedom of Angela Davis, and against the war of Indo China. And it is very important, the thousands of young men, who have been to Cuba to work as volunteers in the sugar harvest without pay.

On this basis it is necessary to make an appeal to the Workers States, to the Communist Parties, to the revolutionary, socialist, left catholic movements, to impel a campaign to maintain the pressure and the appeal to the North American masses to constitute themselves into a workers party, based on the trade unions, on the basis of the Communist Party, which is a party, which has a certain weight, certain national organisation to push forward the struggle against the war in Vietnam, to expel imperialism from Vietnam, from all Latin America, and from the world, uniting it to the struggle for socialism in North America, to launch a campaign for the development of the struggles for socialism in North America, for the nationalisation of all the important sources of production, all as was said in the previous text.

It is necessary to appeal to the great workers centres, to the world workers movement, to make this appeal to the North American masses, to show the weakness of Yankee imperialism. The war candidate has come out with hardly 20% support in the whole of the country and 35% of the electorate. That is to say it is a small minority, which indicates that it is necessary to continue the struggle, and it is a very firm and resolved base to continue the struggle to construct the workers party, based on the trade unions, on the base of the Communist Party, and with a programme for the expulsion of imperialism from Vietnam and a socialist programme of nationalisations, and planning of the economy, workers control, and unification with the struggle for a socialist Latin America and the world struggle against the capitalist system.

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 172 2nd Friday of December 1972 PRICE 3p

**CHILE**

A meeting in solidarity with the Chilean Revolutionary State in its struggle against Imperialism and the Chilean bourgeoisie was organised by the RWP(T) at the Conway Hall on 5th December. Two comrades of the party spoke on the present situation in Chile, and the conclusions to be drawn for this country. After the speeches a lively debate took place, and the meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale.

DEMAND IN THE L.P., THE C.P., THE UNIONS, IN FACTORY MEETINGS

# Out with British troops from N. Ireland! Release all political prisoners!

*The events of the last week in Dublin are another expression of the overall world crisis of disintegration of capitalism, the essential class nature of the struggle in Ireland, its unity with the struggle in the rest of the British Isles, and the world revolution. The actions of the Irish bourgeoisie is not simply against the Provisional Sinn Fein/IRA, but against the class and revolutionary struggle of the Irish masses. The arrest, imprisonment and the hunger strike of Sean MacStiofain have provided at this moment a centre for the mobilisations of the Irish masses, and these mobilisations have shown that the masses are not moved simply by sentiments of compassion for MacStiofain, but by a profound, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist sentiment. "As in Vietnam, in Ireland it is going towards a revolutionary process. There is a combativity, forms of protest, and of struggle of all the population; thus already it is united to socialist measures. Not the whole, but there are already all the conditions to unite the struggle to socialist measures".(\*)*

The demonstrations in Dublin have shown not only the anti-capitalist sentiment of the Irish masses, but also the potential for the advance of the class and revolutionary struggle in the 26 counties. In this context, and in the context of the world advance of the revolution in all its forms—expressed in the electoral victory of the German SPD, the gains of the left in the Dutch elections and the electoral victories of the Australian and New Zealand Labour Parties—the actions of Sean MacStiofain are very limited. This is not to deny the degree of personal courage that he has displayed but his appeal is to sentiment, to compassion, when the conditions make it possible, with an anti-capitalist programme and policy, to mobilise the proletariat with all its revolutionary traditions, and other sectors of the masses to a much greater extent. The actions of MacStiofain in embarking on a hunger strike and in not using the court as a political platform are defensive in front of a bourgeoisie, which is extremely weak and riddled with internal crises.

The actions of MacStiofain in these circumstances will, without doubt, impel the internal crisis and advances within the Provisional Sinn Fein itself. The method, which he uses of hunger strike is completely contrary to the decision of the recent conference of the 'provisionals' which resolved to develop a more political programme and policy. By his actions MacStiofain hopes to stimulate that sector within the organisation—and its supporters outside—who want to continue with the previous policy of a purely military intervention. It is an action which seeks to contain the advance of these sectors, which want to develop a political policy and programme. The announcement of the launching of a campaign appealing to the British trade unions, the obviously improved relations with the 'officials' and the talks with the UDA—itsself an attempt to link with the protestant working class—are all expressions of the growing realisations within the 'provisionals' that military action is not enough.

The actions of the Lynch government are a measure of the weakness of the Irish bourgeoisie—and British imperialism since the Irish bourgeoisie is completely submitted to it—and the world crisis of disintegration of capitalism and imperialism. Faced with the advance of the revolution in Ireland, the Lynch gov-

ernment has overthrown completely the basic concept of bourgeois justice by making accusation and the proof of guilt one and the same thing. At the same time the whole executive of the RTE (state radio and television service) is sacked, and the reporter Kevin O'Kelly is imprisoned for contempt of court for not aiding the condemnation of Mac-

Stiofain. There are actions on the part of the Irish government, which have already resulted in strikes of the RTE and the newspapers, and which tend to accelerate the process of the erosion of what little social support they still have. The methods of terrorism and provocation, which British Imperialism has developed in Northern Ireland now makes an appearance in Dublin, in the most blatant way. The bomb explosion in Dublin last Friday cannot be interpreted in any other way. When Lynch was unsure of getting a majority in parliament for his repressive legislation, when even sectors of the bourgeoisie—and the petit bourgeoisie—could not stomach these repressive measures, a bomb explodes outside Liberty Hall. The location is no accident either! Whether this outrage was organised by the Irish secret service, or directly by British imperialism matters little, since anyway they act in unison, and Lynch had already been in London to receive his instructions from Heath.

The development of the crisis in the

26 counties is not an isolated process, and the methods which Lynch is proposing are already being used by British Imperialism in Northern Ireland, and by Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam. Capitalism and Imperialism have neither the political, nor the economic potential to solve the problem of humanity, all they can offer the masses is repression. The policy of Lynch government is an extension of the policy of the Tory government against the working class in this country, and the new legislation which strengthens, to some extent, the repressive measures of the Industrial Relations Act is part of this. As in the 'Angry Brigade' trial and, earlier, the 'Aldershot' trial; the capitalist state apparatus represses sectors, which are not central to the working class. They have already experienced the result of attacking directly sectors of the working class, at the time of the imprisonment of London dockers leaders. Nevertheless since capitalism has no other means to contain the struggle

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The strike in Lebanon, the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions and the revolution in the Middle East

J. POSADAS 15. 11. 72

*The general strike in Lebanon is a revolutionary event. It is the world force of the revolution—including that of Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria—which has weighed in Lebanon. It is the reaction of the masses against this government, which has allowed the Israelies to bomb. Otherwise, they would not do this. This also shows that the Lebanese government has allowed the bombing, as a measure and a justification to prevent all this mobilisation. But it happened nevertheless. This strike in Lebanon is going to change the situation. It is going to be a powerful impulse for the organisation of revolutionary forces, for the unification and stimulation of the intervention of the masses. And also it is going to weigh against Israel.*

The fear of the bourgeoisie comes from this. Not because of the strike in itself, which doesn't have importance. Capitalism gives it importance, because it sees it as an expression, which indicates what the masses of all these countries want. It is not only a strike against the government of Lebanon. It is a strike, against the passivity, the inactivity and the cowardice of the bourgeoisie in front of the attack of the Israelies. The historic sense of this strike is this. It has to be taken in this way

Thus in Algeria, in all the countries of the Middle East, solidarity has to be given to this strike movement, to unite such a mobilisation, with the struggle to smash the Israelies. And now, more than ever before, to call to the Jewish masses, to the masses of Israel to unify themselves. In Israel there is an immense quantity of strikes. Call: "Let us unify, you and us against the bosses! Always maintain very clear, and alive the slogan for the self determination of Israel. Because of this we appeal "unify, to resolve our problems and yours."

This is the significance of this strike in Lebanon, which is going to have repercussions in all the Arab world. It is necessary to discuss it in all the world. Lebanon is a country of dry mountains, full of caves, in which people live, and yet they are living all the events of the day! They come out on strike and are

unified. Who unifies them? It is true that there is a certain centre of cultural life. But also Lebanon was one of the vilest and most corrupt centres. It was and is the most corrupt. But there has been a process from 1958, when they threw out the Yanks, which is continuously ascending. And this is decomposing the bourgeoisie. For this reason, there is a "Feudal Socialist", like Kamal Jumblatt, who is feudal not socialist, even if he has to take certain left positions, but they are left positions to contain. This event of Lebanon is going to be an immense impulse to the struggle in all the Arab countries, united to the struggle against Israel. The roots are world wide, the affects are local, because there are already previous bases and causes, which is the struggle, which there has been for a long time, between the right, the centre and the left. There is a socialist Left. Lebanon is a literary, intellectual centre, but also a centre of great movements. This is where the intellectual activity of the left is concentrated... There is a small weight of the proletariat in relation to the weight of the population, but one which receives a great influence and is organised in powerful trade unions. The trade unions of Lebanon are one of the essential factors, which mobilised and threw out the Yanks. They went to the cafes, and threw out the Yanks, and they had a very great

support from the population.

This strike when it is national, is united by a certain factor. This is the most important thing to interpret. What united the strike? What united it from the most distant village to the city? There are no common interests. Therefore it must have been a desire to demonstrate against the government, against the general policy of capitalism, against capitalism! This is what united the strike. This is the most important thing.

When there is such a repercussion, and such an effect, it is because already there is the decision of the Lebanese masses to go towards power. Otherwise they would not unite. It is not by chance. They have the Israelies next door to them, armed to the teeth, killing and massacring, and yet they unified all Lebanon with the strike! And they have defeated the government. It is going to mean a great political impulse for the independent class organisation of the masses. Uniting the small Socialist Party to the revolutionary wings, which propose this objective. It is going to be a very powerful impulse to unify the masses of the countryside, the poor masses in the struggle for anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist advance and progress. And also it is going to unite and to animate the small Communist Party to go much further, because it is going to encounter a confirmation there, of the need for a revolutionary policy, correcting the passivity and inaction of the communist movement previously. That is to say, this strike is an enormous impulse and stimulus, and moreover, an organisational advance of the revolution in the Middle East. The essential centre of this movement is the world revolution, and the revolution of the Middle East, which has influenced and unified Lebanon against capitalism.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

(1) The Rebellion of Northern Ireland, the construction of the revolutionary leadership, and the struggle for Socialism in Britain—Resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International—6. 2. 72.

# The counter-revolution in Chile the function of the army and the necessity of the mobilisation of the masses for the progress of the Socialist Revolution

J. POSADAS 3. 11. 72

## INTRODUCTION

*This document of Comrade Posadas, organises the decisive participation of the masses to pass from the government to power. The exploited masses struggle for social progress, and their struggle assumes soviet, socialist forms, marxist in the programme, the policy and the organisms. It is within this precise reality that the task of the revolutionary leadership is formed; to organise the rise of the proletariat to the position of ruling class.*

*Posadas orientates and organises the intervention of the Chilean Section of the Fourth International, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista) for this necessity, but not only the Chilean Section, for to be a leadership today means to organise all those forces that want to advance, but are not prepared for this task. The Fourth International, led by Comrade Posadas, is preparing a party that is no its own, giving the programme and the policy to advance in Chile in this precise historical period, which is characterised by an enormous disparity between the level of decision of the masses, and the crisis of capitalism on one side, and the absence of a leadership that corresponds to the necessity of the conscious process towards the Workers States, and from the Workers State to socialism. This situation finds its historical expression in the existence of the Revolutionary State; a transitional form between a capitalist state and a Workers State, in which "the proletariat is raised to the position of ruling class."*

5 12. 72

*The actual situation in Chile marks a stage of the development of the Revolutionary State. The decision of the bourgeoisie to make a confrontation is to try to profit from the potential crisis, which exists between the governments decision to maintain itself, fulfilling its promised program, and the inadequate response it gives, which is going to draw a reply from the masses. The bourgeoisie tries to draw advantage. It has no policy, it has no capacity to mobilise the masses, so it tries to make a sector of the petit bourgeoisie put pressure on the army, and the state apparatus, and to maintain the petit bourgeoisie in the camp of the counter-revolutionary opposition.*

A definite proof of this is that in the face of the government's policy—a policy of nationalisation, expansion of trade, a certain planning of the production of some factories—the representatives of the bourgeoisie propose nothing. They do not propose a superior program, they merely oppose it. They are trying to canalise a sector of the army and petit bourgeoisie. A proof of this is that they have associated themselves with the government's copper policy, and they have opposed the blockade of copper. They could have associated themselves with imperialism, saying that the governments' position was illegal. Instead they have had to support it, so as not to detach themselves from the petit bourgeoisie, and a sector of the army. This indicates that they are looking for links that are not only political, in the interests of the big and medium bourgeoisie, but also a nationalist policy. And they support this program of the

right to nationalise, and the right of the government to export. It is not a very decided attitude, they do not make a campaign of agitation, they do not effectively direct themselves in opposition to imperialism, but it is a policy, which has had an effect in certain sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, because they show themselves to be in solidarity with the sale of copper and against its embargo.

This is not the force of the bourgeoisie. With this it shows that it cannot detach itself from a petit bourgeois sector of its own Christian Democracy. There is a sector of the Christian Democracy that is in agreement with nationalisation and planning. So the right, the Christian Democratic leadership, tries to maintain links with these sectors. This is why it has given support to the Chilean government on the question of copper.

## THE RIGHT HAVE FAILED BECAUSE THE MASSES ARE NOT INTIMIDATED

*But the transport strike, as much as the "saucapan demonstration", and the "day of silence", show that it has no support, that it has produced no social weakness within the masses, among the peasants and petit bourgeoisie, who are the base of support for the government, and who are the immense majority of the population. It has produced inconvenience in the distribution of food, in transport, but it has produced no fissures, no weakness, no break or movement of social support away from the government, which is fundamental. Workers, peasants, petit bourgeois, part of the apparatus of the state and the army have maintained solidarity with the government.*

The right has seen that socially it has no force to make an opposition, and also that it is losing elections. It has tried to pressure the army to come out, trying to raise obstacles and create chaos, so as to show that the government is powerless to lead the country. In this way the bourgeoisie wanted to have an influence in the army, making it afraid that there was going to be chaos that would weaken the country, and would consequently favour the forces of the enemy, commercial competitors in the world and national market, the Argentinian, Brazilian, Peruvian bourgeoisie and world capitalism. This is what the Chilean bourgeoisie tried to do. All this failed.

But, at the same time, the government has not welcomed the favourable effects and profited from them. Because the failure of the bourgeoisie was why the masses did not let themselves be intimidated. There has been no chaos or paralysis, there has been no protest demonstration against the government. It was only the right who made these demonstrations. The working class, the peasants, the middle and lower petit bourgeoisie stayed linked with the government. The

action of the masses maintained authority over them, and kept them linked with the government. They have seen authority through the action of the masses. It was not the army that maintained the solidarity of the masses, it was the decision of the masses themselves, through demonstrations, meetings, factory occupations, conferences, the beginning and development of control of the areas, houses, factories, constant demonstrations of the masses disposed to increase their participation at any moment, the masses are searching for the arms to do it.

All this pressured the government as much as the petit bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and the army. But the masses could not show their decision and their capacity of action, and produce the necessary effect, because they were not allowed to intervene as a class. It was necessary to respond to the provocation of the right by showing that the masses themselves are the authority in the country. And that to succeed in realising measures that transform society it was necessary to make them intervene. Then it is the masses that should have been fully mobilised, themselves holding the bases of

decision, with factory occupations, demonstrations and meetings, voting and approving resolutions leading to increasing the development of the nationalisation and the planning of the economy.

Instead, the government left it to the army, it let the army confront the meetings and demonstrations of the bourgeoisie. The army did it. A part of it was influenced by the government, by the program of the Popular Unity. But at the same time a sector tries to develop itself as an arbitrator. The government let the army hold authority. It mobilised it, and the army intervened, being in part gained by the government under the

pressure of the action of the masses, and contained the right wing sector that wanted to profit from the occasion to make a coup and unleash the civil war.

The result is that the coup failed, and the masses feel that they have the necessary means to ascend in their function of leadership. The right failed. The authority of the country is the masses. The force is the masses. They prevented the triumph of the right. The conclusion is that the masses ascend in their function of leadership in society through the factory, Trade Union, Party Organs, by means of organs formed through the Popular Unity, soviet type organs.

## IMPOSE THE SOCIAL AUTHORITY OF THE MASSES ON THE ARMY

On the other hand, since it was the army that had control in its hands, and the repression of the right in its hands—a passive repression, because it was only to stop them making meetings—the army tends to develop itself as an arbitrator, a sector within it feels that it is an arbitrator.

This doesn't mean that it is against Allende. But it could launch itself against the government. The army's action of arbitration was to prevent the Popular Unity, as much as the bourgeoisie from making meetings and demonstrations. It was against them both equally, when in fact it was necessary to allow the masses full liberty to make meetings, discussions, assemblies, demonstrations. This is the way in which to exercise an influence over the enemy and disorganise him. The masses were not allowed to do this.

The right is manoeuvring in such a way as to place the government on the parliamentary, judicial and military plane. Because this is where it can have the most force. Now, after having posed the army as arbitrator, and not making a functioning of the masses, it tries to make some changes and intervention in the government apparatus in such a way as to produce a crisis in the Popular Unity, with the intervention of bourgeois people in the state apparatus and the adoption of resolutions that go directly against the programme of the Popular Unity, and against the perspective of the ascent of this programme. This is their objective.

This shows that the possibilities for the legal, constitutional mobilisation which Allende is making, are coming to an end. He has no other way out than leaning more on the mobilisations of the masses, and transferring power to the masses. Transferring the power means for the masses to have organs where they are the ones that decide and weigh. That weigh on the army, that make it see that the masses have a greater power than it has. The governments' possibility of maintaining itself on a constitutional plane for a long period is coming to an end. But what for anyway? For the coming elections? Even winning the elections—which is not certain, although it is possible that they will win the elections and increase their power—the bourgeoisie is not going to permit it, it will not accept it, it will make the coup d'etat.

## A CAMPAIGN OF EXPLANATION TO INFLUENCE THE ARMY

*It is necessary to make a campaign directed toward the government with the effect of maintaining the government of Popular Unity, to increase the program of nationalisation, and to mobilise the masses, elevating the power of the masses. To make a whole campaign of education, aimed at the army, showing the sense of democracy, that in this regime democracy is for the one with power, for capitalism. Democracy is what permits the development of the economy, of society, social relations, to eliminate everything, which prevents human progress, exploitation, the interests of the bourgeois class, science, technology, and culture at the service of the bourgeoisie, and to permit on the contrary, the development of the forces of society, intelligence and culture for human progress, for the progress of society toward superior forms of existence.*

To do this, everything the bourgeoisie has, must be taken away from it. Allende wants to do this, but he wants to do it constitutionally, hoping to achieve it by this route. It is necessary to show that it cannot be done like this. Even if they gain a parliamentary majority, the bourgeoisie is going to make a coup. So, it is necessary to prepare

oneself, because the army is going to come out. The bourgeoisie is not going to permit the Popular Unity to have a parliamentary majority, it will make a coup.

It is necessary to make a whole plan of education, by the radio, cinema, television, in the streets, showing that for the progress of the economy new struct-

# The counter revolution in Chile....

ures are needed and the army must play a new role. This has the effect of weakening the structure of the army. Appealing to the soldiers so that these conclusions can be reached in the army through the Trade Unions, showing the new function of the army. The function of defending the homeland from invasion is rubbish; nobody is going to invade. The problem of the invasion of the homeland is no longer posed, it is a class problem. It is necessary to broaden these conclusions, and appeal too, to the masses of Argentina, of Bolivia, of Brazil to intervene and weigh, each one in their own country. In every country of Latin America the bourgeoisie is occupied with containing the interior struggle. It does not have the force to invade any country, not even Nicaragua or El Salvador.

It is necessary to lead the intervention of the masses, of the Trade Unions, of the factory organs, in a discussion with the population. Appealing to them to do this without creating new councils, so as not to clash with the army. Making organs which are not organs which replace

parliament, but which function and pose the substitution of parliament. To show in this task a whole campaign for the cultural and organisational campaign of double power. It is clear that in part the army is going to oppose this. But it is going to oppose everything.

On the other hand the present situation is going to provoke a passivity of the masses. It is necessary to pose this to Allende. If he goes on much longer with this policy of contemplation, he is going to provoke a passivity in sectors of the masses. It is necessary to pose the risk and the very serious danger, which exists of a passivity of the masses, who see that he is not prepared to go forward. The masses cannot understand or accept this policy. This is why the MIR has arisen, and has such an importance. It is necessary to see that the MIR got 12000 votes in the CUT elections. Which indicates a degree of distrust of the passive policy the government is making; it is a badly conducted distrust, wrongly expressed, but this is what is felt.

## THE WORLD REVOLUTION ANNULS THE POSSIBILITY OF THE INVASION OF CHILE

*In all this crisis there is a sector in the Socialist Party that has just begun to bring out a daily paper "La Nueva Aurora de Chile" (Chile's New Dawn) with positions to the left. It says that it is necessary to eliminate parliament. It is an audacious and resolute attitude of a sector of the Socialist Party, and the bourgeoisie is trying to influence Allende to contain him or make him renounce. After the failure of this strike they are going to look for other ways to weaken Allende, and make him renounce, leading him into clashes with the rest of the team, and give up. This is the struggle which there is. Meanwhile the masses show that they are disposed to take power, to support Allende's power and extend it.*

The problem is to win part of the army and to submit it to the masses' will to progress. And also to show that neither the Brazilian or Argentinian bourgeoisie, nor imperialism can intervene. If the Argentinian bourgeoisie intervenes, it will go against it. The masses will rise up in all the country. Any intervention of the Argentinian or Brazilian bourgeoisie will provoke the intervention of the masses. On the contrary the Chilean masses have the favourable support of the process in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador which tends to give a world support with the constant weakening of capitalism. None of these countries can launch themselves against each other, or against Chile. On the other hand, as we have posed, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador can unite with Chile in a federation, which is the base for immense progress. There is no danger of war, and they are not going to invade Chile. There is no danger of invasion because, on a world scale, imperialism does not have the force, on a world scale the revolution is advancing. There is a world process of struggle of the masses against capitalism and imperialism and a general retreat of the capitalist system. There is no possibility of the capitalist regimes in Latin America launching themselves on Chile. Anyone who wants to invade will be stopped in the road and will fall.

The recent defeat of Kennecott, with the copper embargo, shows that the mobilisation of the masses in all the

world, and the weakness, and contradictions of the world capitalist system prevented the Yankees gaining any success. Previously, they could achieve complete success; not now! On the contrary, in a recent meeting of the UNCTAD in Latin America, governments like those of Argentina, Bolivia and Mexico, and including the governments of Brazil and Guatemala, voted that the Chilean government had the right to decide what it was going to pay out for the expropriations. They no longer take as arbitrators the international organisms, which up till yesterday they acquiesced to, now each government takes its own decisions. Which is to say the process is favourable. There is a lack of a prepared party—the Socialist Party as much as the Communist Party—and the petit bourgeoisie is unprepared for this.

The step from bourgeois society to the Workers State has to produce a very profound crisis, which cannot be avoided. So it is necessary to prepare the organisms for the crisis. It cannot be prevented. The same in Peru; there is a prolongation of this process. If, after more than four years they do not pass to radically superior stages, it is because they do not mobilise the masses, and they maintain a certain respect for bourgeois legality, and the old constitution. Meanwhile capitalism loses constantly, and there is now a socialist wing which wants to send all this to hell.

participate in other functions without it being in the government, in discussions, in subordinate organisms, not the organisms that decide, but so that they can see a superior progress. So that not just one or another chief sees, but part of the officers, lower ranks, and the soldiers themselves see. So that they can intervene in the plan of production, in the discussion, in the trade union process; so that they can intervene, and integrate themselves in the process of functioning of the government, with the participation or intervention of the trade unions. Then they are going to see the authority of the masses, and the objectivity, and the objective capacity of the masses.

This is what has to be posed immediately, independently from what the rest of the cabinet is, we still do not know what is its composition, apart from the inclusion of the soldiers. Now, according to what the rest of the cabinet is, this conclusion is reinforced or weakened. But this is the line, no matter who else is in the cabinet.

It is necessary to make a discussion with the MIR and with the other tendencies, in which it is necessary to appeal to them and to the government. Showing that the governments attempts to go forward to the elections, and gain a majority is not incorrect. We are not against it. In as much as there is no other road, this is the road. But at the same time, how are the elections to be reached? This is why we say that it is necessary to make a much more profound mobilisation, in which the masses participate and they themselves see that from here onwards is a new stage; and making propaganda and agitation, in which the masses see that in this stage the soldiers are put in with this aim—to make the masses distrust the government, but they will not be detained in the weakness of the government. But also the MIR must contain itself so that it does not come out with a reckless campaign of actions that could give the motive for a greater division of the government, but maintains a critical attitude. Demanding full freedom of criticism to intervene, and at the same time a public discussion in the trade unions with the massive, constant participation of area assemblies of each area, all areas, all of them, constantly broadening them. Making such a campaign uniting the peasants and workers, spreading the necessity of preparing for the elections, but also to decide now. Making a campaign with economic analyses. These analyses are very important, what Chile was, what it is now, what it can be, and what we are proposing. Making a whole campaign of explanation to the masses in assemblies, not a campaign in the newspapers, but in assemblies, discussing why there was the ITT sabotage, why there was the Kennecott sabotage, giving a full explanation. Showing, at the same time, that the reason why there has not been a greater economic progress in Chile, is that there is still not sufficient nationalisation and planning. So ultimately it still depends on the market dominated by the Yankees and at the same time interior production determined by private property.

The army is not opposed to the plan of socialisation. These transformations are permitted according to the Chilean constitution. They can do them constitutionally. So it is necessary to gain every possible advantage constitutionally, whilst gaining the army, dissolving the army, and above all, preparing the elimination of its role of arbitration.

## FOR A WORLD CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF CHILE WITH THE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS STATES

*It is necessary to make a world campaign now, everywhere, in support of the Chilean government, but also appealing to the government and the Trade Unions along this line. Directing oneself to the government and the Trade Unions on this process, and the danger that this signifies. But at the same time emphasising that this decomposes the army. It is necessary not to let it profit from this opportunity. This is not only the danger of its arbitration. This is a danger, but also it decomposes them. This has to be put clearly; not to be afraid, but to see the danger, but also that this decomposes them. The attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the military had dangers too, and the Bolsheviks won.*

In the army itself a division is being produced, but who controls this division? A decisive team may make a coup, like in Bolivia, although it is clear that they are losing. On the other hand, with the masses in the streets, the development of the masses will contain them, stop them, and at the same time dissolve them. But then it is necessary to direct oneself directly to the army. For the people in the streets to direct themselves at the army, making demonstrations,

Because as a structure the capitalist army is going to tend, or may tend, to function as a third force between classes, and can be, or is going to be profited from by capitalist sectors to organise the resistance, or rejection, or limitation of the program of nationalisations, or to limit the anti-capitalist policy, which the Allende government is trying to raise. It may form part of the government, but not as arbiter. And for it not to be an arbiter it has to be submitted to the principle that the army obeys the government. The army obeys!

One of the ways to do this is for it to see people in the streets. Not just one day, or two, or three, but people in the streets participating, resolving, discussing, and apart from that exclaiming, "The constitution is useless! It is the enemies!" To show that the constitution is for the rich; for this, this and this. The Chilean people do not have this, this and this. The plan is going to produce this, this and this. Showing what happened in the Soviet Union, or even in Peru. The development of Cuba. Giving examples and transferring them and developing the internal discussion on the international plane, and showing the superiority of nationalisation, and planning in thousands of ways. But this has to begin from the areas. Giving concrete slogans and showing that if there is not a greater progress it is because the constitutional system prevents a greater advance. So show that the constitutional system does not mean truth and reason. No! They are the dissenters! It is them, the well off! And show that the progress of history is infinitely superior in the Workers States, showing concretely the progress, which there is, for example, in Cuba with nationalised property. Not simply what the government does, but, integrally, the life of the Trade Unions, the school, the university, everywhere. And also preparing for a possible uprising of a sector of the army.

It is a new experience, and it is necessary to live it, and to share its consequences with Allende. Not approving what they are doing, but sharing all these consequences with Allende in such a way, as to make him feel that we support the government, although we do not approve of the entry of the military in the government. We do not lose interest in him, but we try to help him by explaining all this.

But even so, we insist that this measure cuts both ways, and the army can take power of arbitration; but it breaks it up. This measure itself decomposes it. The problem is to gain time. Before decomposing the bourgeoisie is going to try to come out, or to contain. We have to increase this decomposition by mobilising the masses, the people, mobilising, mobilising, mobilising. So the masses are mobilised, in demonstrations, meetings, in the areas, and so they direct themselves to the petit bourgeoisie and the army, appealing to them. It is the mobilisation of the masses, and their disposition to mobilise that has also weighed on the army, and up to now has contained a sector that was inclined toward the coup.

Independently of the fact that we do not approve of this measure of including the military in the government, because it is not useful, the masses do not see a retreat, the liquidation of the government, they see a measure of fear, of not wanting to face the civil war, wanting to wait for the elections—it is the bourgeoisie that is making the civil war!

## THE ENTRY OF THE MILITARY IN THE GOVERNMENT IS A DANGER, BUT IT DECOMPOSES THE ARMY

*With regard to the entry of the three soldiers in the cabinet, and the participation of the army in the government, one has to consider that it is necessary to intervene in the process in Chile as it develops, such as Allende is, such as their team is, and such as are the limited measures they take, which have a constant and uncontainable sense of progress. There is not a single measure of Allende that tends to retreat. He agrees to the army, because he is looking for what he considers to be the lesser evil. It is necessary to begin from here to intervene, impelling, and accepting Allende's good intentions and resolution to advance, but giving our critical judgement on the danger that this signifies. Without ceasing to use the army, as we have proposed. But if the army is used without making the masses intervene, the weight of the masses will not be felt, they will not be seen as the leadership by the army. Then it gives itself the role of arbiter, and the internal capitalist tendencies will profit from the fact that everything is prepared for them to intervene, and they are going to launch themselves to intervene.*

This attitude of Allende is not to be condemned, but it is an attitude of weakness, and it means a very great danger. But at the same time as the army can intervene and develop as an arbiter, this decomposes it internally, because it is supporting socialist measures, and it is seeing that they advance and progress. Then a part of the army sees that the leadership is not capitalism, but these leaderships. This is one of Allende's aims; to show that the soldiers can share the leadership, support the programme of the Popular Unity and that this is progressive. This, in itself, is a blow against capitalism, because the army comes out supporting

measures, objectives and a programme, which are not capitalist. And they are compromised to support them in the government, and the policy of the government is to go on with the reforms.

So, it is necessary to understand Allende's policy, which is not a retreat, but it is a weak and incomplete attitude. There was no need to put soldiers in the government. The way to win the army was by a different way, not to make it feel that it is an independent force, but a force that is submitted to classes, and has to work as such. Now, it is not posed that it works for the benefit of capitalism, but as an arbiter. On the other hand it could be made to

meetings in the areas, in each area, and in all of them together. Making a constant activity, with explanations, explanations on all this process. To give the idea that they have failed with Kennecott, and that they are going to fail because they do not have the world force to take much deeper measures.

But above all, together with this task, to explain why such measures as have been taken are useful, why planning is

# The strike in Lebanon...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

This was the factor which unified, from the most distant village to the proletariat of the cities! Students, workers, petit bourgeois, small merchants, everyone stopped. The government had to recognise such a stoppage.

The world press looked at it with concern and fear, because it felt that it was not a Lebanese problem. It was expressed in Lebanon, but they saw that it is a world effect, which once more is going to travel everywhere. They are saying; the state of animation of the masses is unified by the world revolution. This is what the press is saying. Because they portray a country as small as Lebanon, without any importance in the world economy. So why does it have so much importance? They are showing that it is a barometer, which indicates the state of the animation of the backward masses of the Middle East. Economically backward, because they have nothing, socially backward, because they don't have anywhere to live, but from the revolutionary point of view socially and politically they are very advanced.

Therefore it is necessary to be concerned about what slogans to bring out. This is going to have great repercussions in Algeria and in all the Arab world, to impel the revolutionary tendencies. It is necessary to be based on this, to impel the revolutionary tendencies.

It is necessary to appeal for the Communist Party to be the centre for the workers party, based on the trade unions for Lebanon, now. Because there is a programmatic, political and organisational progress of the Communist Party. In this progress the communists are going to understand better that in order to extend the Communist Party to take power, they have to take account that there is already an organised movement, which they do not dominate, which is the TUs. To be based then on this force for the workers party, based on the trade unions, with the fundamental participation of the Communist Party, but also of the Socialist Party, which has strength, and has a quite powerful left wing.

It is necessary to call to the Lebanese Communist Party to do this task. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party can be the centre. There is a split in the Socialist Party, because there is a right wing, which dominates and chokes, and a left wing, which feels itself to be small and its contact with the masses is weak. Because of this the TUs do not speak in the name of the Socialist Party. This strike has prepared the workers party based on the TUs, which even though it does not exist, is in peoples heads.

Already in the heads of the masses is the criterion of Soviets, even though they don't have the functioning or the means. But it is the criterion of Soviets, of Soviets. In poverty, with nothing, to resolve everything collectively, and to see that collectively there are no traps, no inequality, no injustice. This is the social base of communism.

We appeal to the guerrilla movements, to the Palestinian masses, but above all we appeal to the comrades of Lebanon that in every action they make an appeal to the masses of Israel. Call to the worker and peasant masses, call to the masses of Israel, so that they mobilise as well to throw out the bourgeoisie in Lebanon and Israel, and unify to resolve all the problems, be it of language, be it of religion. As they did in the USSR where they had 30 languages. The only one out of the bolshevik leaders, who remained backward was Stalin, who remained clinging to his language of origin. While the Soviets, with Lenin and Trotsky at their head resolved all the problems of nationality and of languages, unifying in a single language. What the Tsar had not done, the Bolsheviks did. Not for economic problems, but for cultural revolutionary problems, for communist centralisation. No-one felt absorbed nor submitted, nor smashed, but that this was the means to progress. Communism did this. And it can be done in all the world. This is what the masses of Irbid did, and what now the masses of Lebanon are doing.

One of the essential bases for the progress in all the Middle East is the slogan; Jews and Arabs joined against Israel; Israel, and the Middle East joined against capitalism. This is the essential slogan, which is against the Arab bourgeoisie, against the Jewish bourgeoisie and against imperialism.

It is necessary to appeal for unity with the masses of Israel! It is necessary to unite with them. It is necessary to give an objective sense of struggle, which makes them communicate with the rest of the world. This is going to help also

in the clarification, and the separation of all the right of the Arab movement. The Arab movement does not launch this slogan, because it maintains the rigidity of the modern religious movement, and it wants to contain the masses with this. What is the objective of this struggle? Why? It is an immense impulse in communication and teaching, which cannot be replaced.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and the communist parties, so that they make this appeal for unification with the masses of Israel against imperialism and capitalism.

When in Israel the hospital employees, employees of ministries, that is to say the secondary movements, not the most representative of the working class, when Israel is in the middle of the war, strike, it is because they are seeking that the war is a lie. We call to the leaders of the communist parties, and of the Arab nationalist movements, so that they understand this; when there are such strikes in Israel, it is because sectors, not marginal, but certainly less representative as the bank workers, employees, judicial types, doctors, airport personnel, bus drivers, they are indicating that the resistance and opposition to the war

is very profound. It is not expressed, because still there is not a central political organism, because they are frightened that they will be judged as traitors to the fatherland, that they are serving the enemy. It is necessary to show that there is not any war for Israel, it is their war. "We have nothing against the Arabs, we want to live with the Arabs", and the Arabs have to say "We want to live with the Israelis not with the bourgeoisie, but with the workers."

It is necessary to unite the struggle of the Israeli masses with the struggle of the masses of the Middle East, so that the crisis between the masses of the Middle East and the bourgeois leaderships is extended and deepened. The Arab bourgeois leaderships are not going to make agitation with this slogan, because maintaining the struggle in the field of religious bourgeois nationalism is for them a means to control, and dominate the masses politically. This slogan, this activity of uniting the masses of Israel to the masses of the rest of the Arab countries, and in this deciding the self determination of Israel, of the Israeli masses, liquidating the bourgeoisie, is a source of stimulus for the class struggle in the Middle East. The fact that the Communist Party does

not agitate it, is a deficit. Now they begin quietly to bring it in.

It is necessary to make agitation with this slogan, uniting it to the struggle against imperialism, against the Arab bourgeoisie, against the Israeli bourgeoisie, as a means which unifies the struggle of the Arab masses and those of Israel. It is necessary to agitate the slogan, which helps, and impels the class and revolutionary struggle in the Arab countries and in Israel also. For a socialist solution, to unify all the Middle East with the self determination of Israel.

It is necessary to make a completely public agitation about the need for the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, which is where the forces of mobilisation of the masses are, where the vanguard, which attracts the rest of the proletariat, is. The proof is the general strike. The trade unions are the ones who have authority. Thus to make on this basis the workers party based on the trade unions, with a political programme of social transformation of the country. It is necessary to convene the country in demonstrations, meetings, discussions, and the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and the Trade Unions should do it. To make a whole propaganda and agitation, in all sectors of the population and in the schools also.

J. POSADAS 15-11-72

## EDITORIAL

### OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM N. IRELAND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

of the masses, it is going to continue its policy of repression despite the fear which the Tory government has displayed of the consequences of attacking vanguard sectors of the class. The persistent fining of the AUEW and the persistent refusal of the AUEW leadership to obey the instruction of the Industrial Relations Court prepares another clash between the working class and the Tory government. The crisis in Dublin, the struggle in Northern Ireland, the constant confrontation between the Tory government and working class in this country are all aspects of civil war. There is an objective unity between the struggle of the British proletariat and the masses of Ireland, and there is a necessity to link the two struggles.

However, together with the linking of the two struggles goes the central problem of the masses in Ireland, both North and South of the border; the lack of a workers party, of a unifying centre like that of the Labour Party in this country, or the CP's of France and Italy, or the German SPD. The tens of thousands who demonstrated for the release of MacStofain in Dublin were not only supporters of the 'provisionals', they were the Irish masses organised in the trade unions, in both wings of Sinn Fein, in the Labour Party, the Communist Party and, in part in Fianna Fail. We appeal to the Provisional Sinn Fein to react immediately by calling a conference of all these forces on a programme for the liberty of MacStofain, and all other political prisoners, for the end of

the repressive measures of the Lynch government, for the expropriation of major industry, banks and insurance, the land—the big estates—for the setting up of co-operatives, of small farmers, and the granting of considerable state credits for machinery etc., and for the removal of all British troops from the six counties of the North. It is also obviously necessary to appeal for the intervention in this conference of all the various representatives of the masses of the six counties; the trade unions—particularly those linked to the British trade unions around which the majority of the protestant working class are centralised—the SDLP, the Northern Irish Labour Party, Peoples Democracy etc. At the same time as making these appeals not only to the leaderships—most of whom are still acting in a somewhat conciliatory manner—but to the masses at the base of these organisations, it is necessary to make appeals to the British working class movement, to the trade unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

This conference whilst dealing with the immediate problems should also have the perspective of setting up a provisional organisation, which would group together all the forces of the Irish masses, all the organisations, which represent them in preparation for a struggle to overthrow the Lynch government, to intervene in a common programme in the event—which is likely—of a further crisis in the Lynch government, and the calling of a General Election. It is necessary in this to make a particular appeal, on the basis of a programme, to the sector of the petit bourgeoisie, the small farmers and workers, who still vote for Fianna Fail. In this way to take advantage of the conflict which exists between the base of the party, which is attracted by the revolutionary nationalist traditions of Fianna Fail, and the leadership, which is submitted to the interests of British imperialism. It is necessary to intervene to stimulate the organisations, which allow the independent intervention of the masses, to organise and develop factory committees, tenants committees, committees of the workers areas and committees of small farmers. All the conditions exist for this, the setting up of a united front of the trade unions, both wings of Sinn Fein, the Labour and Communist parties, and the left of Fianna Fail, with the perspective of a Workers and small Farmers government.

The reports that weapons—rocket launchers—from the Workers States are being used against the troops of British Imperialism in Northern Ireland indicates the possibility that the Workers States are now intervening much more directly in support of the Irish masses. It is impossible to say precisely how these weapons arrived in Ireland, but on a world scale the Workers States, and the Soviet Union in particular, are supporting more and more the class and

## Chile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

useful, why it is necessary to nationalise, and that there cannot be nationalisations if there is not the possibility of economic programming. Explaining that there is no possibility. Making popular assemblies everywhere, for everyone to intervene, and appeal for every one to intervene. Appealing to the petit bourgeoisie, to the soldiers, to intervene in this sense. Not for them to be in the government, but for them to intervene with their scientific and technical capacity.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the sabotage is going to continue. Then it is necessary to unify, and make appeals to the Workers States. Latin America is important, but it is necessary to make appeals to the Workers States. And explain; we want to advance in the economy, with what force can we advance? This is the force! Making a scientific explanation, directed above all at the petit bourgeoisie, as much as the army, because this is the base that decides, because the government has not mobilised the masses, and there is a certain division. It is necessary to appeal for the unity of the Popular Unity and the Trade Unions, with the areas, with the peasants. These are the central slogans, which have to be raised.

J. POSADAS 3rd. Nov. 72

SUBSCRIBE TO  
RED FLAG  
FORTHNIGHTLY PAPER  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
(TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE  
IV INTERNATIONAL

6 month 65p.  
12 months 125p.  
SUPPORTER'S ONE YEAR  
SUBSCRIPTION ... .. £2.50  
FROM  
24 CRANBOURN ST. LONDON, W.C.2.

\*\*\*\*\*  
revolutionary struggle. The arms to the masses of Vietnam, to Egypt and Syria are expressions of this. It is, clearly, necessary for appeals to be made to the Workers States, to the masses of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet Trade Unions for support both materially and politically for the struggle in Ireland. In this the Irish Communist Party have a particular responsibility to use their links—and to strengthen these links—with the Workers States, with the world Communist Movement and the British Communist Party. In appealing to the Provisional Sinn Fein at this moment, and to all the organisations of the masses in Ireland, we repeat our appeal to the comrades of the Irish Communist Party to intervene, basing themselves on all the advances being made in the Workers States and in the world communist movement.

We appeal also to the organisations of the British working class, to the workers vanguard in the factories, to the Labour Party, the trade unions and to the Communist Party to intervene, demanding the release of MacStofain and all political prisoners in Ireland, for the end of the repressive legislation of the Lynch government, and for the removal of all British troops from Northern Ireland. The situation in which the leaderships of the trade unions and the Labour Party—and to a lesser degree the Communist Party—demand the end of the bombing of Vietnam by Yankee imperialism, and give a support to the Vietnamese masses, and at the same time ignore the Vietnam which exists a few miles away across the Irish Sea, is completely unacceptable and must be ended. In this, as in everything else, the advances will be made on the basis of the mass mobilisations of the vanguard in the factories, and we appeal for demonstrations, meetings, etc. of support for all the Irish masses in order to prepare for a General Strike.

All British Troops out of Northern Ireland. The release of McStofain and all political prisoners in Ireland. Full support for the struggle of the Irish masses, and the creation of organic links between the Irish masses and the British workers movement.

Out with the Lynch government and the Tory government in Britain. For a Workers and small Farmers government in Ireland.

For a Labour government—with a Labour Party in which the left has taken power—on an anti-capitalist programme.

4-12-72

Printed by Letra Print Company, 71, Oldhill Str., London, N.16.

Published by Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), Fourth International Publications  
24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LÉNIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 173 4th Friday of December 1972 PRICE 3p

**For a world  
Anti-Imperialist  
United Front  
against the aggression  
of U.S. Imperialism  
in Vietnam**

# The electoral triumph of the Social Democrats in Germany expresses the European and world upsurge of the class and revolutionary struggle

J. POSADAS 21-11-72

## INTRODUCTION

We publish this article by Cde. Posadas with great revolutionary joy, for its importance in organizing the understanding of the revolutionary process in Europe in this stage. The importance of these elections resides in that no longer they can be treated as simple elections. The German masses have utilised this occasion to make their centralisation felt, and have attracted millions of votes; new votes of young people and of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. This "electoral result" is going to impell the formation of revolutionary tendencies in the SPD, because it is going to be accompanied by powerful strikes, and demonstrations, with which the masses are going to control the SPD, and will organise an alternative to the bourgeois leadership of Willy Brandt and Co. A certain analogy can be drawn with the last general election in Britain, even if the results differed, and the process that has developed since then is a proof of this. The defeat of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party was the result of the conscious abstention of the vanguard that utilised the elections in this "unconventional" manner and which now utilises the Trade Union struggles against capitalism in a way that could not be understood if it was simply a question of the Tories winning an electoral triumph by gaining the votes of a larger number of the petit bourgeoisie. In publishing this article we appeal to the British Trade Union movement to intervene with messages of solidarity, with discussions and resolutions with the objective of unifying the two struggles.

*We salute with all our joy, the joy of all the International, of all humanity, which seeks progress, and of the world working class, the triumph of the Socialist Party in Germany. It is not only an electoral triumph, but it is the form in which the tendency—in all Europe—of the raising of the masses towards power, is strengthened. It is the weakening of the structure, the social and political force of the capitalist system, it is a profound crisis for all of them. It is not simply an electoral triumph. The triumph of these elections in Germany is a consequence of the mobilisation of the German masses, of the mobilisation of the Trade Unions, for wage increases, the resolution of the engineering T.U., which proposed the nationalisation of all the principal sources of production. All the strikes, which were announced, and the victories, which they had, and which forced the bosses to yield even before they came out on strike. All this attracted the petit bourgeoisie.*

One of the essential centres of these elections is the petit bourgeoisie. It was the mobilisation of the masses, which attracted the petit bourgeoisie. The triumph of the Socialist Party—which is now more of a Socialist Party than a Social Democrat Party—is an expression of internal force. All the right went. The liberal right as well. And nevertheless it increased its votes by 3%. And it increased its votes among young people.

The increase of the votes to the Socialist Party is an increase in quality. As in Italy with the communists, as in the next elections in England, the increase in votes of the Socialist Party in Germany, is an increase in quality, also of quantity, but above all of quality. They are young votes. The old right wing liberal votes, the conservative and reactionary votes went. And young people came. It is a polarisation of forces. A polarisation of forces, which prepares very superior leaps and ascents.

All this was prepared by the action of the masses of Germany, who received the influence from France, from Italy, from England. All the world working class participated in Germany. It is not a concentration as in Vietnam, but also humanity participated in the elections in Germany. Every election is a synthesis and a centre of pressure of all the class struggle on a world scale, it is a national polarisation, but it expresses a world

polarisation, which is advancing. Nixon won. They said "Nixon won", and nobody cared. Nixon wins and nobody cared. Nixon wins and nobody cared. On the other hand, all the capitalist press is very concerned about this. It is more preoccupied by Peron than by Nixon. These elections show that there is a whole firm tendency of the working class, and of the petit bourgeoisie, which is going towards the proletariat, which can serve as a base for a much more elevated programme of nationalisations. It is making the petit bourgeoisie, which is gained by this, firmer, not by democratic promises, but by the democracy, which this is, these are democratic promises; the programme of nationalisations, of increase of wages, of intervention of the masses, of organs of the masses. It is necessary to make a complete campaign for the elevation of the intervention of the masses. It is necessary to call for the mobilisation of the TUs, which must be done now. These are the bases to gain the petit bourgeoisie.

We appeal to the German TUs, so that they make declarations, and salutes to the population for the vote to the socialists, saying that this signifies an enormous impulse to increase the conquests and progress of the working class, and the democratic rights of the German people. That this is the significance of the vote, which was given. It means;

against the capitalist system, for unification with the Workers State. Which means that the TUs develop this activity, in order to educate its members, to decide to organise the decision of its members to unite with German Workers State, and to elevate the backward economic structure of Germany, raising it to a situation of greater progress with nationalisations, planning, workers control, with the greater intervention and participation of the TUs, with greater democratic rights, and with the intervention of the TUs in all the problems of the economy and of society.

An essential centre of triumph of Willy Brandt was his having gone to the factories. It was not to ask for votes. It was to promise, to make agreements with the best workers of the class, about wages, and, moreover, to make a certain link with the enterprises for nationalisations. While Schmidt had to say "After all, the market economy is not absolutely necessary".

Willy Brandt did not triumph in the name of the world elevation of the struggle, system against system. He triumphed because capitalism is incapable of resolving the problems of Germany. This is clear; capitalism is incapable of solving the problems of Germany. It shows that the road to do it is another one; it is the road of the proletariat in power. This triumph is going to have a

very great echo.

We feel immense joy, which the strengthening of this tendency in Europe signifies, which confirms all the previous analysis, and the existence of a current of history. It is not an inclination, it is an organisation, it is a historic current. It has very profound roots. They are not chance echos, it is not the communication of one election with another, or momentary influences. It has very solid bases, which start from the most profound needs of history, and which is that the masses want to triumph, and the petit bourgeoisie has been won to this. This is the central conclusion for Germany; the essential base of the petit bourgeoisie from its middle ranks downwards, is influenced by the working class, and in part is already gained. From here it is necessary to start to go forward to a very superior stage.

How have these elections been won in Germany? In what conditions? Nixon won in the United States. This should have encouraged all the petit bourgeoisie to vote for the Christian Democrats. And it was not like this. And in Vietnam they have not let themselves be intimidated; they continue the struggles, they continue opposing, they go on defeating imperialism. The masses of Italy bring Italy to a halt, the masses of France bring France to a halt, the masses of (CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

## Full support to the struggle against the A.U.E.W. fine

We salute the workers in the A.U.E.W., the rank and file, the middle cadres, and those members of the national leadership, who are making and supporting with all their force, the strikes against the fines imposed by the N.I.R.C. If the solidarity and strength of these strikes were organised nationally and co-ordinated, with appeals made to all the other sectors of the class and petit bourgeoisie, we could be in the middle of a general strike situation in a matter of hours. The only call, which the leadership of the AUEW has made has been weak and totally insufficient. The whole of the class and petit bourgeois masses want to get rid of the Tories, and would concentrate their forces behind a central call for strike action. Nevertheless just as when the dockers were in jail, the TUC was forced, by strikes made independently of it, to call a 24 hour general strike, it is possible to get this call repeated. And the way to achieve this is by continuing the wave of strikes already begun, sending delegations, resolutions etc. from the factories, the trade unions, the trade councils to the TU and LP leaderships calling for such strikes to be made official and nationwide.

The spirit and determination of the class, not only the vanguard, but the whole of the class and petit bourgeoisie

to go towards power can be seen in all the latest strikes, and particularly in the strike of the hospital workers, who due to their dispersion, and very weak union leadership, have been forced for years to work for criminally low wages. Now they mobilise nationally, and threaten, an all out strike. It is expressed also in the opposition to the Housing Finance Act where all sectors of the population have been brought into the struggle, the workers, housewives, pensioners, petit bourgeoisie. The massive support, which those councils, which are standing out against the act, are getting and the call from Merthyr Tydvel. for a 24 hour strike in the area, against the Act, indicate the determination of the class to defeat this law, and the Tories with it.

These strikes and mobilisations are having an effect within the LP. The discussions provoked by the loss of votes in the recent bye elections, the demands for more nationalisations, the opposition to LP members going to the council in Strasbourg, are being discussed in depth throughout the whole of the party. Changes are going to take place within the LP in a short stage, and these will be provoked, stimulated and supported by the extra parliamentary actions of the class. CONT. PAGE 3

# The appeal for an agreement between the Hungarian Communist Party and the Communist Parties and the need for the Communist International

## J. Posadas 21. 9. 72

*This resolution of the Hungarian Communist Party, appealing for the unity of the world Communist movement, has a very elevated importance. It expresses the necessity, which the Soviet bureaucracy imposes, to look for agreements, co-ordination and certain forms of unification. In itself it still expresses the bureaucratic limitation of the unification, which they are seeking. They are seeking to co-ordinate, and later to accept some agreement, as to the resolution of the USWP (United Socialist Workers Party) says, but they do not talk about a programme of objectives. And the function of the Workers States is to decide, to weigh in the world course of the revolution, which is expressed in the resistance, opposition and hard fought struggle of the masses against the capitalist system, and in the progress of the 16 Revolutionary States that pass from the capitalist system to Revolutionary States, an intermediary stage towards Workers States, and in the entire situation of the world. So, this unification; What is it for? What response is there to this necessity? What is the function of the Workers States in this world situation? What policy do the Workers States give to resolve these problems?*

In as much as capitalism gives any response, it has the United Nations, which is "a nest of bandits" as Lenin said, the bandits being capitalists. The United Nations has never resolved any important problem, and it won't resolve any. They discuss the problems of "the air environment" and water for Nixon's house, nothing more! There is no problem apart from this, that they can resolve.

What response does the Workers States give to this process? The Workers States must respond, but with what programme. What policy? What aid? What policy has to be sought in order to unify the Revolutionary States with the Workers States? They do it, but in an individual and partial way. Each Workers State gives aid, and loans, and sends technicians to the Revolutionary States. It is a good attitude, very good, and it has to be supported. It is a progress, but it is inadequate, it is insufficient and inadequate, because there are infinitely more powerful forces with which to do it.

It is legitimate to seek the unification of the world communist movement, as this resolution poses. But what for? To defend the Workers States from the capitalist system? Yes, this is one aspect, but not the most decisive. The most decisive thing is for them to exercise the world function of leadership of the world such as it is today, to allow the world revolution to triumph in a short stage.

It is not an idealisation, nor a rushing through stages. We are not pushed. We have the urgency of humanity—which is not hasty—to finish with the regime of oppression, war, hunger, poverty, flooding of the land, of there being three million killed in Pakistan by flooding and capitalism's massacre. We are in a hurry, we want to finish with this. But we are not motivated by impatience. It is the sentiment, the condition, the necessity of humanity to finish with this. And there are the conditions to do it.

The Workers States must respond to this situation. Instead, each particular, individual Workers State gives an individual response as a Workers State. Consequently, before the masses of the world, before the backward countries, before the petty bourgeoisie, and servant sectors of capitalism, that are won to the revolution, that are won by us, they do not appear as a world leadership that is resolving these problems. And they have to present themselves as such.

The necessity of the Communist International is not the same as in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. In that stage it had to organise the Communist Parties, coordinate them, and give them the political base, and programme, to help to organise the world communist movement. This is already done today. Today it is enough to appear as the resolute leadership of society, with the programme to lead the world. This can be done now. Not only to organise the world communist movement, not only to organise the Communist Parties, but to organise the world. There are already the conditions to do this.

This is why this resolution appealing for the unification of the world communist movement, or at least accepting the necessity of unification, is very limited, it still falls within the limits of bureaucracy. Whereas today they must respond to the world situation, but saying what? Doing what? What is the communist

programme to respond to the necessity of the progress of history, to finish with the capitalist system? They do not give a response. It is still just a reaction, and resolution of unification within the communist movement, which is correct, we accept it, and support it, it is good; but it is only one step.

A much greater progress is necessary. Nor do they speak as a Communist International, when humanity already lives as a Communist International. It already lives it! The masses of Madagascar do not think of "their country", they think as human beings that happen to live in Madagascar, and they think like the Soviets and the Chinese. They do not talk in the name of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, but they do what Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky orientate and advise. It is the determination of marxism. Today, there are the conditions. Madagascar and Morocco, and Bolivia too. Such a progress exists in all the world. It is the leaderships that do not respond to this necessity. And the crisis of growth of the Communist Parties develops with this situation, weighing in it. They have to face a process for which they have no policy, they have no programme, and they have no prepared instrument. This is one of the essential causes for this crisis of growth of the world communist movement, which is a short stage, very soon, is going to be presented with the most urgent necessity; the coordination of the world communist movement, to unite it to the world course of the revolution. Today they do it in a partial, particular form, not the coordinated instrument which has advantage and superiority over the individual movement in each country, each party, and which bases itself on world forces, and consequently triples all these forces, multiplies them by hundreds, hitting the capitalist system and winning the best that it has produced; its means of production, technicians and scientists. It wins them to the communist camp through the persuasion of the consciousness.

The organisation of the Communist International will have the effect of dissolving middle capitalist layers. Already, today, the world relationship of forces between the revolution and the counter-revolution already does it, but partially. It only scratches the surface of the possibilities, there are, because it scarcely enters into the capitalist system. Proof is that the best technicians, the best scientists of the capitalist system abandon it, and go away, or are won to the Workers States. Any scientist who serves capitalism feels unhappy, displaced, he feels bothered, because he has the insecurity of having a function against the human being. He sees it, he feels it. While in the Workers State he sees the superiority—even with the bureaucracy—of an objective, which is to the benefit of humanity. Because the Workers State impels the backward countries, it develops science and technology, and although, objectively, it still draws advantage for itself from commercial trading, it invests more, and loses what it has gained economically. But on the other hand it gains socially, politically and historically, because it gains social authority, it impels the economically backward countries, and wins them to the Workers State.

The support, which the Workers States in general, and the Soviet Union in particular, give to any backward country is an incomparable world, historic progress,

because they gain social authority over the masses, over the petty bourgeoisie, over servant sectors of capitalism, over the servants of capitalism, and also gaining capitalist sectors, because it introduces, develops, and constantly testifies to the insecurity, and inferiority of the capitalist system, and the superiority of the Workers State, economically and socially. This has an incomparable benefit and capacity of persuasion.

This is why the Russian Revolution found such a support in the most backward masses of the world, including the Moroccans. The Bolsheviks supported Abdel Krim. The bourgeoisie made a whole campaign saying, "Look, the Bolsheviks support a feudal regime!" The Bolsheviks supported him, because he meant a blow against Spanish imperialism, an impulse to the sentiment of liberation, to the struggle for liberation in Morocco. It was going to be profited from immediately by Abdel Krim, but it was going to influence petty bourgeois layers and peasant sectors, to elevate themselves in the social struggles, and it was going to cut short the capacity, the economic domination, and power of Spanish imperialism, and it was going to weaken the structure of capitalism in Morocco. In Turkey they supported Ataturk. The same as they tried to do in Japan and China. And they spread the revolution. At that moment they did not extend it by sending troops, they sent arms, but the most important thing was the influence they had through the social superiority of the Soviet Workers State, which transcended the limits, the defences, the opposition of all the old, and the new, capitalist and feudal circles. It bypassed them, because it gained the consciousness of the people, the will, capacity and comprehension of the peasant, who saw the superiority of agricultural production in the Workers State, the social superiority of the organisation of production in the Workers State, which came out of complete want and, proportionately, immediately surpassed the level of production of all the capitalist countries of the world put together. They saw that nationalised property, the planning of production, and the monopoly of foreign trade were determined by the objective of developing the economy and society. They did not all understand it, but the intellectual layers linked to the peasants, and the workers and the petty bourgeoisie transmitted it, they were a transmission line that communicated Soviet superiority. This was so previously and now.

But compared with then, there are other problems now that have to be resolved. At any stage it has been necessary to make tasks like this to impel the world revolution, and create a superior area of support for the Workers State, although they did not last.

The Workers State objectively impelled the revolution. The essential task was to organise the Communist Parties with the Workers State in the world revolutionary policy against the capitalist system, today the task is the same, but it is done in a better centralised way. It is not just one or another Communist Party. There are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, which are the base of support for the Communist International. Previously there was only the one Workers State, and the essential objective at that moment was to maintain the Workers State against the avalanche of capitalist blows. Not today. Today it is capitalism that defends itself from the revolution, because it is threatened everywhere. The world revolutionary process is infinitely superior to before, and the tasks are superior to before. There are 16 Revolutionary States that have to be made to pass to Workers States. There are capitalist countries like France, Italy, Belgium, England, Germany, with great struggles of the masses, and soon there will be revolutionary explosions. Elsewhere, there have been revolutionary explosions that have been contained, deviated or temporarily smashed. But none have been liquidated! The Communist International has to resolve these problems, it has to help to resolve them with the programme, with the policy and with examples.

For this a world organisation and a centralised leadership are needed. This is the function of the Communist International today; to impel the world course of the revolution, and to help to construct Workers States, co-ordinating them as the essential weight in the development of the revolution in each particular country. Not leaving it to each Communist Party, but drawing the essential impulse from the Workers States, which are the historic example that already exist. The tasks of the Communist International are infinitely superior to what they were in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. Without losing or modifying their original causes—i.e. the function of the Communist International, as organiser of the Communist Parties, and the world revolution—it now has to face the construction and the co-ordination of the Workers States, and help to pass from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State.

Whilst this resolution of the Hungarian Communist Party is important, it ignores these problems, and although its intention is not as it previously was to seek a bureaucratic co-ordination and unification, it does not respond to the needs of history, and the obvious and possible necessity of doing so. There have been stages in history, in which there have been necessities without there being the means, or organisms, or conditions to realise them. As it was in the stage of the Russian Revolution with the necessity of the world triumph of the revolution. But today all this can be done. To co-ordinate the Workers States, to plan them amongst themselves, planning them to influence the Revolutionary States, and for the Revolutionary States to influence the rest of the world. This is the urgent necessity. It is necessary and cannot be delayed, and it is going to be one of the most important necessities to be resolved in the coming stages. It is necessary to discuss all these problems, it is necessary to respond to this necessity.

There are 16 Revolutionary States arising as a consequence of the world maturity of the revolution. But at the same time as being this convenient factor, the world maturity of the revolution is detained, or passes through Revolutionary State, because of the incapacity, impotence and lack of interest of the leadership of the Communist Parties and the Workers States to organise it. The Revolutionary State is an intermediate stage between the capitalist state and the Workers State. It is not a previously determined necessity. It is not a necessary course. It is a course imposed by a series of factors, the dominant factor being the ascent of the revolution.

Capitalism has not been able to maintain its domination of the backward countries, because the capitalist regime of production shows itself incapable of containing the needs of the population, of satisfying the cultural demand, the scientific conclusion, the ascent, the comprehension, the scientific and cultural development of the population, of the petty bourgeois layers, of the scientists, of the technicians, and the comprehension, and the revolutionary cultural ascent of the masses in those countries, where the majority of the masses do not know how to read or write, but they do know how to assimilate and understand the necessity of eliminating private property, the private management of property and production. They know this already. They do not know how to read or write, but

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SUBSCRIBE TO  
RED FLAG  
FORTNIGHTLY PAPER  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
(TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE  
IV INTERNATIONAL  
6 month 65p.  
12 months 125p.  
SUPPORTER'S ONE YEAR  
SUBSCRIPTION £2.50  
FROM  
24 CRANBOURN ST. LONDON, W.C.2

# The electoral triumph of the Social Democrats....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Germany do not base themselves on the triumph of Nixon, but on the development of the struggles of the masses of Italy, of France, of England, of the USA and of Latin America. It is a unity.

The electoral result is very great. The centre of these elections is already made firm; the German masses have gained the petit bourgeoisie. The proletariat is now on one side, and the bourgeoisie on the other. The floating petit bourgeoisie—and this is the deciding centre—has already been gained. The proletariat now has sufficient weight to gain them. They were gained after the great struggles, the great mobilisations, great confrontations with the bosses. The petit bourgeoisie was not won with democratic appeals, but by the fact that this is democracy; to put the economy at the service of the country. This is democracy. And it is the functioning of the masses, which has done this.

This result of the elections is going to exert a very great influence on the German Workers State, and it is going to encourage the tendencies to be much more audacious against imperialism, much more audacious. Thus it is going to permit the German working class to make a much greater progress. It is going to weigh towards the left in England, in France and in Italy. It is immediately going to be accentuated also within the communist parties. It goes to diminish the weight of the right.

Still the struggle is not public, it is not expressed in programme, in policy and in objectives. There is still not this struggle, but it is going to increase the internal differentiation and this gradually prepares the grouping into centres for later confrontations.

The power of the process of the revolution is so powerful that it is producing a process of inter-penetration, which is pure loss for capitalism. It is done simply to extend the time for existence, but it cannot regenerate, nor reanimate itself, nor revive.

None of the leaderships of the communist parties could imagine this. They cannot understand that this process of interpenetration is due to powerful forces of the world revolution, which participate in all the actions, in whatever part of the world, directly or indirectly. They participate in all the necessary activities in the progress of humanity, although they might not have direct representatives. The progress of humanity has to be in this way, in the economy and the leadership of the masses. This already exists in human consciousness, and advances there. And the petit bourgeoisie—which was the basis for the support of capitalism—goes towards it, fades away as a separate force. And it is won by the proletariat. The bourgeoisie falls in the void.

This is going to intensify the internal struggle in the socialist party. It is going to stimulate the left, so that it feels more secure, more firm, and has more solid bases of support. All the young people, who voted, are going to express this in trade union, professional struggles in general and this is going to express itself very, very powerfully in the Socialist Party. The conclusion is that a process is advancing towards the establishment of a conscious left wing in the Socialist Party. For now it can act as an intermediary, now it can negotiate well. The votes of the liberals were necessary to triumph. But those, which decide are the votes of the Socialist Party. An infinitely better situation exists for the left socialist wing, and it is necessary to draw upon a series of experiences for the task, which it is necessary to undertake immediately.

The Communist Party is not the party of the German working class. It must be a factor, which helps the left to form itself, to organise Germany.

Our joy for the triumph of the Socialist Party in Germany is, because it affirms an historic tendency, not an electoral current; an historic tendency, which is different from an electoral current. Capitalism still speaks of an electoral current, but it is a historic tendency arisen on the basis of the Workers States. It is the affirmation of a historic tendency, which is going to stimulate the Workers States to go forward to win the petit bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries.

All those idiots, who speak of the fascists must see this! What fascists! These have a panic fear of appearing. They hide themselves behind the CSU. And half of ODU leaves; and a left is going to form with a functioning as in Italy. A left, which breaks from capitalism, which makes economic and social comparisons, and says: "What is progress? What do people want? Why does the

petit bourgeoisie leave?" They have nothing in agreement with Adenauer, the inventor of the Christian Democrats, nor de Gasperi, nor de Gaulle.

This process in Germany is an expression—still on an electoral plane—of the fact that all the world working class, all the world revolution participated in these elections, and stimulated the petit bourgeoisie to move to the side of the proletariat and disintegrated, demoralised and defeated the forces of capitalism. These are new facts in history.

In Britain, Chile, Germany, the socialists are going to the government in an electoral form. But this time, the social democracy is not going to remain in the government merely as a government, which depends on the capitalist order. It has inevitably to take, in the near future, a series of measures, which do not remain in the framework of the capitalist system. While expecting this process, it is necessary to organise today a tendency of the left, this is the most important conclusion for Germany, and to appeal to all the trade union centres and parties of Europe for a United Front; to the socialists, to the communists, for a United Front with the Socialist Party, with the German working class, for a programme of the socialist unification of Europe.

Capitalism always utilised Germany to contain the development of the revolution. It used Germany on two occasions; in the revolution of 1919 and in 1945. And Germany was in its turn, the essential axis of the crisis of competition of the capitalist system. This time it cannot exercise either function. This is the disintegration of the capacity for world action of the capitalist system. North America should have declared "what a barbarity, what a catastrophe! It cannot do so. It cannot do anything because of the soviets. Germany was a fundamental base for Yankee imperialism, and it's gone. The agreement between the two Germanies exercise a very great pressure and influence they speak the same tongue, they are the same country, they have a separation, which is no longer seen, but which on one hand has an immense force for progress, and on the other hand an immense capacity for construction.

The German petit bourgeoisie feels itself to be more integrated in the process. And it has less resistance to link itself with the economic changes of the capitalist structure. Hence Schmidt made this declaration; "A completely market economy is not absolutely necessary". He does not say everything, he says "completely"—which shows that it can be nationalised. Whilst the two liberal ministers, who were against every measure of nationalisation went and attracted no one. Such an increase of votes is an enormous progress. Hence we say that the masses of the world intervened in the German elections.

All this is part of the policy of the "bathing party"!\*) There is no other place where a minister may go to the factories to say, that they are discussing the treaties with the German Workers State. There is no other. They are making the proletariat participate in the problems. Now certainly Willy Brandt has a limit. He is not against a continuation of the advance, but with a limit. But the workers know well, that there is no limit to what they desire.

There is a maturing of the working class towards the left. But there is still not an organised life.

The whole of Germany at this moment has a sentiment sensitive to the feeling of the world revolution. All the proletarian vanguard, and intellectual vanguard in Germany has participated in these elections with this sentiment. The result could not occur without this sentiment. It is a conscious attitude, a mature attitude of the working class, which develops and attracts all the rest. They (the rest) wanted to remain on one side and yet it attracted them; it did not compel them, it attracted them.

Now the Workers State is going to intervene much more openly in Germany, much more. Again the German proletariat shows its historic dignity: the proletariat has participated, has lived the defeat of the German bourgeoisie. The petit bourgeoisie was smashed, but then elevated itself with the proletariat, the proletariat won it. This shows the historic vitality of the German working class, which is the historic vitality of the proletariat. The working class suffered defeat directly; they were dispersed, broken up, destroyed, separated from the country. The proletariat did not feel that it had succumbed, or died, or anything like that. Between the two Germanies there is less conflict than between countries in Latin America. There are no

problems, no conflict. And the whole capitalist system, which organised the campaign of terror, the Berlin wall, has failed.

The masses are stimulating their leaderships to take power. If not, they would have remained at home. Hence, in Germany now there should be a great celebration.

The masses did not vote for peace, they voted to overthrow the capitalist system. In the joy of the German masses, there must be all the feeling of tenderness, equality, the absence of conflict; a finishing with conflicts, clashes, upsets, with wars, finishing with having to get up and wonder if there is any work. In socialism, work will be a song.

Brandt accelerated the fall of Shiller. He overthrew him, because he was pushed from behind. And Shiller went with the whole of the right. They wanted to absorb votes. They failed. People voted consciously influenced by the world revolution. It is not only the direct vote which they had there. The bourgeoisie cannot understand this. It believes that people voted as before. No. People voted with a level and power from observation of the world. If it was not like this, people would not have celebrated or embraced over the treaties. When this happens, it is because people feel themselves superior to immediate necessity. And in the many gestures of decision; of resolution made in discussions, which do not respond to the moment, there is the sentiment of finishing with all this! Its part of the language of this epoch. Hence, the role of the policy of the "bathing party". We were the only ones who took this into account. The capitalist press says: "What's happening, why is Brandt going to bathe with Brezhnev? And it did not please them at all.

This progress, this triumph in Germany, is not the triumph of the activity, nor of the policy of Willy Brandt; it is the triumph of the proletariat, which won the petit bourgeoisie.

When the peasants voted for the SPD, it was not over the problem of the economy. The German peasants are very capitalist. There are poor peasants, there are farm labourers, but the peasants are almost all privileged. They made the Green plan for Germany, in which from 1957 until now, easily some 300,000 German families have been eliminated

as peasants. Three million German peasants were annulled. When these end by voting for the socialists, it is because political conviction is very profound. They were always subject to the big boss, to the landed proprietor, which influenced them a great deal. They have broken with this.

A very significant fact in the advance of the revolutionary influence in Germany, is the very important inclination of a sector of the peasantry supporting the socialists. It is clear that there are very poor sectors, who are in turn cornered by the big ones, because the protection of the Green Plan is for the big fish. These have grabbed millions; from the middle ones upwards. The rest serve as an excuse to justify the subsidising of the land. But when these peasant sectors, who in Germany in full advance of capitalist development affirm the sentiment of property, even if it might be that of the small peasant, vote for the socialists, it is because they see that the capitalist system is already incapable of solving the problems of the land. It is the same phenomenon throughout Europe, France, Italy and the world. And this gives perspectives in a short stage of great struggles, of a programmatic and political level, and much more elevated than hitherto. All of which means anti capitalist levels of measures of control, advance in democratic demands, more rights for the masses, for example, to abolish all the repressive laws, now! all the restrictive laws, laws of control of the right of opinion, press, organisation, meeting. A campaign against the war in Vietnam.

Still more important, besides this vote of the peasants, there is a sector of the Christian Democrats, who voted for the socialists. There must have been a great number. There must have been a million Christian Democrats, who voted for the socialists, because one can reckon that a million socialists went over to the other side, representing the right. The votes who turned to the social democracy are significant votes, very significant. They are votes that represent social resolution, of layers and sectors. It is not merely a quantitative increase of votes, it is a qualitative issue. They are expressions of forces that want changes, changes!

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Throughout the world the revolutionary actions of the masses advance, all the recent elections show this, from the defeat of both the candidates in the elections in the US, to the victories of the Labour Parties in Australia, New Zealand, the gains made by the left in Holland and Japan, and above all, the victory of Brandt in Germany. The capitalist system is in a total crisis. Its social base is lost, and also it can no longer rely upon the social democratic parties to carry out its policies for it. More and more it only has its armed forces to rely upon, bombs and repression.

Here this world crisis of disintegration of the capitalist system, expresses itself in all the stresses and strains, which are appearing in the Tory Party. One sector wants a harder, more repressive line, while the majority, seeing how the class mobilised during the miners strike, or for the Pentonville five, retreats, as it has now done on its earlier plan to let 'lame duck' industries die. Thus they now reverse their policy towards the coal industry, and are prepared to give it much more financial assistance. This is not only, because of the fear of the mobilisation of the miners, but because they see that with the rapid advance of the revolution in the Middle East, they can no longer be confident that oil supplies are going to continue. In Britain, as in the world there is the galloping decay of capitalism, the increasing confidence of the working class, and its political advance, but at the same time the passivity of the Trade Union, and above all the LP leadership, which fears to take advantage of this situation, because they are frightened to mobilise the masses.

How then in this situation, can the working class organise and utilise all the forces which exist? Above all, it is necessary to create, or develop, if they already partly exist, class organism, which can act independently of the limitations of the union leaderships. Not against

these leaderships, but acting independently of them, and in this way stimulating them to advance.

We call for discussions in all the factories and places of work, among all the workers, who are on strike. The first necessity is for the formation of factory committees, committees which link all the workers in the factories or places of work, workers from all parts of the factory, from all the unions in the factory. Elect delegates from each shop or department of the factory, from each union to hold meetings, to discuss now how to aid the workers in the AUEW in their fight against the NIRC.

We also call for the extension of the Action Committees, or committees of the Labour Movement; uniting representatives of the trades councils, TU's, LP and CP, shop steward committees, tenants committees, with the IV International and the left groups. These committees have a fundamental importance, because they link the factories to the workers areas, the workers with the housewives, pensioners, the students etc. We call for a conference to be prepared of all the committees formed so far, to plan a common strategy, programme, and plans of action, so that they intervene in all the struggles from aid to the AUEW, to the struggle against the Housing Finance Act, against the freeze, against repression in Northern and Southern Ireland etc. We call for an emergency conference of all the Trades Councils, so that the Trades Councils launch themselves into the task of constructing action committees throughout the country.

These committees and also the Trades Councils themselves are going to play a more and more important role. They are going to be important not only because of their actions in organising strikes, mobilisations, demonstrations etc., but because they are going to carry the force of the vanguard in the factory much more directly into the Labour Party, stimulating the advance of the left. Thus they are fundamental in the preparation of a new leadership in the LP, which is an essential task in this stage.

**FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF TRADES COUNCILS AND ACTIONS COMMITTEES  
TO PREPARE A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST ALL THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE TORY GOVERNMENT, TO THROW OUT THE TORY GOVERNMENT, AND BRING IN A LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE LEFT WING HAS TAKEN POWER.**

# The electoral triumph of the Social Democrats....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

All the German families have intervened, all have discussed; the youth, grandparents, all have discussed. The electoral reanimation has been very important. 92% voted in a country, which is the "best" in conditions of life, in full employment. There are more than two million foreign workers, a high standard of life; when a country voted 92%, it is because they feel that the improvements, which there are, are insufficient in relation with all that they feel can be achieved. And they want to smash capitalism. If not, all this would not happen. It is the influence of the Workers State on them. The climate of the signing of the treaties with the Workers States has been an immense impulse which has resulted in the vote for the socialists. It means that people have seen a solution in the orientation of an agreement between the German Workers State and themselves, which creates the base for the vote. It has been an immense attraction. It has been a vote to impel Germany towards the Workers State. Hence when the "Ostpolitik" was voted, they rejoiced in the streets. And now people should make immense demonstrations. People are preoccupied with the problems of the country, because capitalism is incapable of being concerned with them. And Willy Brandt won with a programme which announced changes, reforms in the capitalist system. People voted for this. It voted against the tendency of capitalism to isolate Germany and make a base for NATO. The signing of the treaties—in itself—has been an immense blow. The bourgeoisie had the attitude that every country which traded with the East German state broke in fact with them. And it is capitalist Germany itself, which is obliged to trade with the German Workers State!

These elections express in a decisive form that in front of the incapacity of the leaderships, of the limitations in understanding this process, the masses came out to impel their leaderships. The treaty of unification between the two Germanies opens the road to a very powerful blow against capitalism in Germ-

any and throughout the world. The bourgeoisie has to accept this, when its objective was to smash the masses. Now, it has to say; "let's remain quiet, otherwise they will throw us out"

According to the newspapers, in the meetings that Willy Brandt called in the factories, he recognised that inflation existed, that it was due to the Christian Democrats, who were in the government previously, and the war in Vietnam. The importance, which the capitalist press gave to the elections is because of the policy of Germany towards the Workers States, not the economic policy, but the world policy. They camouflage the intentions and the consequences, but they cannot deceive in respect to the result. It is visible. All the petit bourgeoisie understands it. The papers want to eliminate the class significance, which it has, and to give it a very general significance. But at the same time, even so, trying to contain the level of the process, they have to show that capitalism is impotent. Progress does not depend on it. They are measures, which go outside the control of the capitalist system. And it is elevating the intervention and the decision of the masses to give a solution to the problems in agreement with their own organs, not those of the capitalist state. There is still not a decision to overthrow the capitalist system, but to advance in the construction of organs of power of the working class, as the German trade unions have done. This is going to have a very direct and immediate repercussion in Italy. All that the papers write about, is dedicated to educate the capitalists, the petit bourgeoisie, and the educated sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, which although being of the camp of capitalism, are attracted to the Workers States, to the Socialist Parties.

The Socialist Party is social democratic, this is to say, it has a whole social democratic structure; it is the party, which renounced Marx. Certainly, it renounced marxism twenty one years ago, and now it is returning to Marx without having said so. Certainly, there is a social democrat majority, not socialist, but the base is worker. What at-

tracted what encouraged, what decided the triumph was the working class, it was not the petit bourgeoisie, nor the bourgeois leadership. The worker masses transmitted to the population the decision to vote for the socialists, they saw the magnificent unity of the working class. This attracted the whole country. It encouraged, attracted the peasants. And in its turn, the German working class was representative, loudspeaker of the world process of the revolution; in that one of the essential points for the progress of Germany, is the unification with the Workers State. And it was the proletariat who supported this, and which transmitted to the petit bourgeoisie the security that such a policy is necessary. Brandt utilised this in the name of the capitalists to sustain the capitalist system, but it weakened the structure and the bourgeois capitalist leadership. This is the force which there is, these are the parties which exist. There is no possibility of changes, nor a struggle to make a new party. The changes must take place with the instrument which exists. And the changes are very profound. Such changes do not express themselves on an internal level at this stage, but the single fact that the centre of the decision was the agreement with the German Workers State, shows the elevated political level of the election: the masses want a progress, which is not measured with the increase of wages, but a progress in economic and social structure, which can be seen in the German Workers State. This was implied throughout the election. And this is going to have later repercussions, because already a class pressure showed an internal force, an orientation, which was going to seek a leadership, which responds to this necessity. And it will exist in a short time. The level of the political struggle was not the increase of wages, nor inflation. It was the political objectives of the Workers State. Hence, one of the last actions of agitation was to sign the treaty with the Workers State.

When there are such decisions, supported on political conclusions, like the signing of the treaties with the Workers States, it is because the influence of the world revolution is a centre, which determines the essential part of the political life of Germany. It is not the measures of the capitalist system, nor the political interests of the capitalist system. They preserve capitalism, they sustain it; and Brandt makes the policy of capitalism, but he has to take political measures, judgements, orientations, which do not affirm, sustain, nor maintain the capitalist system in a state of equilibrium. On the contrary, they weaken the world system, and as a consequence, the local positions of capitalism. And all this is going to be expressed in the next stage in the struggle of the German proletariat. And at the same time, it is the source of agitation of slogans, and of the programme that can go much further than the limitation of the trade unions. This is to say, it is necessary to propose nationalisations, as was proposed by the engineering trade union; nationalisation of the great engineering industry and workers control. And the workers must intervene more with the trade unions, as organs of control, in the leadership of the factory, of the economy of the country. It is necessary to extend the democratic rights of the masses, and to make all the sectors, which determine the economy intervene in the life of the country. The parasites who do nothing, the coupon clippers have no right; this must be posed. But those who decide in the economy, have the right to intervene, including the children of ten who without being integrated with the state apparatus are part of the productive apparatus, and in some way may intervene.

The Socialist Party must have a programme of expropriations, of nationalisations, of planning, workers control, with an appeal for the unification of the communist and socialist movement of the whole of Europe, to struggle for the single European centre, for single trade unions. For a common programme of all the workers movement against the capitalist system; of the workers parties, of the communist parties, socialist parties, catholic parties of the left, to make a programme in common, and to pose the problem of the unification of socialist Europe. In front of unemployment, the reduction of wages, increase in the cost of living, or the police repression of democratic rights; to extend all the proletarian rights, taking into account

that capitalism is going to seek to struggle with the atomic war. What before, it contested by using reactionary governments, by fascism, now it is going to contest with the atomic war. Because individually each bourgeois state does not have the strength for a complete repression.

It is necessary to call immediately—as a means of extending, consolidating the forces of the revolutionary and workers movement—for a mobilisation in support, in defence of the Spanish, Portuguese and Greek proletariats, an appeal to overthrow the dictatorship of these countries. More and more, the trade union, and political problems of struggle against capitalism are combined in a decisive and clear way.

In Germany there are the German, Belgian, French, North American armies, and why don't they have them intervene? The ones they conquered, the ones they destroyed as competitors—the most dangerous competitors in the capitalist system—today are the ones who create a greater force, which is integrating the forces of capitalism. Germany is not the centre, which gave rise to capitalism, but it is one of the best forces on which the capitalist system is based. Germany is the most stable country of the capitalist system. It has the most stable currency, and the most stable economy. It has two million foreign workers.

This shows the profound political understanding of the German masses. They have two and a half million foreign workers, and in spite of this there is such a success. But before, there were the great strikes and mobilisations of trade unions, which did not reach the level of strikes, because the management yielded. And in this framework, there is the proposal of the engineers to nationalise industry. And, moreover, in the trade unions, they discussed; treaties are necessary with the Workers States, with the German Workers State. This showed that the proletariat was intervening openly in the policy. This is to say that it is not a spectator, it is intervening, to weigh, and it is going to continue like this. It wants an agreement with the German Workers State, because it feels the necessity of the unification of Germany, for the solution of historic problems and this is direct, because it sees that it is superior to the regime of property. It is the German proletariat, the progress of the revolution, which overthrows the Berlin wall, overthrowing it not against the bureaucracy of the Communist Party, but against capitalist Germany, which also had an interest in the Berlin wall. It was not only the German bureaucracy, which had an interest, capitalism also had an interest in a dike, in a container.

We appeal to the communists, socialists, to the trade unions of Europe, of the world, but particularly of Europe, to call for the united front with the trade unions of the German Workers State, of capitalist Germany, for a front with a programme of unification, of a united front between them against the capitalist system; so that the trade unions present their own programme, to put their principal industries in the hands of the state, and abolish all the industries engaged in the production of atomic arms; to eliminate these, and put atomic energy in the service of humanity, which is one of the immediate conclusions, which is contained in this triumph of the German masses; and to make it felt that this is a triumph of the German masses, but that there is a leadership, which sustains, which supports itself on the capitalist system. They are obliged to make concessions, but the masses are drawing conclusions, and they are making a movement independent of the Socialist Party. Without waiting for the Socialist Party to support them, but mobilising and encouraging the organisation of a left wing, which openly struggles for socialist measures, and the agreement with the Workers State, we are going to propose, a socialist agreement with the German Workers State.

We appeal for the organisation of the left wing of the social democrats, to link itself with the workers, socialist, communist, left Christian Democrats movements of the world in the struggle against imperialism, to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system.

J. POSADAS 21-11-72

\*) This refers to the original meeting of Brandt and Brezhnev to discuss the Ostpolitik, where they swam together.

## The appeal for an agreement...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

they know that it is necessary to modify the structure of the economy and property in these countries. They know this. There are still many Arab countries where the women wear a veil over their faces. You can only see one eye of some of the women, all the rest is covered. But this one eye is enough to see it is necessary to smash capitalism! Socially and economically, these are the most backward countries, but not from the revolutionary point of view. Most of the masses of Bolivia and Peru do not know how to read and write, but they all know that it is necessary to nationalise property, to plan production, to eliminate private property, to eliminate the power of the administrator.

Hungarian comrades, comrades of the Workers States and Communist Parties, you must understand that these masses who are the most backward, who have less cultural knowledge than you, are preoccupied to stimulate the objective social knowledge of all the world, and are helping in the elimination of the capitalist system. You have to make this task. There is enormous poverty amongst all these peoples of Latin America, there is a great deal of illiteracy, there is immense social poverty. The peasants of Peru and Bolivia live for years and years with only one coat, and only one hat. They produce eggs for sale, which they themselves do not eat. They do not eat eggs, nor chicken, nor meat. By the time they are 36 they are old people, physically worn out through malnutrition. But this entire population has an excellent and very profound mental vigour. It has the capacity to impel, and it feels itself capable of pushing forward the revolutionary nationalist process in Peru and Bolivia. They have not allowed themselves to be intimidated by poverty, by malnutrition, and by seeing the children with nothing to prevent them from dying of hunger and cold. The children of the peasants of Bolivia and Peru sell fruit and have nothing themselves to eat. They spend whole days sitting in the streets to sell one orange, or a pear, or apple, or a few nuts. In Mexico too. In Mexico there are the Indian women, and their children crowded on the pavements behind great piles of peanuts, nuts and fruit, trying to sell them for maybe twenty pesos a day. But they all have a very elevated comprehension, and all support the revolution. They are the

most elevated expression of human culture.

This is not how capitalism measures culture. It measures it according to what somebody knows, what they know for their own use. Capitalism does not measure culture as the degree of knowledge of the process of history to impel human progress. This is the essential base of culture. The rest is knowledge to serve capitalist production, capitalist reproduction and capitalist bestiality. The children of Peru and Bolivia do not have the spontaneous reactions of the children of Europe, or the Workers States, because they live under constant intimidation. They have an immense shyness, but once they take confidence...! The children of the backward countries have no shoes, they walk barefoot, they have never known even sandals, but they have a very great decision to intervene, and decide the course of history. These are concrete problems for the Communist International to discuss, resolve and lead.

In this stage of history the Communist International must function according to the necessity of the world development of the revolution. It is no longer the stage of a single Workers State and small Communist Parties. There are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, and a world course of ascent of the struggles of the masses of the world. Here is the task, which the Communist International has to fulfil; it must combine the unification and planning of the Workers States—economically, politically, socially and militarily. To seek access, co-ordination, agreement and programming. This is all within the possibilities that exist, this possibility has to be sought. To seek agreement, programming and unity of action with the Revolutionary States. And the Workers States and Revolutionary States with the great organised masses of the world, workers centres, Communist Parties, Socialist Parties, left Catholic movements, revolutionary nationalist movements. This is the function of the Communist International. It is not the same as in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. Without changing its historic nature, it changes in its tasks and objectives. Its historic function as world organiser of the revolution is absolutely not modified. Its tasks are broadened, and it is based on concrete objective conditions that are superior to those of the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, because there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States. J. POSADAS 21-9-72